TRANSITION: THE INTER-WAR RIGHT MERGES WITH THE 1950s RIGHT

The major radical-right and ultra-conservative groups in the interwar period have received considerable scholarly attention. It is not intended to review the nature of these movements in any substantive way. However, there are several smaller groups, about which little is known. Apart from describing these groups, the focus of this chapter is concerned with describing differences and continuities between the inter-war right and the extreme right that emerged from the 1950s onward. This is not to suggest that there was any seismic shift in the right. The far right is too fractious to make any such declarations.


2 This presupposes some knowledge of the radical right in this period. For a succinct and useful overview see Andrew Moore, The Right Road? A History of Right-wing Politics in Australia, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1995, pp. 23 – 52.

3 Some of these are mentioned below and would include the Guild of Watchmen of Australia, the Sane Democracy League, the Australian Constitutional League, Australian Citizens’ Political, Economic, Financial and Religious League, Democratic Freedom Union, Committee of Democratic Enterprise, Bureau of National Affairs, the Citizens’ Rights Association, the Tasmanian Constitutional League and the Freedom League. Individuals like A. Rudd Mills (see chapter 3) seem overdue for study.
However, the radical right that now exists differs in many significant ways from groups that were in existence, say, in the 1930s. Equally there are some continuities.

At an organizational level only one group within the radical right has survived from before 1950 until the present time. The Australian League of Rights is still in existence and is the subject of the following chapter. Of the other groups that existed prior to 1950, most had folded by 1960. While organisations on the far right have generally fared badly, beliefs and ideologies have proved more resilient. Antisemitism, anticommmunism, fascism, Nazism and the like are still features of many groups and therefore are examined in this chapter. However the current lightning rod of the right, opposition to immigration, around which much far-right activity is now centred in Australia and around the world, did not feature to any great extent prior to 1966 (see chapter 4).  

This reflected the disbandment of the White Australia policy in that year.

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4 Pauline Hanson and One Nation are the most compelling recent Australian example of this trend. In Western Europe all the major far-right parties have campaigned to end immigration. Some of the major parties with the percentage of their following in 2002 were: Austria, Joerg Haider’s Freedom Party (20%); Belgium, Filip Dewinter’s Vlaams Blok (10%); France, Jean-Marie Le Pen’s National Front (17%); Italy, Umberto Bossi’s Northern league and Gianfranco Fini’s National Alliance (5%); Norway, Carl Hagen’s Progress Party (15%) and Switzerland’s Christoph Blocher’s Swiss People’s Party (22.5%). Analogous to Australia’s Pauline Hanson was Denmark’s self styled ‘housewife politician’ Pia Kjaersgaard of the Dansk Folkparti which won 22 of the 179 seats in the Danish parliament in elections in November 2001. “We are in charge now,” Dansk Folkparti’s leader Pia Kjaersgaard declared, and promised to work hard for stricter policy towards immigration and refugees.” See Line Vaabek Juul and Thomas Vennekilde, ‘Analysis: Denmark’s shift to the right,’ BBC News at http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/world/europe/newsid_1668000/1668439.stm on 23 November 2001.
From 1966 radical-right groups began to use anti-immigration as a central platform of their organisations. Paradoxically, the events of 1966 were also instrumental in an accelerated alienation of the far right from mainstream political discourse and cooperation. In 1966 it was still possible for the political maverick Henri Fischer to operate as a conduit between the far right and mainstream conservatism. Such interactions would become increasingly rare (for Fischer see chapter two).

Antisemitism has been a feature of the far right since the appearance of the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion. It was central to the Guild of Watchmen of Australia, a group based in Sandalwood in South Australia but which also operated a branch in Sydney in the late 1920s and early 1930s. According to their literature the group believed that the greatest threat to the nation came from the Ashkenazi or what they identified as the German Jews. They believed that they controlled both international ‘High Finance’ and Bolshevism. The Guild warned:

So, to-day, we stand trembling, trying to choose between the two evils of Capitalism and Socialism. Whichever we choose, we merely walk into the outstretched arms of the waiting Jew.  

To the Guild what was at stake was the future of the British race whose destiny was the ‘unfolding of the Divine promise’ to civilise and Christianise the world. In this respect it had a modern tone arguing against both capitalist and socialist structures. In line with more contemporary groups the Guild relied heavily upon conspiracy theories to support its arguments. It promoted the Protocols with the

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6 ibid., p. 2.
arresting phrase ‘While the Elders Rule, the British Empire is
Doomed.’ Similarly, the religious message of the Guild drew from the
British-Israel movement, which is still in currency among some
Christian groups. Much of the group’s rhetoric and ‘evidence’ can still
be found in current antisemitic literature.

Central to the ideology of the Guild of Watchmen was their admiration
for British culture as a cohesive element that could unite British
Australians. The Guild argued that the Jewish conspiracy was,
undermining every phase of our national life. Class is set against
class; country is set against city; worker is set against employer;
Lang is set against Scullin; we have “New Guards” and “Labor
Armies,” all in order that the Ashkenaz, whose age-old slogan is
“Divide and Conquer,” may exploit us to the uttermost limit,
and in the process, grind each one of us deep in the dust of
degradation and despair.

In this respect the Guild appears to have had a more inclusive
philosophy than some other radical-right groups and individuals. For
others the enemy lay with Catholics, especially Irish Catholics,
Bolsheviks and the labour movement, much of which of course was
both Irish and Catholic.

The Guild of Watchmen’s attachment to Australia’s place in a British
world is one characteristic that seems to have largely disappeared from
the modern far right. However, the Guild shared this with many of
the ‘patriotic’ movements and the secret armies that existed before

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7 ibid., end piece.
8 ibid., pp. 1 – 2.
9 It is worth noting that in this period the left also employed antisemitic propaganda.
10 Selkirk, op. cit., p. 25.
11 For a discussion of this issue see Michael Dunn, *Australia and the Empire From 1788 to the
1950. As John Lonie noted in a study on South Australia’s Citizens League, Britishness became an evangelical religion, the royal family the collective deity, and God save the King the battle hymn to convert the pagans.12

Conversely, racial-nationalist groups, such as those discussed in chapter four, have argued against this reliance on Britain. In the debate that surrounded the 1999 republic referendum some sections of the far right did, however, support the retention of the monarchy. Activists like Tony Pitt argued that the monarchy and its institutions provided the only defence against the corruption and venality of the Australian political system. In 1979 this argument was enunciated by Arthur A. Chresby who published *Your Will Be Done*. Chresby argued that, The Queen is the permanent "government" with a perpetual "mandate" to govern according to the clearly expressed WILL of the people.13

Chresby claimed rights that stretched back to Magna Carta in 1215. He advised that citizens could write to the Governor General and to parliamentarians, letters expressing ‘my will’ [that is the letter writer’s]

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We are proud of our pink-tinted Empire, We’re proud of our deeds in the main, We are proud of the Flag of our fathers, Let us cheer it and cheer it again! This may not appeal to the stranger, Who would see other banners unfurled, But mention "The Justice of Britain" --- Then off come the hats of the world! Dear boys, Yes! Off come the hats of the world! in J.A. Philp, *Songs of the Australian Fascist*, Edwards, Dunlop & Co. Ltd, Sydney (?), 1923, p. 9.

which the recipient was obliged to acknowledge. Chresby’s followers like Tony Pitt have essentially endorsed this view.

A further example of how the radical right has moved on this issue of imperial patriotism can be gleaned from Sydney solicitor Eric Campbell’s account of the formation of the New Guard on 16 February 1931, at the Imperial Services Club in Sydney. Including Campbell there were eight people present, five of whom had served in the Australian Imperial Force (AIF). All of them could be described as having impeccable Anglo-Australian connections. Present at the meeting was a Macarthur-Onslow, a family as near to a bunyip aristocracy as is possible in Australia. Whereas the surnames of those present at this meeting are all recognizable for their connections to the British Isles – Campbell, Knox, Plomley, Rickard, Clark, Farleigh, Macarthur-Onslow and Grant - it is instructive to compare them with the names that formed another right-wing group forty-seven years later. In January 1978 the Australian National Alliance was formed by Azzopardi, Salter, Saleam, Norwich, and Ormsby. None could be said to be part of any elite or Anglo-Australian group while two of the names are decidedly not British. Ironically even the racist far right has become multicultural.

The development of groups like the New Guard, that most significant manifestation of home grown fascist politics, illustrates another key

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14 Ibid., pp. 28 – 29.
16 Despite Eric Campbell’s protestations most commentators have noted the strong fascist and Nazi sympathies developed by Campbell especially after his 1933 tour of Europe. See Moore, The Secret Army, op. cit., pp. 237 – 239 and Amos, op. cit., pp. 100 – 115. Amos’ book uses a picture of Campbell apparently giving the fascist salute in 1932. Writing in the 1930s Lawrence Dennis noted that it was not necessary for a fascist movement to understand fascist...
difference between pre and post 1950s organisations. As Cresciani
notes Campbell, 'and most of his followers believed that their policies,
organisation and operations were essentially Australian in character.'
However, it seems impossible to divorce the development of the New
Guard from the experience some of its leading members had in World
War One. Overseas parallels abound, most notably with Hitler and the
German fascist experience. The war was the crucible upon which much
fascist and Nazi sentiment was forged. The development of the post
World War Two far right offers no such parallel. That war's more
immediate consequence was repugnance toward ideologies such as
Nazism and fascism, though at least one group, The Association,
displayed ambivalence in this regard.

Anticommunism was another dominant feature of the radical right at
least until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. Under the aegis of the Cold
War some radical-right groups were fêted by governments almost
solely on the basis of their anticommunist credentials.

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17 Cresciani, op. cit., p. 39.
fascist politics in the aftermath of World War One is chronicled in David Baker, Ideology of
19 See Andrew Moore, 'Fascism Revived? The Association Stands Guard, 1947 – 52,' Labour
20 The most notable example of this on a global scale was the World Anti-Communist League.
One member wrote, 'In considering the World Anti-Communist League you have entered a
world of ideological fanaticism, racialism, ignorance and fear which is almost beyond the
comprehension of the average American. . . . Your subject matter is a collection of oriental
fascists, militarists, right wing terrorists who put bombs in civilian aircraft, death squads,
assassins, criminals and many people who are as much opposed to democracy as they are
communism.' Cited in Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson, Inside The League. The
Shocking Exposé of How Terrorists, Nazis and Latin American Death Squads Have Infiltrated
conservative governments and individuals showed intolerance toward democratic rights as well as a fervid determination to oppose the communist menace. From early in the twentieth century leading members of Australian society were involved in moves to attack leftists. Their willingness to support any opponents of communism was a link between the inter-war period, the 1950s and beyond.

One example of these anti-democratic and anticommunist groups prior to World War Two, was the formation of the Australian Protective League in 1918, an important link with the organisation of successive radical-right groups.\(^{21}\) It was based on the American Protective League, a sinister and unruly organisation that nonetheless impressed an Australian intelligence officer, R.C.D. Elliott who visited its Chicago headquarters.\(^{22}\) When Elliott returned to Australia he sent a report to the defence department suggesting that an antipodean version of the organisation be formed.\(^{23}\)

The scheme to start an Australian version of the American organisation seems to have first been suggested by a wealthy Melbourne businessman, Herbert Brookes, who was well connected in the business

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\(^{21}\) Moore, *The Right Road*, op. cit., p. 29.
\(^{22}\) Robert K. Murray notes that the League, had converted thousands of otherwise reasonable Americans into super-patriots and self-styled spy-chasers by spreading rabid propaganda . . . Suppose these agencies [which included the National Security League and the American Defense Society] represented the nation's first line of defence against wartime subversive activity. But by the close of the war they actually had become the repository of elements which were much more interested in strengthening a sympathy for economic and political conservatism than in underwriting a healthy patriotism. in *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1964, p. 12.
\(^{23}\) Evans, op. cit., pp. 44 - 45.
and cultural world of Melbourne. The Australian Protective League enjoyed congenial relations with the state. For instance, unbeknown to his responsible minister, the Queensland Commissioner of Police, F.C. Urquhart was a close confidant of Brookes and linked with the Australian Protective League. Urquhart took a leading role in the Red Flag Riots in Brisbane in 1919.

The level of violence in the Red Flag Riots was extreme. The orchestrated campaign of firebombing conducted by the Australian Nationalist Movement in Perth during the 1980s can not be compared with the sustained violence that shook Brisbane during this period. Briefly the disturbances were caused by a march in protest at the continuation of the War Precautions Act on 24 March 1919. During the march red flags were unfurled in contravention of police instructions. This trivial incident was blown out of all proportion by the ultra-conservative Brisbane Courier Mail. Its reporting was partly the reason a mob of ex-soldiers marched to the Russian quarters in Brisbane. On the first evening they withdrew but following more reports in the Courier Mail, returned the next night where rioting took place and people were injured and buildings damaged. Still more scurrilous reporting by the Courier Mail led to a third night of disturbances and the attempted storming of the labour newspaper The Daily Standard.

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26 Ibid., pp. 104 – 149.
It appears that the riots enjoyed official backing, given Urquhart’s involvement. Returned soldiers and middle class people were encouraged to perform acts of violence by establishment forces who in effect were using the methods they generally accused their Bolshevik opponents of committing. Malcolm Ellis, later the doyen of Australian anti-communist historians and an associate of both Urquhart and Brookes, testified that he had seen marchers foam at the mouth as they unfurled their red flags.

The alarm with which some sections of the Australian establishment regarded the dual menaces of communism and labour was replicated around the country in the 1930s with the formation of counter revolutionary secret armies. These groups were usually Protestant, sometimes Masons, with a strong element of anti-Catholic sentiment. The end of World War One, its ensuing social upheaval, the fear generated by the October Revolution in Russia, the Sinn Fein and the Easter Rebellion in Ireland compounded by the election of ALP governments were all factors in the formation of these loyalist and paramilitary groups.

Among their number were the Citizens Loyalist Committee, the White Army, the Victorian Protestant Federation, the Sane Democracy

27 Moore, The Secret Army and the Premier, op. cit., p. 32.
League, the New Guard, the Old Guard, the Soldiers and Citizens Party, the Emergency Committee, the Citizens' League and separatist movements based in the Riverina in New South Wales and the Dominion League in Western Australia. At this time there were possibly as many as 100,000 men caught up in such right-wing activity. This contrasts strongly with the diminutive proportions of the post World War Two right.

Two interwar organisations are of particular interest in terms of this study and the way in which they illustrate the changing nature of the right. The Old Guard in New South Wales and the White Army (sometimes styled the League of National Security) in Victoria both presented a real threat to elected government. Both organisations were led by influential people, some of whom went on to become even more powerful after both organisations had been disbanded. For the Old Guard this included Philip (later Sir) Goldfinch, managing director of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR), then Australia's largest public company. Goldfinch went on to serve for the United Australia Party in the New South Wales parliament. Other members of the Old Guard included Sir Samuel Horden head of the retailing empire that bore his name, Sir Norman Kater, a director of CSR and later chairman of the right-wing think tank the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) and Lieutenant Colonel F.B. Hinton who had a distinguished war record. In Victoria leadership included a former head of the AIF, General Sir C.

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Brudenell White and a future one, Sir Thomas Blamey, then the Victorian Commissioner of Police.\textsuperscript{32}

The contemporary far right can offer no such distinguished alumni.\textsuperscript{33} More fundamentally sections of the contemporary radical right have praised the views of Labor politicians such as Jack Lang and Arthur Calwell. Rather than seeing themselves as bulwarks against change, as groups like the Old Guard did, they argue against current power structures and elites and propose a society which would resemble more one advocated by Lang, the enemy of the Old and New Guard.\textsuperscript{34}

**Pre war fascism & Nazism**

Nazism and fascism still have a following on the far right. Both groups differ from those that sprang up after the war, particularly from the 1960s onward. The Nazi movement before the war was characterised by a strong following among German nationals and/or people of German descent.\textsuperscript{35} During the 1930s membership never exceeded one hundred and eighty and was limited to German male citizens. This was an impressive figure. As Tampke and Doxford demonstrate this was statistically greater than membership in Germany. Still, as a force they

\textsuperscript{32} Cathcart, op. cit., *passim*.

\textsuperscript{33} Brigadier Ted Serong, patron of the AUSI Freedom Scouts, a militia group discussed in chapter 8 is an exception.


\textsuperscript{35} For an official overview see NAA A9108 item A1554 roll 13, ‘Nazis in Australia up to 1946.’
were extremely small.\textsuperscript{36} Within the Australian German community pressure was applied to join the party.

A salutary example is the case of Hans Werner Luyken whose experiences suggest both the mundane status of Nazi activity in Australia and its inability to implement Nazi policies in the German-Australian community.\textsuperscript{37} On 5 January 1937, aged twenty-five, Luyken arrived in Sydney. His presence was due to the intercession of a superior in the chemical combine I.G. Farbenindustrie Aktiengesellschaft (IG) where Luyken had completed his cadetship.\textsuperscript{38} Despite his youth Luyken was the second most senior employee of Dychem and Henry H. York and Company distributors of the IG’s products.\textsuperscript{39} When Luyken’s superior returned to Germany in 1938 two events showed Luyken the relative impotence of Nazi followers in Australia.

A study group for the IG consisting of Geheimrat (Privy Councillor) Lederer and Dr Reitinger, together with Herr von Tirpitz, son of the


\textsuperscript{39} Dychem was formally liquidated in 1956 when all its trading was taken over by its parent company Henry H. York & Co. Ltd. It was founded in 1954 with the three German successors to the I.G., Bayer, Hoechst and BASF holding 35% of the equity. The remainder was held by the York family, which sold out to the German companies in 1961. In 1965 Hoechst and BASF sold their holdings to Bayer which then renamed the company Bayer Leverkusen Ltd, later Bayer Australia Ltd. Luyken, op. cit., \textit{passim} and Michael J. Pont, \textit{Hoechst in Australia. A history of Hoechst Australasia Limited’s development and activities from 1921 to 1991}, Hoechst Australia, Melbourne, 1993, pp. 20 – 23 & 28 – 32.
famous admiral was to visit Sydney. As the most senior representative of the IG in Australia, Luyken was to prepare for their visit. Lederer was a Jewish executive who, according to Luyken, had been relocated in ‘far-away Shanghai so that he could continue to work for the company.’ Lederer was also the most senior of the visiting group. Despite misgivings, Luyken decided to accord Lederer that status regardless of the likelihood that the local Nazi hierarchy would object to a Jew being accorded such a reception. The most embarrassing outcome for Luyken was a panegyric to Hitler delivered at a dinner by the German Consul General, Dr Asmis. Luyken was appalled because he believed this mortified Lederer.\(^4\)

The second incident concerned a donation; also while Luyken’s superior was absent. Luyken was approached by a local Nazi official and asked for a donation, which he refused. Dr Asmis threatened to inform Berlin and repeated the demand. Luyken again refused. Despite the prominence of Asmis and his supposed high level connections in Berlin nothing ever came of the threats or Luyken’s refusal to donate. Clearly the Nazi machine was less than well drilled. Even Dr Asmis was a half-hearted career Nazi. Luyken referred to Asmis’s embrace of Nazi ideology as ‘a strange conversion from a Saul to a Paul.’\(^4\)

Luyken’s observations of the state of organisation enjoyed by the Nazi Party in Sydney during 1938 have a touch of the burlesque. Luyken observed:

The Nazi party some time before had embarked on a recruiting drive in German circles. The head for Australia was a certain [Walther Carl] Ladendorf, whom I was able to keep at bay to some extent because he was the accountant of a photographic firm, which was always owing a lot of money to Dychen, usually dragging the chain... The only other party member - all other supposed members in Australia were only aspirants - was a nauseating individual by the name of Frerk, an unkempt fellow of advanced age, who in the redlight district on William Street in the Kings Cross area was conducting a small unappetising delicatessen shop. Prior to the sudden conversion of Dr Asmis, Frerk had conducted a bitter vendetta against him for many years because - so people were saying - thirty years before, in the former German colony of Togo, Asmis in his capacity of magistrate had convicted and fined Frerk for having beaten a native. Frerk had gone as far in his feud as to wrap his sausages in libellous pamphlets against Asmis without regard to the fact that most of his customers were unable to guess what it was all about.42

The loyalist organisations that had sprung up around the country during the 1930s may have had fascist overtones however, the dominant impulse was one of loyalty and an attachment to the British ways of politics. Nazism and Fascism were simply not British. R.G. Menzies, despite some sympathies for the governments of Mussolini and Hitler, put this view when he commented on the efficiency of Fascism versus parliamentary government.

Under a very great dictator like Mussolini you may produce a degree of efficiency and control which Parliament is unable to produce, but that is the product of the genius of a man and not of a system. We may not produce 100 per cent of efficiency under our Parliamentary system, but we do produce a very high percentage of liberty, and as a British people we are not inclined to change freedom for some form of dictatorial control.43

42 Luyken, op. cit., p. 39.
The organisation of Italian Fascists in Australia parallels the situation with the Nazi Party. The local groups were organised from the Sydney Consulate General. With three hundred members in 1939 along with a school and a youth group the Sydney Fascio outnumbered the entire Nazi membership for Australia. As with the German authorities attempts were made to use prominent Italian - Australian business people to promote the cause. The Italian community, however, was in many ways more marginalised than the German community. Even a prominent Australian supporter of fascism, the physician Herbert Moran, attributed qualities to the Italians that suggested their clear inferiority to Anglo-Saxons.

In the pre-war period both Nazism and Fascism held attractions for some prominent Australians. Conservative paramilitary bodies like the Australian Legion and the King and Empire Alliance, both formed in the 1920s, were organised on similar lines to Benito Mussolini’s fascist party. On the basis of their anticommunism some Australian politicians found much that was admirable. In 1923 and 1924 the Victorian and New South Wales premiers praised Mussolini after visits to Italy, such acclaim which was very important to local Fascist leaders.

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46 Moore, The Secret Army and the Premier, op. cit., p. 15.
47 Gianfranco Cresciani, Fascism, Anti-Fascism and Italians in Australia, op. cit., p. 139.
The legacy of the pre-war fascist and Nazi groups is somewhat mixed. At a fundamental level both left powerful ideologies that continue to find a resonance. Yet with the notable exception of P.R. Stephensen, (see chapter three) there is little to link activists from before the war with groups that came after. As with members of the secret armies the overwhelming priority after the war, both political and geo-political, was to combat communism. Anticommunism became an end in itself, which meant that right-wing extremists only caused passing attention by both the state and the conservative parties.

Anticommunist groups

The victory of the Liberal Party at the federal elections in December 1949, might have been a boost for some of the tiny radical-right groups that had remained in existence from before World War Two or that formed in the early 1950s. In his 1949 policy speech Menzies had singled out two issues; socialism that he claimed threatened the ‘subordination of the individual to the universal officialdom of Government’ and communism which he promised to outlaw. As Frank Cain and Frank Farrell have noted,

The postwar movement to ban the CPA began among right-wing ex-service and religious organisations, such as the RSL, the Sane Democracy League, the People’s Union, the Australian Constitutional League and the Victorian League of Rights.

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48 Stephensen was not a very active member of the neo-Nazi scene.
While the Returned Services League (RSL) is generally not regarded as a far-right organisation, in the immediate period after World War Two at least some sections of it showed extremist propensities in their persecution of those they believed were either communists or sympathisers. The ominously titled Returned Servicemen’s Anti-Communist Vigilance Corps of Australia was a secret organisation within the RSL that compiled dossiers on people it suspected of being communists, probably with the help of the security organisations. As L.J. Louis has argued, the indications are that this secretive group within the RSL had strong links with another secret organisation, The Association a revival of the 1930s Old Guard.

The Association can be seen as the last hurrah of the secret armies of the 1930s. Many members of The Association had been involved in previous groups, notably Sir Thomas Blamey. Like its predecessors, The Association saw itself in defensive terms, prepared to intervene in the event of a communist insurrection however, motivations of individuals within the group differed. Charles Spry who became ASIO’s head shortly afterwards was probably involved in some way with The Association. He later observed that, ‘I tremble to think what would have happened in a crisis when I think of some of the odd

52 ibid., pp. 100 - 102.
53 ibid.
54 Some security files on The Association have been filed with material on the New Guard. See NAA A367, item C94121 and A6122 vols. 1 & 2. The best account of The Association is by Moore, ‘Fascism Revived? op. cit., pp. 105 - 121.
people in it [The Association].\(^55\) The neo-Nazi journalist Frank Browne (see chapter 3) was under no illusion as to the nature of The Association. Browne believed it was a fascist organisation that was advocating the overthrow of the Chifley government.\(^56\) Although The Association was not officially disbanded until 1952 it is not included in any detailed way in this survey. The evidence indicates that it effectively became dormant after the resolution of the 1949 general coal strike though members and activists such as J.M. Prentice continued their association with extreme-right politics.\(^57\)

Socialism and communism remained central preoccupations of the Australian radical right. Within the prism of Cold War politics\(^58\) the threat of communism became central to a great deal of Australian politics. In domestic affairs this fear became a dramatic point around which a number of controversial issues were played out. In 1951 a referendum was narrowly defeated which would have banned the Communist Party after the Menzies' government legislation proscribing the Communist Party was ruled unconstitutional by the

\(^{55}\) ibid., p. 118.
\(^{56}\) Frank Browne, _Things I Hear_, 11 April 1949.
\(^{57}\) Lieutenant-Colonel John Murdoch Prentice was, at a time, also a radio presenter with Sydney station 2UW and described himself ‘as a “consultant” to the Korean Consulate-General in Sydney.’ Prentice through his links with the Republic of Korea attended an Asian People’s Anti-Communist League, one of the forerunner groups to the WACL in 1956. A report to the Department of External Affairs in 1956 noted that Prentice was ‘travelling at a fast pace with in some cases dimmed, but more usually no lights through the murky politics of Asia.’ In NAA A1838/1 item 1516/6/15.
High Court. In 1954 Australia briefly moved to the centre of the Cold War stage when a Soviet diplomat, Vladimir Petrov, defected. Then in 1955 the Australian Labor Party split when its leader H.V. Evatt launched an attack upon the so called ‘Groupers’ who went on to form the Democratic Labor Party which helped keep the Australian Labor Party from office until 1972. Despite these fertile opportunities for growth the radical-right remained a small and only occasionally influential force in Australia throughout the 1950s.

The inability of the far right to establish itself as a significant political force stems from a number of factors. Prior to the war the most formidable sections of the radical right had been formed and led by powerful men (there were no women in leadership roles). These men whose names and prestige had assisted the growth of these organisations eventually abandoned the groups which withered and died. Content with a Liberal government in Canberra, from December 1949, they went about their lives. The state apparatus in the form of ASIO subsumed The Association’s anticommunist vigilance.

Unlike the United States there were no obvious allies for the radical right. The individuals involved lacked the financial resources of their American counterparts. By contrast the American radical-right group, the John Birch Society enjoyed the financial backing of its founder Robert Welch, a successful confectionery manufacturer. Formed in 1958 the group found alliances with some of America’s fundamentalist churches that shared Welch’s views on government, communism and conspiracies. Like some Australian organisations the John Birch Society flirted on the edges of mainstream conservative groups. Its membership peaked in the mid 1960s with estimates ranging between 50,000 and 95,000 members. Nonetheless, as in Australia support for the radical right was confined to a small percentage of the population.

In both the United States and in Australia the political turmoil around the issue of communism brought about two well-known reactions to the fear it engendered. In the United States a junior Republican senator from Wisconsin made a speech to the Women’s Republican Club of Wheeling, West Virginia on February 9, 1950. The speech was the beginning of a brief, yet high profile career of ‘red-baiting’ for Senator

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64 George & Wilcox, op. cit., p. 220.
65 As M.J. Heale has noted, ‘By 1950 an anticommunist consensus had settled on American public life. The principal organs of government, the major political parties, the trades union movement, leading church spokesmen, and many public and private institutions across the land were agreed that Communists had no legitimate role in American society.’ See M.J. Heale, American Anticommunism Combating the Enemy Within 1830 – 1970, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1990, p. 167. The radical right was one of the more strident voices opposed to the communist ‘menace’ but hardly pre-eminent.
Joseph McCarthy. The term McCarthyism has become something of a by-word for political witch-hunts and persecution, though as Ellen Schrecker notes,

Despite the more bizarre manifestations of the anti-Communist crusade, it was on some level a rational response to what was then perceived to be a real threat to American security. The threat was grossly exaggerated, but it was not a total fantasy. It derived in large part from the way in which the American Communist party operated. The party’s secrecy and lack of internal democracy, its attempt to create a broader movement, and above all, its connection to the Soviet Union gave plausibility to the notion that Communists endangered the United States.67

Similar fears of communism, later propelled with the advent of the Cold War, were a feature of Australia’s domestic political affairs.

Bartholomew Santamaria was a prominent, arguably fervent, Catholic layman who from 1942, with the support of his church began a campaign to rest control of some of Australia’s major unions from communist control.68 Santamaria initially emulated the secret cell structure of the communists through a clandestine organisation known as ‘The Movement.’ Later he developed a series of anticommunist Industrial Groups both within the union movement and the Australian Labor Party.69 Tensions between these Industrial Group leaders and others within the Labor Party eventually led to the 1955 ‘Split’ which saw the formation of the Anti-Communist Labor Party which was subsequently renamed the Democratic Labor Party.

Santamaria’s place in Australian political history remains contentious. Gianfranco Cresciani noted Santamaria’s association with a group at

67 ibid., pp. 3 - 4.
68 Moore, The Right Road?, op. cit., p. 98.
69 Ibid.
the University of Melbourne in the 1930s that supported fascism.\textsuperscript{70} Denys Jackson, a mentor to Santamaria, and a fellow member of the Catholic Church's Campion Society was a supporter of the French royalist and ultra nationalist Charles Maurras and his \textit{Action Française}. Jackson was warned that his 'right-wing views' could alienate Catholic workers and lead them to think the Church was fascist.\textsuperscript{71} For his part Santamaria did little to distance himself from charges of fascist sympathy. In 1934 he had completed his MA thesis 'Italy Changes Shirts: the origins of Italian Fascism'\textsuperscript{72} which prompted the University of Melbourne student newspaper \textit{Farrago} to report that Santamaria clung to Mussolini.\textsuperscript{73}

In 1936, with other members of the Campion Society, Santamaria launched an Australian version of the \textit{Catholic Worker}. As Bruce Duncan remarks,

\begin{quote}
early editions . . . reflected the 'revolutionary' language of European social movements of the Right but without the rabid anti-Semitism, violence, or extreme nationalism common in Europe.\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}

Santamaria later fell out with the \textit{Catholic Worker}'s editorial board when he failed to publish an article in early 1938 attacking Germany's actions just prior to the Anschluss with Austria.\textsuperscript{75} As Duncan argues in an article on the 'conundrum' of Santamaria,

Like many Italians in Australia, Santamaria as a university student made some favourable comments about fascism, but he was aware of its exaggerations and its conflict with the Papacy,

\textsuperscript{70} Cresciani, op. cit., p. 168.
\textsuperscript{72} ibid., p. 17 and Fitzgerald, op. cit., p. 25.
\textsuperscript{73} ibid.
\textsuperscript{74} Duncan, op. cit., p. 20.
\textsuperscript{75} ibid., p. 21.
and as far as I can find, from the later 1930s nowhere defended fascism in print. On the other hand, neither did he develop any serious critique of fascism, suggesting some ambivalence on his part about attacking such a distinctly Italian creed.  

Recent biographers such as Duncan and Ross Fitzgerald have been concerned with more fully exploring this aspect of Santamaria’s political beliefs. Earlier studies like Gerard Henderson’s *Mr Santamaria and the Bishops* and Edmund Campion’s *Rockchoppers,* which included a chapter on Santamaria and the Movement, make no mention of Santamaria’s links with fascist thought even though Campion lamented Santamaria ‘ending his days among the stone-faced men of the Right.’ In a more recent appraisal Campion argued that Santamaria’s primary motivation was his devout Catholicism, a view endorsed by John Cotter, a member of the Movement in its early days.  

While fascism may have exerted an influence over Santamaria in the 1930s and even into the 1940s there appears to be no evidence that Santamaria held any attachment to fascism in the time period of this study. Equally while the secrecy of ‘the Movement’ may still attract criticism it was a politically successful means of achieving the organisation’s ends in an atmosphere which saw communism as a ruthless opponent. Most germane to this thesis is the distance

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73 Ibid., p. 119.


Santamaria kept between himself and the far right. As a surrogate to the major conservative parties Santamaria seems to have been quite content but he eschewed any contact with far right groups like the League of Rights. In the aftermath of the far right’s attempt to wrest pre selection from Edward St John in the 1966 Warringah campaign (see chapter 2), St John joined a celebratory dinner with Santamaria and another anticommunist warrior, Frank Knopflmacher, to celebrate the defeat of the far right’s campaign. As with Schrecker’s comments on McCarthyism cited above, Santamaria can be seen as a reaction to widely held conservative views of communism in society at that time. He was also reacting to the fears generated within the Catholic Church, an institution to which he held a life long and apparently unquestioning devotion. For these reasons, Santamaria is not included in this study and is arguably more an example of ultra-conservative Catholic thought.

For radical-right groups in Australia the 1950s were essentially a time of struggle using pamphleteering and newspapers to spread their message, as well as word of mouth and personal appearances to maintain momentum. Most groups were synonymous with one person. In the event of a leader’s death or disillusionment the group would vanish. These groups faced chronic money shortages because of their size. Their existence was always tenuous.

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82 Eric Butler interview, Melbourne, 1997.
Many of these tiny groups have left little or no records behind and it appears that some groups were extant in the 1950s in name only. The Australian Citizens' Political, Economic, Financial and Religious League had a tenuous existence through the 1940s. A Social Credit group based in Caulfield, Victoria, it barely managed to scrape into the new decade. Its chairman was a R.J. Tytherleigh and either his death or lack of interest led to the group's demise in the early 1950s. The group campaigned for a National Credit system using C.H. Douglas's theme, 'what is physically possible is also financially possible.' Curiously it campaigned for the abolition of the White Australia policy and its substitution with a policy whereby immigrants should be a 'Hundred per cent. English speaking with physical and moral soundness.' Whether this implied that non-Caucasians were welcomed by the group is speculative, though unlikely.  

The Sane Democracy League (SDL) began life in 1920 as the Commercial and Industrial Publicity Bureau. As Moore notes its critique of communism was pervasive. It believed that Bolshevism 'required quarantining, like the Spanish influenza.' Like a later group, the People's Union, it was financed by Australian businesses and sought influence in high places. It made a submission on the formation

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84 NAA SP1 12/1 item M 43.
86 Moore, The Right Road, op. cit., p. 33.
87 Commonwealth Steel and CSR were two companies who contributed to SDL finances. See K. Richmond, 'Response to the Threat of Communism: The Sane Democracy League and the People's Union of New South Wales,' Journal of Australian Studies, no. 1, June 1977, p. 78.
of the United Australia Party in 1931. Further the SDL worked with other like-minded groups such as the Progressive Housewives’ Association which lectured women on the dangers of communism.

Keith Richmond has noted how the SDL was seen as being ‘backed by the conservative political parties of the time.’ R.G. Casey was one major conservative politician who spoke at SDL functions. By 1945, A. deR Barclay the SDL’s guiding force had ceased his involvement. In the 1950s, based at 12 Spring Street in Sydney, the group was largely moribund, though its secretary, Benjamin Cochrane Doig, a New South Wales parliamentarian, was politically active. The group produced two short pamphlets, one concerning the supply of electricity in New South Wales and the other a more impassioned piece attacking government intervention. As Richmond has noted, between 1946 and 1952 when it apparently produced its final publication the SDL was only active during referenda campaigns and in lobbying the Menzies government over communism. But as early as 1940 the SDL

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88 NLA MS 4851, Joseph Aloysius Lyons, box 1, folder 8.
90 Richmond, op. cit., p. 79.
91 ibid., p. 78. Casey’s interest in both intelligence matters and communism are of note here. It is tempting to surmise that Casey may have provided the SDL with intelligence information. Lt-Col Reginald Powell of military intelligence was also involved with SDL. See also Moore, The Right Road, op. cit., passim, for Casey.
92 Richmond, op. cit., p. 83. It is not known why Barclay left the group though ill health may have been the reason.
94 Sane Democracy League, Give Me Some Light - Demand for a New Deal for Electricity in NSW, Sydney, 1951 and B. C. Doig, Things that are NOT Caesar’s, Sydney, 1952.
95 Richmond, op. cit., p. 81. Richmond dates the final appearance of the SDL as 1951 when Give Me Some Light-Away, appeared. He does not seem to have known of Doig’s involvement.
newsletter had ceased to be published, evincing the start of the group’s decline.\footnote{Although irregular the SDL distributed Sane Democracy from 1925 to 1940.}

A number of small groups in the early 1940s were linked with the conservative think tank, the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA). The CIS initially viewed the IPA as an extremist group with a propensity to fund small ‘front’ organisations.\footnote{NAA A 6126/XMO, item 14.} One was the Sydney based Democratic Freedom Union whose letterhead stated its intention, ‘to maintain the democratic way of life and rigorously oppose any attempt to whittle down those rights and liberties, which are the heritage of every freedom loving Australian.’\footnote{NLA MS 6590 Institute of Public Affairs, box 17} In 1947 the Union provided a £100 donation to the IPA and declared that it was ‘pledged to fight Socialism by propaganda.’ This small fragment constitutes almost all the available publications left by this group,\footnote{Ibid.} though it may have been linked with the Committee of Democratic Enterprise that was also active at an indeterminate time in the 1940s probably as another IPA anticommunist group.\footnote{Ibid.}

CIS files reveal that the Australian Constitutional League, active in the late 1940s, was also an IPA front.\footnote{NAA A 6126/XMO item 14.} There were two groups, one in Sydney the other in Melbourne, though their interconnections remain unclear. The Sydney group was led by a John E. Hedge who published
two pamphlets *Roads to Serfdom, Why You Should Vote No!*102 opposed to the passage of the 1946 referendum on industrial employment and *Just a moment on Finance*.103 The Sydney group had taken over from the defunct Bureau of National Affairs and produced a weekly radio program, the *Voice of Freedom*. Aside from its publications the radio program appears to have been its main activity.104 The Melbourne branch of the Australian Constitutional League issued a pamphlet authored by its leader, Neil McArthur.105 *Is this tomorrow: Australia under communism* was a comic book style polemic against the dangers of a communist Australia.106 A rather crude pamphlet, *Is this tomorrow*, lists affiliated organisations including the IPA in Brisbane, the Citizens’ Rights Association in Perth and the Tasmanian Constitutional League in Hobart. The Melbourne based League issued its ‘Ten Commandments of Citizenship, among which were ‘Be not deceived by the propaganda of foreign agents’ and ‘Hold fast to your heritage and freedom.’107

The views of the CIS are debatable in terms of their definitions of extremism, they included organisations such as the Baha’i Assembly

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104 ibid.
105 Colonel Neil McArthur had been ‘secretary of the White Army . . . [and] maintained an office in Collins Street as a headquarters for the White Army until his death in 1961,’ Cathcart, op. cit., p. 56. No doubt the same office was used for the Melbourne branch of the Australian Constitutional League.
107 ibid.
and the Rosicrucian faith in this category. More research on these organisations is warranted. A similar problem of definition and typology looms with the Constitutional Association of New South Wales (sometimes the Constitutional League of New South Wales) in which the University of Sydney’s Professor of Public Administration, Francis Armand Bland, was active. Bland was involved in a number of groups including the Political Research Society Ltd and Citizenship Pty Ltd, bodies that the CIS again considered extremist. A staunch opponent of anything he considered to resemble centralised control in 1951 Bland was elected as the federal Liberal member for the Sydney seat of Warringah. In his maiden speech Bland criticised his own government for increasing central power. He pursued a successful parliamentary career until he retired after failing to gain pre selection for the 1961 elections. By 1966 the seat had become a focus for radical-right activity with the bitter pre selection tussle that eventually saw Edward St John gain the nomination (see chapter 3).

The People’s Union

In 1944 Arthur George Hebblewhite formed the Sydney based People’s Union Research-Publicity (Non Party) of New South Wales. Primarily

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108 NAA A 6126/XMO item 14.
109 Ibid. Unfortunately archives for this group appear to be unavailable.
anti communist, by 1947 the People’s Union claimed a membership of
2000. Though by the early 1950s, the People’s Union only solicited
donations from the public and had no membership as such. Two office
bearers of the People’s Union, its chairman, L.S. Bull and one of its
trustees, R.E. Ludowici were linked with other right-wing groups.
Bull had been active in Social Credit circles, while Ludowici had been
involved in P.R. Stephensen’s Australia First Movement. Bull’s
association with Social Credit may explain why the People’s Union was
linked with the League of Rights as early as 1947 in a ‘Defend the
Constitution Campaign.’ Other members had links to the business
community. For example Audrey Turner was secretary of the New
South Wales branch of the Business and Professional Women’s
Association. Turner was well connected through this organisation
which was then the peak body representing professional women.
Within the organisation she was noted for her fanatical anticommmunist
beliefs.

The administrator and moving force behind the People’s Union,
Hebblewhite, had been politically active as a member of the All for

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112 NAA SP1714/1 item N53578.
113 It is not known whether Ludowici was related to C. Ludowici who was a member of the
SDL and president of the Lane Cove branch of the United Australian Party. See Richmond,
op. cit., p. 80.
114 NAA SP 1714/1 item N53578.
115 Richmond, op. cit., p. 80.
117 Turner was involved in blackballing Jessie Street from the Business and Professional
Women’s Club after her return from a trip to the Soviet Union. Susan Hawick, interview,
Bowral, 1995. Hawick was secretary of the Business and Professional Women’s Association
in the late 1970s and held their records.
Australia League which later merged with the United Australia Party. When the United Australia Party folded Hebblewhite joined the Liberal Party, but according to Frank Browne, later resigned and successfully concentrated his political activities on the People's Union. Browne was in a position to judge as he briefly edited the People's Union publication A Free People. The CIS believed that Hebblewhite was '99% of the People's Union.' It appears that he was the moving force in keeping the organisation afloat. Even when the People's Union had effectively ceased to operate in 1960, Hebblewhite kept placing the group's advertisements in the Sydney Daily Telegraph up until 1965.

In many respects the People's Union was a successor to the Sane Democracy League. Like the SDL it solicited contributions from business and worked to warn the public of the communist menace. Unlike the SDL it took a more activist role, sending speakers into workplaces and the community to lecture on communism. In 1946 Hebblewhite debated the prominent communist Rupert Lockwood at Paddington Town Hall and from 1948 the People's Union was organising 'countless meetings in town halls, factories and rural centres around the country.' It visited Rotary Clubs to give talks and through

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118 Things I Hear, 23 June 1947.
119 McGillick, op. cit., p. 262. The People's Union newsletter was produced monthly. For one issue it was called The Free Citizen and thereafter A Free People. It ceased publication in 1960.
120 NAA SP 1714/1 item N53578.
121 The advertisements featured a Soviet octopus with tentacles grasping the globe.
122 A Free People, September 1949, p. 1, cited in Richmond, op. cit., p. 73.
123 NAA SP 1714/1 item N53578.
one of its main speakers, Palmer Kent broadcast on radio stations across the country.125 Like the SDL, the People’s Union sought to work with other sympathetic organisations like F.A. Bland’s Constitutional Association and the Housewives’ Association led by Mrs Glencross.126

Unlike the SDL, the People’s Union had close ties with radical groups and individuals. As noted above, this included the League of Rights and Social Credit groups that the SDL had avoided.127 The People’s Union and the League co-operated on several different programs.128 Richmond argues that essentially the People’s Union organised in New South Wales while the League of Rights campaigned in Victoria, South Australia and Queensland.129 Eric Butler and Tony McGillick who was one of the People’s Union main speakers were close, as were Butler and Hebblewhite. Butler recalls,

Tony was a very colourful character. There are some funny stories about Tony. He was an Australian patriot. He was in the Henry Lawson mould. I always found a lot of the old time comms entertaining speakers. Tony was brilliant he could quote you Shakespear and all sorts of stuff. When I first met him he was with A.G. Hebblewhite and the People’s Union. So I had a lot to do with him although I had met him before when he gave

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125 It paid for weekly radio talks on Sydney 2GB, Brisbane 4BH, Albury 2AY, Canberra 2CA, Bendigo 3BO, Goulburn 2GN, Wagga 2WG, Deniliquin 2QN. Newspaper advertisements were run in the same areas served by the radio stations in papers in Adelaide, Brisbane, Sydney, Canberra, Goulburn, Albury, Bendigo and Wagga. See Richmond, op. cit., pp. 75 – 76.
126 NAA A 6126/XMO item14.
128 The People’s Union sometimes placed advertisements that, beside promoting themselves, also featured Eric Butler and the League’s Queensland leader A.A. Chresby. See The Sun (Sydney) on 18 October 1945 and 15 December 1947.
129 Richmond, op. cit., p. 80. Richmond very plausibly argues that the effective demise of the People’s Union in 1960 was an impetus for the League of Rights to reform itself as a national body, see pp. 82 – 83.
evidence before the Royal Commission. He had a long association... A.G. Hebblewhite came to me because I had been recommended to him through some of his business contacts. He wanted to broaden their activities. A.G. was not a big business man but he had had a lot of experience with the railways. He was a big sort of a chap, impressive. Periodically he would come down here to Melbourne to raise funds, so he would go around the business people as we did, perhaps tapping into a different level although we had pretty high business contacts at that time. But A.G.'s forte was not only anticomunism but in trying to persuade industry that they should go in for profit sharing, make all the workers partners, that was his main line. He was kind enough to say that he had learnt a bit from me. When he lost Tony we gave him office space down here, worked with a bloke called Phil Wilkins. But they only worked at that industrial level, they never got beyond it into the academic level.

McGillick had been associated with H.W. Crittenden a publicist based in Lane Cove in Sydney. He had contested the seat of Kingsford-Smith in the 1949 elections, the results of which became the subject of legal proceedings in the High Court (Crittenden v. Anderson). Crittenden argued that the successful candidate was a Roman Catholic and should be disqualified from holding office on the basis of an allegiance to a foreign power. Crittenden saw Roman Catholics in much the same light as the Protocols view the Jews. In a novel take Crittenden declared that the Catholic Social Studies Movement activist, B.A. Santamaria, had claims to the mantle of radical-right extremism:

120 This was the "Royal Commission of Inquiry into the origins, aims and objects and funds of the Communist Party in Victoria and other related matters," sometimes known as the Lowe Royal Commission.
121 This may be incorrect, Hebblewhite was involved in the motor car industry.
122 This was presumably the same man who persuaded McGillick to move to Western Australia. See McGillick, op. cit., p. 267. It is presumed that Wilkins must have been active in League of Rights' circles, though nothing else is known of him.
123 Butler interview. By 'academic level' Butler means Social Credit.
124 McGillick had met Crittenden sometime after World War One, presumably through Humanist circles. McGillick, op. cit., p. 40.
"The Movement" was at work, undermining and corrupting both the public and private life of the community. It is the most efficient army of termites conceivable, white-anting to a master plan with a technical skill built from 2000 years of blood soaked practice.136

Crittenden’s influence seems to have been sporadic and directed toward a humanist and anti-religious audience. This probably accounts for his contact with McGillick who had also been active in humanist circles. Crittenden had waged a campaign against H.V. Evatt, on the basis of his antipathy toward Catholicism although Evatt was buried as an Anglican.137 Crittenden died on 8 January 1963.

The self anointed ‘star’ of the People’s Union, Thomas Claudius ‘Tony’ McGillick (occasionally he used the alias McKillock) was born in Terowie, South Australia in 1901. For much of his early life he was involved in the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). The high point of his career as a communist was a trip he led with other South Australian members of the CPA to Russia in March 1938.138 The main source for much of McGillick’s life is his largely self-serving autobiography, Comrade No More. Throughout this book, McGillick is at pains to place himself at the very centre of events and to denigrate any aspect of left-wing politics (especially communism) as the province of criminals and rogues. McGillick is vague as to how he came to renounce communism and move to the radical right. His account suggests that the support by Australian communists for Soviet Russia at the beginning of World

136 ibid., p. 198.
137 Crittenden believed that the, ‘Cold War strategy ... indicates the Vatican as the dominant factor and instrumentality, seeking to exploit and to prolong it for its own ends, as against both East and West alignments,’ emphasis in original, ibid., p. 21.
138 McGillick, op. cit., p. 117 and Ellis, op. cit., p. 211.
War Two was a catalyst. McGillick seems to have had contacts with the right wing well before the war while still living in South Australia.\textsuperscript{139} His account is clouded by the veracity of his political conversion. To have been an enthusiastic Marxist and then to suddenly devote the rest of his life to attacking what he once campaigned for inspires skepticism. McGillick’s book leaves the impression that he found he could be a bigger ‘star’ on the right than on the left where intellectual and political competition was strong.

By either June or July 1942 McGillick was living in Sydney’s Kings Cross. He worked as a waiter in a hotel commandeered by the armed services and was deemed to be in a protected job and free from call-up. McGillick with his wife Betty and some former communists established the Australian Cultural Society which operated the House of Culture which McGillick used as a forum for his anticomunist activities, readings, recitals and lectures. McGillick claimed he was continually harassed by his ‘enemies’ and that the House of Culture was only supported by the local paper, the \textit{Kings Cross Times}.\textsuperscript{140} That newspaper’s proprietor, J.M. Catts, was active in right-wing politics, particularly in the 1960s although he had at one time been associated with John Curtin and the ALP.\textsuperscript{141} At the end of the war and despite McGillick’s enthusiasm for the House of Culture, the venture was closed down.

\textsuperscript{139} ibid., \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{140} ibid., pp. 177 - 181.
\textsuperscript{141} ibid., p. 189.
In 1948 McGillick joined the People’s Union. With Palmer Kent he became one of the organisation’s main speakers. He remained until 1956 whereupon he moved to Western Australia after rumours of an affair between himself and a People’s Union secretary soured relations with Hebblewhite.142 Thereafter, McGillick pursued a career on a number of right-wing causes. These included the Australia - Free China Association and the Free Chinese-Australian Cultural and Economic Association, both of which supported Taiwan and were linked with the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). McGillick also organised the Campaign for Freedom, an anticommmunist group, which supported the Democratic Labor Party in West Australia143 and the Crusade for Freedom, another ephemeral anticommmunist group. In 1963, as with his friend Eric Butler, he was active against the Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies Act in West Australia.144 One of his last appearances for the far right came in 1984 when Eric Butler and the League flew McGillick to Brisbane where Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen launched Geoff McDonald’s book, Red Over Black.145 This book, authored by another ex-communist, claimed that the CPA had orchestrated the campaign for Aboriginal land rights. McGillick was produced to provide more proof to Bjelke-Petersen of communist involvement in the land-rights movement.146

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142 ibid., pp. 258 – 268.
144 McGillick, op. cit., passim.
146 Butler interview.
In his 1977 study of the SDL and the People's Union, political scientist Keith Richmond produced an analysis of both groups' tactics. The SDL, had retained its basic concepts in opposing communism but had 'failed to concentrate on educating the workers' and had eventually suffered from a long-term decline in 'personnel and finance.' 147 The People's Union initially had similar objectives but,

By 1947 a conspiratorial viewpoint was adumbrated. This view of the conspiracy had become so powerful that by 1956 a listing of PU objectives did not mention industrial education, previously a central belief. . . . The reasons for this change of direction are unknown. Perhaps the cross fertilization with the League of Rights helped in the process. 148

Richmond's observations were accurate despite not being privy to security files released after he wrote his article nor to Tony McGillick's memoirs. There seems little doubt that there was a considerable amount of cross fertilization between the two groups, as Eric Butler acknowledged at interview. It does appear the People's Union thrived on an atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy, what McGillick (referring to himself) called the methods of the 'psycho-political operator.' 149

In a record of a meeting with Hebblewhite on 3 May 1950, the Sydney Deputy Director of the CIS, F.G. Galleghan, described the course of the interview.

Mr. A.G. Hebblewhite, Administrator of the People's Union called to see me to discuss ways and means of communicating information of a security nature . . . He told me that his staff, . . .

147 Richmond, op. cit., p. 81.
148 ibid.
149 Mcgillick, op. cit., p. 261.
are able to obtain the names of persons in various industries... and he wanted to pass the information to a Government source. I informed Mr. Hebblewhite that this service... could not undertake to receive general security information which was a matter for the Australian Security Intelligence Organisation. He asked me how he could get in touch with A.S.I.O. and I informed him that unfortunately I was not in a position to give him the information. I suggested he may care to write to the Director-General but he quickly said that he would not put anything on paper. The question of security was discussed in general and I then said that in view of his political connections perhaps it would be better if he took an opportunity to discuss the matter with The Honourable the Attorney General. He gave me some information that refers to an individual suspected of having something to do with the export of arms to Malaya. I told him that I could accept that information... but regretted that I thought the other information he had and was prepared to obtain would be correctly placed with A.S.I.O.\textsuperscript{150}

As McGillick's memoirs confirm, the People's Union compiled lists of communists and sympathisers and used informers. This is implied in 'Black Jack' Galleghan's account of the meeting, recounted above. McGillick boasted of using several informers, including one woman, Gretel Bell, to supply information on different people.\textsuperscript{151} During the Galleghan meeting, Hebblewhite displayed a certain paranoia, as with his refusal to commit anything to paper. Again McGillick, the 'psychopolitical operator,' seems to have taken this to extremes. After leaving the People's Union he travelled to Perth with his family and Gretel Bell using pseudonyms so they could arrive incognito. When McGillick was paged at Perth's railway station, he complained that the friend who greeted him, 'had no conception of conspiratorial methods.'\textsuperscript{152}

McGillick's pomposity and the apparent naïveté of Hebblewhite who appears to have had little idea of what to do with his intelligence information gives the People's Union the air of the Keystone Cops. The

\textsuperscript{150} NAA SP1714/1 item N53578.
\textsuperscript{151} McGillick, op. cit., pp. 263 – 266.
\textsuperscript{152} ibid., p. 268.
political contacts mentioned in the CIS report could hardly have been very significant at that time if Heblewhite had to ask how to contact ASIO.

One clouded aspect of the People's Union was the source of its finance. In 1953 the People's Union employed a full-time organiser, two researchers, two secretaries, a full-time speaker, its administrator and occasionally one of Heblewhite's sons, as well as the editor of A Free People. It occupied offices in the central business district of Sydney at Wingello House, which Heblewhite presumably also used for his other business activities. It ran advertisements regularly in the press as well as radio programs. Despite the organisation's name it solicited no paid membership from the public (at least after 1948) though it canvassed for donations and subscriptions from business.\footnote{ibid., pp. 199 - 200. See also NAA SP 1714/1 item N53578.} McGillick claimed that businesses which were affected by strike action consulted the People's Union. The group then organised talks and vetted employees for any communist associations, an action that may have been illegal as well as unethical. McGillick does not state how he or the People's Union obtained this information for employers. This raises questions as to whether businesses summarily dismissed employees on the basis of People's Union intelligence reports. One client was the giant American tyre manufacturer Goodyear.\footnote{McGillick, op. cit., p. 201.} No records for the People's Union finances are available. The historian, A.L. May, posits that the sums expended by the People's Union in 1947 opposing bank
nationalisation and the ‘sudden affluence’ displayed by the appearance of their journal suggests that the organisation was one of the many beneficiaries of the banks’ largesse during that period.\textsuperscript{155}

During the unrest that culminated in the 1949 coal strike, as has been noted, the People’s Union was also active, it might be presumed with financial support from the coal industry. Companies must have had some faith in the abilities of the People’s Union, which canvassed for large sums. In 1955, H.V. Evatt, stated that: ‘A notorious anti-Labor organisation called the People’s Union, Non-Party, was merely a front for big business interests and it had recently circularised them asking for £25,000 to support forces working against federal Labor.’\textsuperscript{156}

Robert Murray’s opinion that the ‘People’s Union was an extreme right wing organisation of little importance’ may be overly harsh.\textsuperscript{157} R.G. Casey, who as noted had supported the SDL, was impressed by the group.\textsuperscript{158} Arthur Smith, the 1960s neo-Nazi, was advised by Eric Campbell that he should join the People’s Union if he wanted an activist political group.\textsuperscript{159} The secrecy which McGillick and Hebblewhite enjoyed might have had very good reason in relation to avoiding the wrath of the union movement. It seems fair to surmise

\textsuperscript{157} ibid.  
\textsuperscript{158} Moore, \textit{The Right Road?}, op. cit., p. 57.  
that the group must have provided some tangible services to business to warrant the expenditure of such large sums of money. Casey’s favourable impressions of the group suggest that it found some favour in government circles. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that if the People’s Union was effectively targeting union activists that that the union movement was not active against the group. Conversely Hebblewhite and his entourage may simply have exploited Cold War hysteria, as did the League of Rights in Melbourne, during the same period. The truth of the matter probably lies somewhere in the middle. It remains part of the secret history of Australia ignored by mainstream historians of 1950s Australia.

As Richmond has noted the effective demise of the People’s Union in 1960 came about with the declining health of A.G. Hebblewhite. However he financed the group, Hebblewhite was its major force. Certainly on the anticommunist front there was no shortage of other groups and individuals willing to take up the cudgels. In this respect the demise of the group was not significant. Richmond’s observation that the existence of the People’s Union accounts for the ‘relative weakness’ of the League of Rights in New South Wales is more important. Despite launching itself in 1960 as a national organisation

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160 Hebblewhite continued to run advertisements in the *Daily Telegraph* until 1965 but was otherwise politically inactive.
161 McGillick claims that although not apparent at the time of his departure in March 1956, that Hebblewhite was suffering from the ‘early stages of a disease which was to result in his early demise,’ McGillick op. cit., p. 267.
162 Hebblewhite had hoped that his son would take over the organisation but according to Butler he was ‘hopeless.’ Butler interview.
163 Richmond, op. cit., p. 82.
the League’s heartland has remained in Victoria and Queensland
where it organised much earlier. Its close links with the People’s Union
were not sufficient to bolster its support when that organisation
faltered. While it has continued to play a part in far-right politics in that
state the field was left open to a number of other groups which
dominated the radical-right scene in the following years.

As this chapter has shown there was continuity as well as substantial
differences between the far right of the 1950s and its predecessors. As
with some of its predecessors, groups like the People’s Union tried to
act as auxiliaries to the state in their fight against communism. The
1950s were shaped by hostility toward the left, as had been the case
before this period. It was essentially as an opponent of the left that the
far right shaped its rhetoric and actions. The differences point to the
subsequent development of the far right. Political failures like
Crittenden and McGillick anticipate the synthesis between the radical
right and other esoteric groups. The centrality of conspiracy theories in
extreme-right thinking also becomes more noticeable. Most significant
though were the beginnings of the marginalisation of the far right.
While they enjoyed the support of some within the conservative parties
their leaders were no longer men of substance.
SOCIAL CREDIT AND THE AUSTRALIAN LEAGUE OF RIGHTS

Background to Social Credit

The Social Credit movement has proved robust. Through the Australian League of Rights it has endured as the central ideology of Australia’s oldest continuing radical-right group. Social Credit reached its peak in the inter-war years, largely as a result of the Great Depression and attracted a significant following in the Commonwealth countries of New Zealand, Canada and Australia. In the 1930s it made considerable electoral gains in New Zealand and the Canadian province of Alberta where a Social Credit party held government.

C.H. Douglas, the founder of the movement, advocated economic and political theories that attracted some praise from astute observers. The economist John Maynard Keynes acknowledged that Douglas’s concern with demand and the problems of unemployment were valid even if they, ‘could only live furtively, below the surface, in the underworlds of Karl Marx, Silvio Gesell or Major Douglas.’ As Keynes argued, Douglas’s success in part lay in orthodox economics having no reply to his central criticism of under consumption.

Major Douglas is entitled to claim, as against some of his orthodox adversaries, that he at least has not been wholly oblivious of the outstanding problem of our economic system.\textsuperscript{2}

Despite Douglas's popularity in the 1930s some prominent individuals felt moved to publicly refute him. These included the economists Sidney Webb, G.D.H. Cole and J.A. Hobson (who also believed that under consumption was a cause of unemployment). The British Labour politician Hugh Dalton and the historian R.H. Tawney concurred.\textsuperscript{3} A contemporary, although somewhat surprising attack on Social Credit came from Gary North, a leader of the extremist Christian Reconstruction movement.\textsuperscript{4} North was concerned at the attraction held by fundamentalist Christians for Social Credit although North's own theological and political beliefs make Douglas's theories seem decidedly left wing.\textsuperscript{5}

Whatever the critics of Douglas's scheme asserted, any creed that promised full employment and prosperity for all held promise. Douglas was successful in attracting a number of influential people to his cause. Notable among these was A.R. Orage, the editor of the

\textsuperscript{2} ibid., p. 371.
\textsuperscript{3} H. Belshaw, \textit{The Douglas Fallacy}, Whitcombe & Tombs, Auckland, 1933, p. 5. Belshaw, Professor of Economics at Auckland University College noted. So far as I am aware, Major Douglas' theories have not been accepted by any professional economists. Had his theories been basically sound, it might have been expected that among those who have specialized in economic study would have become enthusiastic supporters and propagandists.
\textsuperscript{4} 'Their vision [the Reconstructionists] is a complete distortion of Christianity... when the Kingdom comes, there will be no more separation of church and state; the modern heresy of democracy will be abolished, and society reorganized on strictly biblical lines. This means that every single law of the Bible must be put literally into practice. Slavery will be reintroduced; there will be no more birth control... adulterers, homosexuals, blasphemers, astrologers, and witches will all be put to death... The Dominion envisaged by North... is totalitarian.' Karen Armstrong, \textit{The Battle for God}, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2000, p. 361.
influential English journal *The New Age.* Orage initially met Douglas in 1918 when, according to Paul Selver, he ‘was almost immediately converted’ to Douglas’s ideas. Social Credit also managed to attract more eccentric converts. The Scottish nationalist Hugh MacDiarmid was converted to the Douglas doctrine (though he also had an iconoclastic attachment to Marxism). MacDiarmid’s biographer Alan Bold notes that Orage’s journal was ‘a sectarian organ of Social Credit’ to which MacDiarmid regularly contributed. A more famous English convert was the eccentric 12th Duke of Bedford, whose son recalled that he,

> was surrounded by sycophants and vicars’ wives ... If the conversation was not about religion, it was on the subject of ornithology or Douglas Social Credit.

A former clergyman William Aberhart (1878-1943) formed a Social Credit Party, which won office in Alberta in 1935. Alberta, primarily rural, had been hard hit by the depression. Aberhart’s party secured a substantial majority in the provincial parliament. Aberhart introduced a Social Credit Board, the effects of which according to Alvin Finkel ‘was to obliterate the democratic and radical aspects of the early Social

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> His knowledge of economics was extraordinary; and from our very first conversation everything he said concerning finance in its relation to industry – and indeed, to industrial civilisation as a whole – gave me the impression of a master-mind perfectly informed upon its special subject.

Credit movement in favour of creating an authoritarian party and government. Proponents of Social Credit maintain that Aberhart’s reforms were never allowed to be tested as the Canadian Supreme Court ruled that the Alberta legislation was *ultra vires*, forcing Aberhart to return to more orthodox fiscal measures. Aberhart retained much of his popularity, being returned to office in 1940. By this time, however, the economic principles of Major Douglas had been effectively jettisoned.

Through Aberhart, Douglas met the American anti-Semite, Father Charles Coughlin, who for a while endorsed Douglas’s theories. Douglas’s antisemitism and appeals against usury also found a following with the fascist American poet Ezra Pound. However, the zenith of Social Credit had been reached in Alberta. While Social Credit parties still exist in Canada (and elsewhere) outside the radical-right Major Douglas’s economic theories have generally declined into obscurity.

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14 For example some neo-Nazis hold that Hitler’s economic success was the result of the German Nazi Party following Social Credit policies. No evidence for this assertion has ever been produced.
Social or Douglas Credit was formulated by Major Clifford Hugh Douglas\textsuperscript{15} in the early 1910s and his first major work, \textit{Economic Democracy}, appeared in 1920.\textsuperscript{16} To some Douglas was a charismatic figure;\textsuperscript{17} to others a figure of derision. One commentator observed:

\begin{quote}
[ Douglas] was squat and bald with a foghorn voice, and somewhat Jewish in appearance. This detail imparted a touch of burlesque irony to his brainless anti-Semitism. And, apart from that, when he was present there was little chance of anyone else getting a word in.\textsuperscript{18}
\end{quote}

As an economic theory Social Credit argues that a shortage in purchasing power lies at the core of economic problems. Social Credit proposes to limit the power to make money to the government, removing it from the banks which, Douglas argued, controlled the manufacture of money and therefore credit. Governments could then issue 'social credit' as dividends to citizens and provide credit to both retailers and the producers of goods.\textsuperscript{19}

Social Credit is not only an economic theory, it is an embracing philosophy that offers a comprehensive worldview. Most controversial were Douglas's views on the 'Jewish question' and \textit{The Protocols of the Elders of Zion}.\textsuperscript{20} Douglas argued that,

\textsuperscript{15} Douglas was born in Scotland on 20 January 1879 and died 29 September 1952. He began his career as an engineer and management specialist.
\textsuperscript{17} Warren, op. cit., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{18} Selver, op. cit., p. 76.
\textsuperscript{20} Writing of the \textit{Protocols} Douglas contended that they were true and merely a statement of what researchers already knew:
Jewry as a whole has a permanent policy which aims at establishing the individual Jew as a member of the 'chosen,' superior and dominant ruling class in every country and over the whole world.\textsuperscript{21}

Douglas also railed against what he saw as the evils of collectivism. This demand to subordinate individuality to the need of some external organization, the exaltation of the State into an authority from which there is no appeal . . . the exploitation of 'public opinion' manipulated by a Press owned and controlled from the apex of power, are all features of a centralizing policy.\textsuperscript{22}

Lest his followers were in any doubt as to whom was behind this policy of centralisation, in a later work Douglas specifically identified the Jews.\textsuperscript{23} This trend toward centralism was seen as hostile toward Christian (and Anglo-Saxon\textsuperscript{24}) values.\textsuperscript{25} This antipathy would eventually see a growing hostility by Social Creditors toward the left and socialism in particular.\textsuperscript{26} For Douglas and his followers Social Credit was extolled as beyond 'Left/Right conflict'\textsuperscript{27} and a form of 'practical Christianity.'\textsuperscript{28} These conceptions of Social Credit, particularly the belief that it applied truly Christian values to society, partially explain the rejection of the pursuit of electoral success. The failure of the Social Credit Party in Alberta confirmed to its followers the wisdom of this

\begin{flushright}
And in fact, there is nothing in the Protocols which was not known to any serious student of the matters with which they deal. . . . What many readers of them [the Protocols] do not grasp is that 'Big Business,' Socialist Government, and World Politics are merely components of Jewish Free-masonry.
\end{flushright}


\textsuperscript{21} Douglas cited in Michael B. Stein, \textit{The Dynamics of Right-Wing Protest: A Political Analysis of Social Credit in Quebec}, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1973, p. 34.

\textsuperscript{22} Douglas, \textit{Economic Democracy}, op. cit., p. 33.


\textsuperscript{24} Douglas saw the British race as a 'bulwark against tyranny,' ibid., p. 147.


\textsuperscript{26} See C. Barclay-Smith, \textit{The Answer to Socialism}, Leisure Age Publishing, Sydney, n.d., circa 1940s.


\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., p. 11.
strategy. From early on a strong element of Social Credit thought was to give priority to attempts to influence the population and political parties rather than to field candidates in elections.29

Despite the repugnance the left felt for some of the policies of Social Credit, the movement initially attracted some following in the labour movement. The New Zealand Labour Party had many Social Credit followers, but they were never a majority within the party. The sociologist Paul Spoonley suggests that the New Zealand Labour Party's desire to effect economic reform was behind its attraction to Social Credit which, from the 1930s was most strongly represented in rural areas.30 The appeal to reforming parties was, as Spoonley notes, 'a popular-democratic ideology that perceived capital as having interests that were injurious to “the people”.'31

The situation in Australia was similar to New Zealand. Many in the Australian Labor Party saw a sinister hand manipulating what was styled the 'Money Power.' From this perspective Social Credit held appeal, both from a theoretical and racist viewpoint. Images of unscrupulous Jews were common on the left and the right during the

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29 ‘This diversion of Douglas’ ideas [the Alberta Social Credit party] into the dead-end of Party politics has received far more publicity than the original and experimental approach which is signposted in his later speeches and writings from 1934 onwards, ... In 1934 a Social Credit Secretariat was formed under his Chairmanship, which started an Electoral Campaign involving the use of the vote for purposes desired by the selectors rather than by Parliament or the political Parties.’ See ‘About the Author,’ (probably written by Geoffrey Dobbs), in Douglas, Economic Democracy, op. cit., p. 165. See also L.D. Byrne, Social Credit and Party Politics – A Warning, KRP Publications, Edinburgh, circa 1981. Byrne argues that Douglas never intended Social Credit to become a party, ‘Let me state emphatically that party politics and Social Credit are completely incompatible,’ p. 9.
31 ibid., pp. 57 – 58.
1930s. Social Credit was even equated with the New South Wales Premier, J.T. Lang's policy of 'Socialization of Credit.'\textsuperscript{32} As the historian Peter Love notes the ALP’s interest in Social Credit was short lived. Dual membership of the Labor Party and Social Credit was eventually banned, although there were contacts between the two parties throughout the 1930s.\textsuperscript{33} In one celebrated instance in August 1939, thirty-seven followers of Social Credit invaded the Queensland Parliament demanding that the Labor administration of the premier, William Forgan Smith, introduce a new Magna Carta.\textsuperscript{34} According to a relative of two participants in the raid the primary instigator later went on to hold the North Queensland seat of Capricornia for the Labor Party.\textsuperscript{35}

The attraction of Social Credit for other creeds has been spasmodic and unpredictable. In the 1940s there was mutual interest between followers of Douglas and devotees of the American radical Henry George who had advocated the abolition of all taxes except a tax on pure rent as the unimproved value of land and a system of proportional representation. There may have been some interaction between the groups in so far as George attacked socialism during a tour of Australia in the 1890s.\textsuperscript{36} As with the Labor Party connection, the

\textsuperscript{33} ibid., pp. 137 – 138.
\textsuperscript{35} Letter from Paul Rackemann, 8 January, 1996. The man in question was probably George Henry Grey who held the seat for the ALP between 1961 and 1967 and who had been a cane grower from 1930 to 1939. See Joan Rydon, \textit{A Biographical Register of the Commonwealth Parliament 1901-1972}, Australian National University Press, Canberra, 1975, p. 92
association between the two groups was short lived. As the George
acolyte, Francis Branagan, declared of Social Credit,
(1) They are economically unsound.
(2) They disregard natural laws.
(3) They are based upon a wrong diagnosis of depression.\textsuperscript{37}

Another example of cross fertilisation between those interested in
credit reform at this time was Lucas George De Garis.\textsuperscript{38} The youngest
of six children De Garis was born in West Melbourne in 1891. A
licensed auditor and chairman of the Australian Dried Fruits
Association, he was editor and publisher of the Geelong based
publication *The Credit Crusade*.\textsuperscript{39} To a certain extent De Garis
anticipated the synthesis of contemporary New Age groups which
combine an interest in conspiracy, politics, esoterica and spirituality.\textsuperscript{40}

Throughout *The Credit Crusade* De Garis argued that a new consensus
could be reached on an economic system which would transform
Australia. In a letter to the Social Creditor Colin Barclay-Smith, De
Garis canvassed the means to facilitate economic reform,
I have looked back with pleasure, and interest, to the talk we
had, by your hospitality, at the Pitt St Cafe tea-table, Wednesday
July 19th. It has seemed to me that if we could find that the

\textsuperscript{37} NLA MS 5895, Francis J. Branagan, box 12, folder 97. Branagan was a member of the
Henry George League, the Henry George Union for Social Justice, the Proportional
Representation League and the Association For Good Government. The Henry George League
seems to have survived in Australia until at least 1962.

\textsuperscript{38} NLA MS 6384, L.G. De Garis.

\textsuperscript{39} *The Credit Crusade Quest* was published between 1946 and 1952. De Garis also produced
a magazine, *The Monthly Miracle*. Both publications are barely intelligible.

\textsuperscript{40} One of De Garis's correspondents and confidants was Stephen Carley of Punchbowl in
Sydney who published his own credit magazine called the *Equalitarian Bulletin*. Carley was
an aspiring author who did not manage to complete his only book, *The Gods are Jealous
Gods*. Carley's ideas on transport were even more whimsical than his economic theories. In
1956, then in his sixties or seventies, he was running the 'Commercial Submarine Transport
Company.' His idea was to construct surface vessels which if attacked or damaged could
submerge - a plan that did not come to fruition. See NLA MS 6384, box 5, letter from
Stephen Carley to De Garis, 6 December 1949 and Stephen Carley, *The Gods are Jealous
quest for a Commonwealth Research Royal Commission [on economics], is a practical common interest, the reform movement in Australia could be stimulated by the fillip given through the journals of different schools of thought.\textsuperscript{11}

De Garis advocated a system called Wice currency (a wice being Old English for a week). The basis for the currency would become the value of a week's work. To De Garis a poor system of economics could be linked with many other evils. Replying to an American anti-liquor campaigner De Garis noted as for, the liquor traffic ... its visible effects are evidence of deep seated disturbances in the lives of those indulging. That is the aspect that becomes clearer in the light of the new theory of money.\textsuperscript{12}

De Garis had a wide variety of correspondents including C.H. Allen, the President of the South Australian United Democrats and a leading antisemite.\textsuperscript{43} Whether De Garis had any influence outside his immediate circle is a matter for conjecture. The Credit Crusade had a circulation but how wide is unknown. De Garis also enjoyed a worldwide correspondence, weighted towards the United States, which is a further example of how Australian radical-right groups networked their views. De Garis is a curious example of radical-right thinking that illustrates Social Credit's ambivalent relationship with other groups. For a time Social Credit seemed to provide an avenue for economic reform that was fashionable with populist radicalism.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{41} Letter from De Garis to Colin Barclay-Smith, 28 August 1950, NLA MS 6384, box 27.
\textsuperscript{42} Letter from De Garis to Charles Chester, n.d. circa 1950, NLA MS 6384, box 27. Chester, from Kansas, was nothing if not enthusiastic. He bombarded De Garis with his views sending as many as nine letters in one day.
\textsuperscript{43} NLA MS 6384, box 27.
\textsuperscript{44} Love, op. cit., p. 140.
Colin Barclay-Smith and The New Era

Colin Barclay-Smith was one of the leading Social Creditors in Australia from the 1930s. His papers provide a detailed picture of the Social Credit scene up until his death in May 1957. Born in Waverley in the eastern suburbs of Sydney in 1892 Barclay-Smith trained as a journalist and worked for the Sydney Daily Telegraph, later editing Country Life and Pacific Magazine. When World War One broke out Barclay-Smith enlisted in the AIF on 27 August 1915, joining the 56th Battalion, later transferring to the 61st Battalion. His war service does not appear to have been exceptional though he did face a court martial when some members of the 61st mutinied. Barclay-Smith was exonerated, returning to the 56th Battalion. Involved in heavy fighting in France from the Battle of the Somme in 1916 onward, in September 1918 Barclay-Smith was wounded in his right shoulder. In January 1919 he was repatriated home having developed the heart condition tachycardia.

Barclay-Smith’s papers and experience suggest that his wartime experiences propelled him toward Social Credit as a way by which the world could genuinely be improved. However, his articles for the paper, The New Era, never displayed the ideological fervour of Eric Butler’s Melbourne based Social Credit newspaper, The New Times. Though the titles of both papers suggest the potential Social Creditors saw in Douglas’s theories. Barclay-Smith had wide interests beyond

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45 NLA MS 8262, Colin Barclay-Smith.
46 NAA Series B2455 title Personnel dossiers for 1st Australian Imperial Forces ex-service members, Smith Colin Barclay 2820.
Social Credit, running his own publishing business with titles as diverse as the *Australian Gold Prospectors' Hand Book* and *Your Guide to Music*.47

Barclay-Smith started *The New Era* in 1932, sometimes printed by Frank Packer’s Consolidated Press, though the paper was not granted sureties until 1 May 1934.48 Barclay-Smith’s support for the paper was a continuing drain on his finances, though he maintained publication until his death in 1957. One letter to a London colleague says that he could keep the paper going by selling ‘from time to time [parts of] my picturesque estate at Pymble’ and by the ‘odd £100’ from his parents.49 His correspondence, some of it with C.H. Douglas, gives a frank account of the Social Credit movement’s difficult times in the 1930s and beyond. The divisions within and between the various state movements are symptomatic of the internecine warfare that characterises the contemporary far right.

In a letter to C.H. Douglas in June of 1936 Barclay-Smith summarised the Social Credit movement in Australia. In New South Wales, Barclay-Smith reported, there was a ‘serious division of opinion between the Douglas Social Credit Association and the Douglas Credit Movement.’ The United Democrats, an offshoot of the Douglas Credit Movement, wanted to endorse candidates whilst the Douglas Social Credit

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47 NLA MS 8262. This could reflect his need to earn some income. Other titles were, *Use Your Leisure Time!, Science Made Simple, The Power of Words and How to Use Them* and *The Miracle of the Machine*.

48 Register of newspaper recognizance and affidavits, New South Wales (city) archives, 4/7819-22, vol. 3, no. 25 of 1934. The sureties were held by Barclay-Smith and Frederick William Taylor who withdrew his surety on 4 May 1935. Nothing is known of Taylor.

49 Letter to Mr M Watt, Overseas Department, Social Credit Secretariat, London, 11 March, 1938 in NLA MS 8262, box 1, folder 1.
Association advocated a 'People's Pressure Campaign.' Barclay-Smith feared that 'Big Publicity' would result in an advertising war backed by 'unlimited money power,' presumably directed by the Jews and banking interests. The situation in the rest of Australia, Barclay-Smith continued, was 'nothing to write home about.' Victoria was slow to organise. The Douglas Credit Party in Queensland was weak and attracting 'a lot of personalities of doubtful character.' South Australia was suffering through a clash between its president and secretary. Western Australia was strong while Tasmania was only talking about Social Credit.

The situation for the Social Credit movement did not improve. Writing in March 1938 to the London based Social Credit Secretariat, Barclay-Smith bemoaned a year of 'Hell.' By September of 1939 the Social Credit Secretariat had accepted Barclay-Smith’s resignation 'from the office of his [Douglas’s] representative in Australia.' Douglas seems to have shared Barclay-Smith’s despondency over the lack of cohesion and decorum in the antipodes. Douglas pompously wrote to Barclay-Smith that, 'I noticed during my own visit to Australia that the methods of vilification used against me personally touched low-water mark in decency.' Continuing through the 1940s and into the 1950s

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50 Letter to C.H. Douglas, 18 June 1936, NLA MS 8262, box 1, folder 1.
51 ibid.
52 ibid. In the light of the ‘raid’ on the Queensland parliament mentioned above Barclay-Smith’s comments are prophetic.
53 ibid.
54 Letter to M Watt, Overseas department, Social Credit Secretariat, 11 March 1938, NLA MS 8262, box 1, folder 1.
55 Letter from Tudor Jones, deputy chairman, Social Credit Secretariat, 17 September 1939, NLA MS 8262, box 1, folder 1.
56 Letter from C.H. Douglas, 24 November 1939, NLA MS 8262, box 1, folder 1.
Barclay-Smith’s correspondence reveals the fractious nature of the Social Credit movement worldwide and at home.\textsuperscript{57}

By 1937, as previously noted, under directions from Major Douglas, the focus of Social Credit had shifted away from the election of candidates to the gaining of pledges from other party’s candidates to support the aims of the movement. This reflected the failure of the ‘Alberta experiment’ but in Australian terms also recognised the movement’s waning support. In the 1934 federal elections Social Credit polled 4.69 per cent of the vote with thirty-six candidates.\textsuperscript{58} In elections in 1937 the vote declined to 2.2 per cent. By 1940 no Social Credit candidates contested Commonwealth elections.\textsuperscript{59} The movement fared marginally better in the Queensland state elections of 1935 and 1938 – recording 7.02 per cent and 5.22 per cent of the overall vote,\textsuperscript{60} but only registered 1.03 per cent of the vote in West Australia in 1936.\textsuperscript{61} It failed to garner any significant support in the other states.

In 1940 Barclay-Smith’s publications attracted the attention of the New South Wales police. This perhaps resulted from the scrutiny Eric Butler and The New Times were then receiving from the security services (see below). In a statement to the police of 9 July 1940 Barclay-Smith

\textsuperscript{57} See for example letter from C.H. Douglas, September 1941, letter from Barclay-Smith to R.R. Brazier, 29 September 1941, and letter from Diana Elvin, Hon. Sec., The Social Credit Movement of Australia, New South Wales division, 2 May 1952, all NLA MS 8262, box 1, folder 1. A letter from Solon E. Low 24 April 1948, details the splits in the Canadian Social Credit movement, ibid.


\textsuperscript{59} ibid.

\textsuperscript{60} Clement MacIntyre, Political Australia A Handbook of Facts, Oxford, Melbourne, 1991, pp. 69 – 70.

\textsuperscript{61} ibid., p. 96.
claimed that a pamphlet advertised in _New Era_, ‘Will Australia be Pawned Again?’ was published by the Social Credit Movement of New South Wales. It was, he claimed, intended to call for a more ‘rational scheme of national finance for the financing of this war’ and was not opposed to the war effort as such. He concluded in his statement that the _New Era_ was, ‘non-party, anti-communist, anti-Nazi and anti-fascist and that as a returned soldier his loyalty was beyond reproach.’ His statement seems to have mollified the authorities. The _New Era_ continued to be published throughout the war and there is no record of any further action against Barclay-Smith.

For the radical-right, Barclay-Smith was somewhat iconoclastic, but he displayed a general even handedness, and even a certain gentility. The _New Era_, for example, published a long article on the death of J.B. Chifley. This was a generous tribute to the prime minister.

> He [Chifley] had great strength of character and purpose.
> He personified toleration, understanding and simplicity.
> Old-fashioned honesty typified all his human relationships and humbug had no part in his make-up ... Mr Chifley could walk with princes without losing what Kipling described as “the common touch”.

Barclay-Smith lamented what he saw as Chifley’s great failure to implement Social Credit financial schemes and ‘to impose taxation to the point of social crucifixion.’ By comparison the _New Times_ ignored Chifley’s death.
In one of the most significant events of the 1950s for the radical right, the defeat of the 1951 referendum to proscribe the Communist Party, Barclay-Smith enunciated another concern of Social Credit. This was the fear of an overly powerful central government. Eric Butler, evincing his Christian fundamentalist views, derided centralisation as a 'Satanic' plot and advocated support for the referendum. Barclay-Smith however, opposed the yes vote. For Barclay Smith centralisation equated with communism. He claimed that the referendum was rejected, in part, by a fear of granting even more powers to a central government. Considering the draconian nature of the proposed legislation, Barclay-Smith's views were enlightened. He argued, a 'No' vote [in the referendum] was a clear indication that a majority of the people in Australia are more prepared to run the hazards of local communistic activities than give approval to a policy that might easily lead to the setting up in Australia of the very Police State that we stand aghast at in Communist countries ... The policy of the Federal Government over the last several years - regardless of whether Labor or Non-Labor has been a COMMUNISTIC POLICY.  

This stance was quite at odds with Butler's view. Nonetheless, Barclay-Smith still promoted Butler as an upcoming star in New Era.

Barclay-Smith was clearly not overawed by the idea of an overwhelming communist menace. A front-page article in the New Era in July 1954 carried a series of complaints against an earlier article critical of the American senator and anticommunist Joseph McCarthy. Applauding McCarthy's aims but deploring his methods Barclay-Smith

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66 Barclay-Smith, New Era, 28 September 1951.
found himself attacked by a Canadian Social Creditor and member of parliament, Ron Gostick, a rabid antisemite and anticommunist, then editor of the Canadian Intelligence Service. Eric Butler, who maintained links with Gostick, by contrast described Senator McCarthy as the, courageous American senator, who has persistently exposed and opposed undercover Communists ... It appears that there is a vigorous campaign being conducted by Zionist-Communist groups to have Senator McCarthy effectively smeared . . . .

To his credit Barclay-Smith did not retract his claims of the dangers inherent in McCarthy’s witch-hunts. But when the methods used traverse every established concept of justice and fair play, and when hundreds of innocent people are “smeared” in the process, a revulsion of feeling against the Senator and his methods is inevitable.

In general the New Era was a more balanced journal than its Melbourne counterpart. It included news and views on technology, articles by leading exponents of Social Credit like the Duke of Bedford, courses in Social Credit theory, overseas news (particularly from New Zealand and Canada) and news on contemporary events.

Neither Barclay-Smith’s personal papers nor his journal suggest any great commitment to antisemitism. Among Barclay-Smith’s papers is, however, a typed manuscript styled The Jewish Problem (24pp. no date but post World War II). The manuscript purports to be a history of the Jews. Its central claim is that the role of the Jews as leading financiers was thrust upon them because of biblical injunctions against Christian usury. Hence the gentiles should show some sympathy with

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67 Gostick headed the Canadian League of Rights.
69 Barclay-Smith, New Era, 30 July 1954.
70 NLA MS 8262, box 4, folder 5.
the Jewish race. Despite this somewhat mild prose (for Social Credit) the document questioned the scale of the Holocaust and caricatured Jewish people. According to Barclay-Smith, for example, the qualities of vulgar ostentation, aggressiveness, assertiveness, acquisitiveness, which are so strongly manifest in the Jewish make-up are all qualities which spring from a first-class inferiority complex, bred into the very bone of Jewry over thousands of years.

The manuscript finishes on a standard Social Credit theme by claiming that the Jews came to use the ‘money power’ to attain some redress for wrongs committed against them and rails against prominent members of the American Jewish community. Barclay-Smith incorrectly included the Rockefeller family who were in fact Baptists. Such views were hardly unique among members of Barclay-Smith’s generation on either side of politics. In comparison to contemporary works by Eric Butler, or in the United States by Father Coughlin or Gerard L. K. Smith, Barclay-Smith’s manuscript was a model of moderation.

Nor did Barclay-Smith seem to embrace a conspiratorial worldview as did others in the movement. This probably reflects Barclay-Smith’s training and work as a journalist, as well as his service in the armed forces, all of which would have widened his worldview. It seems likely that the pressures of the Depression combined with his wartime experiences caused him to take up the cudgels for the Social Credit cause.

For all of Colin Barclay-Smith’s moderate views he was nonetheless a racist and adhered to an economic scheme that has been condemned
by all serious economists. At root, Social Credit was a racist and antisemitic creed. Barclay-Smith does not appear to have had the health or tenacity to lead and unite the disparate Social Credit movement. His newspaper the *New Era* disappeared on his death.

Social Credit was never very successful in New South Wales. Barclay-Smith failed to establish any strong following for the movement. Subsequent groups also proved unable to give the movement much momentum. A Social Credit Secretariat was established in Sydney until the 1960s. It is currently based in Draper, Queensland.\(^{71}\) Essentially this was a branch of the Social Credit Secretariat, then based in London, now in Edinburgh Scotland.\(^{72}\) The group distributes material it sources from the Scottish headquarters including a newsletter, *The Social Crediter*. The Secretariat believes its role to be an educative one,

> Our purpose to remain completely independent is to ensure that Social Credit does not become watered down, misinterpreted or used in a manner which will bring discredit to its truths.\(^{73}\)

The Secretariat’s primary function was to provide material for people wishing to study Social Credit.\(^{74}\) Generally, the material avoids the more contentious aspects of Douglas’s views. Conspiracy remains, however, a central part of the Secretariat’s worldview. Antisemitic references are disguised by terms like ‘Judaean Masonic Philosophy and Policy,’\(^{75}\) while the responsibility of ‘Zionists’ for the world ‘conspiracy’

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\(^{72}\) This was formed by Douglas in 1934.

\(^{73}\) Letter from Victor J. Bridger, Principal, Social Credit School of Studies Inc, Draper Queensland on 21 May 1996.

\(^{74}\) For example see Social Credit School of Studies, *Sustainable Prosperity*, 4 vols., KRP Publications, Edinburgh, 1994. Each booklet discusses a different aspect of Social Credit.

is canvassed. Essentially the group, using Douglas's terminology, views both past and present in terms of the machinations of conspirators who seek to impose their 'policy' on the world. Social Credit is cast as the saviour. In the 1960s when the group was based in Sydney it operated its own imprint, Tidal Publications.

The Social Credit Secretariat seems to have had very little success in terms of spreading Social Credit ideas in Australia. The Secretariat operates only to inform people who are interested and does not take any particular political stand. It behaves very much like a religious group attempting to canvass for adherents to their 'master' Douglas. Its lack of political activism and minuscule membership has ensured that its influence both past and present is negligible.

Subversion and deceit? The Australian League of Rights.

Over the period of this study the Australian League of Rights stands out as a significant force in Australian far-right politics. Its leader, Eric Dudley Butler, has acquired national and international notoriety. The

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70 ibid., pp. 30 – 35.
73 Tidal publications was formed in July 1947 by Henry Aldred Scoular and John Williamson Stirling in Sydney. Scoular was involved in the Social Credit Movement while Stirling had come to the notice of the security services for distributing material through his organisation the British Australian Association. Stirling was also a Social Crediter. See NAA A6122/45 item 1626. For an example of their publications see, Social Credit Secretariat, The Menace of Communism, Tidal Publications, Sydney, 1966.
74 Andrew Moore notes that, 'In British circles, both sympathetic and antagonistic . . . Eric Dudley Butler, is better known than . . . serving Australian prime ministers. Butler's stature is such that the British anti-fascist journal Searchlight regards him as the Australian representative of an international neo-fascist network.' See Andrew Moore, op. cit., p. 66. Scott Anderson and Jon Lee Anderson in Inside the League. The Shocking Exposé of How
League has been important in spreading its own antisemitic, conspiratorial worldview and it has been a starting point for many right-wing activists. It has been an important source of far-right literature through its Heritage Bookshops.

The League has pursued a policy of attempting to influence both the general public and politicians to accept its core beliefs about Social Credit and what it sees as a threat to British civilisation. While critics of the League see this attempt to influence people and politics as subversive, this approach does support Eric Butler’s contention that the ‘League from the start has been a service movement.’ Butler has remained consistent on this point. Speaking at a dinner in Sydney in 1955 he observed,

The thing for Social Crediters to do is to try and live social credit and apply it organically in our own communities. Take the advice of Douglas when he had reached that stage during the war years. He was no longer interested in trying to convert people, but to provide a genuine service to people with problems. That has been my approach.

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Terrorists, Nazis and Latin American Death Squads Have Infiltrated The World Anti-Communist League, Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, 1986, p. 276 describe Butler as a ‘leading anti-Semitic and historical revisionist.’

81 For example Peter Sawyer was associated briefly with the League. In a letter to the author Paul Rackemann, op. cit., also noted his early involvement with the League before moving on to other groups. Of the League, Rackemann stated,

I got to know a few other names in League of Rights and Eastern European refugee circles, and I developed the impression that . . . the League made a home for lost causes. I also got the impression that it served as a surveillance operation, whereby the government kept tabs, cheaply, on Eastern European refugees and other people who might meditate forceful political action, and stopped them before they could get started.

82 Stories have circulated on the far right that the League provided its mailing lists to ASIO.

83 A small neo-Nazi group in Queensland that distributed a newsletter, National Socialist Voice of Australia, advised its followers that the League’s resources should be taken advantage of. See Matthew Collins, ‘Redneck Dreck,’ Australia Israel Review, vol. 22, no. 4, pp. 10 – 11.

84 It is disingenuous to suggest that the League’s method of working is deliberately ‘subversive.’ As far as regards spreading its message the League would appear to be quite open in its methods.

85 Eric Butler interview, Melbourne, 1997.

Despite Butler’s claim the League has favoured some political parties over others, most notably the Country, later National Party.

With no electoral successes and having failed to get Social Credit policies implemented, the League must be measured by its ability to influence the direction of far-right activism and its role within Australian political life. This thesis will argue that the League has been the most successful radical-right group on the Australian political scene. It has enjoyed a stable leadership, unlike almost every other far-right group. Having secured reliable funding it has disseminated its views widely through its publications. As well the League has established international links through membership of overseas far-right groups and via subsidiaries in Britain, Canada and New Zealand.

By far-right standards the League has inspired a considerable literature. A brief discussion of previous authors’ work is important since, not withstanding the above claims the purpose of the present chapter will be to argue that much of the rhetoric advanced against the League is exaggerated. Critical literature on the League began with Ken Gott’s 1965 study of the League. To Gott, Butler was the ‘soft-sell antisemite’ whose genial public persona masked a dangerous antisemitism. Gott sought to expose the agenda of ‘Douglas Credit and The New Times’.

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86 A.A. Chresby the League’s Queensland leader was elected to the federal parliament as a Liberal Party member. See below.
87 Links to these sister organisations can be found from the League’s web site at http://www.aor.org/
89 ibid., pp. 7 – 10.
90 ibid., pp. 11 – 15.
Butler’s war time activities,91 his support for the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, his links with overseas groups and his supporters.92 Written at a time when there was little public criticism of either Butler or the League Gott concluded that despite Butler’s agreeable demeanour and positions on both his local council and the Melbourne Synod of the Anglican Church that,

Mr Butler’s influence can be weakened by making known some of the facts about him. His activities are incompatible with democratic principles and . . . they are basically destructive of our community’s well being.93

Gott’s attack on the League was cogent but ideologically driven. He noted that Butler’s credentials as an anticommunist had given Butler entrée into political circles.94 Gott’s observations have become a template for most criticism of the League.

The next major study of the League was Andrew A. Campbell’s *The Australian League of Rights. A study in political extremism and subversion*.95 As its title suggests Campbell argued that Butler’s group was a subversive organisation which sought to infiltrate its ideas into other organisations. Campbell’s book appeared after a well publicised fracas between the League and the Country Party. Campbell rather dramatically argued,

Subversive organisations of the political right espouse establishment, conservative, patriotic-nationalistic values as a manipulative device to further their subversive aims and objectives. For example, League of Right’s operations and activities within their prime political party target, the National Country party, are subversive, since League objectives are (i)

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91 ibid., pp. 16 – 18.
92 ibid., pp. 30 – 42.
93 ibid., pp. 44 – 45.
94 ibid., p. 45.
95 Andrew A. Campbell, *The Australian League of Rights. A study in political subversion*, Outback Press, Collingwood, 1978. Rumours have circulated that Campbell was assisted by ASIO in the preparation of this book. It has not been possible to confirm this.
totalistic and contrary to the target organisation’s limited public and constitutional goals; (ii) subversive of the values and policies of the target organisation by their claim to embody the organisation’s core values (an extremist deception tactic); and (iii) radical in their displacement of core values into an ideological extremist framework.\textsuperscript{96}

Campbell’s analysis ignores the possibility of any commonality of interest between conservatives and the radical right. For instance the attachment of both the Country Party and the League to the monarchy is genuine – whatever else the League may surmise about politics or the world in general. Both groups have traditionally found the mainstay of their support outside Australia’s urban areas. Campbell overlooks the support found in groups like the Country Party for the League’s views. This has been demonstrated by Richard Brockett.\textsuperscript{97} He argued that senior Country Party members used the League for their own purposes. Ralph Hunt for instance, who was party president in 1968 and who later served as a minister in the Gorton, McMahon and Fraser governments, admitted to subscribing to The New Times for fourteen years.\textsuperscript{98}

Brockett further argued that the grassroots, as well as more senior members of the Country Party, supported the League’s policies, even when other party leaders became uneasy about the League’s alleged white-anting activities. The League’s push to influence the Country Party reflected a genuine synergy between the two groups, set against ongoing difficulties within the rural sector. It is true that the League has

\textsuperscript{96} ibid., pp. 109 – 110. Italics in original.
\textsuperscript{98} ibid., p. 8.
a genuinely radical platform but, the contention inherent in much of
the related literature that the League seeks to promote its ideology via
underhand methods, is questionable. In reality the League is quite
open as to its views and agenda. This includes its role in promoting
racist and antisemitic views. In 1991 the Human Rights and Equal
Opportunity Commission noted that the League was, 'undoubtedly the
most influential and effective, as well as the best organised and most
substantially financed racist group in Australia.'

A recent analysis by James Saleam has argued that the League does not
qualify as a radical-right group. In Saleam's view the League 'was a
product of prior auxiliary status and retained loyalty to symbolic and
ideological Anglo-Australian traditionalism, while avoiding violence
and abstaining from electoralism.' Hence it should be classified as a
part of the conservative right. Saleam's analysis deserves respect.
Certainly this view tallies with many activists on the right who
perceive the League as a do nothing organization that contents itself
with letter writing campaigns and dinner meetings. The taunt
levelled at the John Birch Society that it was 'a conspiracy to sell books'
has been applied, with some justification, to the League.

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99 Cited in Alan Gold and Benson Apple, 'Shadowy racist group is still in a league of its
100 James Saleam, 'The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry into Contemporary Australian Extreme
Right Ideology, Politics and Organization 1975-1995,' PhD thesis, University of Sydney,
1999, p. 127.
101 This view was expressed to the author by several far-right activists.
Essentially the League acts like a conservative organization with its dogged defence of the monarchy. Its monarchical trappings have contributed to its survival for over fifty years, as has its support for ‘Christian’ values, family life and most of the icons that conservatives in Australia would like to believe represent core community values. This has given the organisation a timeless quality. Books that either Butler or Douglas wrote anytime between the 1930s and the 1950s or beyond, almost never have a publication date and copies remain on sale at the League’s Heritage Bookshops. The message does not change - catastrophe looms, sinister forces through secretive machinations still plot, and the League and Social Credit provide the answers.

This timelessness works well for the League. Economic crises in the League’s rural heartland have a depressing regularity. Conversely, a situation of stasis prevails within the organisation. It is going nowhere, principally recycling discredited economic theories of an obscure theorist and antisemite. Its platform has not changed substantially from that first formulated by C.H. Douglas in the 1910s.

Until the large-scale arrival of many New Age alternative bookshops and materials on the Internet, the League through both its publishing associate Veritas Press and its Heritage Bookshops was and still is one of the main conduits for conspiracy and racist books. As such it has

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been an important starting point for many on the right, even those who may have later progressed to even more extreme views or other organisations. Editions of books like the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, are available in the League's bookshops along with a large range of other tomes, conspiratorial and white supremacist.

The League is a notable radical-right political organisation on a number of other levels. First in terms of its longevity, few radical-right groups in any part of the world can rival the League's operation for over fifty years. Second, as noted, the stability of its leadership. Eric Dudley Butler was the group's leader for most of its existence. While other activists may have come and gone, Butler has remained at the head of the League and remains one of its leading figures. Only recent ill health has forced Butler to retire from the League's top position. Yet while Butler is a source of stability, the core philosophy of his group remains Social Credit. In Australia, no other right-wing group has so closely followed the ideas of C.H. Douglas.

A great deal of the League's history and the life of Eric Butler overlap however, in Butler the League has not been able to celebrate a genuine intellectual or a flamboyant personality. While his tenacity and hard work as pamphleteer and polemicist for the cause cannot be disputed, he lacks the talent and verve that some on the international radical

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105 See for example, *A Prophecy?*, Canadian League of Rights, Ontario, n.d., circa 1980. This edition distributed through the League's Heritage Bookshops has an introduction by the Canadian League's long time leader, Ron Gostick.

106 See for example, Geoff McDonald, *Red Over Black, Behind the Aboriginal Land Rights*, Veritas Publishing Company, Bullsbrook, Western Australia, 1982. McDonald had a long association with the League. The book argues that the Land Rights movement was developed and controlled by Communists to split the nation.
right have displayed. Butler is no Oswald Mosley, Lincoln Rockwell or Francis Parker Yokey. Nor has the League been able to throw up any genuine intellectual talents of the far right through its ranks although some of its members have had a following. It has enjoyed the association of some prominent people like Sir Raphael Cilento, a medical practitioner in Queensland and Sir C. Stanton Hicks, a professor of Physiology and Pharmacology at the University of Adelaide. Cilento, in particular was attracted to racialist theories and far-right politics.\textsuperscript{107} Stanton Hicks was linked with Butler via a shared interest in organic farming and perhaps the former’s support for fascism in the 1930s.\textsuperscript{108}

**Eric Dudley Butler and his ideas**

Because of the close link between Butler and the League some understanding of Butler’s background is helpful in evaluating both his preoccupations and the way these informed the League.\textsuperscript{109} Eric Dudley Butler was born in 1916 in Mollyn Hall a small town near Benalla in north-east Victoria. He was the second oldest of four children. Butler’s father had begun his career as a pupil teacher with the Victorian

\textsuperscript{107} In 1940 the security services reported receiving a photograph of Cilento in a fascist black shirt and later a photograph of him with a group of ‘well known Fascists.’ It is not clear when the photographs were taken though it is assumed they were from before the war. In NAA A6119, item 229.


Education Department where his first school was at Upper Ryan's Creek, also near Benalla. Here, Butler's father had been billeted with a local property owner, Joseph Blackburn, whose youngest daughter he subsequently married. With a schoolteacher father, the Butler family was forced to move around the countryside. Butler began his schooling in another small village, Osbourne's Flat outside Yackandandah. From there the family had a brief stint in Eldorado followed by a posting to Myrtleford near Wangaratta.

The Myrtleford posting lasted for around seven years and seems to have been important to Eric. There he completed the bulk of his education and began his association with the city of Wangaratta. Butler's father was an important influence. Butler recalled him as a practical and literate man who could recite poetry from memory and who shared with his son a love of cricket. From his mother and his grandfather he received the religious values which remained with him.\footnote{Butler interview.}

The Great Depression stopped Butler from the chance of further formal education, though two of his siblings did go on to tertiary education. Butler completed some correspondence courses on agriculture, which has been a life long interest.\footnote{Butler has owned a small farm outside Melbourne for many years.} The Depression introduced him to a variety of political activists from left and right, including the Social Credit movement that was taking 'deep root in Wangaratta.' \footnote{Butler interview.}
The Depression deeply impressed itself on Butler and certainly was a prime reason for his conversion to Social Credit. However, his own life was not unduly disrupted by the economic crisis and it was a period in which cricket introduced him to a wider social circle. Butler’s father sent him to work in the rural industries that were operating around Wangaratta - tobacco growing, timber and the passionfruit industry.

He remembered that,

I liked that open air, going off in the mornings hauling trees and all the rest of it and mixing with these characters, some of them from the best families in Melbourne. The Depression made a hell of an impression on me with these characters that all were victims of the Depression. That bit pretty deeply into me and I took to take a bit of a keen interest in political matters at that time. . . I started playing cricket quite early and I remember some of these chaps who had come from the best families. I remember one who used to play with Brighton Grammar and his father had committed suicide. All this was a bit of an experience for me really that sharpened the interest I had in these matters [monetary reform].\(^{113}\)

Early on, Butler developed an interest in the family backgrounds and lives of the people around him. He was well connected through his mother’s Blackburn family and took a keen interest in the activities of prominent community members like the young John McEwen,\(^ {114}\) who in the early 1930s, according to Butler, was also interested in monetary reform and Social Credit. The interconnectedness of rural families remains a staple of Butler’s view of the world and the social milieu in which he moves. A person’s background and family’s status are important considerations to Butler.

\(^{113}\) ibid.

In his book *Releasing Reality*, Butler recorded his conversion to Social Credit in unremarkable terms. It began when he read a letter in a local newspaper extolling the movement. At interview he expanded on this, in particular the importance of his association with rural Victoria. He had been exposed to a number of people espousing different economic and political ideas, from communists through Rationalists but chose the system that had been dominant in the areas where he spent his youth – Social Credit. From this point it is not surprising that he became a follower, but what distinguished him was the dedication he showed to the cause. Rural matters were important but the Douglas creed became central to his life.

His introduction to the main Victorian journal of Social Credit, *The New Times*, came in 1936 Butler recalled,  
What happened it reached that stage where I was becoming more and more interested, then I started to read the *New Times*. In fact I got the first copy that came out, that was in 1935. So although the first Social Credit paper was Barclay-Smith’s *New Era* - I had already been reading that - but that was in 1935 and I decided that with the end of the passion fruit season to head down to Melbourne. It was there that I met Thomas J. Moore the first editor. He made a big impression on me, Tom Moore. A big red headed Irishman and an exuberant type of character. So to cut a long story short I went along to a few meetings and they were running training courses for speakers and they suggested that I might say something. Well there was one thing, from a very early age I could talk and speak and they said I was the sort of young character they needed around the place and it went on from there. That was 1936/37.\(^{116}\)

This association with the *New Times* would prove important on a number of counts. It established Butler as a prolific writer; he would even contribute under a pseudonym, John Clifford, as well as his own

\(^{115}\) Butler, *Releasing Reality*, op. cit., p. 3.  
\(^{116}\) Butler interview.
name. If Butler had not previously been actively antisemitic then the New Times was certainly a repository for such sentiment. As Gott noted, by its seventh issue the New Times was carrying articles on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.\textsuperscript{117}

The other important connection for Butler with the Social Credit movement was his involvement as an activist in the United Electors Movement. This Social Credit group, mainly active in Victoria and South Australia, toured the countryside giving public lectures and workshops. Through this Butler refined his speaking skills and also met his future wife Elma Turner after her father brought Butler to his house following a public lecture.\textsuperscript{118} Butler’s diligence and enthusiasm for the cause meant that before long he had become one of Social Credit’s star attractions and had travelled widely. According to Gott in 1938 he travelled over 15,000 miles for the cause and, ‘From all accounts Mr. Butler was eloquent, able and energetic and these years as a political organiser set the pattern of his life.’\textsuperscript{119}

One of the most controversial aspects of Butler’s life remains the allegations that surround both him and the New Times, prior to and in the early stages of World War Two. Critics like Ken Gott have alleged that he colluded with the Japanese and distributed pro-Nazi propaganda. Butler categorically denies that there was any sinister link, but allows that his critics were swayed by the war time atmosphere which was ‘hysterical and ridiculous.’ He believes, like Barclay-Smith,

\textsuperscript{117} Gott, op. cit., p. 12.
\textsuperscript{118} Butler interview.
\textsuperscript{119} Gott, op. cit., p. 14.
that his objective was, 'to ensure that the country maintained 
sovereignty and independence . . . to break the [presumably Jewish] 
financial grip.' 120

Butler's comments raise a number of issues. From his Social Credit 
viewpoint he quite plausibly believed that 'International Finance' was 
dragging the world into war and harming Australia's ability to fight. 
Only the introduction of Douglas's economic ideas could put the 
country on a sound footing. In his view Jewish financial interests stood 
to gain from the conflict. 121 However, even if Butler's views were 
motivated by the highest patriotic motives, some of them clearly did 
coincide with those of the German Nazi Party. As Jürgen Tampke and 
Colin Doxford have shown in *Australia Wilkommen*, Australia sheltered 
some enthusiastic agents like the Secretary General of the German 
Australian Chamber of Commerce, Arnold von Skerst. 122 Relatively 
popular and sympathetic papers like *New Times* were receptive targets 
for German government propaganda. This lent some legitimacy to the 
Nazi programs against the Jews. If the reasoning went that Jews were 
behind this ruthless financial manipulation then it must follow that a 
government that repressed the Jews was merely exercising its powers in the interests of its citizens.

The allegations of Japanese financial support are equally clouded. 
Butler claims,

120 Butler interview.
121 See below on Butler's views in his book *The International Jew.*
Well what happened during the Great Depression years, was the Japanese and Germans had Consuls here that were interested in financial matters. They would subscribe to journals such as New Times. The Japanese have a long history of being interested in financial reform of some kind. So what they did was bought copies of New Times and sent them back to Japan. That was the extent of the Japanese financing the New Times.  

The interest by the security service in Butler and the New Times may have been fuelled by Butler’s links with the Australia First movement which had even more overt fascist sympathies and some of whose members were interned during the war.

You had the Australia First movement, I knew them very well. W.J. Miles, P.J Stephensen, all that bunch. I think it was terrible what was done to those blokes. A shocking incident in Australian history. But nevertheless we had our arguments and disagreements. But still that was that period in Australian history. Again I do not think Stephensen was pro anything except pro-Australian.

Butler’s assertions have some merit - that the tensions and passions whipped up by war could lead the security services to overreact.

However, some of the material, was as Justice Reed in his Board of Inquiry found, of a nature that ‘the Nazis would desire.’ Reed’s inquiry concluded that, subject to some slight suspicion regarding one or two individuals, those who have come under our notice [which included Butler] are loyal to His Majesty the King, and are actuated by a sincere desire to improve the lot of themselves and their fellow men, and to bring about a better order of society.

Butler’s critics have been keen to allude to his war time activities.

Any allegations, however, that Butler was behaving in a

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123 Butler interview.
126 Butler interview.
127 Cited in Campbell, op. cit., p. 8.
128 Ibid.
traitorous fashion or collaborating with the enemy are far fetched. More to the point, Butler held antisemitic views favourable to the Nazi regime in Germany.

In any case, the military authorities maintained a close watch on Butler. His security files state that he caused some dissension within his unit. Butler’s father, Charles, wrote to the Minister for the Army, F.M. Forde, decrying the treatment of his son. Charles Butler alleged that Eric had almost been left behind when his unit, the 34th Anti-Aircraft Battery, was sent to battle station after Army intelligence officers questioned Eric’s loyalty. For Charles Butler the attacks were the works of his son’s ‘bitter and ruthless enemies, including apologists for ‘sane’ finance and for Communists.’ Eric’s reputation was being vilified by ‘sewer-rats,’

It is significant, of course, that Eric’s traducers make no open charges against him, his record of loyalty and devotion to democratic principles and to the British Empire, and his supreme faith in his fellow-Australians are beyond criticism.  

Whatever the deeds or misdeeds of Butler during the war they did not effect his subsequent career, which as a fervent devotee of Douglas was to continue undiminished after the war’s end. Butler’s wartime
service was even belatedly recognised. In 1990, the Victorian RSL leader, Bruce Ruxton, who has been linked to the League, presented Butler with his service medals.\textsuperscript{133}

In 1946 Butler was instrumental in the foundation of the South Australian League of Rights.\textsuperscript{134} Butler recalled that at the time, I was the key figure. What happened was there was a lot of Social Crediters over there [in South Australia] were very much involved on the constitutional question\textsuperscript{135}

First was highly nationalist and patriotic . . . The internment of its members in an atmosphere of hysteria created by sensational allegations may have been intended as a preliminary to the internment of Social Credit leaders like myself." On 27 August 1942 Butler's father advised him that he had heard on good authority that The New Times was to be closed down and severe action against Butler taken. Butler consulted Allsop [then the editor] and other Social Crediters at once and The New Times published a challenging front page article on the 4th September headed "Enemies of British Democracy versus Us". Subsequent investigation revealed that there was a plan to intern Butler and others, including Dr. John Dale, Melbourne City Health Officer and Mr. Bruce H. Brown, Deputy Commissioner of Mails. Sir Stanton Hicks, eminent South Australian nutritionist and later Director-General of Food Supplies for Australia, was also being smeared as "pro-Nazi". Strong support from his father helped Butler beat off this danger. Later the Reed Enquiry [sic] into subversion was set up on 28th January 1944. Butler was summoned to appear before it on 20th August and its report was presented to the federal Parliament on 6th March 1945. No doubt to the intense disappointment of Dr. Evatt and other centralists, Butler was entirely exonerated of any charges of disloyalty. The Commission was unconvinced that there was any basis whatsoever for allegations of subversion against Social Crediters. In Section 61 of its report it stated that "most of them devote a great deal of time to studying the questions in issue and are intensely interested in political, social and economic matters - an attitude which . . . might very well be emulated by a great many more of the citizens of this Commonwealth . . . (almost all) those who have come under our notice are loyal to His Majesty the King, and are actuated by a sincere desire to improve the lot of themselves and their fellow men, and to bring about a better state of society . . . Mr Eric Butler is a member of the 2nd A. I. F."

\textsuperscript{133} Young "Still Find Reason To Be Proud," The New Times, vol. 54, no. 11, November 1990.

\textsuperscript{134} The pre war conservative and populist movement in South Australia no doubt helped in the establishment of the League. A CIS report noted how the Citizen's League had seriously alarmed the ruling Country Liberal League, the pre war Citizen League, which became so strong that it was capable of swaying an Election. To combat the Citizen League the Liberal Country League spent over twenty thousand (20,000) pounds in secret and finished off the expenditure by selecting five Citizen League leaders as parliamentary candidates. These men were elected and the Citizen League lapsed as a result.

In CIS memorandum 14 July 1947, NAA Series A6122/45 item 1626.

\textsuperscript{135} This presumably was the referenda seeking to allow the Commonwealth to provide social services and have power over the marketing of primary produce and employment conditions in
Anyone who understands Social Credit, would understand why I was against anything that was centralising power. So they invited me over to do a short program... and they had some of the most senior, you would call them, establishment members. People like Sir Arthur Ryan. So it was during that campaign, where we had adequate resources that an idea began to crystallise in my mind. I had discussed with C.H. Douglas, how the overall position now had changed compared with before the war and the strategy of Social Credit would have to change with it. We were now confronted with a very direct assault on the foundations of our structure as I saw it. So we needed a new type of movement that would bring together, what I saw during that campaign, all elements of society. There were top businessmen, retailers, manufacturers, housewives, even trade unionists. This was the beginning of the South Australian League of Rights.

Both Butler’s recollections and the relevant CIS report support the view that at its inception the League was accepted by business, some politicians and even as Butler mentions, some trade unionists. Some in the South Australian community viewed Butler’s group as a valuable ally in the fight against Canberra and the socialist menace of centralisation. The more radical ideas of the League could be either overlooked or ignored.

The successful launch of the League in South Australia was followed by the establishment of a Victorian branch and in 1948 the establishment of a Queensland group led by Arthur Chresby. The launch of the Victorian branch followed along the same lines as the South Australia branch. A CIS report is quoted here at length because it imparts the

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industry. Only the social services provisions passed but even then by a narrow majority. As Geoffrey Bolton commented, ‘Many Australians seemed to feel that any demand for wider powers by any government, even for the most benevolent purposes, should be mistrusted and denied.’ The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 5, 1942 - 1988, Melbourne, 1990, p. 42. Bolton’s observations could easily be applied to the League’s position.

136 The CIS report also noted the presence of several prominent Adelaide men, Dr L.J. Pellew, A.S. Tillet, who was referred to as a ‘man of means’ and M.R. Dodd, a local Social Creditor. CIS memorandum 14 July 1947, NAA Series A6122/45 item 1626.

137 Butler interview.
flavour of Butler’s oratory and the character of early League of Rights’ meetings.

In introducing the speaker of the night, Mr. CARRUTHERS\textsuperscript{138} referred to him as a young man who had devoted a considerable time to the study of the problems of the day. He indicated that Mr. BUTLER was primarily responsible for the formation of the League of Rights, and it was the same young man who successfully conducted the "no" campaign in South Australia on the occasion of the previous Referendum. He indicated that Mr. BUTLER had recently published two booklets entitled “FREE ENTERPRISE AND PROFIT MOTIVE” and CONSTITUTIONAL BARRIERS TO SERFDOM.” He recommended these works to listeners and suggested that all should procure copies and read them.

At the opening of his address Mr. BUTLER indicated in no uncertain manner that he intended to deal primarily with the Communist menace in Australia. He stated that totalitarian policy was behind the forthcoming Prices Referendum and the policy as enunciated by Communists today was responsible for the chaotic condition of the country. He suggested that we could regard our selves as still being at war, stating that wars were not only waged by Military but by various controls, propaganda and other techniques. He averred that the plight of the British Empire today was due to the fact that enemies were amongst us. That enemy is Communism, and rather than ban the party he suggested the application of a corrective. Having identified the enemy it was then necessary to make a close study of his methods; having discovered these, we would then be in a position to fight him intelligently. Mr. BUTLER indicated that as yet we had not been able to take the offensive, but merely engage in rear-guard action which amounted to a fight for survival.\textsuperscript{139}

The formation of the League could not have come at a more propitious moment. With widespread unease about communism and suspicion of the central government’s powers, its credentials seemed impeccable.

The League’s business and conservative backers were apparently prepared to ignore its support for C.H. Douglas’s economic ideas and

\textsuperscript{138} W.J. Carruthers was Chairman of both the Victorian League and the board of the \textit{New Times}.

\textsuperscript{139} NAA Series A6122/45 item 1626. Capitalisation in original.
its wilder conspiracy views, despite the shrill tone of Butler’s address above. This trend continued for many years.

Butler’s first major book *The International Jew. The Truth About The Protocols of Zion* was published in the same year as the South Australian branch was established. It is arguably Butler’s best known book though there is little evidence to suggest many people have ever read it. Aside from frequent mentions in the *New Times* ‘books for sale’ advertisements it lay dormant for many years until the League’s critics, beginning with Gott, claimed it was subversive. In 1995 the newspaper columnist Phillip Adams claimed,

> While anti-Semitism has an ancient history, it is fair to say that nobody in history has written a more despicable, mariachi, evil book on the subject than Butler. With the possible exception of *Mein Kampf*.

Adams’s observation is overblown. In writing his own annotated version of the *Protocols,* Butler was continuing a tradition that had been long established. Essentially Butler argued from the central premise that the *Protocols* were indisputable ‘fact’ outlining the plans of a sinister cabal of Jewish leaders who already controlled ‘International Finance’ and who plotted to subjugate the world to their own ruthless ends.

Using the purported statement by Hermann Rauschnig that Hitler

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143 Ian Kershaw notes that despite Rauschnig’s work *Hitler Speaks* having been used by prominent historians it is, ‘a work now regarded to have so little authenticity that it is best to
ordered the *Protocols* to be copied. Butler surmised that the *Protocols*
were brought to Hitler’s attention for a reason and that Hitler’s early
ideologues Alfred Rosenberg and Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter
were involved in recruiting Hitler.

> It is quite beyond dispute that the central core of
> International Finance is controlled by Jews. . . . Is it
> possible that international Jewry has a plan to destroy
> civilisation as we now understand it, and to organise the
> world on a basis which would completely paralyse the
> initiative of the individual, and make him similar to ants
> in the highly-organised ant-States? . . . Hitler’s policy was
> a Jewish policy; it helped further the declared aims of
> International Jewry, in spite of what Hitler SAID about
> International Jewry.146

This torturous logic continues by way of lengthy commentaries on the
*Protocols* though it should be noted that Butler’s views here also reflect
a bizarre effort to rescue antisemitism from the revelations of
Auschwitz and the other death camps. Butler tried to prove that the
real threat posed to civilisation was Jewish. He argued that
antisemitism was itself a part of Jewish policy: ‘As did practically all the
other great “anti-Semites” of history, Hitler merely took over a Jewish-
built organisation and a Jewish policy.’147

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145 Suspicion about Rosenberg probably came about as a result of his Jewish sounding name. See Philip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1990, p. 329. Butler may also have resented Rosenberg’s anti-Christian
sentiments,

> ‘branding Christianity as an effeminate, race destroying dogma invented by Jews
> which was sapping the pristine Germanic values of honour, freedom, independence
> and virility.


147 Ibid., p. 86.
In the book Butler also detailed how he saw this conspiracy operating within Australia. Despite his purported earlier friendship with the Country Party MHR, John McEwen, Butler wrote that McEwen had helped to surrender Australia's freedom because of his attendance at the San Francisco conference in 1944 that established the United Nations. 'Here is the Judaic policy [for global domination] being openly advocated.'\textsuperscript{148} Butler nominated a number of other prominent Australians as party to this conspiracy. Sir Keith Murdoch, of the Herald and Weekly Times newspaper empire was an agent of Jewish interests because of his 'education at the German-Jewish institution, The London School of Economics.'\textsuperscript{149} The Director General of Post War Reconstruction, H. C. Coombs, was targeted because he had also attended the London School of Economics.\textsuperscript{150} Attorney General H.V. Evatt was not only a 'leading internationalist and socialist planner' but had publicly endorsed Harold Laski, the professor of Political Science at that same institution. 'Laski and other Jews don't like the ideas of Christ because they stand for the sanctity of the individual.'\textsuperscript{151} Butler argued that assimilation was impossible even of 'rank and file Jews'\textsuperscript{152} and concluded,

> If the Jews will not give over their "Chosen Race" idea; will not cease their support of policies which will destroy civilization completely unless opposed successfully; refuse to become legitimately assimilated by the communities in which they reside but continue to look to Zión for their directions, then it is obvious that the only solution left for the other peoples of the

\textsuperscript{148} ibid., p. 50.
\textsuperscript{149} ibid.
\textsuperscript{150} ibid., p. 74.
\textsuperscript{151} ibid. Harold Laski has long been a hated figure on the far right. Laski was disliked not only as a Jew but because of his influence and friendship with a range of political figures like President Roosevelt and the prominent Jewish US Supreme Court Justice, Felix Frankfurter. Butler endorses the view held by much of the American far right that Roosevelt was a Jewish agent whose New Deal program was Jewish in inspiration. See p. 67.
\textsuperscript{152} ibid., p. 166.
world is to ensure that the Jews are provided with a country of their own and sent there.\textsuperscript{155}

The book is a frank revelation of Butler's views from which he has not resiled.\textsuperscript{154} It has been endorsed by Butler's replacement as National Director of the League, David Thompson.\textsuperscript{155}

In another book, Releasing Reality, Butler provided further argument about Hitler as agent of the Jews,

In a little publicised attempt to help avert the threatened Second World War, Douglas at one stage made an approach to Hitler, suggesting that if he were genuine in his anti-Judaic sentiments, he would end the policy of "full employment"\textsuperscript{156} . . . But Hitler, a paranoiac, was a product of the will-to-power philosophy. The result was, as Douglas said, that by "allowing himself to be put in ostensible control of powers greater than himself" Hitler was at the mercy of those who put him there.\textsuperscript{157}

Butler's output of polemic tracts has been quite significant however, his central arguments have changed very little.\textsuperscript{158} Essentially Butler has

\textsuperscript{155} ibid., p. 167. Bold in original.
\textsuperscript{154} Commenting on the book Butler said,
It is interesting that when it [The International Jew] came out in 1946 nothing happened for a couple of years. It went around you could readily get it. It was only when the League started to emerge or was perceived as a political force that someone looked around and said we have got to find something to beat them over the head with. So they seized on that and they keep on seizing on it like a dog that has got a bone stuck in its throat and can't get it out.\textsuperscript{156}
PH: So how do you feel? Do you wish you had never written it?
EB: No I don't. I would like to re-write it again and put it in another context. A couple of more responsible people have had a look at it and said that the remarkable thing is that most of the so called damaging things are quotations - not what I have said. Scholarship, that is the thing that appals me with some of these people.\textsuperscript{157}

Butler's claim that 'most of the damaging things are quotations' does not stand analysis of the text.
\textsuperscript{156} David Thompson interview Bowral, 1991.
\textsuperscript{155} Butler derides 'full employment' as the philosophy of materialism and part of a communist plan,
To deny man his rightful heritage by control through the 'Full Employment' and wage system is to side with the forces of anti-Christ. . . . The extension of wage-slavery under the 'Full Employment' policy can only lead to the complete atrophy of the creative instinct in man and a domination of the individual by the collective. It leads directly to Communism.

\textsuperscript{157} Butler, Releasing Reality, op. cit., pp. 71 – 72.
\textsuperscript{158} Aside from those books already cited others by Butler and approximate dates include: Constitutional Barriers to Serfdom" (1947); The Fountainhead of the Socialist Conspiracy
followed the analysis and views of C.H. Douglas. In this context, Butler sees two opposing forces, Judaism and Christianity. Judaism and its leaders believe in a form of centralisation and control whereby the group is more important than the individual. To Butler, Jews are behind all forms of collectivism and centralisation such as communism, socialism, Fabianism and big business. On the other side is Christianity of which Social Credit is a practical manifestation discovered or uncovered by Douglas and his followers. Judaism 'is implacably anti-Christian' and Christianity and Judaism have incompatible policies.

It is just as certain as anything can be in this uncertain world, that Christianity is not a Plan, it is a Philosophy which we have hardly begun to grasp. As such, it must have a policy. That policy was and is rejected by the Jews, consequently it cannot be a Jewish policy. That is to say, Jewish Policy is what Christianity is not. What is Jewish Policy? That is much easier to answer, because the present state of the world is the result of it. The short answer is 'Power Politics – The Servile State.'

A knowledge and acceptance of this 'fact' becomes the lens through which history and events are interpreted as 'real history is crystallised politics . . . [if] there has emerged in events a consistent pattern, then

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(1947); The Money Power Versus Democracy (1947); The World-Government Plot Exposed (1940); The War Behind the War (1941); The International Jew (1946?); A Defence of Free Enterprise and the Profit Motive "(1947); The Real Communist Menace (1947); Steps Towards the Monopoly State "(1949); How to Defeat Industrial Unrest (1950); The Truth about the Chinese Communists (1951?); A Programme for Reversing Inflation (1971); Social Dynamics (1971); Censored History "(1973?); Financial Ignorance (1990). Butler nominated four books as essential to understanding his views, Releasing Reality, op. cit., 'Dialectics Communist Instrument for World Conquest,' "Heritage Bookshop, Melbourne, (1963?); The Essential Christian Heritage," (1972) and The Red Pattern of World Conquest," Heritage Publications, Melbourne, 1961. All the books marked " are available at the League's website at http://www.alor.org/Booklist.html#1a. Other titles available at the website are, Has Christianity Failed?, op. cit., The Enemy within the Empire, Is the word Enough, The Truth About Social Credit and Brain Washing.

159 This is very evident in Butler, Releasing Reality, op. cit., passim. The book uses Douglas's ideas extensively as the basis for Butler's philosophy.

160 To this end Social Creditors regard centralisation as Satanic. See, for example, L. Denis Byrne, Centralisation –The Policy of Satanism, League of Rights, Melbourne, circa 1972.

161 Butler, Releasing Reality, op. cit., p. 45.

162 ibid., p. 44.
behind that pattern there is a conscious design. Butler argued that historical events have been planned to further the policies of these forces. Another example of Butler’s reasoning can be found in The Red Pattern of World Conquest. Without naming the Jews, Butler alleges that historical events from World War Two onward have been directed by communists to further their aims of world domination. In Butler’s view the communists not only won the war but had since won the peace.

**The League of Rights in post-war Australia**

The 1950s were an important period in consolidating the League throughout Australia. The prevailing Cold War atmosphere, discussed in the Introduction, lent the League a legitimacy it might not otherwise have had. Eric Butler produced regular feature articles for Melbourne’s newspapers. In terms of the League’s message the Cold War did not change the group’s message which continued along lines that had been established by C.H. Douglas, it rather lent it a legitimacy. As it was the issue of the nationalisation of the private trading banks was more important to establishing the league in this decade. By the beginning of the next decade the group had found enough confidence and financial resources to establish itself as a national organisation. The separate state organisations were placed under the control of the Australian League of Rights with Eric Butler as its National Director and a director in every state. The impetus for this reorganisation was

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163 Butler, *The Red Pattern of World Conquest*, op. cit., p. 18. This observation by Butler is as good a definition of the conspiratorial view of history as any.

164 *ibid.*, *passim*.
the demise of the New South Wales based People’s Union (see chapter 1).

From 1949 the League cemented an unlikely relationship with several leading banks. Its Melbourne base made the League well suited for this alliance. Butler recalled

There was a dramatic change there. The change took place with [the threat of] bank nationalisation. The banks were genuinely amazed, when the League of Rights was the first to come out and oppose bank nationalisation. . . We were opposing bank nationalisation. It was not because we were opposed to the banks it was because this was going to worsen the position which Douglas warned about. Nationalising the instrument was not going to improve the instrument. You had to change the policy. This was a centralisation of power. When the banks started to get their minds around this they were pretty desperate and they wanted all the allies they could get. So it came about as a result of one of their senior blokes who knew me in the army days sent for me, a chap called Wilbur Chapman. 165

The association with the banks lasted into late 1951 early 1952 after Dr. Evatt became Leader of the Opposition. 166 The most important aspect of this association were the links Butler and the League formed with large businesses. This extended to financial help, without which the League may have floundered. As Butler commented,

One of the things I pointed out initially to people who were interested in the League of Rights was you could walk around Melbourne and every well known firm was supporting the League Of Rights. We could walk into Coles and talk to Sir Edgar. But they were a different breed of chaps. You would hardly walk into Coles today and talk to Solomon Lew and expect to get much of a hearing. 167

During the early 1950s Butler sought to expand his audience. He contributed articles to the *South Australian Farmer*, not only on Social

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165 Butler interview.
166 ibid.
167 ibid.
Credit but also on organic farming and the fluoridation of water, causes the League holds dear. The South Australian Farmer under its editor H.W. Tossell was interested in alternate economic schemes like Social Credit. In a leading article it reprinted C.H. Douglas’s 1938 tract ‘Psychological Causes of War’ which argued that economics as well as a kind of national ‘paranoia’ was at the heart of nations going to war.168 Another article in the same edition by Butler appeared from Victorian Compost News on a book on organic farming co-authored with Sir Stanton Hicks.

Charles Harold Allen, a leading Social Creditor in South Australia and foundation member of the League was another correspondent of the South Australian Farmer.169 A published letter from Allen shows how at this early stage the League was participating in the international far-right community. Allen extolled the ‘manifesto issued by Gerald K. Smith’ through his paper The Cross and the Flag and praised A.K. Chesterton’s paper Candour. The leadership of both the United Nations and the United States was corrupted by Zionists and only ‘a society [allowed] to rebuild itself organically on Christian lines’ could survive.170

A.K. Chesterton was one of the most significant international contacts for the League. Chesterton had come to prominence as a member of Oswald Mosley’s British Union of Fascists (BUF). Although he left the

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169 Jackson, op. cit., claims the name the ‘League of Rights’ was suggested by Allen.
BUF disillusioned, he remained a prominent figure on the British radical right for the rest of his life. Escaping Mosley’s fate of internment during the war he went on to found the League of Empire Loyalists. This group associated itself with like-minded groups throughout the Commonwealth, particularly in Chesterton’s native South Africa.\textsuperscript{171} Although Chesterton was probably never attracted to Social Credit, his antisemitism, conspiratorial worldview and defence of the old British Empire was to provide a link with the League. In 1960 he toured Australia and New Zealand for the League of Empire Loyalists.\textsuperscript{172} The League of Rights distributed Chesterton’s journal \textit{Candour}\textsuperscript{173} as well as a number of booklets by Chesterton.\textsuperscript{174} This British connection culminated in Butler’s unsuccessful foray with James Killen to the United Kingdom following Britain’s entry into the Common Market.

Chesterton felt that Imperial ties were declining. Because of our neglect of the Imperial theme, and the sorry impotence of our general world policy, influences which have already robbed the Crown of India and Burma have been at work in Canada as also in Australia and New Zealand, hostile to the British connection. If Britain can now emerge from her pitiable plight and act again as a resurgent Power, the hearts of

\textsuperscript{172} Correspondence from E. D. Butler, 2 February 1997. I knew A.K. Chesterton well. The League did not bring Chesterton to Australia in 1960. He was visiting New Zealand and Australia to further his League of Empire Loyalists. We hosted an Australian tour for Chesterton. Chesterton tried to persuade me to go to the United Kingdom to work for the League of Empire Loyalists. I rejected this offer, for a number of reasons, one being that from a Social Credit viewpoint, Chesterton was philosophically flawed.
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Candour The British Views-Letter} was edited by Chesterton and styled ‘The Empire’s Hardest Hitting Weekly Paper.’ It commenced in 1953 and was distributed by the League at least until the early 1960s.
\textsuperscript{174} These included A.K. Chesterton, \textit{Stand By The Empire. A Warning to the British Nations}, Candour Publishing Company, Croydon Surrey, 1954, \textit{Tomorrow A Plan for the British Future}, Candour Publishing Company, Croydon Surrey, n.d. The first book argues that the forces of ‘International Finance’ (i.e. the Jews) were conspiring to destroy the British Empire splitting it between Moscow and Wall Street. Chesterton was scathing of the actions of the Americans, including then Vice President Richard Nixon as he was of the Soviets. The second booklet is Chesterton’s plan for British ‘survival’ which recommends that Britain and the Commonwealth withdraw from all international organisations and form a cohesive trading and cultural block. As of 1997 both books were still available at the League’s Heritage Bookshop.
men and women of British blood all over the world will rise to her with one accord, and their leaders will be forced to drop what often seems to be their present policy of jettisoning British associations and traditions in return for toothy internationalist smiles.175

Similar sentiments were espoused by Butler, who saw the British world (as did Douglas) as central to his idea of what Australia should be.

During the 1950s the League began investing more energy into its own publications. In 1955 New Times was supplemented by Intelligence Survey. Heritage Bookshops were established as an outlet for Butler’s books and for a range of other publications from overseas, including Gerald L.K. Smith’s The Cross and the Flag. There were other groups like the Commonweal Club in Sydney that retailed far-right literature though the League’s Heritage Bookshops have been an important source of radical-right material over many years. The Heritage bookshop brought the League’s and other extremist material to a wider audience that included some politicians who would be prominent in the 1960s and beyond.

The League’s dominance in the Social Credit world was cemented with a death. On 29 September 1952 the man Butler referred to as ‘the Einstein of economics,’ Major C.H. Douglas, died.176 The grief in the Social Credit world at Douglas’s death is understandable. The Sydney based New Era devoted nearly nine pages to a tribute on Douglas, making reference to ‘a mind so great and a Movement which transcends all other ideologies so completely... the vast contribution

175 Chesterton, Stand By The Empire, op. cit., p. 20.
176 Butler interview.
C.H. Douglas made to society.\textsuperscript{177} Tributes in Butler’s \textit{New Times} were similarly effusive. Douglas’s death left Butler unrivalled as the leading promoter of his ideas in Australia. Only Colin Barclay-Smith challenged Butler’s dominance in the Social Credit world. However, as noted, Barclay-Smith’s poor health and finances meant that although he knew Douglas and had been his emissary in Australia and New Zealand his influence was on the wane. Barclay-Smith’s death in 1957 and the subsequent demise of the \textit{New Era} further consolidated Butler and the League although in New South Wales the Douglas Credit Association limped on for a few years into the 1960s, along with the ineffectual Social Credit Secretariat.

In 1960 the nominally autonomous state organisations were wound up and the Australian League of Rights emerged. Although it was of some symbolic significance it seems more a recognition of Butler’s own dominance in the organisation and of its defacto base with Butler in Melbourne. With the new national organisation came a new constitution. It promised, among other things, ‘to promote loyalty to the Christian concept of God and the Crown, and to the Country,’ to uphold individual rights and to ‘oppose all anti-British propaganda.’\textsuperscript{178} Centralisation may have been a satanic policy, but not for the League.

\textsuperscript{177} \textit{New Era}, 12 December 1952.
\textsuperscript{178} Australian League of Rights pamphlet, n.d. Butler maintains that the League’s objectives have not been altered.
The League and the 1960s anticommunists

The 1960s were the period of the League’s greatest prominence. Aside from the new national organisation, Butler worked on his international contacts and his attempt to influence sympathetic politicians. In a book released in 1960 Butler recorded his friendship with James Killen, the Liberal Party member for the federal seat of Moreton. Butler and Killen must have been on friendly terms since at least 1957.\(^{179}\) Killen had received highly favourable coverage in League publications. While he only attended one of the League’s annual functions, Killen sent regular messages of encouragement to the League.\(^{180}\) Rather famously (for the League at least) in a 1962 trip, Butler and Killen travelled to the United Kingdom to protest at British entry into the Common Market. When he was attacked in parliament for associating with Butler, Killen defended his actions as pro-British.\(^{181}\) In 1963 and 1964 Killen opposed the fluoridation of water in the ACT. He was accused of following Butler’s objections to that fluoridation.\(^{182}\)

In his memoirs Killen noted the opprobrium that came to be attached to him for this association with the League. He did not explain his initial contact with Butler or his earlier enthusiasm for the League.\(^{183}\) It seems


\(^{181}\) ibid., p. 39.


\(^{183}\) D.J., Killen, *Killen, Inside Australian Politics*, Methuen, Sydney, 1985, pp. 57 – 58. On their relationship Butler commented:

My relationship with Jim Killen, which is part of political folklore in this country, is quite straightforward. Jim naturally found me, and I understood that as he moved
likely that at least one point of contact was through the long time
League supporter Sir Raphael Cilento also a friend of Killen.\textsuperscript{184} It may
also be possible that there was a link between Killen and A.A. Chresby,
a long time Social Credit and League activist who held the seat of
Griffith, which adjoins Moreton, for the Liberal Party between 1958
and 1961. Undoubtedly through Killen, the League hoped to influence
the broader political agenda, though unfortunately for the League,
Killen’s status in the Liberal Party was insufficient for the group to
achieve this end. Nonetheless Killen continued as an anticomunist
crusader.\textsuperscript{185}

After his foray with Killen to the United Kingdom Butler travelled to
Canada. In Calgary, Butler made contact with Ron Gostick\textsuperscript{186} a fellow
Social Creditor, \textsuperscript{187} who at the time led the Christian Action
Movement.\textsuperscript{188} Gostick subsequently became head of the Canadian
League of Rights with Butler’s son, Philip, deputy-director.\textsuperscript{189} Gostick
has continued his close association with the League and is a regular

\begin{flushright}
Butler interview.
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\textsuperscript{184} Killen, op. cit., p. 58.
\textsuperscript{185} For Killen’s anticomunism see, D.J. Killen, ‘The Traducers: Abuse is their weapon,
integrity their fear,’ \textit{Australian International News Review}, 23 November 1965, which in part
attacks Nelson Mandela and the South Africa Defence and Aid Fund in Australia.
\textsuperscript{186} For Gostick and his views, particularly his antisemitism see Stephen Scheinberg, ‘Canada:
Right-Wing Extremism in the Peaceable Kingdom’ in Aurel Braun and Stephen Scheinberg
1997, p. 41.
\textsuperscript{187} Butler interview.
\textsuperscript{188} Gott, op. cit., p. 41 and Acton, op. cit., p. 38.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid.
correspondent for the League’s publications. From Canada, Butler then travelled to New Zealand before returning home. Butler claims this trip was instrumental in forming what became in 1975 the Crown Commonwealth League of Rights with chapters in Britain, Canada and New Zealand.

The League’s association with both its Canadian and British subsidiaries was its entrée into the World Anti-Communist League (WACL). As president of the private group portentously styled the Canadian Intelligence Service, Gostick headed the Canadian affiliate to the WACL through the Freedom Council of Canada which (rather confusingly) was a member of the North American Regional World Anti-Communist League. He was joined by his associate, Patrick Walsh, another member of the Canadian League of Rights and the Canadian

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191 Dates for the formation of the Crown Commonwealth League of Rights are vague. The League’s internet site quotes 1975 though it appears that the group was operating informally much earlier. The British League of Rights, for instance, was formed in 1970. The impetus for a formal association seems to have been membership of the World Anti-Communist League which was achieved by the Australian, British and Canadian groups in 1975.
192 Since its inception the British League has been run by Don Martin an Australian, resident in the UK, who was introduced to Social Credit by Butler (Butler interview). Martin managed to secure the support of some high profile far-right activists, notably the Dowager Lady Jane Birdwood. Like the Australian League, Martin through his publishing enterprise, Bloomsbury Books, based in Surrey, was a prominent distributor of far-right material. In November 2000 the magazine *Searchlight* exposed Martin’s dual roles as head of the British League as well as spokesman for the Federation of Small Business. As a result Martin was forced to relinquish his role in the latter group. Currently the British League of Rights is thought to have as few as 20 members. See Nick Lowes & Steve Silver, ‘The Company They Keep,’ *Searchlight*, November 2000 at http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/stories/companytheykeep.htm on 3 December 2000 and Nick Lowes, ‘Gotcha!’, *Searchlight*, March 2001 at http://www.searchlightmagazine.com/stories/Dmgotcha.htm on 5 April 2001.
Intelligence Service. Walsh claimed to have been an undercover agent for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He appeared before the House Committee into Un-American Activities\textsuperscript{195} and was linked with the American group run by Willis Carto,\textsuperscript{196} the Liberty Lobby, a prominent Holocaust denial group.\textsuperscript{197} This confrérie were no doubt linked by their virulent antisemitism. Ironically revelations of antisemitism led to their expulsion from the WACL in 1983.\textsuperscript{198}

For Butler the expulsion was the result of the WACL objection to his revealing ‘the philosophical basis’ of world communism, what Butler referred to as the link ‘between international finance and international communism.’\textsuperscript{199} In reality there had been tensions between conservative affiliates of the WACL and fascist and antisemitic groups since the early 1970s.\textsuperscript{200} The eventual expulsion of the League, among other groups, was a not altogether convincing attempt to counter critics who claimed the WACL was a fascist and antisemitic organisation. While the extent of the League’s influence within the WACL seems to have been limited it certainly allowed the League to participate on a wider stage.\textsuperscript{201}

\textsuperscript{196} Carto is one of the more enigmatic figures on the international far right (see chapter 4).
\textsuperscript{197} Anderson & Anderson, op. cit., p. 154.
\textsuperscript{198} The activities of members of the WACL and their views makes some of the League’s stances seem quite mild by comparison. See ibid., passim. Another useful record of WACL’s activities can also be found at the Political Research Associates’ internet site at http://www.publiceye.org/research/Group_Watch/Entries-129.htm#P10609_2128557 on 5 April 2001.
\textsuperscript{199} Butler interview.
\textsuperscript{200} Ó Maolán, op. cit., p. 182.
\textsuperscript{201} ibid., passim, for the groups affiliated to the WACL.
Another ill-fated association was with the American John Birch Society. From around 1964 until the early 1970s Butler was far-eastern correspondent for the Birch journal *American Opinion*. Butler claimed the link between the two groups was strategic because of their common antipathy toward communism. This arrangement ended after ‘the Zionist mob,’ as Butler called them, attacked the John Birch Society for publishing his material, though *American Opinion* wanted Butler to continue to write using a pseudonym.  

As with the WACL, the Birch society tried to distance itself from accusations of antisemitism. This was precipitated after the prominent New Right activist William F. Buckley Jnr. attacked the group in 1966. As with the WACL the benefits for Butler in this association are unclear. Butler remains an obscure figure for the American far right, though a few of his books did circulate in the United States. Likewise the League circulated Birch material in Australia. Most notable were the books by Gary Allen, including his seminal work *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*. If Butler had a claim to fame in this regard it is his assertion that he gave Allen a reading list which helped Allen to formulate his ideas on conspiracy.

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202 Butler interview.
204 Despite no longer being a correspondent for the Birch Society there were continuing, though sporadic links between Butler and the Birch Society. *The Australia/Israel Review*, reported that in 1985 the League hosted a speaking engagement by the National Secretary of the Birch Society, John McManus and that the League’s associate Veritas publishing had their booklist prepared by the John Birch Society. See vol. 10, no. 9, 1985.
205 Gary Allen, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, Concord Press, Rossmoor, California, 1972. The book argues that the American Rockefeller family was a sponsor of left-wing revolutions. It has sold over 5,000,000 copies.
206 Butler interview.
On the home front the League launched *On Target*, a newsletter in 1964. A weekly commentary on events, sometimes with a supplement, it usually consisted of a single folded sheet of paper, printed on both sides. For activists this was designed to give them more immediate contact with the League and coincided with the establishment of the Voters Policy Associations. Clearly *On Target* was an attempt to guide the thinking and agenda followed by the VPAs in a relatively cost efficient manner. Considering the spread of these groups *On Target* became an important means of communication.

The political and establishment support the League had achieved in the 1950s gradually disappeared during the course of the 1960s. Far more important to the League’s long-term survival was community-based support, which today constitutes the most important element of the League’s membership and financial backing. To this end a very effective recruitment and training organisation was developed around the groups styled the Voters Policy Associations.

So we went through a period where the key unit in the League at the grassroots level was what you call the Voters Policy Association. Small groups meeting regularly... It is out of those groups that you have most of the leadership of today and it has all come through that training where they met regularly, dedicated, learnt skills of letter writing, approaching the media, produced some lecturers and much else. But that period is gone because I believe the nature of society has changed and people do not have the same kind of dedication or that sort of time. 208

The VPAs lasted until the late 1970s or early 1980s at which time they were disbanded. These groups were especially useful in establishing the League in rural areas. The strongest areas of support included the

207 ibid.
208 ibid.
Darling Downs region in Queensland, rural Western Australia and a more patchy presence in New South Wales, Victoria (particularly northern Victoria) and rural areas of South Australia.

The VPAs were an important recruiting tool that linked members in country areas to the hierarchy’s thinking. As Campbell noted, The VPA, in remote and rural areas, may operate as a substitute or ideological primary group, offering intense solidarity and feelings of belongings to a group of fellow crusaders, thereby transforming feelings of political alienation and powerlessness into feelings of ‘total’ participation and new patterns of extremist commitment.209

While Campbell’s observation that the VPAs were modelled on Communist cells210 is no doubt correct, the groups upheld the League’s own (optimistic) assertions.

Already these action groups have proved that they provide the only basis for a successful grass-roots movement in which individuals can associate to apply the principles of association and to obtain the increment of association. These groups provide the answer to the question so often asked ‘But what can I do?’ There are many individuals who in these action groups have found for the first time in their lives that they as individuals can exercise power. It has almost been a spiritual rebirth for many. The League’s grass-roots can decisively change the course of Australian history.211

Throughout the 1960s this program was successful in attracting new members and establishing a strong sense of camaraderie. Groups undertook letter-writing campaigns to promote their views.212 Members were encouraged to join the conservative parties.213 This latter activity was important in promoting the League’s concerns.

209 Campbell, op. cit., p. 138.
210 Campbell, op. cit., p. 131.
212 ibid., p. 126.
213 ibid., p. 133.
especially within the Country Party. As the long time League member
Jeremy Lee noted,
In the late sixties and early seventies I was a member of the
Country Party, and served as delegate to the Federal
Committee in New England, held by former Minister Ian
Sinclair. I had been invited to join the party by the Secretary of
the Kingstown, New South Wales branch, Mr Peter Gall. My
membership of the Australian League of Rights was known to
him and other members. But they said not a word when I, and
others, were later accused of "infiltrating" the party.²¹⁴

In 1967 two other organisations were established; The Lilac League or
Ladies In Line Against Communism and the Institute for Economic
Democracy. Like On Target, the Lilac League had its genesis in the
evolving needs of the VPAs. The reason for the establishment of the
Lilac League was quite simple and rather paternalistic. The goal was to
give female members a focus outside the VPA structure. Its quaint
name and purpose may have appealed to some League members but
even by 1967 it was an idea that had come too late.

A similarly reactionary group, Women Who Want to be Women, was
formed in the late 1970s by one of the League’s fellow travellers, Jackie
Butler. Women Who Want to be Women was a more successful group
than its predecessor in terms of Butler’s links with mainstream politics
and some church groups (see chapters 4 and 5). In Jackie Butler the
group had an energetic leader and a wide support base. Again the
theme of the centrality of individual activists applies. When Jackie
Butler was forced to retire after a car accident the group folded. It
appears that more activist women in the League were attracted to the

VPAs, where the current (2002) National President, Betty Luk, was first involved. Ultimately Butler conceded that the Lilac League was not a success. The group was disbanded in the 1980s. Despite its disappearance the League of Rights has come to increasingly rely on female activists.\textsuperscript{215}

The Institute for Economic Democracy has been described as a League front by critics like Andrew Campbell. In fact it was established as a vehicle for Jeremy Lee. Born in Kenya and educated in England, Lee served in the British Territorial Forces in Kenya during the Mau-Mau crisis. In 1962 he moved to Australia and from 1967 to 1988, when he became involved with conspiracy theorist Peter Sawyer (see chapter 6), worked full time for the League.\textsuperscript{216} The name, Institute for Economic Democracy, reflected the title of one of C.H. Douglas’s early books and it is mainly on broadly economic themes that Lee has written and spoken. Eric Butler believed Lee was one of the most ‘brilliant’ and capable people to have come through the League.\textsuperscript{217}

The Institute was a response to the League’s desire to decentralise its activities. Some of Lee’s writings show his preoccupation with events in Queensland,\textsuperscript{218} though the main focus for Lee’s writing continues to be around economic and banking issues.\textsuperscript{219} Lee’s association with Peter

\textsuperscript{215} ibid.
\textsuperscript{217} Butler interview.
\textsuperscript{219} A representative example is, Jeremy Lee, 'The New World Order, ' and the destruction of Australian Industry, Veritas Publishing, Cranbrook, Western Australia, 1991. Primarily concerned with the plight of farmers the book links the rural crisis to corrupt Australian politicians working toward the ‘New World Order.’
Sawyer caused a temporary estrangement between himself and the League. Although Lee now freelances, his articles appear regularly on the League website. He remains a regular contributor to the Neil Baird internet newsletter.

Henri Fischer and the League

In the mid 1960s the epicentre of radical-right activity revolved around the League, assorted neo-Nazis (see chapter 3), anticommunist émigré groups and the far right of the Liberal Party. Henri Fischer and his publication the *Australian International News Review (AINR)* held a pivotal position in this milieu and Fischer has some claim to being the *éminence grise* of the far right between 1965 and 1967. Fischer was a shadowy figure who achieved national fame in 1975 over a plan to get Iraqi money for the ALP. Fischer had indicated that he could raise a very large sum of money\(^2\) from the Ba’ath Socialist Party of Iraq. Fischer met with senior Labor Party figures, including Gough Whitlam,

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\(^2\) The French spelling, Henri, like Jules François Archibald, appears to be an affectation. He was christened Henry.

\(^2\) The *AINR* was first published by Aegis Publishing at North Sydney on 30 April 1965 and ceased publication on 25 August 1967.


\(^3\) That Fischer did have high level contacts in Iraq seems incontrovertible. The Australian diplomat Pierre Hutton recalled meeting Fischer in Baghdad in early 1975. He [Fischer] was to see a member of the Baathist regional Command Council whom he knew well. Would I like to meet informally with Abdul Fattah Muhammad al Yassin who, being responsible for Baathist Party organization and propaganda, was not in the habit of meeting ambassadors – resident or non-resident? I accepted and was witness to a warm greeting of Fischer by a man whose smile had the peculiar charm of that of his close colleague, Saddam Hussein. . . . He [Yassin] indicated that the time was approaching to obtain a better public understanding of Iraq in Australia. I sensed that Fischer was, despite his quite spoken and unassuming manner an unusual Australian.

Bob Hawke, David Combe and Bill Hartley. In the wash up the Labor Party never received any funds and Fischer disappeared in Singapore never to return to Australia, with, it is guessed, anywhere between $250,000 and $500,000. It was an embarrassing experience for the Labor Party.

These events would have little to do with this thesis if it were not for some of the threads of the affair leading back to Fischer’s activities between 1965 and 1967. The first revolves around questions relating to the financing of AINR. Prominent overseas companies like Bosch, the German electrical manufacturer and several Japanese banks including the Mitsubishi Bank, the Nippon Kangyo Bank, and the Sumitomo Bank advertised in AINR. The journal carried no classified advertisements and neither its circulation nor these advertisements would seem to have supported the cost of producing such a magazine. Advertising from prominent Australian firms was noticeably absent.

What is striking was AINR’s promotion of the ethnic press. In particular publications that were linked with groups that were in turn linked with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Clearly Fischer was

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224 For a full account of the incident see Reid, op. cit., pp. 444 – 453. Bill Hartley, dubbed ‘Baghdad Bill’ by the Australia/Israel Review, continued his links with the Middle East. In 1981 as secretary of the Arab-Libyan Australian Friendship Association Hartley hosted a visit to Australia by the Libyan Secretary of Agriculture. See ‘Libya’s many local links,’ The Bulletin, 22-29 December 1981. Libya was not just supporting the ALP Socialist left. It funded former neo-Nazi, Robert Pash’s group, the Australian People’s Conference. Through New Dawn International News Service Pash published The New Dawn, which catered for far-left and right views. For its support of Libya see ‘Libya Next Victim of the New World Order?’, The New Dawn, vol. 1, no. 8, December 1991.

225 There does not appear to be any evidence that Fischer managed to get away with any money at all. If he did why were there no repercussions? Certainly his Iraqi benefactors would have had cause to feel aggrieved.
attempting to court the anticommunist, eastern European émigrés.\footnote{See ‘Directory for Readers and Advertisers,’ \textit{Australian International News Review}, 18 January 1966. This listed ethnic papers like the Croatian \textit{Spremnost} and the Hungarian \textit{Ausztráliai Magyarság}.}

\textit{AINR} must have received support from some sponsors though no recognition as to who or what they were was given by \textit{AINR}.\footnote{Isi Leibler quoted a circulation of 17,000. See Isi Leibler, ‘Australia’s Radical Right,’ \textit{Quadrant}, no. 40, vol. X, no. 2, March - April 1966. Connell & Gould cite an audited circulation of 24,901. See R.W. Connell and Florence Gould, \textit{Politics of the Extreme Right. Warringah 1966}, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1967, p. 42. Both agree that \textit{AINR} received some other financial support.}

Arthur Smith, the neo-Nazi, recalled his links with Fischer that dated to around 1965 and 1966. Smith revealed that Fischer, was a mystery man. I never knew where he came from or were his money came from, except that Reuben F. Scarf gave him quite a lot of money. I know that is I have a friend who was his publicity man. He financed Fischer and \textit{Australian International News Review}. That was the biggest rip off ever. Fischer used to like spend holidays overseas, all paid for by Scarf. But it probably started off as a good idea. But because Henri would use money up so quickly it then became a vehicle for people like Malcolm Fraser, who I met in Henri’s office. Fischer had all these contacts. I lived in Summer Hill at the time and sometimes around 2 o’clock in the morning there would be a knock at the door and it would be Fischer and he would want to know if I had any Hitler speeches. So I would say yes, but, they were not much good to him unless he understood German. So I would put them on while Henri would sit there listening to them salivating. He sold out to Rupert Murdoch. They closed the magazine down but he did a deal with Murdoch. Rupert paid him for it. Henri lived in Blues Point Towers in McMahon’s Point. So did Rupert and he had just married Anna Torv. I’m told by Henri that her father was a fairly high ranking member of the Latvian or Estonian SS, which has never come out in the press. As far as I know he was still living up on the North Shore till a few years ago, not that it worried me. Fischer was slimy, self indulgent.\footnote{Arthur Charles Smith interview, Lithgow, 2000.}

As regards the Rueben F. Scarf connection, Smith may well be correct.\footnote{One highly laudatory article on Scarf appeared in \textit{AINR}. See ‘He makes money by giving things away,’ \textit{Australian International News Review}, 22 June 1966.} Scarf did give money to right-wing causes, including groups like the Festival of Light and when Fischer first became involved in the
Iraq affair he was then working for the Scarf Foundation. However, Smith’s claims about Murdoch are not credible. Alan Reid noted in his account that when Fischer attempted to contact Murdoch to give him the story of the Iraqi affair that Murdoch had never heard of him. This could not have been the case had Murdoch bought AINR and closed it down. However, Smith’s claims of Fischer’s fascination with Nazism do seem credible. The then national secretary of the ALP David Combe claimed to have seen an ASIO file that labelled Fischer ‘as a Right-wing antisemitic crank.’ After Fischer disappeared from the Australian scene he re-emerged in the United States and with Willis Carto, was involved in the establishment of the Holocaust revisionist group the Institute for Historical Review. As regards the finance for the magazine it seems most likely that Fischer obtained money from a number of sources which may have included the Rhodesian government.

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230 Combe, op. cit.
232 ibid., p. 447. Combe later had more personal dealings with ASIO when his association with Valeri Ivanov became a subject of examination for a Royal Commission inquiry. See David Marr, *The Ivanov Trial*, Thomas Nelson Australia, Melbourne, 1984, passim.
234 Moore, op. cit., pp. 115 – 116, notes that the Rhodesia Information Centre was well funded by the Rhodesian government.
Henri Fischer was a member of the New South Wales Beauty Point branch of the Liberal Party. In August 1966 he was narrowly elected its president. This, no doubt, was part of his success in gaining the prominent support of Liberal Party member and friend of Prime Minister Menzies, Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes. Kent Hughes had a long history of support for right-wing views. By 1960 he was distributing a news sheet titled *Foreign Affairs Committee Intelligence Bulletin* within the federal parliament in part sourced from overseas anticommunist groups. As Kent Hughes' biographer noted the, 'bulletins became his missionary tracts, spreading the call for eternal vigilance,' against communism. Kent Hughes became a regular contributor to *AINR*, sometimes without a byline. For its part *AINR* championed Kent Hughes for his Christian and anticommunist views.

Kent Hughes was also prepared to defend his allies against any criticism when he felt that the *AINR* and League were being attacked by communists. Writing to Fischer after Isi Leibler's highly critical demolition of *AINR* appeared in *Quadrant* magazine, Kent Hughes confided that there was a 'definite clever organisation at work trying to smear and divide the lot of us.' In a letter published in the right-wing

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231 For a few issues it was called the *Foreign Affairs Committee Information Bulletin*. Kent Hughes developed the newsheet along the lines of J. de Courcy's British based *Intelligence Digest*, for which Kent Hughes was the Australian correspondent. See NLA MS4856, W.S. Kent Hughes.


236 See for example, Sir Wilfred Kent Hughes, 'Australia at war,' 11 September 1965 and 'Tactics in the psywar,' 17 August 1966 both *Australian International News Review*.

237 Kent Hughes wrote to Fischer suggesting that he be published under a pseudonym like 'Bunyip.' As most articles in *AINR* did not carry a byline it appears that some of his contributions were not acknowledged. See letter to H.J. Fischer, 1 March 1966 in NLA MS4856.


émigré newspaper News-Weekly, Kent Hughes publicly stated his support for both the League and AINR claiming their vilification was a result of ‘psychological warfare being waged in Australia by materialistic and atheistic Communism.’ Kent Hughes support for the League and Fischer can not be dismissed as well intentioned but naive. In 1965 that other Liberal Party anticomunist warrior, W.C. Wentworth had written to Kent Hughes advising him that Fischer was ‘an officer of the Beauty Point Branch of the Liberal Party . . . strongly . . . in support of the South African Government’ and warning Kent Hughes to ‘make certain that it [AINR] can’t be described as Fascist.’ By comparison B.A. Santamaria kept well clear of both AINR and Butler. He dubbed Fischer’s magazine ‘racist and anti-Semitic’ Fischer and the AINR became pivotal in bringing together many elements of the far right. Sir Raphael Cilento was chairman of AINR’s board and an occasional contributor. He was also a friend of Eric Butler who took up the cause of support for Ian Smith’s regime in Rhodesia through AINR. It included a very favourable interview by

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241 Letter to the Editor, 14 February 1966, in ibid.
242 Letter from W.C. Wentworth to Kent Hughes, 5 March 1965, in ibid. Wentworth at least was aware of right-wing journals. He expressed concern to the Attorney General over the literary magazine Meanjin’s editor, C.B. Christesen after reading an article in the League publication Intelligence Survey. See NAA Series A6119 item 275.
243 Butler interview. Butler acknowledged there were no links between the League and Santamaria’s group.
244 Robin Acton, ‘The Defend Australia League,’ Outlook, 19 April 1966. Edward St John who was at the centre of the fracas described below noted how after his election as member for Warringah he was given a dinner by Isi Leibler. The dinner was also attended by Bob Santamaria and Frank Knopfelmacher. While the anticomunist forces that joined with Fischer and Butler may have attempted to flex their muscles, they obviously gained no comfort or support from those anticommunists who did have substance.
246 Moore, op. cit., p. 115.
Butler with Ian Smith. Butler also advised Kent Hughes on the Rhodesian situation and on the basis of information he provided, Kent Hughes gave a report to Prime Minister Menzies in December 1965. Anticommunism, support for Rhodesia and South Africa and support for the war in Vietnam all became rallying points for AINR, Kent Hughes, the League and a number of other activists.

Kent Hughes wrote to one correspondent that the 'greatest danger of the moment is the peace offensive.' It is no surprise that he then was prepared to speak for groups like Michael Darby's Australian Action Co-ordinating Committee, which received favourable publicity from AINR. The Australian Action Co-ordinating Committee was linked with Owen Warrington's pro Vietnam War group, the Friends of Freedom, which Warrington had formed in Brisbane in 1962. Warrington is a strange figure who first came to ASIO's notice as a bodgie who had attempted to make contact with Asian immigrants. By 1964 he had moved to Sydney and worked for Pan American Airways. He again came to the notice of ASIO when he attempted to contact Fabian Lovokovic whom ASIO considered the leader of the New South Wales Ustashi. Warrington managed to make a name for himself in Sydney political circles. The Sydney University ALP club reported in

248 Howard, op. cit., p. 217.
249 Letter to J. de Courcy, 14 December 1965 in NLA MS4856. Kent Hughes bemoaned protesting university students and some members of the clergy who 'are turning their pulpits into sacrificial soap boxes for the propaganda of atheistic aggressors.'
250 Robin Acton, 'Messrs Darby & Warrington,' *Outlook*, 4 August 1966 and Advertisement, 'In Defence of Freedom of Choice and Civilisation' *Australian International News Review*, 13 April 1966. This meeting was organised by the Australian Action Co-ordinating Committee and featured Kent Hughes.
251 NAA A6119/89 item 2331.
252 Ibid.
March 1966 that Warrington and his ‘fascist-like gang’ had joined the Young Liberals and was a delegate to the ‘Liberal’s Youth council.’ They believed that Warrington, along with Michael Darby and Howard Williams (a neo-Nazi associate of Arthur Smith, see chapter 3) were attempting to hijack the Young Liberals.253

Darby and Warrington were no doubt linked through their association with émigré groups. Darby’s parents, Douglas and Esmé had strong connections to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and Douglas Darby served on the Australian affiliate to the World Anti-Communist League the Asian People’s Anti-Communist League with Eric Butler.254 Michael Darby in 1964 addressed a meeting attended by some Latvian SS members while Warrington was a correspondent for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations’ journal News Digest-International.255 When Darby formed the Australian Action Co-ordinating Centre on 10 March 1966 the meeting was also attended by Ljenko Urbancic.256 Neither Friends of Freedom or Darby’s group lasted the year. Darby joined the army and Warrington seems to have simply disappeared from the political scene.257 In March 1966 at several rallies both men were accused by the media of disruptive tactics, all with the support of the AINR.258

253 *Wednesday Commentary*, vol. 2, no. 4, 23 March 1966, in ibid.
255 Acton, ‘Messrs Darby & Warrington,’ op. cit.
256 NAA A6119/89 item 2331.
257 Warrington’s ASIO file suggests he was unstable. ASIO’s contact reported that Warrington was ‘a complete fanatic and almost certifiable’ in ibid.
258 ‘The pattern of the ultra right,’ *Outlook*, 19 April 1966.
In 1966 a group was formed within the Liberal party known as the 50 Club. Prominent members included Sir Raphael Cilento (the group’s patron), Fischer and Urbancic. Urbancic became the most notorious member of the group when allegations of his collaboration with the Nazis in Slovenia during World War Two became public. Andrew Moore has argued that the group ‘were genuinely pluralist’ in organising debates and ‘in redefining conservatism.’ This may have been true of some members but in the cases of Fischer and Urbancic this is open to question. As Moore notes, the 50 Club did organise a debate on Australian participation in the Vietnam War with the journalist Francis James speaking for the negative. The meeting ended in chaos when Arthur Smith leapt on the platform and denounced James. Smith had to be forcibly removed from the meeting. Smith has since claimed that his participation was at the behest of Fischer and Urbancic (see chapter 4).

The 50 Club came to prominence when they attempted to disrupt the election of the Liberal Party candidate, Edward St John QC, for the Sydney seat of Warringah and ended up supporting an ‘independent’ Liberal for the seat. The fracas revolved around St John’s membership of the South African Defence and Aid Fund (SADAF), an

259 Moore, op. cit., p. 82.
260 Aarons, op. cit., passim. From 1968 Urbancic was part of a group in the Liberal Party known as the ‘Uglies.’ They were accused of infiltrating party committees in an attempt to steer the party to the right. Michael Darby was also a member of the group. See Robert Darroch and David Armstrong, ‘Faction fight surfaces in New South Wales Liberal Party,’ The Bulletin, 2 May 1978.
261 Moore, op. cit., p. 82.
262 ‘The pattern of the ultra right,’ Outlook, 19 April 1966.
263 The primary analysis of the campaign is in Connell & Gould, op. cit., passim. For St John’s perspective on the affair see NLA MS7614, Edward St John, box 1; Edward St John, A Time to Speak, op. cit., pp. 35 - 51 and ‘The Warringah Campaign,’ Quadrant, no 51, vol xii, no. 1, January – February 1968, pp. 41 – 51.
organisation opposed to white minority rule. In October 1965 the AINR had questioned the credentials of the SADAF and concluded it was a communist front. This questioned St John’s participation in the group. Similar attacks were made by Urbancic and Cilento. What followed was a dirty campaign, joined by Butler and members of the Rhodesian and South African lobbies and conducted largely by Fischer who was in the somewhat curious position of being on St John’s campaign committee as well as trying to get the independent Liberal candidate, C.B. Chambers, elected.

In the end the groups at the centre of this exercise were unsuccessful. St John was elected, albeit with a twelve per cent swing against him, while his far-right opponent, Chambers, received fifteen and a half per cent of the vote. Had Chambers won the power of the far right may have resonated through the Liberal Party. As it was this very public dispute showed the limitations of their power. In the federal parliament their main ally, Kent Hughes, was an old man who may still have had the affection of his party due to his military career, but whose power had eroded since Menzies dismissed him from the ministry in 1956. For his part Killen was forced to renounce his links to the League. Fischer closed down AINR, and Sir Raphael Cilento was sidelined. Of the principal players only Urbancic and Butler continued to play a part.

266 Ibid., p. 39 – 40.
267 The endorsed Liberal’s vote dropped from 72.50% to 60.20% while the ALP candidate’s vote fell from 22.95% to 19.15% suggesting that Chambers managed to attract mainly Liberal votes but also a small amount of ALP votes. The DLP candidate’s vote was nearly unchanged.
on the political scene; Urbancic within the Liberal Party\textsuperscript{268} and Butler progressively from outside both conservative parties.

The League in the 1970s

The attempt to eradicate the influence of the League from the Country Party, noted above, began in earnest in July 1971 when the ALP Member for Hindmarsh, Clyde Cameron, alleged in parliament that the League controlled one of the Country Party’s New South Wales branches.\textsuperscript{269} What transpired was a spirited attempt by the leaders of the Country Party to reject allegations of League influence and to distance the party from it.\textsuperscript{270} At times the fracas involved a level of farce as when Doug Anthony, the new party leader\textsuperscript{271} was forced to withdraw allegations that the League was ‘pro-Nazi.’\textsuperscript{272} Brockett’s view that the League sought to present itself as a buttress against change is endorsed by the contemporary analysis of Keith Richmond. Richmond noted how the League resisted modernising policies introduced by

\textsuperscript{268} By 1978 Urbancic and Michael Darby were again causing dissonance within the Liberal party over factional fights and allegations that the ‘Uglies’ were attempting to hijack the party. See Darrock and Armstrong, op. cit. Urbancic’s power play was blocked by Liberal Party moderates though through Darby, Urbancic has continued his association with the far right. In 1988 he and Darby attended a meeting for Peter Sawyer in Rockhampton. See The Australia/Israel Review, vol. 13, no. 13, 1988. The peripatetic Darby has continued to show an ability to pop up in different places. Senator Ron Boswell referred to him as the ‘Scarlet Pimpernel’ of the far right. See Gun Control Date, 19 June 1996, Senate Hansard Speaker: Boswell, Sen Ronald (NP, QLD, Government) Page: 1799. (Hereafter: Boswell Senate speech 1996.)

\textsuperscript{269} Brockett, op. cit., p. 7.

\textsuperscript{270} See also David Greason, ‘The League of Rights: a reply to Brockett,’ Electronic Journal of Australian and New Zealand History, at http://www.jcu.edu.au/ft/history/articles/greason.htm on 3 March 1997. Greason differs from Brockett on a number of key points particularly on the League’s radicalism. He also questioned some of Brockett’s sources. Both however, agree that some rank and file Country Party members shared the League’s views.

\textsuperscript{271} Anthony was elected leader in February 1971 and moved against the League shortly afterward. For Anthony’s rationale see, ‘Extremists Threaten CP – says Anthony,’ The Age, 7 August 1971.

\textsuperscript{272} Brockett, op. cit., p. 7.
John McEwen, and that Anthony as a subsequent moderniser needed to expel the League to institute change. A more cynical analysis would conclude that it was an opportunity for Anthony to stamp his authority on the party. What followed was something of a war between the League and the Country Party in which the League came off second best. The League, however, was not banished and with the arrival of Joh Bjelke-Petersen would again find a role in the, by then, National Party.

Faced with attacks on its status within the Country Party the League embarked on a campaign encapsulated in the publication Can We Save The Country Party? In the lead-up to the 1972 federal elections three key League speakers toured rural areas in northern New South Wales and south-eastern Queensland giving lectures. These were Butler and Jeremy Lee, through the Institute for Economic Democracy and Edward Rock. In 1971 the League had established the Christian Institute for Individual Freedom under the leadership of Butler’s long time Deputy National Director, Edward Rock, as his personal vehicle. Rock set out to attract conservative and fundamentalist Christians infusing his writings with rhetoric borrowed from the

274 A joke in some right-wing circles is that a prerequisite of leadership in the Country / National Party is to expel the League.
275 Brockett, op. cit., p. 7.
fundamentalists.\textsuperscript{276} The League groups instituted an advertising campaign in selected newspapers during the campaign.\textsuperscript{277}

In line with the dictum of C.H. Douglas not to field candidates the League sought to extract ‘elector’s contracts’ through the Electors’ Associations that it operated. It had some success here with a DLP candidate and some independents endorsed the contracts.\textsuperscript{278} It applied special pressure against Ian Sinclair and Ralph Hunt in their electorates. In West Australia it claimed that it had been responsible for the defeat of Gordon Freeth in the 1969 elections and warned the incumbent ALP member not to disregard the League.\textsuperscript{279} Despite its intensive campaign to punish the Country Party and less directly the Liberal Party the League’s campaign failed. ‘In electorates where it might have been expected to make some impact, such as Darling Downs, it made virtually none.’\textsuperscript{280}

The 1972 elections were not the best time for the League to test its influence, though the surge of support for the ALP was not a factor in all electorates. In Ralph Hunt’s seat of Gwydir, Hunt slightly increased his majority while a League supporter, Bill O’Donnell, managed only 0.7 per cent of the vote.\textsuperscript{281} Here the League was hoisted on its own petard. Douglas and Butler were opposed to forming a political party.

\textsuperscript{276} Butler interview. For a representative example of Rock’s style see, Edward Rock, ‘Spiritual Nature of Initiated Referendum,’ New Times, May 1991, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{278} For the text of these ‘elector’s contracts’ see ibid., p. 106.
\textsuperscript{279} ibid., pp. 107 – 108. The authors noted that this claim, while overstated, was not without some foundation.’
\textsuperscript{280} ibid., p. 109.
\textsuperscript{281} Greason, op. cit., p. 5.
In 1970 Butler had castigated New Zealand Social Crediters for attempting to form a party. ‘Whenever social credit has been tied to party politics the results have been disastrous.’\textsuperscript{282} The trouble for Butler was that the results were hardly less disastrous when the League was not tied to a political party. In the case of Gwydir the League even refused to endorse Bill O’Donnell, who supported them, or to assist in his campaign.\textsuperscript{283} In the Victorian seat of Diamond Valley, an opponent of the League did lose his seat but not as a result of the League’s machinations against him.\textsuperscript{284} As with St John and Warringah the League was shown to be impotent but here the way in which the League operates must be held in part responsible.

The idea of electors’ contracts and associations had first come about in the 1940s after the debacle of Social Credit in Canada. What may have seemed a good (though untested) idea then, certainly did not translate to the 1970s. The received wisdom of Douglas was inviolate and combined with a limited advertising budget the League could or did not get its message through. League speakers like Jeremy Lee, who were well known, may have been able to make an electoral impact in, say, a Darling Downs seat. They did not run. Here the inertia of the League, its inability to formulate new tactics, seems at least a part of the League’s failure to influence the course of the election. Subsequent success by far-right groups suggests that they only have a chance with high profile candidates, backed up by effective local campaigning. The League had neither.

\textsuperscript{282} Cited in ibid., p. 4.
\textsuperscript{283} Richards and Edwards, op. cit., p. 108.
\textsuperscript{284} ibid.
Despite its electoral failure the League did manage to expand its membership and support base from the late 1960s through to the early 1980s. Exact figures are not available though in the early 1970s perhaps ten thousand people supported the League with a much smaller number of financial members.\textsuperscript{285}

Despite its growing estrangement from mainstream political discourse the League still claimed to have friends in high places. A former Victorian Supreme Court justice, Sir Reginald Scholl remained a public friend of the League\textsuperscript{286} as did Sir Raphael Cilento. The League even claimed that Butler had met with Malcolm Fraser before he challenged Billy Snedden for the Liberal Party leadership in March 1975, to discuss the leadership.\textsuperscript{287}

In the 1970s the most high profile friend of the League was the Queensland premier Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen. Bjelke-Petersen saw the League as 'no more than an uncomplicated Christian, anti-communist and monarchist organisation.'\textsuperscript{288} It appears that the link between Bjelke-Petersen and Butler may have come through Sir Raphael

\textsuperscript{285} Mike Richards, 'The Farther Shores of Australian Politics,' \textit{The Age}, 26 February 1972 and Moore, op. cit., p. 73.

\textsuperscript{286} Jackson, op. cit.

\textsuperscript{287} ibid. See also, E. D. Butler, 'Malcolm Fraser's Concerns About the League of Rights,' \textit{New Times}, January 1997. At interview Butler claimed he had met Fraser through a mutual friend, a grazier in Victoria's Western Districts and they had discussed help the League could provide Fraser. In correspondence on 16 May 1997 Mr Fraser replied to me that, 'Any contacts I have had with Butler have done no more than confirm the views expressed to me by Sir Robert Menzies.' These comments were reputedly to the effect that Butler was an 'odious chap.' On balance it seems probable that Fraser and Butler did meet, but it stretches credulity that Fraser asked for Butler's views on challenging for the Liberal Party leadership. As at least two of Fraser's party colleagues, Billy Snedden and James Killen had links with the League, it may be that Fraser did inquire about them as Butler asserts. Fraser did not deny meeting Butler but there is no evidence to support the claim of any League influence on Fraser.

\textsuperscript{288} Moore, op. cit., p. 93.
Cilento. Butler expressed reservations over Bjelke-Petersen and claimed that,

Well it is no secret that at one stage the League had a reasonably, shall we say, amicable relationship with Joh Bjelke. We knew him well. But only because he took up certain policies that the League was endorsing. Number one a state bank, he grasped that for Queensland. Plus he did grasp the importance of the consumer discount system. So he started to advocate that at the time of Whitlam - shook a few people. So out of that came something called the Petersen plan. Now we endorsed that not because Joh Bjelke-Petersen was Premier but because this was a policy we endorsed. We don’t care who is advocating the policy, simply if the policy is right we will support him. So that got Joh into a lot of trouble. In fact it was quite remarkable when he got into the election and got a majority in both houses amongst the members. We virtually had the League or League people running the campaign in favour of Joh because of these policies and we had the hierarchy of the National Party virtually disowning the bloody League. It was an interesting situation. There was no argument about it - our relationship with Joh was during that period. And Joh was a strange character and in my opinion his own worst enemy in a number of ways. Very naive, I don’t believe he was a crook and all that. I suppose we were friends, he was hard pushed by Whitlam to come up with something and so he said can you come up and we advised him and talked about all that and he could grasp it all.

Butler’s account suggests a level of involvement that implies a significant input from the League, especially around the period of the Whitlam dismissal. As Andrew Moore has noted Albert Field who was appointed to the Senate by the Bjelke-Petersen government in 1975 was associated with the League. However, the level of involvement by the League in the events of 1975 seems wildly overstated. However, a ‘Petersen plan’ did surface briefly as an issue in the 1976 by-election for the Queensland seat of Lockyer. The election was precipitated by

296 Butler interview.
291 Moore, op. cit., p. 76.
the resignation of the Liberal Party leader Sir Gordon Chalk and was contested by the three major parties and a smattering of independents, including a candidate for the Worker’s Party. The League’s local Darling Downs Electors’ Association claimed the ‘Petersen plan’ was endorsed by the premier and also sponsored a public meeting for the candidates. It did not endorse any particular candidate and its impact on the election appears negligible. The ‘Petersen plan’ seems to have disappeared after the by-election.

Butler may have considered Bjelke-Petersen a friend though the evidence suggests that both Bjelke-Petersen and his government were more influenced by the New Right, moral conservatives and the Christian right. The League may have continued to assist the National Party to staff its booths at election times, as Senator Ron Boswell later admitted, but its strategy in staying attached to the National Party seems to have been flawed.

Most studies of the Bjelke-Petersen premiership make no mention of the League. Even the highly critical account by Deane Wells that equated Bjelke-Petersen with Hitler omits any mention of the League. When Bjelke-Petersen’s ill-fated ‘Joh for Canberra’ campaign was underway in 1986, Paul Kelly notes that the League did

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293 ibid., p. 43.
mobilise some grass roots support for the campaign. The most notable supporters were men like the Gold Coast entrepreneur Mike Gore and retired businessman John Leard. Leard had earlier published a book based on his speeches, which was a catalogue of New Right grievances but which did show a resemblance in part to some of the concerns of the far right. When the Social Responsibility section of the Queensland Uniting Church attacked the League and the Logos foundation they could only point to Bjelke-Petersen's message of support to one of the League's annual dinners.

The most important legacy bequeathed by Bjelke-Petersen to the far right was his populist style and tolerance for some of the concerns of a variety of far-right groups that permeated into many policy areas of government, notably education, during his term. Having said this Queensland displays other characteristics that differentiate it from the rest of the nation (see chapter 9). From the start of Bjelke-Petersen's premiership up until the present time Queensland, in part through its decentralisation, became the hub of activity for the Australian far right. The League, which had once enjoyed a near hegemony over this rural constituency, became only one of a number of players who sought to gain influence.

298 See John Leard Australia, the worst is yet to come, John Leard, Parramatta, 1986, especially pp. 107 – 112. Leard warned that atheism, anti-family policies and socialism were destroying the country and argued against participation in international bodies such as the United Nations. The books foreword was written Nadia Weiner, of Centre 2000 a group associated with the New Right.
299 Social Responsibility Section, 'Logos & The League: Are They Conservatives?'. Uniting Church in Australia, Queensland Synod, pamphlet, n.d., circa 1988/89.
The 1980s and beyond

The 1980s were a difficult time for the League. The attempt to expel it from its association with what by then was the National Party accelerated. Soon after the departure of Bjelke-Petersen from the premiership on 1 December 1987, the senior National Party Senator Ron Boswell, attacked the League on 27 April 1988.\textsuperscript{300} Events that had started in 1971 had remained unfinished business. The League still was hanging on to the National Party's coat tails. By the time Boswell had finished his speech in the parliament, the split between his party and the League was irrevocable. Boswell believed that his status as a senior conservative politician meant his attack on the League was far more effective than one that would have emanated from the other side of the House.\textsuperscript{301} It was also one that had been coordinated with the senior Queensland National Party leader Sir Robert Sparkes.\textsuperscript{302}

The speech was a savage, sometimes inaccurate, attack on the League. Boswell's assertion that the League was 'neo-nazi,' is for instance unsustainable. The speech also gave the impression that the Lilac League was still functioning, which it was not. Central to Boswell's argument was his assertion that the League was a sinister and secretive body, which sought to misrepresent its true views, a stance this thesis does not support. Possibly the biggest distortion of the Boswell speech was his linking of the League with Peter Sawyer. While Sawyer did have early links with the League (see chapter 6) he was no creature of

\textsuperscript{301} Boswell interview, Canberra, 1996.
\textsuperscript{302} Boswell Senate speech 1988.
the League and his links with League activist Jeremy Lee, seem to have been at Lee’s own behest.

Boswell’s motives and sources for the attacks have inevitably been the subject of speculation. One view has it that Boswell was initially alerted by the ‘Jewish lobby,’ who provided him with his ‘mis’-information.303 This thesis contends that Boswell’s motives were good if rather misguided. Boswell’s caricature of the League as subverting ‘honest’ men and women is overblown and suggests that many of them were either stupid, gullible or defective. The more plausible view may be that many people who were attracted to the League simply agreed with its manifesto.

Boswell’s speech was also motivated by his membership of the Pentecostal group, the Assemblies of God.304 His speech is detailed in its plea for church people to beware of the admonitions of the League and Peter Sawyer. The evidence suggests that in the fundamentalist and charismatic Christian groups around this period, millennialist prophecies were running wild. Along with the League, the Logos Foundation (see chapter 5) and Peter Sawyer were influential in these Christian groups. Boswell may have been motivated by both religious and political concerns. What is evident is that his speech to the Senate cast both Sawyer and the League firmly into the extremist orbit.

303 Confidential source. Organisations like the Australia/Israel Review would no doubt have been delighted to provide Senator Boswell with material, though this is hardly a conspiracy.
304 Boswell interview.
The League also had its own turf war accelerating from the 1980s to the present. The implications of this would seem far more important to the League’s long term viability than even the Boswell attack. From 1966 onward there had been a substantial growth in extreme-right groups, initially primarily opposed to immigration and the end of the White Australia policy. The impact of these groups seems to have been minimal for the League as the new groups were primarily urban based. In Queensland the League did maintain links with the Immigration Control Association through Dr John Dique and later enjoyed good relations with Australians Against Further Immigration’s Dennis McCormack (see chapter 4). Similarly the formation of National Action and its predecessors had little impact on the League as they essentially appealed to very different groups and in different areas.

From the late 1980s a series of organisations began in Queensland that directly challenged the League on its own territory. In 1987 Peter Sawyer was gaining prominence, in 1988 the Citizens Electoral Councils were formed to contest the by-election for Bjelke-Petersen’s seat of Barambah. In the same year the Logos Foundation moved its base to Toowoomba in the centre of Queensland’s Darling Downs’ religious belt. In 1990 the Confederate Action Party was established in Ipswich and in 1996 Pauline Hanson swept to national prominence. Of these groups only the Citizens Electoral Councils (CEC) survive but all vied with the League for support. In the case of the CEC this opposition is ongoing and vigorous.
This relative explosion of far-right groups was mirrored around the country. In 1992 Tony Pitt published a list of one hundred and sixty groups and individuals who were 'all loyal to Australia.'\(^{305}\) By 1999 his list had grown to three hundred and twelve.\(^{306}\) Pitt's list needs to be used carefully, as many groups are duplicated, while others would, no doubt, distance themselves from being bracketed in any way with Pitt.\(^{307}\) A more reasonable estimate would probably be well under one hundred.

\(^{305}\) Tony Pitt, 'These groups are all loyal to Australia,' *Fight*, 5\(^{th}\) edition, August 1992.

\(^{306}\) Tony Pitt, 'Here are some pro-freedom groups,' *National Interest News*, no. 24, 1999. Pitt has continued to expand the list at [http://aita.net.au/freedom/allies.html](http://aita.net.au/freedom/allies.html) on 30 July 2001. Recent inclusions, such as the Esperanto Federation, are implausible.

\(^{307}\) Pitt listed groups like the Adventist Book Centre, the Chamber of Manufacturers New South Wales and the Georgist Association, none of which would approximate radical-right groups. Other organisations received multiple entries based on different locations or different names. As regards the 1992 and 1999 lists the following groups would be classified as extreme right. Those still in existence are marked with an asterisk. Pitt's list included a smattering of Voter's Veto and Citizen's Initiated Referendum groups and individuals that might be guessed to be linked with the radical right. The groups are: Adelaide Institute*, Anglo Saxon Celtic Society (status unknown though thought to be linked to the British Israel World Federation), A.U.S.I. Freedom Scouts*, Australians Against Further Immigration*, Australia First, Australia First Party, Australian Civil Liberties Union*, Australian Community Movement (this was linked to the Inverell Forum), Australian League of Rights*, Australian National Action*, Australian Nationalist's Movement*, Australian People's Conference*, Australian Right to Bear Arms Association*, (this is linked to Ron Owen's magazine, *Lock Stock and Barrel*), British Israel World Federation*, Celto-Saascon Israelites, Christian Alternative Movement (Edward Rock, linked to the League, believed defunct), Christian Anti-Communism Crusade*, Christian Identity*, Christians Speaking Out (status not known), Citizens Electoral Councils*, City Country Alliance*, Confederate Action Party, Conservative Speakers Club* (League group), Constitutional Heritage Protection Society* (Alan Gourley, also listed as First & Last Discussion Papers), Evangelistic Literature Enterprise*, *Exposure* Magazine*, Global Web Builders* (this site is run by Scott Balson), Greypower (still exists but no longer considered a radical-right group), *Heritage* magazine* (a League publication), Hunter Valley Concerned Citizens* (run by Bernie Lawlor), Independent Enterprise Freedom and Family (run by Joe Bryant, the IEFF no longer exists but Bryant appears to be still active in far-right circles), *Inside News* (Peter Sawyer), Institute of Economic Democracy* (a League group), Jeremy Lee* (associated with the League), *Liberty Letter* (Michael Darby, Darby is still active and operates a web site though it is currently attempting to move in more politically conservative circles), *Lock Stock and Barrel* magazine* (Ron Owen), *National Interest* newspaper* (run by Tony Pitt), *National Vanguard* magazine* (linked to Robert Pash), *National Watchman* (believed defunct, was edited by Kerry Spencer-Salt), *New Dawn* magazine*, *Nexus* magazine* (edited by Duncan Roads), Pauline Hanson One Nation* (now just One Nation) Queensland Immigration Control Association (John Dique), Rural Action Movement News (status not known), Social Credit School of Studies*, South East Christian Witness* (Alan Woodham), Denis Stephenson*, STOP & CARE (Rona Joyner, believed no longer active), *The Strategy* newspaper* (edited by Ray Piat), United Australia Party (Herb Bethune), Union of Farmers (status not known), Veritas Publishing* (linked to the League), Brian Wilshire*. 

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The increasing diversity of the radical-right has meant that the League’s former pre-eminence can no longer be taken for granted. It is one of many groups that vie for attention on the far right. As Tony Pitt pompously noted in an editorial comment on a League advertisement, Here is a good opportunity for the majority of Australians to view League of Rights propaganda. . . . I have read some of their material. I agree with some and I disagree with some, I do however believe that, on past performance the people who slander the League pose a far greater threat to Australia and the rest of the human race than the League does.308 Pitt’s comments aptly encapsulate a feature of the contemporary far right. Its composition is very fluid with people moving across different organisations with a loose consensus over their opposition to the ruling elites, but much less agreement over the specific causes and remedies for the ills that the far-right perceives. This scattering of the far right has probably been exacerbated by the influence of the internet with small groups and individuals also vying for attention.

Terminal Decline?

As the best known Australian group on the far right the League continues to attract attention. However it may well be that the League faces terminal decline. It faces continuing opposition through groups like the Citizens Electoral Councils that compete against the League not only for membership but also for financial resources. It has been irrevocably cast into the role of a political pariah and association with the League is no longer an option for members of any mainstream political party.

As a group the most debilitating aspect of the League is its inability to evolve. Its political writ dates back to C.H. Douglas’s earliest writings in the 1920s. The group has been unable and/or unwilling to alter its message or its strategies to cope with an altered world. Social change, which progressively came to revile racism and ideas like antisemitism caused the League to be expelled from mainstream political discourse. While the League stayed the same the world changed.

While the League has been a part of contentious issues and has certainly mobilised some public opinion it has not succeeded in its main political objectives. It may point to the establishment of a state bank in Queensland or even the appointment of Albert Field to the Senate, yet at best its influence was minimal. With the advent of economic rationalism, the theories of C.H. Douglas seem even more irrelevant.

The most damaging charge against the League has always been its propagation of antisemitic, conspiracy and racist theories. Historically in its role as publisher and book distributor it has played a not entirely insignificant part in spreading these views to a wider audience than might have otherwise have gained access to this material. Today its role in this area is greatly diminished. It faces far greater competition through the internet and New Age bookshops.

It is ironic that as the League has declined its vilification in the press and politics has increased. Despite an apparent fascination by many people for the radical-right world of intrigue and conspiracy the outlook for the League does not look promising. Eric Butler is now in his eighties
and without his drive will his successor be able to continue to push the organisation ahead? It is not only Butler who is ageing but the constituency of the League is also getting older. Can some of the League’s more old fashioned views, like its support for the monarchy find any resonance among younger people who might take up the cause? The dehumanisation of Butler and the League seem not to serve any purpose. Butler himself is an affable man, courteous, even old world. Members of the League are not necessarily wild-eyed fanatics, intent on realising their ambitions. Most are middle aged or elderly and would see themselves as conservative Christians, for God and Queen. That there is no evidence linking the League with violent activities shows that in terms of direct action the League poses little threat to the established order, though it should be stressed that Butler and his followers hold and disseminate extremist views.

It appears probable that the League is in terminal decline, though its central creed of Social Credit will doubtlessly continue to enjoy some popularity in far-right circles. The continuing legacy of the League will most probably be found in the writing it has generated and in the seeds of mistrust it has sown.
The end of World War Two posed a challenge to fascist and Nazi groups and individuals around the world who sought to reconcile their ideas to the reality of the post-war world. This problem was particularly acute in Australia which had lacked any substantial, organised following for these ideologies. The New Guard, a potential pool for fascist sentiment, was a political irrelevance by the mid 1930s.

The Australia First movement of writer and intellectual, P.R. Stephensen was a potential model for later neo-Nazi groups. Stephensen’s intense nationalistic views, combined with his support for National Socialism, were ahead of his time, at least for Australia.¹ Stephensen’s literary contacts meant that for a short time, he could appeal to the likes of Xavier Herbert, the novelist.² However, like the New Guard’s Eric Campbell, it seems that Stephensen lacked the general political appeal necessary to garner the support for a mass-fascist movement. With his internment in 1942 along with other Australia First members, the movement was effectively destroyed.³ Stephensen evidently maintained an interest in the far right. An ASIO report in May 1960 stated that he was in contact with the neo-Nazi Graham Royce and had keys to the post office box for Royce’s Worker’s

³ Muirden, op. cit., pp. 115-182.
Nationalist Party. In 1962, another ASIO report noted that Stephensen had attended an Adelaide meeting organised by the Australian National Socialist Party to try to coordinate antisemitic groups. Stephensen's sentiments were admired by later nationalist and neo-Nazi groups.

On the international neo-Nazi scene Alexander Rud Mills deserves some recognition. A Melbourne solicitor, Mills established the Angleycn Church of Odin in the 1920s. This called for the rejection of what Mills saw as a debased 'Jesus-Christianity' that he believed was 'Jew-Worship.' Only Odinism could restore Australia as a nation that revered 'British heroes, British holy places, British traditions, British ideals.' According to a recent study, Mills was a 'Nazi sympathiser' who amongst other things attempted to establish pagan 'polygamist colonies' in Australia, Great Britain, South Africa and North America in the 1930s. Mills' claim to fame is his influence on the development of 'modern' Odinism through the Danish neo-Nazi activists Else and Alex Christensen. Else is said to have become enamoured of Mills and attracted to other treatises of the far right such as Imperium by Francis

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4 NAA Series A6114/89 item 2306.
5 NAA Series A6122/45 item 1630.
8 Mills's main work, The Odinist Religion, op. cit, does not provide any clues as to his polygamist activities, which would presumably have ensured some scrutiny of his group in the 1920s and 1930s. Mills believed that, 'Christianity regards sex-emotion as evil' and this resulted in sexual diseases. While sex was to be regarded as fulfilling it should not be 'unspritually indulge[d] in' outside of procreation. Marriage was to be regarded as sacred. See pp. 42 - 44, Goodrick-Clarke, op. cit., p. 259.
Parker Yockey whose work is discussed in chapter four. As Jeffrey Kaplan has observed, the followers of Odinism and Mills have strong contacts with white supremacists, a ‘conspiratorial view of history,’ a desire to exact retribution on society and ‘a strongly racist strain of thought.’ Since 1965 Christensen and her followers have operated a rival movement to Christian Identity. Their Odinist Fellowship is presented as the Nordic and Aryan religious defence of National Socialism. Mills’s writings appear to have played a significant part in the establishment of this continuing strand of neo-Nazi thought.

Others who held fascist or incipient fascist sentiments, like some members of the paramilitary 1930s Old Guard, were in effect subsumed into the political establishment. Individuals like Sir Wilfred Kent-Hughes who had openly praised fascism found new obsessions in his struggle against communism. This meant continuing support for the far right but, from within the Liberal Party and Captive Nations group. Arguably, only the League of Rights entered the post war period with anything like a coherent structure. However, Eric Butler and the

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10 ibid.
12 Goodrick-Clarke, op. cit., pp. 259 – 261. Goodrick-Clarke cites an unpublished work by Mattias Gardell, Gods of the Blood: Ethnicity and the Pagan Revival, Duke University Press. Gardell dates the emergence of the modern Odinist movement to 1969. Why this is cannot be commented upon though the Christensens operated the Odinist World Movement Secretariat at as early as 1965. Their material was circulated by an Australian neo-Nazi, Donald Alexander Lindsay who resigned from the National Socialist Party of Australia in 1964 and started the Odinist Faith and Cultural Mission in Australia. See NAA Series A6119/89 item 2308. For Lindsay see below.
13 Mills and his activities fall outside the scope of this thesis though further investigation of this strange individual seems merited.
League, as the previous chapter has argued, were not fascist, although they would be an important conduit for fascist information.

In terms of an intellectual base, Australia lacked any prominent fascist or Nazi thinkers or activists. In the immediate post-war period there was nobody sufficiently interested, or who had any kind of public profile, to try to re-invent a fascist ideology appropriate for the post-war environment. A fascist movement would not emerge until the latter half of the 1950s, in part brought about by a remarkable political episode and the cracks appearing in the White Australia policy.

The international fascist and Nazi scene

It is important to note parallel developments overseas. The Nazi and fascist scene in the United Kingdom produced more successful leaders than Australia. There were a number of charismatic individuals active in far-right politics after the war. A.K. Chesterton, a cousin of the writer G.K. Chesterton, was one such political figure. He had been close to Sir Oswald Mosley in the British Union of Fascists (BUF) until the two men fell out. Chesterton was a complex individual, who remained devoted to his pacifist and socialist wife throughout his life. With another former BUF member, Arnold Leese, the antisemite and camel expert, Chesterton became one of the most influential figures on the British far right. Shortly before his death in 1973 he was offered the presidency of

the British National Front by John Tyndall.\textsuperscript{16} Chesterton’s conspiracy theories and antisemitic ideas were distributed throughout Australia by the League of Rights.\textsuperscript{17}

The most prominent British fascist thinker from before the war and the most astute after it, was the charismatic Sir Oswald Mosley. Despite his standing he was effectively marginalised and ignored. As Richard Thurlow notes, he was developing ideas with some intellectual interest, but he, ‘became the hero in the empty room; the grand theorist to whom nobody of importance listened.’\textsuperscript{18}

The most prominent members of the British far right in recent decades were Colin Jordan, John Tyndall and Martin Webster. All three cut their political teeth in Chesterton’s League of Empire Loyalists and eventually left, disgruntled with Chesterton, his methods and old-fashioned regard for the British Empire.\textsuperscript{19} Jordan, Tyndall and Webster then followed Arnold Leese whom Thurlow sees as ‘the main spur from the fascist political tradition.’\textsuperscript{20} The actions of these three men were broadly analogous with the political organisation of Australian neo-Nazis. All three formed their own organisations, the White

\textsuperscript{18} Thurlow, op. cit., p. 227.
\textsuperscript{19} ibid., p. 233. There is a parallel with some later figures on the Australian far right. Many used the Australian League of Rights as a conduit to other people and ideas but left disgusted with the apparent conservatism of the League, support for the monarchy and lack of direct action.
\textsuperscript{20} ibid., p. 231.
Defence League, the National Labour Party and the British National Party (an amalgam of the previous two). However, the historical lack of interest in fascism in Britain, increasing left-wing opposition and the activities of the state hampered the spread of these groups.\textsuperscript{21}

Despite the firm belief in National Socialism held by individuals such as these, a more popular platform for the radical right was opposition to New Commonwealth immigration into Britain, fuelled by Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968 (see chapter 4). The issues of antisemitism and anticommunism took a back seat. In 1967 many of the far-right groups combined into the National Front. As a populist anti-immigration alliance (albeit with a neo-Nazi flavour) it appeared against a background of economic decline and initially seemed to have real electoral appeal.\textsuperscript{22} However, continued infighting, the election of Margaret Thatcher, opposition by groups like Gerry Gable's Searchlight and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, compounded by ongoing revelations of leading members neo-Nazi backgrounds all took their toll. In the end, the National Front failed to match the success of Sir Oswald Mosley's BUF.\textsuperscript{23}

The situation in the United States also has parallels with the early development of post-war fascist groups in Australia. The United States lacked any serious fascist following before World War Two. Numbering only about 15,000 members at its height in 1934, William

\textsuperscript{22} Thurlow, op. cit., p. 263.
\textsuperscript{23} For a detailed overview of this period see ibid., pp. 230 - 284.
Dudley Pelley and his Silver Shirt Legion could hardly lay claim to a mass following. In 1942, Pelley was sentenced to prison for subversion. Released in 1950 he declined into obscurity, dying in 1965. As Philip Rees notes, Pelley’s ideology was ‘more apocalyptic and millenarian’ than Nazi.\(^{24}\) This was hardly surprising since Pelley claimed to have ‘discovered’ Hitler and Nazism in a mystical experience and combined his idolisation of Hitler with his own Christian ideals.\(^{25}\) As with groups like the League of Rights he also toyed with various economic ideas such as Social Credit, but, on the whole it was a movement more typically nativist American, than fascist or Nazi in its ideology.

Gerald Lyman Kenneth Smith was another far-right exponent often accused of Nazi or fascist sympathies. Born in rural Wisconsin, Smith was the son of a Disciples of Christ preacher, a calling he also followed. A powerful orator, he was a popular pastor with a colourful turn of phrase. Smith’s politicisation came when he was offered a job as travelling organiser to the Governor of Louisiana, Huey Pierce Long. Smith grew to idolise Long, referring to him as a superman.\(^ {26}\) Like Smith, Long was characterised by many as a fascist, not least because of his authoritarian rule within Louisiana. However, neither man really embraced true fascist ideology. Long died two days after an assassination attempt in 1935 cut short his presidential ambitions. A populist who was prepared to use very dubious means, his rise is more


attributable to the political and economic conditions of the American south than any desire to embrace fascism.

Smith, however, certainly flirted with fascism. He briefly joined Pelley’s Silver Shirts in 1934 though rejected them as extreme.\textsuperscript{27} He was involved in the Union Party, along with Father Charles Coughlin\textsuperscript{28} who was also linked with the international fascist scene.\textsuperscript{29} Both men would have appreciated the other’s antisemitism but Coughlin was effectively silenced by 1942 when his bishop, President Roosevelt and the United States postal service moved against him. Coughlin’s admiration for fascism seems to have been genuine. Ultimately commanded by his bishop, he returned to parish duties and was no longer a force on the extreme right. Smith, on the other hand, was active until his death in 1976, continuing the publication of his magazine \textit{The Cross and the Flag}, which was the forum for his intense antisemitism and conspiracy theories.\textsuperscript{30} Smith’s antisemitism was admired by many on the extreme right and his magazine certainly circulated in places as far from his seven storey headquarters known as ‘Christ of the Ozarks’ as Australia. In the end, however, his style was unique and born of a different era in American evangelism though his role in popularising and distributing antisemitic literature such as the \textit{Protocols} was substantial over his many years of activity.

\textsuperscript{29} ibid., pp. 73 - 76 and 113 – 116.  
\textsuperscript{30} For example Smith claimed the hairdos of the English pop group, The Beatles, were developed with the aid of the Royal Family to disguise the fact that Prince Charles had no forehead. Cited in Ridgeway, op. cit., p. 69.
An American neo-Nazi movement emerged earlier in the United States than in Australia, although in terms of membership and instability the two country's respective neo-Nazi groups have a good deal in common. The first group to form after the war was the National Renaissance Party, in January 1949. The amalgam of two earlier groups it came to be synonymous with James Madole.\textsuperscript{31} According to George and Wilcox, a typical NRP event would consist of Madole haranguing a hostile crowd of a couple hundred or so while a dozen uniformed NRP members nervously protected him from being torn to shreds.\textsuperscript{32} Madole's group was never more than minuscule and until recently, he and his group have been categorised as 'Nutzis.'\textsuperscript{33} The party survived until Madole's death in 1978 but never exceeded seventy-five. More commonly it consisted of a dozen or so members. Its importance lay as a focus for some individuals on the far right who would later be involved in other groups. More recently, Madole has come to be regarded as one of the important figures in 'occult-fascism.'\textsuperscript{34}

The best known neo-Nazi group the American Nazi Party was formed by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1959. Despite his fanaticism Rockwell could be a charismatic, even engaging individual whose strident

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{31} Kevin Coogan, \textit{Dreamer of the Day. Francis Parker Yockey and the Postwar Fascist International}, Autonomedia, New York, 1999, p. 255.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} George & Wilcox, op. cit., p. 352.
  \item \textsuperscript{33} One National Renaissance Party member, Mana Truhiill kept an apartment in New York where, Communists, uniformed Nazis, motorcycle gang hoodlums, some ballet dancers Truhiill had acquired in Greenwich Village, and a Jamaican medical student from Columbia University who kept parts of cadavers in the icebox.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} William Goring, \textit{The National Renaissance Party: History and Analysis of an American Neo-Nazi Political Party}, cited in Coogan, op. cit., p. 424.
  \item \textsuperscript{34} Goodrick-Clarke, op. cit., p. 73.
\end{itemize}
message and ability to attract publicity caught the eye of the American media and projected him and his organisation into the public gaze. Like Madole’s group it was only small, perhaps peaking at three hundred members, though Rockwell did attract the funding of one wealthy benefactor which gave him access to printing equipment the size of his group would otherwise have precluded. He was also active in forming international links with other prominent neo-Nazis such as Colin Jordan in the United Kingdom. In the so-called ‘Cotswold Agreement,’ Jordan and Rockwell formed the World Union of National Socialists with Jordan as World Führer and Rockwell as his successor. Australian neo-Nazis sought contacts with both men but the most significant group Rockwell was in contact with was the Nation of Islam, long a hot bed for antisemitism. Rockwell’s career was ended when a former member shot and killed him at a laundrette in August 1967.

Rockwell’s style of neo-Nazi organisation never captured the far-right’s imagination. After his death a plethora of tiny groups operated, usually disintegrating in a short time amid charges of infiltration by informants or general dissatisfaction with the leadership. Rockwell was posthumously accused of being an FBI informant involved in its COINTELPRO operation. One successor group, the Nationalist

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35 Thurlow, op. cit. p. 237. Rockwell succeeded Jordan when Jordan was imprisoned.
36 Rees, op. cit., p. 326.
37 COINTELPRO was an operation run by the FBI to try to discredit some far-right extremists. Damaging information, often about a person’s sex life, was planted by infiltrators to disrupt groups. An FBI document which canvasses information being planted with Rockwell to discredit a Klan leader has been circulating on the far right, though it does not prove Rockwell was an informer, only that the FBI had considered using him. In Australia, various state police Special Branches and ASIO have been accused of similar practices.
Socialist Party of America, rose to prominence in 1979. With members of the Ku Klux Klan, Harold Covington a future leader of the group was involved in a shoot out during which five members of the Communist Workers Party were killed. After the shootings, Covington too was accused of being an informer and earned the sobriquet 'Weird Harold'. 38 From his Raleigh base he remains active to the present day in neo-Nazi circles and has been linked to groups such as the UK based Combat 18. 39 In turn, Combat 18 has been implicated in several terrorist incidents and is linked to Protestant paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland. 40

Australian neo-Nazi leaders have emulated the career trajectories of Covington, Rockwell and Madole. In the American instances the group’s following was minuscule and highly unstable. 41 Public opinion both in the United States and in Australia barely tolerated the donning of the regalia of the Third Reich. As George and Wilcox note, more commonly this imparts a comic book flavour. 42 Neo-Nazis have had little mainstream political impact, though were often involved in significant violence to promote their ideals. As noted, Madole has continued to exercise some influence on pagan neo-Nazi groups while Rockwell’s eventual move away from overt neo-Nazism to a racial nationalist platform has been also followed by groups in both the

39 Combat 18 derives its title from the fact that the 1st and 8th letters of the alphabet are A and H. hence Adolf Hitler.
40 Thurlow, op. cit., p. 269.
41 Support for neo-Nazi groups in the USA has hardly increased. A march to support white supremacy in Washington DC was cancelled after only four supporters arrived. See Sydney Morning Herald, August 9 1990.
42 George & Wilcox, op. cit., p. 352.
United Kingdom and Australia. Francis Parker Yockey has exercised influence across the far-right spectrum.

Since World War Two the Ku Klux Klan, though not fascist, has been closely linked with neo-Nazi and other groups on the far right. The Klan's recent fortunes within the United States show that it has fared poorly after the war despite a brief, violent, resurgence during the Civil Rights era. The death of three civil rights campaigners in Mississippi in the 1960s led to widespread public condemnation and an intensive FBI campaign against the Klan. More recent attempts to start Klan groups have been countered by the strategy of the Southern Poverty Law Center that has effectively bankrupted Klan groups.43

The Posse Comitatus is another peculiarly American group. It takes its ideas from an unusual reading of the United States constitution, by its founder Henry Beach. Members of the Posse believe that the highest authority in the US is the county sheriff and hence recognise no other authority including the Federal government. This has led to widespread tax revolt and culminated in the shooting of a member, Randy Weaver, by the FBI. This shooting, together with what the group perceives as escalating persecution by federal authorities, has led to great anger on the extreme right. Indirectly it was one of the reasons Timothy McVeigh bombed the Alfred J. Murrah Federal Building in

Oklahoma City in 1995. Although the Posse would seem to have almost no appeal in Australia, some of its methods and ways of operating could encourage imitation. The Posse, along with groups like Aryan Nations, Skinheads, militia men, Christian Identity and remnants of the Klan have formed a kind of loose, sympathetic underground movement. It is fiercely antipathetic to the government and the people it perceives as its enemy, such as black Americans and Jews. Its apotheosis was the formation of the group ‘The Order’ which murdered a prominent Jewish radio broadcaster, Alan Berg.

The far-right movement has a kind of manual in the turgid, violent and apocalyptic book by former Rockwell follower, William Pierce, *The Turner Diaries*, which also has a following in Australia. In this book Pierce imagines a time when a small group called ‘The Order’, through terrorist tactics, starts a full-scale race war in the United States. It foresees a violent end to that country’s Jewish and black population and a nuclear war. One account in the book of the destruction of a Federal building is thought to have influenced Timothy McVeigh.

These developments may have implications for Australia, especially with their violent apocalyptic views. There has already been evidence

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44 For an account of these links and the state of the far right in contemporary America, see Vincent Coppola, *Dragons of God: A Journey Through Far-Right America*, Longstreet Press, Atlanta, 1996.


46 The most recent study of Pierce is Robert S. Griffin, *The Fame of a Dead Man’s Deeds. An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce*, 1st Books Library, (no place of publication given) 2001. It includes some useful material on Pierce about his motivations and *The Turner Diaries*, though a definitive account of Pierce remains to be written. One of the more interesting stories circulating on the extreme right, that the book ignores, is that Pierce was implicated in Rockwell’s murder.
that this book has influenced activists like Jack Van Tongeren, discussed below.

Finally, the Christian Identity movement is overtly Nazi in its ideology and utterances. It stems from the British Israelite movement that as J. Gordon Melton notes was ‘implicitly anti-Semitic and anti-black.’ The Identity movement, through its various organisations like the ‘Church, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord’ began to attract quite widespread interest, particularly from the 1980s. Its American origins go back to Gerald L.K. Smith but latterly its greatest notoriety stems from its connections with Timothy McVeigh. It has been linked with a score of other violent incidents and has become an integral part of the American far-right nexus. The British Israel movement has a more significant following in Australia, though some Christian Identity groups also exist (see chapter 5).

It has been to the United States and to the United Kingdom that local fascist and neo-Nazi groups have generally looked for inspiration and comradeship. Like groups in both those countries, Australian fascist groups have been quite unsuccessful in terms of achieving their political aims. Adolf Hitler was more prescient about the ability of fascism and Nazism to be successfully transported. Writing to her sister, Diana, the wife of Oswald Mosley, Unity Mitford said, Hitler had said that Mosley was unwise to attempt to import the term ‘fascism’ and to adopt the black shirt – both Hitler thought,

47 There are a large amount of recent books on the Identity movement. For the best overview see Barkun, op. cit. See also entries in J. Gordon Melton, The Encyclopedia of American Religions, 3rd edition, Gale Research, Detroit, 1989 and Kaplan, op. cit., pp. 47 – 68. For Identity’s links with other far-right groups see Ridgeway, op. cit. passim.
were ‘foreign’, out of keeping with British traditions, and likely to impede Mosley’s success. A successful political movement had to grow from deep national roots, Hitler believed, and, according to Diana he always said that ‘National Socialism is not for export’... when Unity asked him what he would have recommended for a British based fascist movement, Hitler replied that Mosley should have referred back to an important national movement – namely, the revolution of Oliver Cromwell – and called his men ‘Ironsides’.48

While the ideas of Nazism are powerful, if only in a destructive way, its organisation, uniforms and ideas were relevant to inter-war Germany and do not readily translate to modern Australia - or the United States and the United Kingdom. Some of the preoccupations of Nazism, notably its antisemitism do strike powerful resonances in contemporary Australia. Nevertheless, to be successful, they need to be expressed in terms that are culturally and socially relevant. Some of the groups in the following chapter, such as National Action, attempted to make this transition and in the process rejected Nazism. Where groups have achieved any level of success they have been mindful of local preoccupations.

The rise of extreme-right groups in the countries of Eastern Europe and within the former Soviet Union, are examples of neo-fascist groups succeeding in this way. For example, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, the Russian populist demagogue whose ideology was compared to the Third Reich, pitched his message to a population facing massive dislocation after the collapse of the Soviet Union. He essentially promised a return to greatness for Mother Russia. At his height,

Zhirinovsky polled over twenty percent of the vote in national elections.\textsuperscript{49}

Other Eastern European neo-fascists like Vojislav Seselch of the Serbian Radical Party (Srpska radikalna stranka) and Dobroslav Paraga of the Croatian Party of Rights (Hrvatska stranka prava) both formed successful extremist movements. In both cases they capitalised on peculiar local concerns, albeit, with fascist and Nazi sentiments. Vojislav Seselch was a charismatic leader who articulated his vision of a Greater Serbia, a vision not often at odds with his socialist rival Slobodan Milosevich. His Croatian mirror image Dobroslav Paraga lacked Vojislav Seselch's charisma, but came to prominence in the West as a champion of civil rights. Paraga advocated the formation of what amounted to a greater Croatia state, openly employing the rhetoric and symbolism of the Ustasha. Jill A. Irvine notes that,

\begin{quote}
Historical Fascism sometimes displayed a more universal, revolutionary perspective, or at least a dedication to expanding the Fascist state's dominion over the widest possible territory. Current neo-Fascism and the extreme right have eschewed this expansionist perspective in favour of what might be called the doctrine of 'Fascism in one country', and their main preoccupation has been to achieve the 'pure' nation-state based on national exclusivity.\textsuperscript{50}
\end{quote}

Although these three men represent contemporary movements their rise is analogous with what occurred in Australia in the post-war period - that fascists and neo-Nazis needed to become more concerned with conditions within their own country, than without. Irvine has


been criticised for her analysis because some classical fascist thinkers in Italy did not advocate expansionist views. Certainly her view does not always apply to contemporary fascist leaders. But as a general rule, the more successful post-war groups have concentrated on local and national issues - a white Australia, an end to immigration, the deportation of blacks and Jews - rather than to conquest or world domination.

**Francis (Frank) Courtenay Browne and the beginnings of Australian neo-Nazism**

Neo-Nazis have been generally characterised as political thugs and incompetents by both the media and their opponents.\(^{51}\) While undoubtedly true of some activists, the neo-Nazi movement was not devoid of significant political activists, none less so than the man generally considered the originator of the post-war neo-Nazi movement.

By any definition, Frank Browne was an extraordinary character. A journalist by profession, his life was colourful and varied. However, Browne had a predilection to embellish or manufacture stories about his life and it is often difficult to determine fact from fiction. A legendary drinker, he was a retailer in political and personal gossip that may have helped in the downfall of one Prime Minister, and which

\(^{51}\) For example see the profiles of neo-Nazi activists in David Harcourt, *Everyone Wants to be Fuehrer. National Socialism in Australia and New Zealand*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1972, *passim.*
apparently included the lucrative sideline of blackmail. Browne possibly had some affiliation with American intelligence. He was a fiery orator and gave a spirited defence of himself during his trial for contempt of Parliament. He was said to have an encyclopaedic knowledge of the racetrack, and his journalistic endeavours included writing numerous sporting articles for news gatherers in Australia and North America, as well as a book on cricket.\(^52\) He had acquaintances in powerful places, including Rupert Murdoch, and was from time to time a potent force in mainstream Australian political life via his notorious newsletter *Things I Hear*, dubbed by Prime Minister John Gorton, ‘Things I Smear.’ His career may have included stints as a mercenary and a pugilist. Stories abound of his life. Towards its end it was rumoured:

Frank proposed throwing a great big party, his last hurrah sort of thing. He was going to invite four or five hundred people, enemies, friends, Christ knows what, and it was going to be held in one of the big pubs downtown [in Sydney]. The Regent or something. Anyway the story was that he was going to make a speech and then he was going to shoot himself at the head of the table. That was taken so seriously by the police that they got onto the pub and stopped it.\(^53\)

For the extreme right, Browne’s importance lies in his role as a mentor and political godfather to followers who went on to form neo-Nazi groups in the early 1960s.

Browne carried on Percy Stephensen’s nationalist politics. He was the first post-war figure to identify an indigenous fascist stream of thinking that did not rely on older ideas of patriotism that held fealty toward the

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\(^{52}\) Frank Browne, *Some of it Was Cricket*, Murray, Sydney, 1965. The book is an affectionate history of Test Cricket.

Crown and Britain. A feisty republican, Browne drew on Australian icons to promote his cause. As early as 1946 Browne’s thinking on this subject is evident in his biography of W.M. Hughes, his political hero. In his foreword to the book Browne’s admiration of its subject is glowing.

There have been times when I found myself in complete sympathy with the legion of private secretaries whose rapid departure has become part of the Hughes legend - times when I saw merely a gnome like man of colossal egotism. But there have been other times when I have had a close-up of the stuff which moulds great nations, and shapes mighty empires. Browne’s book not only identifies a subsequent icon of the extreme right, but it also explores issues that preoccupy the nationalist movement. In Hughes, Browne locates a champion of Australian values whose views and actions he found inspirational. The themes Browne found in Hughes political life have subsequently been expanded upon by sections of the extreme right like National Action. Hughes, along with Henry Lawson, Jack Lang (an acquaintance of Browne), William Lane and Arthur Calwell, are extolled for their supposed vision of a muscular, white nationalism. Hughes’s embrace of imperialism and enthusiasm for World War One was seen by Browne as promoting a new militaristic spirit that had previously been lacking in the Australian ethos. In Hughes’ opposition to Japanese demands at the peace talks, Browne saw a strong anti-Asian bias of which he heartily approved.

56 Browne, They Called Him Billy, op. cit., pp. 96, 107 & 110.
From then on Hughes became Japan’s No. 1 bogey man. The entire Japanese Press joined in a hymn of hate against the man whose tenacity had defended their plan for a fifth column against the day when they would march against Western Civilisation. . . . It was a victory that should have brought him universal praise, in Australia, and indeed the whole western world.\(^{57}\)

Concurrent with Browne’s nationalistic views, was his strong antipathy towards government. This was apparent not only in his newsletter Things I Hear, but also in his second book, The Public Be Damned!\(^{58}\) In many respects this work anticipates the extreme libertarian views which the advertising executive John Singleton would expound thirty years later in the 1970s through his Workers Party and in his book Rip Van Australia.\(^{59}\) As Singleton would later do, Browne called for the removal of government participation from virtually every sphere of public life.\(^{60}\) For both Singleton and Browne, the impetus seems to have come from an admiration for some of the ideas emanating from the United States.

Browne has been linked with the US national, Dr. Lloyd Ring Coleman, an advertising executive. Coleman’s security files noted his propensity to insert articles in newspapers opposing government intervention in commercial areas.\(^{61}\) Unlike Singleton, Browne was partly reacting to threats of nationalisation but his ideas would have found a receptive audience from libertarians like Singleton.

With every vote that you cast for the Baby Kisser and Cheer Chaser [bureaucrat] who talks nationalisation, you are putting

\(^{57}\) ibid., p. 156.
\(^{59}\) J. Singleton & B. Howard, Rip Van Australia, Cassell Australia, Stanmore, 1977.
\(^{60}\) The irony here is that extremist views for the 1970s or earlier have become orthodox economic rationalism.
\(^{61}\) NAA Series A6126/25 item 256.
yourself - and not only yourself but your children, and your children’s children - back into slavery.\(^62\)

Frank Browne was born at Coogee in New South Wales on 9 September 1915, the son of a suburban tailor. His father either disappeared or died early in his life and he was brought up by his mother and half sister and educated at Watson’s Bay Convent school and then Waverley Christian Brother’s College in Sydney. Early Browne’s pugnacious character was evident. As a school friend from the Watson Bay Convent commented Browne, ‘was just a normal boy except that he was a great fighter.’\(^63\) His athletic prowess showed at Dunroon Military College which he joined upon leaving school in 1934, were he won prizes for boxing. Despite some ability he was discharged from Dunroon as he was ‘considered to lack the ability and the personality to make an efficient officer.’\(^64\) In typical Browne fashion this story changed later in his life. In extracts from his memoirs, published shortly after his death in 1982, Browne claimed that, ‘I was expelled from the Royal Military College because I was found in bed with the wife of a member of the staff.’\(^65\) This has the air of embellishment. The opinions of his superiors seem more reliable.

In 1935, Browne joined Smith’s Weekly as a cadet journalist where he apparently met and interviewed the owner of the Chicago Tribune, Colonel William McCormick. Whether either man’s anti-British feelings impressed the other is not known, though McCormick was

\(^62\) Browne, *The Public Be Damned!*, op. cit., p. 100.
\(^64\) NAA Series A6119/1 item 83.
representative of mid-Western hostility towards Britain. Whatever the case, Browne claimed that McCormick offered him a job if he ever went to the United States. In 1936 he did so. McCormick may have also been a link between Browne and Lloyd Ring Coleman who was thought to have been a friend of McCormick, as well as a political associate of Gerald L.K. Smith through his organisation the America First Committee.

From the United States, Browne claimed to have travelled to Spain where he reputedly joined the Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War. Considering Browne's political views his claims to have fought in the war on the anti-fascist side seem dubious. There appear to be no record of anybody who fought in the International forces having ever seen or heard of Browne during the conflict. In Browne's account he claimed, among other things, that he had supervised the burial of a large amount of money taken during a bank robbery and subsequently lost the whereabouts of the money. By 1943, he was in trouble with the military authorities over his claims to have been awarded the Russian Red Star, the Guadalagara Medal and the Madrid Estremadura Medal for his service in Spain during the civil war. There appears to be no evidence that the last-named medal was even produced. What may have been true was that Browne did at least study that conflict. As early as 1938, when he returned to Australia, he had provided the

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66 ibid.  
67 NAA Series A6/26/25 item 256.  
68 Murray & Morrisby, op. cit  
69 NAA Series A6/19/1 item 83. By 1950 one of Browne's medals was reputed to be the Order of Lenin but by this time Browne was refusing to say whether he had been in Spain or not. See People, 26 April 1950.
Federal Government with a report on guerilla warfare tactics that had been received with some interest. An army report from June 1948, while acknowledging the lack of any authoritative evidence did conclude that Browne probably had fought with the Republican forces.\textsuperscript{70} Others who had fought in the war and who had studied it refuted all of Browne’s claims. On balance it again seems most likely that this is an example of Browne’s myth making.

Upon returning to Australia in 1938, Browne worked for a film distribution company and then for the American advertising firm J. Walter Thompson, which operated in Australia at that time through a subsidiary, the Industrial News Service. The reputed links between J. Walter Thompson and American intelligence organisations may be relevant here.\textsuperscript{71} The American firm was prepared to pay Browne very well. A CIS report described Browne as a ‘£100 a week man.’\textsuperscript{72} Again, Lloyd Ring Coleman is relevant. Coleman had arrived in the mid 1940s as managing director of J. Walter Thompson (Aust.) He was quickly involved in controversy. Historian Brian Fitzpatrick claimed that articles attacking the ALP’s left wing in Victoria under the name David Brady had in fact been penned by Coleman.\textsuperscript{73} If, as seems possible, Coleman was the author of these articles then his widely rumoured status as an American intelligence officer seems probable. Browne’s connections, his knowledge of Australian politics and strong anti-

\textsuperscript{70} ibid.
\textsuperscript{72} ibid.
\textsuperscript{73} ‘Links USA Ad. Combine with Labor Right Wing,’ \textit{Tribune}, 1 February 1945.
Communist qualifications may have made him useful to United State's intelligence. This, however, must remain speculation.

The next few years were relatively quiet by Browne's standards. In addition to his job for J. Walter Thompson, he wrote a column for the Sydney Daily Mirror on greyhound racing, as well as contributing articles to Truth and Sportsman. With the outbreak of war, Browne enlisted in the army. In January 1942 he was a gunnery instructor and was transferred in the same year to the Northern Territory and gazetted a lieutenant. By January 1943, Browne requested a medical examination claiming a head wound he received in Spain made him unfit for duty. He was discharged from the army.\textsuperscript{74} The claims and counter claims over his service in Spain did not end with his discharge.

In 1944, Browne very nearly won the seat of Bondi as the Democratic Party candidate. This loss may have been the cause of some resentment. In 1946 when he was accused of involvement in a voting scam in which he was said to have voted several times, he wrote that: 'After what happened in Bondi in 1944, the idea of anybody accusing me of electoral fraud, is a real scream.'\textsuperscript{75}

Browne continued to be employed by the Industrial News Service, which by 1945 was contracted to the Liberal Party. This year was significant for Browne. One of his political initiatives was the formation

\textsuperscript{74} Murray & Morrisby, op. cit. Browne embellished this story when he claimed that he and his brigade had booty of around $1,000,000 that he buried before receiving his head wound.
\textsuperscript{75} Things I Hear, 18 November 1946.
of the Political Commonsense and Honesty Movement to oppose bank nationalisation. Again, the figure of Lloyd Ring Coleman looms large. Coleman’s security file suggests that Coleman and J. Walter Thompson may have been behind Browne inserting advertisements for the Political Commonsense and Honesty Movement. The security files suggest Coleman had earlier been involved in the formation of the Free Enterprise Movement that would undoubtedly have viewed nationalisation, in any manifestation, as anathema. Browne seems to have had a clear idea of schemes that could be lucrative, and the subsequent action of the banks in attacking nationalisation showed they were prepared to expend whatever funds were necessary to support their cause. It seems likely that Browne inserted the advertisement at the behest of Coleman who stayed linked with the anti-bank nationalisation movement. In any event, by January 1948, the banks and a variety of anti-Left groups had seriously begun to oppose the Chifley Government plans and Browne’s group folded.

At the same time Browne also attempted to become a force in the newly formed Liberal Party. As with the Australian Party that he formed in the 1950s, Browne’s enthusiasm may have waned. In 1945 Browne

76 NAA, Series A6126/25 item 256.
77 A history of the Bank of New South Wales’s opposition to nationalisation compiled by one of the bank’s officers, R.R. McKellar, began in August 1947. See WGA/A2057 item 69. While the banks were happy to finance a wide variety of groups, like the Sane Democracy League and the Victorian League of Rights, Browne does not appear to have been a recipient of their largesse. However, Coleman was along with M.H. Ellis, W.C. Wentworth and F.A. Bland. Coleman was involved in a series of talks attacking socialisation which were sponsored by the banks. See also A.L. May, The Battle for the Banks, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1968, p. 103. For another example of the bank’s campaign see Warwick Ether, “Throw out the socialists...”: Right wing responses to bank nationalisation and the Cold War in New South Wales – The private banks, the Australian Women’s Movement Against Socialisation and Wagga Wagga 1947-1954,” paper presented at the 5th National Labour History Conference, Perth, 1997.
became the first president of the Liberal Party’s Bondi Branch and from this power base began the Young Liberals’ League. Browne claimed to have grabbed control of the party ‘briefly’ in 1946. He saw this as the basis for his enmity with Sir Robert Menzies as he successfully moved, and had passed, a no confidence motion in Menzies at a state meeting of the party. In his detestation of Menzies Browne’s nationalist sentiments are apparent. He told an ABC interviewer in 1981 that Menzies,

was the worst enemy Australia ever had. . . . He was immune to Australian ideals and ideas. He said himself he was a Royalist to his boot tops. Then there was that pathetic thing about the Queen about he quoted. I think it was Thomas Moore, I merely saw her going by, or something like that, and I will love her till I die and embarrassed the Queen and embarrassed everyone. It was maudlin stuff.

The attempt to gain control of the Liberal Party reflected Browne’s determination to steer the political process without necessarily seeking election himself. In a 1950 interview Browne said he would ‘rather be the powerful behind-the-scenes leader of a political party than its figurehead.’ With the Liberal Party, Browne’s ideas were not to succeed. His behaviour and growing power saw him expelled from the party in 1946 and his Young Liberal’s League disbanded. By 1947 he was in contact with some far-right groups. In one article he expressed admiration for the People’s Union’s A.G. Hebblewhite, who, like him, left the Liberal Party,

When A.G. Hebblewhite walked out of the Liberal Party to form the non-political People’s union, most people thought he was

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76 ABC interview, 1981.
79 ibid. Browne’s views on Menzies did not change. On Menzies’ death Browne wrote: ‘In memory of Sir Robert Menzies, born, dies, whose military career was cut short by the outbreak of war’.
80 ‘The Things Browne Hears,’ People, 26 April 1950.
81 NAA Series A6119/1 item 83.
nuts. But his Movement is stronger to-day than it ever was, and recently, it made some Victorian and Queensland contacts [League of Rights?] which will give both its numerical and financial strength a big fillip. ... The P.U. which has as its basis ideal peace to industry has been getting a great hearing at factory lunch hour meetings.  

Browne's most enduring legacy to Australian political life was established in 1945. *Things I Hear* was launched for a subscription of £2/2/- a year or 10/- for politicians.  

*Things I Hear* was Browne's power base and an important source of income. It quickly became essential reading for anyone involved in or interested in politics. As C.J. McKenzie, a Sydney journalist who knew Browne noted, at its height he had five thousand subscribers at £5 a year. In the days that it was running £25,000 in your bloody pocket, because his costs were negligible. The bloody thing was done on a roneo machine or something. I think Frank produced it himself as a matter of fact. So £25,000 was a lot of money.

Not only did *Things I Hear* give Browne a forum for his ideas and an income but it also gave him access to a wealth of political and other information, willingly supplied by an army of readers, journalists and politicians with an axe to grind. An associate in the Australian Party, Arthur Smith noted, 'Frank had got everybody on record, he knows every bit of dirt that is floating around.' Browne's security file concurred with Smith; Browne was 'one of the best politically informed men in Australia ... [and] has consistently maintained an anti-socialistic, anti-Communist policy'.

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84 'Frank Browne was jalled by House,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 December 1981.
85 McKenzie interview.
87 NAA Series A6119/1 item 83.
The most infamous moment in Browne’s varied life occurred in 1955 when along with Raymond Fitzpatrick, a Bankstown businessman, he was jailed for contempt of parliament. This incident created something of a sensation and remains the one time the Australian federal parliament has exercised its powers to imprison any person for contempt. The whole event was judged, at the time, to be a scandalous abuse of parliamentary privilege. It is hard to view it otherwise. Briefly, it revolved around an article published in the *Bankstown Observer* that claimed that the Labor member for the seat of Reid, Charles Morgan, had operated an immigration racket. Morgan claimed this was defamatory and an attempt to intimidate a Member of Parliament. The Clerk of the House of Representatives, Frank Green, advised that there was no abuse as Morgan’s activities on behalf of refugees had occurred whilst he was still a suburban solicitor in Bankstown.  

What, at first glance, appears to have been a feud between two men, Fitzpatrick and Morgan, is rather more complex. Fitzpatrick might be termed the ‘King of Bankstown’ at a time when the outer western Sydney suburb resembled the ‘wild west.’ A powerful figure who was alleged to control Bankstown council, Fitzpatrick’s Christmas parties, held at his gravel pit headquarters, reputedly included senior judicial, police and political figures. According to the Sydney journalist C.J. McKenzie,

> The thing with Charlie Morgan is the crux of a lot of things. Charlie was his [Fitzpatrick’s] legal adviser. ... Charlie also had something to do with Ray’s finances, looking after his financial position. Anyway, Ray got the idea that Charlie was robbing him. It was some political meeting one night in a hall in

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Bankstown and Ray walked into the bloody hall and down the isle and accused Charlie of being a thief and a vagabond. Of course this was a declaration of war between Ray and Charlie. I think Charlie took some measures about Ray politically from there on in and caused him a lot of trouble. Anyway, somehow or other, Ray dug up these security files which accused Morgan and Arthur Calwell of being involved in an immigration racket. This was about 1947. When Charlie came up for election that year in Reid, Ray plastered Bankstown with pamphlets accusing Charlie Morgan and Calwell of running this immigration racket and backing Jack Lang as independent Labor. Well old Jack won. He hoisted Charlie. And the first speech that old Jack made in the house was to accuse Morgan and Calwell of getting two and six a head for migrants. Twenty-five cents, Catholics preferred that sort of thing. Anyway, this went on its merry way until 1954 I guess.  

Fitzpatrick was not the only enemy that Morgan made. In July 1946, Morgan had asked a question of the then Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, about the activities of J. Walter Thompson and indirectly of Lloyd Ring Coleman. He said that he was, ‘entitled to believe that a conspiracy was on foot which is associated with the introduction to this country of some disreputable newspaper propaganda from the USA.’

Considering that Coleman may have had an axe to grind with both Morgan and Calwell, the question that begs an answer is whether Coleman, through Lang, suggested that Browne be employed as editor of Fitzpatrick’s Bankstown Observer, to help settle Fitzpatrick’s (and indirectly Lang and Coleman’s) score against both Morgan and Calwell? The Clerk of the House, Frank Green surmised that the reason behind the jailing was the enmity held by both the Prime Minister and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, Arthur Calwell toward Browne.

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88 McKenzie interview.
Scandalous articles had been published against both men in *Things I Hear*, something for which both had ample reason to feel aggrieved. For example, Browne had suggested Calwell, or ‘Awful Arthur’ as he dubbed him, was having an adulterous affair with a Sydney woman.\(^9\)

McKenzie’s assertion that the allegations published by Fitzpatrick and Browne were gleaned from security documents is of note, especially in the light of the Coleman connection, though these security documents were never produced. Some suspicion has been directed at Stan Taylor, a President of the Industrial Commission and friend of Fitzpatrick, who in 1942 was head of the Commonwealth Security Service. It is inferred Taylor gave Fitzpatrick access to security documents.\(^9\) These documents, if they existed, were no comfort for either Fitzpatrick or Browne. Again as McKenzie noted,

> But what Ray did not anticipate was that when they went back to these supposed security files the files were no longer there and of course that left them hanging by their bloody fingertips. It gave Calwell particularly, ammunition as he was the most vehement critic next to Menzies of old Frank. When they were called before the bar, Ray mumbled an apology, because as I say he was not all that articulate. Anyway it had been arranged for Browne to make the speech, which some people reckon is the finest speech, and I’ve read it and it is really stirring bloody stuff, Bastille Day stuff, and I understand the speech had been worked out the night before between Browne and Jack Shand, who was then the pre-eminent Queens Counsel in this city. Browne delivered it and of course they bunged them in jail for three months.\(^9\)

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\(^9\) In ‘Arthur Goes Visiting,’ *Things I Hear*, 2 March 1948, Browne wrote,

> Arthur Calwell is a stern man, who spends most of his time wondering how he can become the next Prime Minister, but he has his lighter moments. He visits a house in Davidson’s Avenue, Concord, whenever he is in Sydney. They say those who only know Awful Arthur of Canberra, would be amazed if they met Arthur as he is at Davidson’s Avenue. Incidentally, they say Arthur always reads the Shipping information before he goes. I wonder why?


\(^9\) McKenzie interview.
On balance this less than glorious episode in parliamentary history would seem more than just an issue of revenge. This may explain why Menzies spent several pages trying to justify this episode in his autobiographical memoirs. The irony of the whole affair was that while both Fitzpatrick and Browne had done things in their lives that would merit a prison sentence, on this occasion they were wrongly imprisoned.

Although the idea for a new political party had been in his mind for some years before, Browne’s experience in Goulburn Gaol courtesy of the Commonwealth, was the immediate catalyst for forming the Australian Party. In 1950 Browne had declared the launch of the Australian Party was only a few weeks away in an interview he gave to *People* magazine. Before this, Browne had contact with a group of politically likeminded people. These included Quentin Speeding, an employee of Ezra Norton’s *Daily Mirror*, for whom Browne also worked, John Hawkins, a Sydney solicitor and Ken Gates a waterside worker. Browne, Speeding, Hawkins and Gates had all been involved in the Battle Veterans’ Association that waged a campaign within the RSL to ban communists. The origins of this association lay in 1946 when Browne was involved in a stunt throwing a red flag at the then president of the RSL. Later Hawkins, especially, became prominent in the Australian Party.

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94 ‘The Things Browne Hears,’ *People*, 26 April 1950.
95 Smith interview.
96 ‘Press Involved in RSL Flag Stunt,’ *Tribune*, 27 August 1946.
97 Smith interview.
Upon his release from Goulburn Gaol, Browne had contributed a series of very political articles on his experience as an inmate to the *Daily Mirror.* These were Browne at his best, justifiably railing against his incarceration and damning his enemies, in particular Prime Minister Menzies and the Leader of the Opposition, Dr. Evatt. Finally, in September 1955 the Sydney press announced the formation of Browne’s new party.  

Browne was curiously unenthusiastic about the birth of the Australian Party at least as regards his newsletter *Things I Hear.* Browne wrote only five times of his party from its birth in September 1955 until its disbandment in 1957. Whether this was a commercial decision is unclear. Browne certainly canvassed right-wing views, such as the inferiority of non-whites, regularly in the newsletter. In his first article on the party in September 1955, he outlined the party’s policies covering defence, finance, personal liberty, foreign policy, business and corruption. Noting that he neither under or over estimated the problems of starting a new political party, Browne finished his article, By next election the Australian Party will be in business for itself. We’ll give them all the fight they want. We’ll blow through this corrupt political set-up like a whirlwind. The things are there to be exposed, and we’ll expose them. It must be done in the interests of this country, and it will be done, ruthlessly, savagely, and without fear of reprisal. … For the first time in fifty years a Party with a national outlook, a Party that can’t be bought, can’t be reasoned with, can’t be frightened, is on the march. 

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98 These articles were in five parts written while still in Goulburn Gaol. The first appeared on 11 September 1955 in the *Daily Mirror’s* Sunday stablemate, *Truth,* the rest on the following four days.
100 *Things I Hear,* 29 September 1955.
101 ibid.
The new party generated minimal interest in the mainstream press. The *Daily Telegraph* reported that Browne had a meeting with Clive Evatt and Jack Lang at Lang’s *Century* newspaper offices shortly after the party’s formation.\(^{102}\) In February 1956, the *Daily Mirror* reported fighting during a meeting at the Australian Hall, though for a new party it generated little media attention.\(^{103}\)

In March 1956, Browne complained in his newsletter that the Australian Hall venue was no longer available, citing an unholy alliance between communists and a Roman Catholic group called the Knights Of The Southern Cross.\(^{104}\) Perhaps needing to give the party a boost Browne reported the Australian Party’s great success in Sydney’s Domain on a May Day rally. Browne claimed that communists who had attempted to ignore the party were now being forced to rethink:

> That was the position until May Day itself, when to their horror and amazement we took the Domain from them. . . . Ignoring the Australian Party is going to be the one impossible thing for the Marxists or anybody else to do.\(^{105}\)

The Domain meeting and a rowdy meeting at Hurstville on 5 December 1955 were high points for the Australian Party. Arthur Smith who was the secretary for the party and later became one of Sydney’s most prominent neo-Nazis, recalled the size of the meeting and its success.

> Frank had come up with this idea, which I suppose was pretty smart, that instead of having young blokes going through the crowd with a bowl collecting money, he sent these young girls around. You would be surprised at how well it worked. We did it later at our meetings in Bridge Street with fantastic success. Silly old men, he had this girl, I don’t know where he found her,

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\(^{102}\) Lang, Evatt, Browne talk, *Daily Telegraph*, 5 October 1955.

\(^{103}\) Fracas at Meeting of New Party, *Daily Mirror*, 14 February 1956.


she looked like she might have been Samoan, very attractive girl like something out of Mutiny on the Bounty, and he had her dressed with not very much clothing on and she went around with a big bowl and she would lean over all these old men and out would come a £1 note, out would come a £5 note. It was amazing. I tell you what, for all of his faults, Frank was pretty smart. We signed up over four hundred people that day, actually signed up. The total membership was nearly 7000 on the cards.106

Smith’s recollections of membership numbers suggests a potentially successful political organisation, but are open to question. For Smith looking back at his days in the Australian Party the most notable memories were of the public meetings at which he and another Domain orator, John Webster, were key speakers. Smith had started public speaking at the Domain when he was sixteen. He obviously relished it.107 Despite claiming that Browne kept a copy of Mein Kampf proudly displayed on his desk, Smith does not consider that Browne held National Socialist views believing that he kept the book for shock value. However, an article by Smith’s associate and later neo-Nazi collaborator, Brian Raven, paints a different picture of the Australian Party. Invited to write for Sydney University’s student newspaper, Raven, as member 722 of the Australian Party, stated,

Our organisation is based simply on faith in the Leader and complete obedience to him for 10 years. At the end of that period if we have not come to power Browne will submit himself to the party for punishment as the party deems fit.108

If Raven’s observations were accurate Browne’s party, complete with a preoccupation for authoritarian governance and a desire to keep Australia white, certainly had fascist overtones. Raven’s comments in the article suggest that in Browne, Raven, at least had found his Führer.

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106 Smith interview. An account of the rally also appears in Harcourt, op. cit, pp. 4 – 7.
107 ibid., p. 2 and Smith interview.
According to Smith’s recollections, the party was at a very successful stage in 1957. It had an active membership that may have exceeded a few hundred and a larger number of sympathisers. Despite this Browne closed the party down, denying activists like Smith any of the party’s assets and any access to the names and addresses the party had collected. Smith was bitter. He claimed that Browne had been offered a contract with radio station 2UE which precluded him from running a political party, hence, the closure. James Saleam maintains that Browne claimed to have been too tired to continue on with the party.

The sincerity of Browne’s political views is open to question. The only real attachment that Browne seems to have ever held was to himself. However, it is certainly true that several of Browne’s followers went on to form a variety of neo-Nazi groups. Later Browne drifted out of direct involvement in a political party and concentrated on his journalism. It was a sign of the continuing respect that Browne enjoyed in neo-Nazi and fascist circles, that as recently as 1981 the Australian National Alliance persuaded him to edit its new magazine *Eureka*. David Greason saw the recruitment of Browne at the time as a ‘great catch’ which could attract new members with Browne’s ‘idiosyncratic style of Australian nationalism.’ Browne’s involvement was short lived.

According to Saleam,

The involvement of National Alliance with Browne is overstated. [Graham] Royce lied to Browne and told him that

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109 Smith interview.


Frank Salter would pay him for the editing of a journal. One copy of it was produced, but Frank Salter could not pay Browne. That was half of it and the other half of it is that for want of a phrase Frank Browne was a drunk. A terrible drunk. I went to his place once at Barnes Clouth Square in Kings Cross. It reeked of whisky and a pile of bottles. An amazing character he may well have been but a has been he was. We never really thought there was any connection between our politics and Browne’s Australian Party.112

In summary, Browne might have achieved a significant career in politics. He seems to have possessed the verve and skills to successfully promote himself and at one point came close to gaining a seat in parliament. If, as Smith claims, he attracted 7000 people to his new party as paid up members it was a considerable feat for a new entity. However, his pugnacious style and probably his heavy drinking worked against him, as did his lack of scruples. Browne could be a likeable man who established friendships with people as unlikely as Francis James, the editor of The Anglican and the budding newspaper proprietor Rupert Murdoch for whom he evidently assaulted rival media baron Kerry Packer. As one security report stated, at the zenith of his powers he held an unrivalled knowledge of the political process, not only of federal government but also of local politics in his home town of Sydney.

Yet Frank Browne lacked the drive or interest to turn his Australian Party into a significant political movement. Although articulate and well known, his movement failed, it would seem primarily from inertia. In his newsletters, Browne could refer to ‘bhoongs’ and ‘darkies’ with impunity as these terms held little odium in the late

1950s. White Australia was still firmly endorsed by both political parties. Further, Browne personified a style that was possibly more akin to the era of his hero Billy Hughes. Browne’s arena, was political scuttlebutt, horse racing, booze and intrigue. More work could be done on Browne, in particular his intelligence contacts and his apparent ability to evade the law.\textsuperscript{113} Arthur Smith claims this extended to the unexplained death of his wife the pianist, Marie Ormond, who fell from a cliff, behind their house to her death.\textsuperscript{114} Whatever the fascination about Frank Browne on the eve of the 1960s he perhaps arrived on the scene too late to successfully push his idea of the muscular white Australia of the Pacific. Nonetheless, followers like Arthur Smith\textsuperscript{115} carried forward some of his political mantra and established for well over a decade a neo-Nazi culture in Australia. In the end Browne was reduced to the status of an ageing alcoholic living alone in Potts Point, widowed, lonely and unstable.

\textbf{The arrival of the neo-Nazi movement}

In the period after the Australian Party folded, four ex-members attempted to start variously named neo-Nazi groups beginning with the National Australian Workers Party in the first half of 1959. These

\textsuperscript{113} Follo 'Frank Browne,' n.d., or author given. The paper questions how Browne managed not to be investigated or arrested for some of his activities.
\textsuperscript{114} Smith interview.
\textsuperscript{115} ibid. Smith believed that Browne had squandered an opportunity to establish a viable political movement and saw himself and some of his followers as continuing with some of Browne’s ideas.
were the fascist journeymen, Arthur Smith, Jack Courtenay,\textsuperscript{116} Brian Raven and Graham Royce who had all been active in the Australian Party.\textsuperscript{117} Other names and variations of the party included the Australian Nationalist Workers Party, the Workers Nationalist Party, the Australian National Unity Movement and the National Socialist Movement.\textsuperscript{118} This situation continued until 1963 when the National Socialist Party of Australia was formed.

The most talented and dedicated of this group was the familiar character of Arthur Charles Smith.\textsuperscript{119} Born in the Sydney suburb of Meadowbank on 4 August 1935 he remembered his childhood as stable and untroubled. Because he was small in stature and not athletic, he was an avid reader such that ‘by the time I was twelve I wasn’t confused about anything.’\textsuperscript{120} His family moved to Tasmania at this time, where his father was employed in the timber industry. Because of his diminutive stature, Smith could not work with his father in that physically demanding occupation. After some parental altercations, he left for Sydney at around fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Smith worked in a number of menial jobs until he was able to complete a textile technology course for dry cleaning that provided him with an

\textsuperscript{116} Cornenay is not named in any security files. Smith claims he had been in the RAAF and later moved to Europe. Smith interview.
\textsuperscript{117} Most sources say that Royce had been a member of the Australian Party and Royce seems to have made the claim himself though his ASIO file states that in 1956 he had moved to Melbourne. NAA A6119/89 item 2306. Smith denies Royce was a member, stating that Royce ‘was around’. Smith interview.
\textsuperscript{118} NAA432/15 item 63/2409 Part II.
\textsuperscript{119} The following biographical information comes from the interview with Smith, Harcourt, op. cit., p. 2 and Smith’s ASIO file, NAA 6119/89 item 2244.
\textsuperscript{120} Smith interview.
occupation. Near the time Smith arrived in Sydney, penniless and lacking friends, he was befriended by the then Commonwealth Minister for the Navy [Sir] William McMahon, who introduced himself at Rushcutter’s Bay Park. McMahon’s intention was allegedly to use Smith sexually. Over the course of their ‘friendship’ he introduced Smith to other men in what would appear to be a paedophile circle. These may have included Harold Holt and Strath Playfair, a member of the Sydney family small goods manufacturers.\textsuperscript{121} As regards Smith’s political views, his association with McMahon, whom he referred to as a crypto-Nazi, was politically relevant. Smith recalled that, ‘In retrospect I am now certain that McMahon’s opinions began to influence my views and ultimately may have been responsible for the political course I eventually set upon.’\textsuperscript{122}

Around this time, Smith also became involved with the Rationalist Association which gave him a taste for public speaking. By the age of seventeen or eighteen he was a regular speaker at Sydney’s Domain on what he called an Australian Nationalist platform. Galvanised by McMahon’s patronage and support, the 1949 Coal Strike in New South Wales and his membership of the Australian Party, Smith claims his anticommunist credentials became well known. In 1956, he was approached at a reception by the Dutch consul general to become an envoy to the Republic of South Moluccas. Smith still believes that this was a serious role. Others saw it differently,

\textsuperscript{121} Stories of Smith’s sexual liaison with McMahon have been common in far-right circles for some time. My source for this revelation was confidential. David Harcourt dismisses these allegations. David Harcourt email on 16 April 2002.
\textsuperscript{122} Smith interview.
[Smith] frequently wore an elaborate ambassadorial uniform... [and] was known to have himself paged at the Summer Hill Hoyts Theatre during a film. A message would appear at the bottom of the screen - 'The South Moluccan ambassador is required at the residence urgently' - and the epauletted and braid-bedecked Smith would stalk from the theatre amid the excited murmurings of the hoi polloi.  

Smith remains committed to National Socialism, though he conceded it was unlikely ever to take hold in Australia. In the 1980s and 1990s he edited the Bunyip Bulletin and the National Reporter both of which took a more nationalist than National Socialist approach. The neo-Nazi scene was very strongly the domain of quirky individuals. In order to give an understanding of the broader movement further pen portraits of leading cadres are necessary.

Brian Henry Raven (also known as Brian Craven and Francis Harry Watson) was born in 1935 and is most notable for his criminal convictions. These date back to 1946. In 1958 he was given eighteen months for 'occasioning actual bodily harm,' in 1961 twelve months for burglary and in 1963 six months for 'exhibiting indecent pictures.'  

James Saleam described Raven as simply 'a street brawler and pornographer.' Raven seems to have dropped off the right wing scene after a conviction for manslaughter in 1969. Before this, he gained some notoriety for a brief association with the libertarian group associated with the University of Sydney professor, John Anderson.

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123 Harcourt, op. cit., Harcourt was given this story by Royce, after he had fallen out with Smith.

124 'Exposed,' Sunday Mirror, 14 June 1964.

125 Saleam, op. cit., p. 84. See also NAA CRS A6119/89 item 2245.
The Push. Members were quite happy for Raven to associate with them in full Nazi uniform. Smith recalled, Poor old Brian Henry was a slum kid from Balmain and he was a hard boy. But, personally I always found him to be a very loyal person, but, he did object once when I referred to his being arrested, when he was eleven, by the police, for stealing newspapers, but, I apologised to him. But, he is hard. Probably if you said to Brian Henry here is a thousand dollars I want a fellows legs broken, he would go and do it.

Smith’s reflections of Raven seem accurate. Clearly Smith enjoyed being surrounded by his uniformed ‘bodyguard,’ while for his part, Raven enjoyed wearing and being photographed in uniform by the press. He even went so far as to compare his rôle with that of Ernst Roehm, an unhappy parallel.

Graeme Theo Royce (alias Kramer von Ribbentrop, Graeme Wilkinson, John Xavier, Denver Cardiff among others) was born in Ashfield in 1938. Suffering from a glandular disorder, Royce was large and ‘puffy’ in appearance. According to his ASIO file, Royce was also ‘mentally unstable.’ He holds a special place in neo-Nazi history as one of the most controversial, disruptive and dishonest members in the movement - a not inconsequential achievement considering the rest of the neo-Nazi fraternity. In short, Royce was a confidence man. In 1964, he was gaoloed on 16 charges of false pretences over fraud involving young home seekers. Sentencing Royce, Judge Stephens, concluded

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126 Harcourt, op. cit., p. 12. Anne Coombs, Sex and Anarchy. The Life and death of the Sydney Push, Penguin, 1996, pp. 166 – 167. Coombs notes that Raven was often accompanied by one Phil Royce who may have been Graeme Royce.
127 Smith interview.
129 Harcourt, op. cit., p. 12.
130 NAA A6119/89 item 2306.
that he was a 'cunning, systematic rogue who was qualified to get into the Australian eleven of confidence men.'

Royce, however, could show tenacity, if not also some talent, in contacting overseas political groups. These included the Ku Klux Klan, George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party and John Bean and John Tyndall's National Labour Party. Royce may have enjoyed this international liaison but was careful not to mention the miniature size of his and Smith's organisation. In 1960, it may have numbered around six members. That same year, the group created a minor furore when it became known that Royce had invited Rockwell to visit Australia. As Smith remembered it,

That is the time we pulled off that coup with the media. Rockwell was coming to Australia to meet our 4,000 members and they sucked it all in. I learnt a lot about the media since that time. Menzies standing up in parliament saying that he would not be let into Australia. We could not even have fed him. We would not even have had enough money to get him on a bus between Arlington and Washington DC.

It seems doubtful that Royce ever told his correspondents the truth about the Australian Nazi scene, however his misinformation seems to have worked. *Combat*, the magazine of the British National Labour Party reported in early 1960 on the surprisingly healthy revolutionary movement in Australia. Citing Royce as their Australian liaison officer they reported branches of Royce's Workers Nationalist Party in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane, an Australian publication called

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Homeland, which had a circulation of 20,000 and support for the White Australia Movement all coordinated by Royce. If nothing else Royce knew how to exaggerate, though how he thought he could sustain such outrageous claims is unknown.

As noted above, in 1964 Royce was sentenced to prison and after his release in 1966, he disassociated himself from Smith’s group. He remained involved in far-right groups until the end of his life, though people on the right remained cautious of him. In the late 1970s, he was partly responsible for the demise of the Australian National Alliance (see chapter 4). By 1990 he had returned to Sydney and established the National Socialist Defending Aryan People Party. His main focus, however, seems to have been with extreme Christian groups such as the Christian Identity Movement. He died in 1996 or 1997.

Commenting on Royce, Smith remembered that,  
He was a real fraudster. The tragedy is that he was a person who had a lot of talent. I could never understand it. He was very good at accountancy, never had any formal training. He was just good and he always used it for the short term.

The neo-Nazi scene was minuscule in Sydney and around the nation. A twenty three-year-old RAAF airman declared in December 1962 that he hoped to start a National Socialist party from Darwin based on the British National Socialist Movement. Neither Darwin nor the air force warmed to John Crouch who was dismissed from the RAAF before

134 Christian Identity Ministries Newsletter, no. 133, January 1997. ‘We were saddened to hear of the passing of our brother and friend Graeme Royce. He will be sadly missed by those who knew him. May God strengthen him and bless his next of kin’.
135 Smith interview.
sliding into obscurity. However, Crouch’s idea for a national party
attracted the attention of E.R. Cawthon who contacted Crouch. At that
time Cawthon was a physics student at the University of Adelaide.
Crouch appears to have returned to the UK but passed Cawthon’s
letter to a Sydney Nazi, Don Lindsay. Harcourt claims that it was
Lindsay and Cawthon who thus started the Australian National
Socialist Party with a membership of two.

A quixotic individual since 1954, De Wykeham de Louth, followed
both the Nazi and Douglas Credit creeds from his home in Beaudesert
in Queensland. He disseminated right wing literature on conspiracy,
antisemitism, Hitler and Social Credit. Lists of the books he could
supply suggest considerable overlap with those offered by the
Australian League of Rights, such as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion
and Captain A.H.M. Ramsay’s The Nameless War. In his admiration for
Hitler and the National Socialists, de Louth set himself apart from Eric
Butler’s Melbourne based group. Security files dismiss De Louth as a
crank but admit the widespread distribution of his pamphlets and
books. While de Louth’s personal impact was minuscule on the far
right, he played some role as a conduit for neo-Nazi literature that may
otherwise have been unavailable. Certainly, de Louth was a rather
pathetic figure. A Sunday Truth exposé suggests his activities were

136 ‘Darwin “Nazi” Shelters In Guard House,’ Sydney Morning Herald, 4 December 1962,
Discharge For “Nazi” Airman,’ Sydney Morning Herald, 6 December 1962, ‘Branch in
Australia Nazis Aim,’ Daily Mirror, 8 December 1962.
138 Ibid., p. 9.
139 Ibid.
140 D.W. de Louth’s Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets appears in NAA A6126/26 item 1060.
141 ‘Elderly Nazi in 1-Man Crusade. Pamphlet blast from a country “cottage,”’ Sunday Truth, 1
July 1962. As might be expected, the Truth article is sensationalised.
sufficient to merit complaints to the Attorney General [Sir] Garfield Barwick from Ernest Platz of the Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism.\textsuperscript{142}

Another Queensland based fellow traveller of this period was Leslie Leismann. If anything Leismann was even more marginal in his activism than de Louth and, perhaps fittingly, his ASIO file has no exemptions. Leismann claimed to have ‘converted’ de Louth to National Socialism when both were interned as Australia First supporters in World War Two.\textsuperscript{143} Leismann remained active in National Socialist groups through to the 1970s. In the 1972 election he ran as the National Socialist candidate for Wide Bay in Queensland, distributing ten thousand leaflets and attracting considerable attention in the local media. He polled a respectable – for a neo-Nazi candidate – one and a quarter per cent.\textsuperscript{144} Both de Louth and Leismann were connected with William [Bill] Stoddart, Brisbane secretary and organiser in 1968 for E.R. Cawthon’s National Socialist Party of Australia.\textsuperscript{145} This suggests a small success in advancing the National Socialist creed.

It seems certain that an informal network of followers and neo-Nazi sympathisers across the country had been established between 1959 and 1963. Smith returned to Sydney in 1963 where he met and persuaded Don Lindsay to start a new party with him. Negotiations

\textsuperscript{142} NAA A6126/26 item 1060. The security service’s response seems to have been qualified by their suspicions about the left wing nature of Platz’s organisation.

\textsuperscript{143} NAA A6119/89 item 2305.


\textsuperscript{145} Harcourt, op. cit., p. 28.
began with the Melbourne based neo-Nazi, Robert Pope, who formed the Australian National Renaissance Party. Smith’s National Socialist Party of Australia also began talks with a loose fraternity of Brisbane based Nazis.\textsuperscript{166} The core members of this national coalition, consisted of Smith (as leader), Raven, Pope, Cawthron, Eric Wenburg and Ross ‘The Skull’ May.\textsuperscript{147} Despite this tentative attempt at a national organisation, Smith’s National Socialist Party of Australia was accurately portrayed by David Harcourt as a juvenile parade of uniformed wearing misfits, playing soldiers.\textsuperscript{148} In Smith’s case much was made of driving around in an old Jaguar with swastikas on the mudguards.\textsuperscript{149} In an interview with the New South Wales’ Special Branch, Smith claimed that the uniforms were a ‘gimmick’. Disingenuously Smith stated that,

\begin{quote}
We are a political party and we intend to work within the law, but at the same time to exercise our full rights as laid down under the Constitution . . . We do not intend to become a subversive organisation and do not intend to gain control of the Government by revolution or force . . . We are not right wing or left wing, we are ‘centre’.\textsuperscript{150}
\end{quote}

An ASIO agent noted that Smith’s statement,
\begin{quote}
Was misrepresenting the position . . . There is overwhelming evidence from the party’s own newsletters and correspondence . . . that the main plank of its policy – indeed the very pith and substance of its policy – is the fomenting of hatred against Jews and coloured people in Australia.\textsuperscript{151}
\end{quote}

The party was beginning to attract the attention of the media, Special Branch and the wider public through their uniformed antics. In May 1964, Smith’s National Socialist Party of Australia gathered outside the German Embassy to protest at the continuing imprisonment of Rudolf

\textsuperscript{166} Ibid. p. 9. Saleam, op. cit., p. 86.
\textsuperscript{147} NAA A6119/89 item 2244.
\textsuperscript{148} Harcourt, op. cit., \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{149} Smith interview.
\textsuperscript{150} NAA A432/15 item 63/2409 Pt. I.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid.
Hess, Hitler’s deputy.\textsuperscript{152} In the same month Raven and Smith received considerable media attention after an ABC \textit{Four Corners} report on their activities.\textsuperscript{153} Through Don Lindsay, Smith had also managed to cultivate his party’s only substantive sympatheiser, a wealthy elderly spinster, Miss Denham. As Smith recalled,

Then she started asking if we needed any money for anything and I replied that we always needed money. So she gave me £100. Then she asked that, ‘When you come next time can you bring two of those young men in those brown shirts. It looks really smart?’ This was in a quiet street in Summer Hill, mind you. So we had a car at that time, a Jaguar XK120 to which some fool had applied swastika standards to each mudguard. It was all amusing, just fun really. We would go to her house and she would entertain them in her drawing room. The house was full of antiques. I was just musing and said that I would like the house one day for a headquarters. ‘Oh’, she said, ‘you never know what you will get in the future’. Over a fairly long period of time she gave me quite a lot of money. I said to her that it was very dangerous as the police were likely to come and visit her, the political police, Special Branch. But that did not worry her.\textsuperscript{154}

No doubt Smith envisaged an antipodean version of Colin Jordan’s good fortune when Arnold Leese and then his widow, Winifred, allowed Jordan the use of their Notting Hill home.\textsuperscript{155} This potentially lucrative arrangement for an organisation with little money and a membership that was largely unemployed, ended with Smith’s imprisonment in 1964 for receiving stolen goods. It was the high point of the organisation under Smith. Security reports estimated a membership of sixty to seventy, and a Melbourne branch led by Roy William Holmes.\textsuperscript{156} However, cracks were beginning to form. In May 1964, Don Lindsay resigned from the party after a leadership struggle

\textsuperscript{152} NAA A6119/89 item 2244.
\textsuperscript{153} National Socialist Party transcript, \textit{Four Corners} in NAA A6119/89 item 2244.
\textsuperscript{154} Smith interview.
\textsuperscript{155} Thurlow, op. cit., p. 232.
\textsuperscript{156} NAA A432/15 item 63/2409 Pt. I.
with Smith.\textsuperscript{157} Lindsay then formed the Odinist Faith and Cultural Mission in Australia, a movement heavily imbued with Nazi and Aryan mythology. Lindsay was also a member of Ernest de Carlton’s successor group, the National Australia Party. He maintained amicable relations with Robert Pope, who after Smith’s imprisonment led his own Melbourne group, styled the National Socialist Party of Australia. Lindsay was joined by William Stoddart, the Brisbane Nazi, in promoting the World Odinist Movement. Neither organisation seems to have amounted to much while Lindsay appears to have drifted out of the Nazi movement when the National Australia Party folded.

As the title of David Harcourt’s book suggests, that everyone wanted to be Führer was an ongoing problem. In June 1964, the party had its headquarters in the Sydney suburb of Ashfield raided by the police. Several members were charged and convicted with various offences. Smith, despite protestations of innocence, was convicted for a six-month period for possessing a revolver and explosives and for receiving stolen goods.\textsuperscript{158} Predictably, Smith claimed that the raids were part of a Jewish conspiracy though E.R. Cawthron, who was at Ashfield on the night of the raid, saw it differently. In a letter to Mary Henderson, he noted,

\begin{quote}
I was very close to Arthur Smith both in his 1964 & 1966 attempts to start a Party. I was in the HQ at Ashfield when it was raided. I had seen the stolen goods there WITH MY OWN EYES the previous week. Moreover, Smith later admitted to me that he knew they were stolen. It was not a ‘Jewish frame-up’ as he was really guilty of having stolen goods in the HQ. (The gelignite was also there - it was being used by a chap staying at
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{157} NAA A61/19/89 item 2308.
HQ to break up safes etc. He was the same chap who gave Smith the stolen goods.)\textsuperscript{159}

When Smith was released from prison he found his party had disintegrated again. It was absorbed into a new party led by Ernest Walter Michael de Carlton, the National Australia Party. Ernest de Carlton had an odd background for a member of a neo-Nazi group. He had completed nearly half of his training in Theology to become a minister in the Church of England, was a mason and had applied to join ASIO. James Saleam argues that de Carlton was an ASIO agent as suggested by the electronic surveillance which occurred in 1965 when he was leader of the National Australia Party. De Carlton’s sudden departure from the Nazi scene in 1966 is used as further evidence.\textsuperscript{160} ASIO or Special Branch involvement is discussed later in the chapter. With an apparently minor player like de Carlton, the fact that of eighty folios in his ASIO file fifty-one were not released suggests ASIO involvement is possible.

In 1966, Smith attempted to regain control of the Nazi movement. The right wing generally was in a state of excitement. As a neo-Nazi, Smith operated on the peripheries of this ferment. He was introduced to Henri Fischer, the publisher discussed in the previous chapter, by a mysterious American, Howard Williams,\textsuperscript{161} who had been active in the

\textsuperscript{159} Letter to Mary Henderson from E.R.Cawthon, 26 March 1968. Underlining and capitalisation in original.
\textsuperscript{160} Saleam, op. cit., p. 86.
\textsuperscript{161} In a letter to the editor Williams wrote in defence of ‘the communist-fighting World Union of National Socialists American Nazi Party’ and ‘its ‘dynamic and durable No. 1, ... Commander George Lincoln Rockwell’ who was ‘on-the-way-to-President.’ An editorial comment, presumably made by Henri Fischer, rejected William’s assertions stating that Rockwell was ‘the communist’s most publicised agent provocateur in the US’. See ‘Letter to the Editor,’ Australian International News Review, 28 August 1965.
National Australia Party. Both Smith and Ross May believed Williams was a CIA operative. As noted in the previous chapter, Fischer was very active in right-wing circles especially around the attempt to stop the pre selection of Edward St John in the Warringah by-election. Through Smith, Fischer cultivated links with neo-Nazis and also with Lyenko Urbancic, a 50 club member. When the 50 club organised a debate on the Vietnam War with the journalist Francis James speaking in opposition Fischer inveigled Smith to help disrupt James’ talk.

There was a meeting in Gordon, I think, where Francis James was speaking about supporting Hanoi and Henri Fischer wanted me to go and demonstrate. I said I would take six along with me, but not in uniform. So we met at his office in Blues Point Road, and he was excited that we were going to stop this treason. He wanted me to speak and said he had the bail money in his pocket. So we went in the car and Lyenko Urbancic was there and we always cooperated with them but he was really annoyed that I was in the car, guilt by association, I was a Nazi. What did he think he was in bloody Slovenia in 1943 running the propaganda for the Germans! I found it offensive. Anyway we took front seats and it was packed. What I didn’t know was that it was packed with Young Liberals including John Howard, who was then the head. So anyway James got up, I should not have done it, and was on about how he had been to Hanoi. So anyway I jumped on stage and said, “He speaks for Hanoi, and I speak for Australia and we don’t have to put up with this” then somebody threw a headlock on me, Alan Ashbolt, and he grabs the microphone off identifying me to the audience who then started cheering me. The hall was full of these hyped up Liberals. Henri Fischer in the meantime is outside peering in through a window away from all the trouble. So then Special Branch run up and I was bodily carried out. I’d like to write to

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162 NAA A 6119/89 item 2244.
163 Saleam, op. cit., pp. 86 – 87. Saleam concludes that the ASIO files are suggestive, though why the CIA would involve itself with a neo-Nazi party remains to be answered. Involvement in anti-left ventures suggests that more gain could be made by supporting mainstream groups like Captive Nations or publications like Quadrant. In support of such a view however, would be the reputed CIA funding of the rather expensively produced Australian International News Review, which Fischer edited. Certainly Fischer had many links within the Liberal Party.
164 Moore, op. cit., p. 82.
John Howard and thank him for his support when he was cheering me. Smith began talks with Howard Williams in November 1965 to try to reunify the two groups. When de Carlton left the scene, Smith was again Führer in Sydney with the Australian National Socialist Party. He gained some public attention at a rally in Sydney’s Domain, Mr. Smith said the future battle for Australia would be between the Communists and his party. “In the course of this struggle there is unfortunately going to be bloodshed” he said. At this point Mr. Smith, pointing and gesticulating, lost his balance and fell off the platform. The next week Smith caused further media interest when, again at the Domain, police had to protect him from a hostile crowd. The high profile Smith achieved after this incident prompted inquiries by the New South Wales Premier, Robert Askin. However, the party was still extremely small with an unstable membership of people like Royce and Ross ‘The Skull’ May, an invalid pensioner of violent disposition and muscular build. Royce left the party and placed an advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald, announcing that he was an ‘Australian Patriot.’ By August 1966, the party was inactive and Smith returned to Tasmania.

Royce’s attempt at ill-defined patriotism was short lived. In June 1967, he appeared on ABC television speaking for the Free Palestine

Committee.¹⁶⁸ Cawthon and Frank Molnar were president and
treasurer of the organisation. Royce’s day of glory was short lived. He
was subsequently charged with fraud for posing as a parson in order to
obtain two tape recorders.¹⁶⁹ His contribution to National Socialism lay
in bringing Cawthon and Molnar together. Cawthon had avoided
Smith after his imprisonment. As he explained to my grandmother,
I want nothing more to do with Smith. (Especially after he again
associated with criminals in 1966). You are welcome to him but I
would warn you not to loan him any money. ... We want to keep
our Party 100% legal and responsible. We want nothing to do
with criminals. People will not support or vote for people who
are not sincere and honest. Particularly National Socialists
should have high personal honesty and integrity.¹⁷⁰

In December 1967, Cawthon and Molnar launched the National
Socialist Party of Australia whose logo featured a swastika inside a
map of Australia bearing the slogan ‘The Nation – We Serve’. The
National Socialist Party of Australia competed for members with
Smith’s Australian National Socialist Party, which remained based in
Sydney. Cawthon exhibited a naïve view of Nazism, as his letter
above suggests. His contacts with the likes of Royce and May might
have alerted him to the kind of adherents National Socialism attracted.
Saleam has characterised Cawthon’s leadership in the Nazi movement
as an ‘interlude’ and believes Cawthon was attempting to create an
ultra-nationalist political party.¹⁷¹ Certainly Cawthon was aware of the
need to ‘Australianise’ the group and was clear about this from the
outset. A journalist reported of an early meeting,

¹⁶⁸ ‘A Nazi? Never, says Mr Royce,’ Sydney Morning Herald, 8 June 1967.
¹⁶⁹ ‘Man charged with posing as parson,’ Sydney Morning Herald, 9 June 1967.
Mr Cawthron said the party did not believe it should imitate the German methods in Australia. “They would not work here. We want to make it an Australian party. We use the swastika but it is not a German symbol. It is an Aryan symbol”. “We do not like the term ‘Nazi’”, Mr Cawthron said. “It is just a smear word. As far as I can gather it is a Yiddish word meaning dog”.172

Cawthron was far more committed to party organisation. As Harcourt makes clear, the National Socialist Party of Australia was more bureaucratic than its Sydney counterpart. It also communicated its message through a range of publications. The National Socialist Bulletin, the Action Reports and the Stormtrooper. David Harcourt reported Cawthron’s optimistic outlook: ‘I see great potential for National Socialism, … provided it has good organisation and puts out material which has a meaning to the ordinary man in the street.’173

Cawthron believed that the movement needed a journal of reasonable quality. The National Socialist Bulletin that Cawthron edited, lacked the street appeal of the other two publications. Cawthron also lacked Smith’s oratorical powers, in part due to a stutter, whereas Smith had been accustomed to public speaking since the late 1940s. The two men had qualities that complemented the other’s deficiencies, though rivalry precluded them from cooperation.

The fractious character of the extreme right from late 1967 until 1972 is shown by the number of small groups in Sydney loosely allied with the neo-Nazi movement. One surrounded the Reverend Jerry Harding who

172 Frank Cranston, ‘Political group sets up ACT base,’ Canberra Times, 5 December 1967, John Jost, ‘National party of Nazis,’ The Age, 6 December 1967. 173 Harcourt, op. cit., p. 64
promoted his Church of God, a Pentecostal Identity style church in
Glebe. Harding also had links with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
and wrote for its journal *News Digest International*. Reverend William
Carter and E.R. Carter operated the Truth and Liberty Mission from
North Parramatta. This was an anti-Semitic group that distributed
pamphlets. Like de Louth, it operated a book mail order service for *The
Protocols*, Henry Ford’s *The International Jew* and Gerard LK Smith’s
magazine *The Cross and the Flag*. E.R. Carter at least felt the
organisation was effective. In a letter to Mary Henderson he noted,

> We know what a terrible hold these Anti-Christ Jews have over
> all our leaders and our best outlet is to pound them day by day
> with our literature – at least 8-10,000 copies each month. It is
> having a very successful effect.

Another group styled the National Democratic Party also operated. Its
president was N.A. Harper and its treasurer was the neo-Nazi minister
Jerry Harding, mentioned above. The party was connected with the
ubiquitous Graeme Royce. These groups competed with Arthur
Smith’s party while Cawthron’s group had only one Sydney member in
1968, Michael McCormick, who Cawthron appointed to oversee the
Manly Warringah area.

The neo-Nazi scene was confused. Cawthron however, recognised the
importance of gaining the support of sympathetic groups made up of
émigrés. These included representatives of Croatian, German,

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178 Harcourt, op. cit., pp. 63 – 64.
Hungarian and Serb groups. Allied with this strategy was Cawthron’s desire to achieve some electoral success such that from 1970 his group ran candidates in elections. Saleam believes that Cawthron was aware of the potential importance of the immigration issue. Cawthron, James Saleam argues, wished to create a more nationalist flavoured group, without the Nazi trappings, which, presumably, would more resemble a group like National Action. Cawthron’s attempts to make the movement more palatable to the general public are of interest, though his entreaties proved futile. Cawthron was never able to tone down his more outrageous antisemitic statements. Nor was he able to establish a stable leadership. By February 1969, the co-founder of the National Socialist Party of Australia, Frank Molnar, had challenged him for the leadership and Cawthron was expelled. As the rounds of expulsions testify, the followers were even less stable than the leadership. No doubt this reflected the kinds of individuals who joined the party. Despite all this Cawthron was initially enthusiastic,

I think, Mrs Henderson, that you tend to be a little too pessimistic. It is true that the Jews are very powerful and have our weak politicians eating out of their hands. However there is also a reaction, especially with many of the younger generation, to the false materialistic Judaic society we live in. Our Party was only founded 6 months ago but already we have active members and branches in all States... All the facilities of our Organisation are at your disposal if you wish to make use of them. My best regards, Yours for Australia.

180 ‘Nazis to stand for ten seats,’ Canberra Times, 30 March 1970.
181 Saleam, op. cit., pp. 91 – 92.
182 ‘Party has two leaders,’ Canberra Times, 28 February 1969.
183 Letter to Mary Henderson from E.R. Cawthron, 4 April 1968.
Enthusiasm alone was not sufficient, however, for Cawthron to meld a political movement. In any case, his public association with the neo-Nazi movement was enough to destroy his political aspirations. Tired by infighting and suffering nervous exhaustion Cawthron relinquished control in late 1970, with the New South Wales leader Frank Rosser taking a prominent national role.\(^{184}\) Rosser, born in Wales of Rhodesian extraction, had been a mercenary in Africa before migrating to Australia where he worked in a number of occupations including journalism.\(^{185}\) Cawthron continued an association with the movement. In 1970 at the party’s annual conference in Canberra, Cawthron was awarded life membership\(^{186}\) and in recognition of his ideas the party continued to contest elections.\(^{187}\)

Meanwhile the neo-Nazi movement in Melbourne had been almost invisible. Francis ‘Cass’ Young and his wife Katrina had built their group up to perhaps, twenty-four members. Cass Young was an unstable man with a violent background. Arthur Smith remembered that,

\begin{quote}
Cass Young was rather like Royce in a way, he didn’t believe in anything at all except trying to get something out. Whereas his wife was really different, totally dedicated. He ended up a heroin addict, on the streets and he died.\(^{188}\)
\end{quote}

Under Young’s leadership the party was involved in some violent incidents. In 1971, the party’s headquarters at Carlton were attacked by a group led by left activist Albert Langer and the Maoist inclined,

\(^{184}\) ‘Nazis aim to govern in 5 years,’ *The Australian*, 5 February 1971.  
\(^{186}\) Ibid., p. 36.  
\(^{188}\) Smith interview.
Worker Student Alliance. The stormtroopers inside the building had to be led away under police protection. The incident began when three unfortunate bike gang members were mistakenly thrown into the Yarra River. This warfare between the far left and far right continued into 1972. By this time, the National Socialist Party of Australia had moved to St Albans, a Melbourne suburb. While the party’s members were in another building for a conference, a crowd of left-wing rioters trashed that building. Reports indicated a large presence of younger members of Melbourne’s Jewish community among the rioters. Saleam attributed this to a ‘subterranean war between Maoists and Zionists for influence over Jewish youth.’ By June 1973, Young abandoned the group and moved to Sydney. Leaderless, the Melbourne group folded.

In other parts of the country there was little activity. In Adelaide, a group of university students produced some literature under the banner of the National Socialist Students League, allying themselves with the National Socialist Party of Australia. Perth boasted a lone activist, seventeen-year-old Chris Sinclair. While there were, no doubt, sympathisers at this time neither Darwin nor Hobart had any organised Nazi activity. Even when Arthur Smith was on one of his regular trips to Tasmania, he does not appear to have been politically active. In Brisbane, one Errol Neimeyer led a cell. The membership was

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190 Bruce Wilson, ‘2000 wait – with rocks and a bullwhip,’ The Sun, 1 February 1971.
191 ‘Students wreck home of top nazi,’ The Australian, 12 June 1972.
192 Harcourt, op. cit., pp. 52 – 53.
193 Saleam, op. cit., p. 93.
very small, perhaps six to nine active members. Smith claimed only
two people were active and that the Queensland group was unstable
and run by the ‘security services.’ This is a view also advanced by
Saleam who argues that, as in Melbourne, the neo-Nazis were directed
by Special Branch to disrupt far-left groups.

By 1972 the various Nazi groups were even more dysfunctional. An
ASIO report published in The Bulletin, summarised of the movement
that,

The NSPA, both old and new versions, are avowedly extreme
right-wing organisations afflicted with small and fluctuating
membership, constant faction fighting around leadership
positions, poor finances, weak and uninspiring leadership and
depending on the shock value of flamboyant publicity
statements for any public awareness of their existence and
programs of action.

The movement was a shambles. Escalating interference by Jewish
groups, the police and ASIO was endemic. Arthur Smith claimed that
this state of affairs prompted him to cooperate with David Harcourt to
end the neo-Nazi movement. At one level Harcourt’s book, Everyone
Wants to Be Fuhrer, was a journalistic exposé of the far right. At another,
it seems, it was a deliberate ploy by Smith to subject his movement to
ridicule that would precipitate its demise.

What happens in groups like this is that you have the security
services. The Jewish one was the best, without any doubt at all.
David Harcourt showed me proof of this, when he spread out on
his dining room table hundreds of letters that had never reached
us, that he got from a contact on the Jewish Board of Deputies.
So they must have had someone working pretty hard in the Post
Office. I’m not really interested because I set out with Harcourt,
which I now make quite clear, to actually stop the party. It was

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195 Smith interview.
absurd, all kinds of lunatics. I could not deal with it. At the end
of the day it didn’t have a future.\textsuperscript{198}

Neo – Nazi activity continued after 1972, but the National Socialist
Party of Australia was no longer what Cawthon had envisaged.
Although Cawthon retained links with the successor groups he was
largely ignored.\textsuperscript{199} Activism returned to Sydney under the auspices of
Robert Cameron and Neil Garland. The party managed a semblance of
organisation at the 1974 Commonwealth elections; three candidates
contested the poll though by 1975 the party had collapsed.\textsuperscript{200} From then
on the focus of extreme-right activism moved to the radical nationalist
and anti-immigration groups, though there were still organisations like
the Sydney based Nationalist White Workers Party of Australia which
operated in the mid 1980s.\textsuperscript{201} Other groups sympathetic to neo-Nazis
were extant. Robert Pash’s Australian People’s Conference, apparently
funded by Libya, promoted Holocaust denial material. Here the
impetus was more based on traditional Arab hostility to the Jews than
any National Socialist agenda, though the neo-Nazi movement was
generally friendly toward such groups. The most significant group to
emerge after 1975 was the Australian Nationalist Movement formed on
April 20 1985 - Hitler’s birthday.

Yet another neo-Nazi group that operated around 1986 was the
Christian Identity Ministries in Cardwell, Queensland. Headed by

\textsuperscript{198} Smith interview.
\textsuperscript{199} Saleam, op. cit., p. 103.
\textsuperscript{200} ibid., p. 104.
The party’s leaflet tacitly admits to neo-Fascism. It was pro-white European, anti-communist
and pro-Christian.
Hendrick Roelofs, the group imitated its American counterparts. Its newsletters were mainly republished articles from right-wing groups and individuals like Rousas John Rushdoony’s Chalcedon Report.\textsuperscript{202} Roelofs’s group was also linked with the Celto-Saxon Israelites at Kilcoy in Queensland publishers of \textit{The Forbidden Truth}, a wildly antisemitic, conspiratorial and racist tome with strong Odinist themes.\textsuperscript{203} The following for Identity appears to be very small although one high profile adherent was allegedly the Mayor of the northern New South Wales town, Coffs Harbour.\textsuperscript{204} On the internet, two Australian Identity groups remain active. One being the Covenant Vision Ministry based at Mount Druitt in New South Wales,\textsuperscript{205} the other, the Northern Watchdog that apparently operates from Queensland.\textsuperscript{206}

Although it is not strictly a neo-Nazi group it is appropriate to bracket the Ku Klux Klan with the Nazi movement. In 1928, the Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan wrote to Prime Minister Stanley Bruce, ‘thanking you for the able and definite stand you have taken for ‘An all White Australia.’\textsuperscript{207} Apart from this, there has been little interest in Australia by the Klan between this incident and the reported admiration contemporary Klan groups reputedly held for Pauline Hanson. A short-lived attempt in 1979 was made to start an Australian Klan by David R. Jennings, a Northern

\textsuperscript{204} Greg Roberts, ‘Mayor leads group with links to Ku Klux Klan,’ \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 21 July 1999.
\textsuperscript{206} At \url{http://www.fastinternet.net.au/~watchdog/index.html} on 13 January 2002.
\textsuperscript{207} NAA. Series 745/1/333.
Territory police officer, based at Casuarina. Styling himself ‘National Giant’ and Organiser, or as ‘Grand Titan’, Jennings did little more than recycle American Klan literature using his own address. When his attempts to start a Klan came to the attention of the Northern Territory authorities he was promptly dismissed from the police service.

The Klan seems to have limped on until 1980 when a Melbourne ‘branch’\textsuperscript{208} issued a press statement opposing the pre selection of either Al Grassby or Bob Hawke for the seat of Wills.\textsuperscript{209} This Klan sunk without trace shortly after. In 1999 the \textit{Sydney Morning Herald} reported that the Klan was establishing branches in New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland and that Sydney man, Peter Coleman, was the exalted ‘Cyclops’ of the group.\textsuperscript{210} A front-page feature showed Coleman and two others posing in Klan garb. As several commentators quickly pointed out, people posing in bed sheets should not be taken seriously. Coleman has attracted suspicion from others on the far right. It was claimed Coleman was a Special Branch informer. A National Action letter to members in the early 1990s warned against contacts with him, Warnings were made by various NATIONALISTS in the past about certain very questionable persons who have operated on the fringes of different movements. One of these was a certain PETER COLEMAN. On November 23, 1990, this person was described in Parramatta Local Court as a ‘CONTACT’ of the NSW Special Branch. The description was provided by NEVILLE IRELAND. When asked of his relationship with Ireland, Mr Coleman CONFIRMED IT.\textsuperscript{211}

\textsuperscript{208} It has not been possible to verify but it is rumoured this ‘Klan’ was started by David Greason. Confidential source.

Capitalisation in the original. Arthur Smith also asserted Coleman and his wife were Special Branch informers.
Despite the *Sydney Morning Herald*’s assertions of a local Klavern, Coleman’s willingness to pose for the newspaper is less than convincing proof of a vital presence of this group in Australia.\(^{212}\)

### The Australian Nationalist Movement

The final hurrah for neo-Nazis to date was Peter Joseph ‘Jack’ van Tongeren’s Perth based Australian Nationalist Movement (ANM), formed in 1985. Jack van Tongeren had an unfortunate family history in that he had some Asian ancestry, a definite disadvantage for a white supremacist. Like others before him, he had emerged from the League of Rights before joining National Action where he led the Perth group. His attraction was to an overt Nazism that National Action did not offer, although he wished to convert National Action into such an organisation.\(^ {213} \) Frustrated in these attempts but a determined individual as well as a charismatic leader, for van Tongeren the ANM was to become his personal vehicle for revolution.

Van Tongeren and the ANM began plastering Perth with ‘Asians Out’ and antisemitic posters. The rationale for the ANM came when Peter Coleman, then also a National Action member, introduced van Tongeren to Dr William Pierce’s *The Turner Diaries*.\(^ {214} \) As has been noted this book imagines a time when a small group starts a race war

\(^{213}\) Saleam interview. See also Saleam, op. cit., pp. 206 – 228.
\(^{214}\) The dairies were found at [http://hatewatch.org(frames.html](http://hatewatch.org/fr}
in the United States. The book was an important ideological discovery for van Tongeren who gave all new members a copy.\textsuperscript{215} Van Tongeren also used it as a guide for his own activities, notably in a number of crimes to raise funds and in the fire bombing of five Chinese restaurants. As in the book, van Tongeren hoped to start a racial war. Russel Willey who turned informer against van Tongeren and other ANM members, John and Wayne van Blitterswjk, John Bain, Chris Bartle and Judith Lyons, asserted that the ANM intended to takeover the West Australian parliament by force and was planning political assassinations.\textsuperscript{216} In a country with little experience of politically motivated violence van Tongeren’s movement seemed very threatening indeed. The group was eventually brought to trial and convicted after police discovered stolen property at one of their houses in 1989 and when Russel Willey began secretly recording the groups activities.\textsuperscript{217} Even with the \textit{Turner Diaries} blueprint, van Tongeren’s plan to take over Australia was fanciful. Nonetheless, people and property were hurt and one ANM follower was murdered. Van Tongeren continued his political activities in jail, were he ran the Australian Nationalist Workers Union.\textsuperscript{218}

\textbf{Holocaust denial}

The British political scientist, Dave Renton has noted that,

\textsuperscript{215} David Bradbury, director, \textit{Nazi Supergrass}, 1993.
\textsuperscript{216} ibid.
\textsuperscript{217} ibid.
\textsuperscript{218} Tony Pitt, ‘Groups, Individuals, and Publications,’ at http://www.aja.net.au/freedom/allies.html on 30 July 2001. Locked bag 2, Albany Prison, W.A. is one of the more surprising addresses for a far-right group. Van Tongeren was released from jail on 20 September 2002.
Fascism was a system of rule which was absolutely founded on repression, which lived and thrived off the murder of its opponents. It was only in such a society, conditioned and corrupted by fascist rule, that a murder on the scale of the Holocaust was possible. Fascism and the Holocaust are not separate, their history is wholly bound up together. The Holocaust could only have happened under fascism, and one cannot be understood without the other.\textsuperscript{219}

Renton’s observation highlights the paradox of Holocaust denial, which essentially attempts to exculpate either Hitler from knowledge of the murder of the Jews, or denies that any widespread or systematic extermination occurred. Holocaust denial is a confused idea behind which lurks the desire to restore the fortunes of Nazism. For its extreme neo-Nazi adherents lies the contradiction between denying the Holocaust yet admiring the systematic murder which occurred. ‘Holocaust revisionism,’ as its adherents call it, is an oxymoron. It is an attempt to hide behind a façade of pseudo intellectual endeavour presented as objective research on a historical ‘problem.’ This is the case of Australia’s two foremost deniers, John Bennett and Frederick Toben.

As President of the Australian Civil Liberties Union, a small Melbourne based group, John Bennett has used the issue of free speech to justify his questioning of the Holocaust ‘myth.’ Bennett argues that the Holocaust never happened and is promoted as a tool for Zionist Jews ‘to secure support for Israel and divert attention from the case for the Palestinians.’\textsuperscript{220} Bennett’s argument is not an original one in denial circles, though is frequently used. Where Bennett has some originality

\textsuperscript{219} Renton, op. cit., p. 99.
\textsuperscript{220} John Bennett, ‘Censorship. ‘They Dare To Speak Out,’’ Australian Civil Liberties Union pamphlet, n.d., circa 1986.
is in his use of such arguments to support other causes. These include
opposition to immigration and multiculturalism and support for the
likes of Pauline Hanson and David Irving, through an annual
publication for lay people offering legal advice on common problems,
distributed through newsagents.221 In this book, Bennett argues that the
Holocaust is used against Germans as a form of racism.222 Bennett has
managed to acquire an international profile as a member of the
editorial board of the US based The Journal of Historical Review, a
prominent part of the international Holocaust denial movement, as
well as an occasional contributor.223

More prominent of late is South Australian based Frederick Toben
leader of the innocuously styled Adelaide Institute. Characterising his
contribution as ‘The Final Intellectual Adventure of the 20th Century,’224
Toben argued that the reduction of figures of the numbers killed in the
death camps is good news,
we have noted the original four million Auschwitz death figure
has been reduced by Jean Claude Pressac to a maximum of
800,000. This in itself is good news because it means that around
3.2 million people never died at Auschwitz – a cause for
celebration.225

Toben believes that his opponents, especially the Simon Wiesenthal
Centre and the Australian Executive Council of Australian Jewry, ‘are

222 ibid., p. 83.
example of Bennett’s work in the journal see, John Bennett, ‘Was Orwell Right?,’ The Journal
of Historical Review, vol. 6, no. 1, Spring 1985, pp. 9 – 21.
224 Frederick Toben, ‘Adelaide Institute – The final adventure,’ at
225 ibid.
consumed by hatred and envy.” 226 For his part, Toben believes that Holocaust denial will inevitably be proved correct.

Toben was the centre of controversy in 1999 when he was successfully prosecuted in Germany for Holocaust denial. 227 Despite his conviction, Toben continues to lecture on his views especially in the Middle East, ‘I’ve proved its [the Holocaust] never happened’. 228 The Adelaide Institute, however, seems essentially a one-man operation, albeit with the support of some uncomfortable allies. Toben has supported the now released neo-Nazi, Jack van Tongeren as a persecuted nationalist and ‘honest’ racist. 229

A Conspiracy?

Allegations over the infiltration of neo-Nazi groups have often been made. In the case of the Jewish community their anti-fascist concern is obvious, as there is no doubt that neo-Nazism remains deeply offensive to that community. It is not surprising that the Jewish community monitors groups it feels are a threat. The Review regularly reports on the activities of right-wing groups, with quite detailed information. As with the British publication Searchlight, there seems no doubt that Jewish groups have informers who pass them information.

226 ‘Historical Revisionism: Beyond the Jewish-Nazi Holocaust,’ Adelaide Institute Newsletter, October 1996, no. 47.
228 Ibid.
ASIO has also monitored neo-Nazi activity, as it would surely be expected to do. However, ASIO’s surveillance of the far right was not as thorough as the watch it kept on the left. Commenting on ASIO’s preoccupation with the left, and Justice Hope’s report on ASIO, David McKnight noted that,

> Given the trajectory of ASIO since the late 1970s toward examination of politically motivated violence, it would have made much more sense to speak of making an academic study of Nazism, fascism and the psycho-social roots of racism.\(^{230}\)

Here McKnight was referring to the Croatian Ustasha, which ASIO had manifestly failed to monitor prior to the visit of the Yugoslav Prime Minister in 1972. This constituted a real threat in terms of political terrorism. That ASIO did not see the Ustasha groups as a threat and had no substantive information on them was reason enough for the legendary raid later carried out by the Attorney General Lionel Murphy on ASIO’s Melbourne office.\(^{231}\)

ASIO relied on their Special Branch colleagues from the various states’ police forces to keep them informed.\(^{232}\) The Nazi groups no doubt contained informers who did provide them with intelligence. Considering the nature of many members of the movement it is hardly surprising that many did agree to inform. In Cawthron’s case information was passed to ASIO by his own father.\(^{233}\) The assertion that ASIO, along with the various state Special Branches, would direct the


\(^{231}\) ibid., pp. 250 – 258.


\(^{233}\) NAA A61 19/89 item 2246. The memo on Cawthron’s activities states, ‘We may hear further from CAWTHRON senior during or after his son’s visit to his home.’
activities of neo-Nazi groups against left wing groups is at first glance an attractive proposition. It is a central element in James Saleam’s doctoral thesis. On balance, supported only by anecdotal evidence, this cannot be substantiated. It may be the case that in some instances Special Branch officers did use far-right activists, though this does not indicate widespread involvement by corrupt officials. Andrew Moore’s study of Fred Longbottom, the long time head of the New South Wales Special Branch on the other hand shows a policeman acting with complete probity and circumspection toward the neo-Nazis. The distinct lack of cooperation between Smith and Longbottom is suggested by the former naming an unusual domestic pet, a carpet snake, ‘Fred.’ Concrete evidence needs to be provided if such allegations of corruption are to be believed.

The case of Jack van Tongeren’s Australian Nationalist Movement is however, mysterious. If ASIO and Special Branch had so much success in infiltrating other Nazi groups why was ANM never infiltrated? Saleam’s claim that ASIO may have wished ‘to deepen the extent of ANM criminality by allowing its crime spree to continue’ is serious. ASIO should have been aware of the group as should the West Australian police force. The police minister at the time, Gordon Hill, has claimed that with the turmoil then present in state politics some of his cabinet colleagues as well as some police, ‘were loath to sustain a campaign against these people [ANM].’ The police informer, Russell

235 Saleam, op. cit., p. 236.
236 Bradbury, op. cit
Willey, claimed that ANM supporters included a senior public servant, a former police sergeant and some army personnel. As well as political inertia a level of institutional racism may have also existed in sections of the West Australian bureaucracy and police. It stretches credulity that the West Australian police force took nearly nine months to bring the attacks on Chinese restaurants to an end when ANM had been actively campaigning against Asians since 1985. The best that can be said about ASIO is that they were incompetent.

Whither Nazism & Fascism?

The antics of the neo-Nazi groups in the 1960s and 1970s is reminiscent of the Monty Python film, ‘Life of Brian.’ In that film, the People’s Liberation Front of Judea found more antipathy against the Judean People’s Liberation Front than against their common enemy, the Romans. A similar situation seemed to occur with groups like the Australian National Socialistist Party versus the National Socialist Party of Australia. However, farce can hide tragedy. The activities of groups like the ANM or the bully-boy antics of Ross May, the skinhead storm trooper during the anti-Vietnam demonstrations showed a darker side to neo-Nazi activity in Australia.

The neo-Nazi movement has always been marginal, though it has been responsible for acts of political violence and has had some links with mainstream and marginal political groups. It also links into a wider international movement that now finds greater currency through mediums like the internet. Currently there would seem to be little
chance of any high profile neo-Nazis groups emerging in Australia as had occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the ideas of Hitler continue to be used on the far right. In the more general sense his regime continues to attract considerable attention by way of films and documentaries. Nazism and fascism have successful role models in people like Hitler and Mussolini, role models that exude power and destruction, their fascination for extremist movements seems assured.
ANTI-IMMIGRATION & RACIAL NATIONALIST GROUPS

Nationalism and patriotism have proved pervasive political ideas for Australia’s radical right. The history of Australian nationalism is such that politicians, celebrities, business and sporting people along with radical elements have enjoyed draping themselves in the flag as an expression of their devotion to the nation. Applying the term ‘nationalist’ to a political movement might then seem to imply an endorsement of that group’s politics. The term is useful, however, to differentiae them from neo-Nazi and populist groups. To anti-fascists like the late Denis Freney this distinction was false. National Action were ‘Nazis out of uniform’ who had merely disguised their true ideals. Yet, as critics like David Greason suggest, groups like National Action and National Alliance were attempting to move beyond, or had rejected Nazi models. In an attempt to formulate a ‘third position,’ or ‘third way,’ they did not rely on the anticommunist, conspiracy, populist or Nazi positions of other rightist groups.

1 Denis Freney, Nazis out of Uniform, D. Freney, Sydney, n.d., circa 1984. Also Denis Freney, ‘Submission to Human Rights Commission inquiry into Racist Violence,’ in New South Wales Special Branch File, Shane W. Rosier. Here Freney tagged National Action’s position as ‘Strasserism – “the Third Position.”’ That Freney’s submission to the Human Rights commission should appear in a Special Branch file is surprising. Marked ‘Strictly Confidential,’ the opening paragraph of the submission states: This submission is made on the understanding that it is not be divulged, or material in it sourced to me. I include the NSW and Federal Police among those to whom it is not to be divulged. [italics in original]

2 David Greason, I was a teenage fascist, McPhee Gribble, Melbourne, 1994, cf. pp. 138 – 143.

At the core of both the racial-nationalist and anti-immigration groups exists a belief in the supremacy of white people and/or a need to segregate different races. Historically neo-Nazi groups have been aware of this issue as a rallying point. George Lincoln Rockwell no doubt sensed this when he coined the term ‘White Power’ and encouraged his American Nazi Party to include other Europeans alongside those of German, Nordic and Anglo-Saxon backgrounds in his movement. Rockwell did not abandon his Nazi ideals, however, and changed his party’s name to the National Socialist White People’s Party. As Simonelli has noted Rockwell created a ‘framework that enabled American racists to broaden their appeal’ through the use of slogans like ‘White Power.’

Because anti-immigration and racial-nationalist groups use these racially based theories as central components of their manifestoes, they have often attracted the Nazi epithet. In some cases the move to disguise or shed a Nazi past seems less than convincing. In the United States David Duke who in 1989 contested a seat in the Louisiana parliament had been a member of Rockwell’s party as well as the Klan and tried to win political office through the Republican Party. His metamorphosis to respectability strained credulity though it points to parallels between the neo-Nazis and racial-nationalist groups.

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5 ibid., p. 104.
While the racial nationalists in Europe and the United States looked to nativist ideas and traditions, their leaders were also aware of debates within the international far right. The ideas of the neo-Fascist, Francis Parker Yockey, the ‘National Communism’ of the Belgian, Jean Thiriat\(^7\) and the French New Right philosopher Alain de Benoist have all become influential in racist circles.\(^8\) In this regard, the theoreticians of the nationalist movement displayed a far more intellectual approach to their politics than most of their right-wing contemporaries and their ideas therefore are important to explicate.

Drawing a distinction between the racial nationalists, neo-Nazis and other groups does not deny their similarities. The nationalist movement mirrors the ways in which some neo-Nazis have evolved. One example in the broader international scene is the move away from simple anticommunism. In Russia, this is expressed as the ‘red-brown axis’ or ‘national bolshevism.’ Politicians like Gennadi Zyuganov of the Russian Communist Party are credited with forming a ‘dynamic alliance between Russian communists and nationalists referred to variously as the ‘“communist-patriotic bloc” or the “red-brown” axis.’\(^9\)

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\(^8\) ibid., 208 – 213. For a comparison between Benoist and Thiriat see esp. p. 212. See also Geoffrey Harris, *The Dark Side of Europe. The Extreme-right Today*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1994, pp. 89 – 91 for Benoist’s involvement with the *Groupe de Recherche et d’Etudes pour la Civilisation Européene*.

\(^9\) Red-Brown Axis Rising, at [http://www.nationalbolchevik.com/spartacus/spartacusredbrown.html](http://www.nationalbolchevik.com/spartacus/spartacusredbrown.html) on 22 February 2001. A curious nexus between the Australian far right (as it was then perceived) and the far left can be found in John Singleton’s *Workers Party*. In its manifesto *Rip Van Australia*, Singleton and his co-author Bob Howard seemed comfortable in using sources like the far-right exemplar Anthony Sutton as well as the American radical left historian Gabriel Kolko. Singleton’s later association with the ALP and the current orthodoxy of some of the Worker’s Party political aims suggests that politics is remarkably fluid and that the Left/Right dichotomy is sometimes inappropriate.
This development stems from the enigmatic American fascist, Francis Parker Yockey, a major luminary for the radical right around the world. Yockey’s life is surrounded in mystery. In part this resulted from his suicide in prison at the age of forty-three by a cyanide capsule. Perhaps it also reflects his personality that seesawed between genius and madness. Yockey could be charismatic as well as infuriating, a mover on the boundaries of society, both political and sexual. For example, he had an affair with the wealthy Jewish socialite Hazel Guggenheim. Influenced by both his hero Adolf Hitler and the German philosopher Oswald Spengler, Yockey’s chief contribution to the international fascist and Nazi scene was his magnum opus Imperium, The Philosophy of History and Politics – a kind of thinking man’s Turner Diaries. George and Wilcox observed that, ‘Much of the book’s enduring reputation lies in its incomprehensibility. ... Imperium, is the “bible” few people have thoroughly read and almost nobody understands.’ Despite this, Yockey’s ideas have been influential. Lee’s comment that the book is ‘a kind of extended philosophical pep talk for brainier right-wing radicals’ seems true for the leadership of many of the groups who have embraced parts or all of Yockey’s thoughts. In

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13 Lee, op. cit., p. 94.
Australia, the neo-Nazi, Edward Cawthron, discussed in the previous chapter, was a devotee of *Imperium*.

Yockey's popularity crosses over a number of groups. His strident racism, antisemitism, his adoration of Hitler as well as his role as one of the original Holocaust deniers ensures this. In Nazi circles, he also exerted a role in promoting links between Satanists and neo-Nazis like New Zealand's Kerry Bolton.\(^\text{15}\) However, most neo-Nazis like Rockwell, rejected Yockey's ideas. Certainly, the legacy of National Socialism is such that a later prophet like Yockey is unnecessary. His greatest significance may well lie in his rejection of communism as an enemy of the far right. Instead Yockey identified the United States, a country he loathed, as the enemy of Europe. He believed Europe should combine with the Soviet Union to form a European super state. This explains his brief liaison with another pan-European, Sir Oswald Mosley and his Union Movement.\(^\text{16}\) After splitting from Mosley with a number of other Union Movement adherents, Yockey formed the European Liberation Front. The word 'liberation' signified a dramatic departure for a right-wing group.\(^\text{17}\) His interest in the left included an admiration of Fidel Castro and reputedly extensive travelling within

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Soviet bloc countries. To critics like Rockwell, 'Yockeyism' was a dangerous aberration akin to Strasserism. Further, Rockwell found Yockey's anti-American rhetoric abhorrent and denounced him as a Soviet agent. This reflects a further distinction between the neo-Nazis and groups like the racial nationalists.

Individuals like Rockwell and the Australian leader Arthur Smith (who corresponded with Rockwell) saw themselves as patriots. While Rockwell cooperated with the FBI Smith claimed to have cooperated with the New South Wales Special Branch. For both men communism was an enemy of the state, but as the racial nationalist groups developed, and to a lesser extent the anti-immigration groups, the state apparatus itself was identified as the enemy. Neo-Nazis identified themselves as patriots who could work the state to institute change. The racial nationalists however, called for the overthrow of the state as an enemy of the people. In this regard some of their rhetoric is similar to that of the far left. The departure from virulent anticommunism has had a continuing influence on some sections of the extreme right. Some groups eschewed any kind of warfare with the left or tried to find accommodation or points of convergence for cooperation. For instance, environmental arguments most often associated with the Green

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18 Coogan, op. cit., pp. 452 – 468. There is a suggestion in Coogan, pp. 472 – 473 that Yockey may have formed some of these views through an association with the veteran British fascist A.K. Chesterton, discussed in chapter 2, or one of his associates in the European Liberation Front, Guy Chesham, who had been in Chesterton's League of Empire Loyalists.
19 Coogan, op. cit., pp. 508 - 511.
20 Simonelli, op. cit., p. 171 n8.
21 ibid., p. 90. Simonelli notes that Rockwell was 'tantalized by Australia.' This may have had something to do with the wildly inaccurate reports his Australian correspondents were sending him, see chapter 3.
22 ibid., p. 87.
movement have been used by the racial nationalists to oppose immigration.\textsuperscript{24}

One further distinction can be drawn between the racial nationalists and the neo-Nazi movement. Especially in the United States, the neo-Nazis and Christian Identity churches have tended to overlap. Neo-Nazi ideas formed the secular political agenda of the Identity churches. Simonelli credits Rockwell, despite his agnosticism, for this fusion. It was another means by which National Socialism could extend its reach into the community.\textsuperscript{25} While not as explicit, the Australian neo-Nazi scene has also sought links to Identity groups and fellow travellers like the British Israel movement. Racial nationalists, in the Australian experience, are generally ‘highly sectarian.’\textsuperscript{26}

A final general aspect of the racial nationalists in Australia lies in their links with the anti-immigration movement. Prototypes for the emerging racial nationalists can be found in the development of anti-immigration groups - a singular feature of the Australian extreme right from the late 1960s to the late 1990s. In essence, the nationalists and anti-immigration forces have much in common. At the root of both are found the ideas of race and nationalism that so dominated the thinking of many Europeans from the end of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{27} Disraeli’s

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{24} As the name implies, ‘national bolshevism’ is an alliance between the far left and far right, whereby nationalist ideals more commonly associated with the far right are combined with Bolshevism.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Andrew Moore, The Right Road? A History of Right – wing Politics in Australia, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p. 120.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ivan Hannaford, Race. The History of an Idea in the West, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, pp. 326-327.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
dictum, 'All is race, there is no other truth,'\textsuperscript{28} might be the slogan for the movement and the thinking of the Anglo-German, Houston Stewart Chamberlain its guide. Chamberlain would have found the views of contemporary right-wing nationalists familiar. In an article 'Integral Nationalism: The Reborn Spirit of the Australian People,'\textsuperscript{29} Brian Knight writing for National Action, posited the 'nation as an idea' existing in a 'high culture' with a 'destiny' into which all its citizens are born. According to Knight, 'The Nation is a natural structure of race, people, destiny, virility, union and freedom.' It is a part of 'European Culture' and hence only people of European stock can partake. 'Integral Nationalism' is a 'spiritual concept' rejecting liberal democracy and global capital looking forward to an Australia that has shed its,

suburbanised, consumerist, exploitive monstrosity. ...The crisis of the first decades of the 21\textsuperscript{st} century is firstly a crisis for European Civilisation; it is also a crisis of AUSTRALIAN IDENTITY. It is only in such ALL-EMBRACING THREATS to the very survival of a RACE and a NATIONALITY that a nation's will, ethos, and culture are RENEWED. The RENEWAL OF AUSTRALIA is the revolutionary task of the new Nationalism.\textsuperscript{30}

These kinds of ideas had also influenced nationalists like P.R. Stephensen.\textsuperscript{31} They find a home in the literature of groups such as the Immigration Control Association. Equally, within mainstream politics,

\textsuperscript{29} Brian Knight, 'Integral Nationalism: The Reborn Spirit of the Australian People' 1995 at http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnau/integral.html on 2 February 2001. This essay was also published by the National Republican Movement.
\textsuperscript{30} ibid., capitalization in original.
\textsuperscript{31} 'A new perspective on Australia', Right Now!, January/March 2001, pp. 14 – 15. The article was probably written by James Saleam. Right Now! Is published by Taki Theodoracopolos, better know for his 'High Life' column in the English magazine The Spectator. Right Now! is aimed at the right wing of the Conservative Party.
politicians are wont to appeal to some organic ‘Australian sentiment’ as though in some issues a consensus exists among all Australians.

The destructive potential of extreme nationalist sentiments has been demonstrated in two world wars. They remain a powerful basis for the political raison d’être of anti-immigration and racial-nationalist groups. However, the reasoning behind these movements reflects the thinking of the leadership more than rank and file members. Racist views need hardly be based on an understanding of Chamberlain or for that matter Hitler. Both racial-nationalist and anti-immigration groups focused on ideas of an Australian race and culture that formed the basis for many extremist views and this separates them from other extreme-right groups.32

Anti-immigration policies are not unique to the contemporary Australian extreme right.33 As Gary Freeman has noted in ‘settler societies’ like Australia and the United States, immigration policy has been widely opposed by the public. The same applies to non-traditional immigrant societies such as Europe. Freeman has argued that immigration since the 1960s has been destructive to public support.34

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32 The views of the ‘foot soldiers’ of any extreme-right group have received very little study, both here and generally. Raphael S. Ezekiel’s American study, The Racist Mind. Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen, Viking Penguin, New York, 1995 suggests some disparity between the views and commitment of leaders and followers.


A case in point is the development from 1967 of the British National Front. The rise of that organisation was closely related to the issue of New Commonwealth immigration into Great Britain and the enormous public support accorded Enoch Powell after his 'River of Blood' speech in 1968. Powell's speech generated considerable interest from right wing Conservatives and for some time this gave the National Front a substantial electoral vote for the extreme right. In this case, the clarion call against immigration was taken up by an existing group. The National Front found itself with a genuinely popular issue, which for a while hid its fascist and neo-Nazi roots.

Such links between the extreme and 'respectable' right finds a parallel in Australian terms in the case of the nexus between Henri Fisher's Australian International News Review and the Liberal Party. Noel MacDonald, the short-lived leader of the White Australia Progressive Party was an ex-Liberal Party member. Another former Liberal, Nicholas 'White Australia' Maina, joined the National Australia Association, a monarchist/conservative organisation which advocated

35 Thurlow, op. cit., p. 246.
    'Before Powell spoke', Robert Taylor, National Front organizer in Sheffield recalled, we were getting only cranks and perverts. After his speeches we started to attract, in a secret sort of way, the right-wing members of Tory organizations.'
38 Lee, op. cit., p. 207. The Front polled around 10% in the London area. Both Lee and Thurlow, op. cit., p. 256 see the Front's decline as due to Margaret Thatcher's leadership of the Conservative Party from 1975 and her more stringent immigration laws. Lee, p. 207: 'Its [National Front] swift decline was precipitated by Margaret Thatcher's Tory party, which appropriated the Front's main policy, opposition to foreign immigration.'
39 For the National Front's origins and development see Thurlow, op. cit., pp. 245 – 268.
40 Maina added 'White Australia' to his name by deed poll.
a return to White Australia⁴¹ and which boasted Sir Robert Menzies as patron.⁴²

The Immigration Control Association to Australians Against Further Immigration

The Immigration Control Association (ICA) was formed in 1969 as a result of changes to Australia’s immigration laws and policies.⁴³ The advocacy of pro-immigration organisations like the Immigration Reform Group had won converts in Canberra. Following the retirement of Sir Robert Menzies in 1966 immigration restrictions against non-Europeans were eased.⁴⁴ The major parties, Labor under Gough Whitlam and the Liberal Party under Harold Holt, John Gorton, William McMahon, Billy Snedden and especially Malcolm Fraser arrived at a bipartisan consensus on a ‘colour – blind’ immigration policy.⁴⁵ For conservatives who opposed non-European (or even non-British) immigration this was a dilemma. Some anti-immigration activists such as Robin Linke of the Immigration Control Council and

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several members of the ICA had a background of membership of conservative groups, most notably the Liberal Party.\textsuperscript{46}

Though it remained a secondary consideration radical-right groups like the League of Rights were aware of the immigration issue. In its campaign against Labor in the 1972 Federal elections, the League used its electors contracts to urge candidates to sign a five point pledge, one of which opposed the ‘growing breakdown of Australia’s traditional immigration policies.’\textsuperscript{47} Considering its pre- eminent position on the right, the League might have been expected to take a more prominent role in terms of immigration. However, Eric Butler was unwilling to sublimate the League’s Social Credit message in order to adopt a more fully formed anti-immigration platform. The League’s relationship with the Queensland Premier, Joh Bjelke-Petersen was an issue. Bjelke-Petersen’s support for foreign investment, especially from Japan, was unpopular with anti-immigration forces and the League found itself in a quandary. On the one hand, it enjoyed Petersen’s patronage on the other it risked offending potential allies.

The ICA was not the only anti-immigration group of this period. From 1969 until the mid 1970s David Smith led the Conservative Immigration Movement in Western Australia. This group’s activities mainly consisted of disseminating anti-immigration leaflets and

\textsuperscript{46} Jim Saleam, telephone conversation, 7 March 2001.

writing letters to newspapers. In New South Wales pro White Australia forces received support from Jack Lang’s *Century* newspaper.

As Lang warned, 

> Australia must therefore be kept as a haven for the white people of the world and all attempts to water down the White Australia policy firmly resisted on the grounds of national self preservation.\(^49\)

A similar organization to David Smith’s Conservative Immigration Movement was operating in New South Wales from the early 1970s. Laurie Clapperton’s White Australians’ and Aborigines’ Defence League formed when Clapperton and Maina split from the ICA.\(^50\)

Clapperton had a novel twist: ‘To support the rights of our oldest Australians – the Aboriginal people.’ Characteristic of an extreme-right group, Clapperton had a conspiratorial bent, explained in his organisation’s desire ‘to study the motives and objectives of persons and organisations which advocate multi-racial immigration.’\(^51\) There is little evidence for any substantial base beyond Clapperton and perhaps a few like-minded supporters. As with the Conservative Immigration Movement, this group mainly contented itself with press releases and letters to newspapers.\(^52\) By 1976, the group changed its name to the National White Australia Policy League.\(^53\) In 1978/1979 this changed to


\(^{50}\) Saleam, op. cit., p. 110.

\(^{51}\) ibid.


the National League. The name changes suggest an organisation in trouble.\textsuperscript{54}

At a superficial level groups like the ICA may not have appeared to constitute an element of the far right. Yet, the ICA would undoubtedly have been viewed with some sympathy by Labor and non-Labor supporters alike. In reply to a query from Brenda Macintyre, a long time anti-immigration activist and supporter of the ICA, Arthur Calwell said,

\begin{quote}
I have read your letter of May 19, and agree with almost all your contentions on the question of miscegenation. ... I cannot set out in the reply what I and many more Labor members feel and say about the absolute necessity of maintaining our immigration restriction regulations so that we will not import into this country the problems with which the United States and the United Kingdom are now confronted.\textsuperscript{55}
\end{quote}

Calwell's views on immigration are well known\textsuperscript{56} as are those of Sir Robert Menzies.\textsuperscript{57} While both men might have retained affection and respect from within their own parties, their views on this issue were of another era. Their parties had moved on, though not with all of their supporters. Clark tried to address his message toward conservatives by arguing that the ICA's views were not radical\textsuperscript{58} rather that the changed

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{54} 'Australian Immigration is a Sinister Plot!', \textit{The National League Newsletter}, n.d., circa 1979.

\textsuperscript{55} Letter from A.A. Calwell to B.M. Macintyre, 26 May 1969. A copy of this letter was provided to me by James Saleam. Beryl Macintyre went on to join National Action.


\textsuperscript{57} Menzies, op. cit., p. 286.

\textsuperscript{58} Clark's attempts to pass himself off as a conservative voice are supported by his membership of the Liberal Party. In response to a letter I posted at the internet site Crikey's section an anonymous correspondent (possibly David Greason) replied,

\begin{quote}
Everything your correspondent says about Clark is right. For the record, Clark was also a member of the NSW Liberal Party in the 1960s at the same time as he was running the ICA. (He was probably the only NSW far-rightist who wasn't also a war criminal.) He was in the seat of Warringah, which famously saw the showdown between the Liberal Party MP Edward St John ... and the party's hard-right ugly faction. Clark's great regret was that he later supported the preselection of one
\end{quote}
immigration laws would bring about unpalatable changes to
Australian society. The ICA’s policy was that immigration should
‘build a trouble-free nation’ as people were ‘basically tribal animals’
whereby they held an ‘antipathy towards other tribal types.’
For the
ICA this was central to their view of immigration, that it should only
allow people into Australia who could ‘melt easily into the national
fabric’ and who were Christian, English speaking Europeans or people
form the British Isles. To do otherwise would invite violence and
discrimination and create ‘alien wedges’ within Australian cities.
If
the stated aims of the ICA appeared conservative, a more strident
nationalist position was also being adopted. In this respect, the ICA
believed imprudent immigration policies would lead to a fragmented
and divided society.

The Immigration Control Association puts forward the view that
for a country to be peaceful, prosperous and safe, National
affairs must generally be conducted on a basis of one underlying
system of thought.

To some extent, the view of many Australians within and outside of the
political process still reflect a suspicion toward non-European

Michael Mackellar, Fraser's immigration minister, who could teach Ruddock a few
lessons in genuine liberalism.

Some time in the early seventies Clark founded the Australian Conservative Party,
which then became the Progressive Conservative Party in the mid-70s, and which
then (along with the ICA) merged with National Alliance as your correspondent notes
to become the PNP. I don't know whether he was still in the party when he formed
the ACP. Its campaign literature was ripped off word for word from the British
National Front.

From mailman@crikey.com.au on 7 February 2002. This is a subscriber only section.
59 'Our Policy', ICA Viewpoint, October/December 1976. Capitalisation and emphasis in
original. Although this is from a latter Viewpoint, the ICA’s stated objectives remained largely
unchanged from its conception to the mid 1970s.
60 ibid.
61 'One People - One National Thought Pattern', ibid.
immigration. This unease is reflected in the controversial 1984 speech by historian Geoffrey Blainey at Warnambool in Victoria, John Howard’s questioning of the level of Asian immigration in 1988 and the rise of Pauline Hanson in the late 1990s. However, since the election of Gough Whitlam in 1972 and the establishment of the bipartisan policy of multiculturalism under his successor Malcolm Fraser, groups like the ICA were forced to the margins of politics. This was despite the unpopularity of some Whitlam and Fraser initiatives with many voters.

More than any other politician, Al Grassby, the flamboyant Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam government, became the bête noire for anti-immigration forces. Grassby’s enthusiasm for his portfolio and support for multiculturalism greatly alarmed the anti-immigration groups, especially as he repudiated the notion of assimilation. Enmity toward Grassby reached a peak in the 1974 elections when he lost his New South Wales seat, Riverina. In that election, the ICA spent $3,000 on advertisements in newspapers in Deniliquin, Griffith, Leeton, Narrandera, West Wyalong and Hay opposing Grassby. The campaign targeted Grassby as promoting an Asian and African

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62 Wanda Jamrozik, ‘Racism on the increase, survey shows,’ Sydney Morning Herald, 12 October 1988, Tom Morton, ‘How the Left has failed to meet the challenge of populist racism,’ The Australian, 26 September 1996.
64 For a critical overview of Blainey’s speech, Howard’s One Australia and the progression to Hansonism see David Hollinsworth, Race and Racism in Australia, Social Science Press, Katoomba, 1998, pp. 258 – 276.
67 ibid.
immigration policy featuring such slogans as, ‘Multi-coloured immigration is the only mistake a Government can make which can never be rectified. Grassby is encouraging coloured immigration’ and ‘A vote for Grassby is a vote for an Australia racked with racial disorder.’

The ICA claimed its campaign was decisive against Grassby, although the seat has been held more often by non-Labor than Labor. The campaign had attracted some attention with allegations that Nick Maina, who claimed to represent ICA, had asked Grassby to ‘step outside.’ As Clark’s report on the election makes clear, Maina’s pugnacity had potentially serious repercussions for the ICA. There were ‘many resignations’ from the association. Clark assured ICA followers that Maina was not a member and warned against breakaway groups. Maina’s attack on Grassby was motivated by his senate aspirations through his White Australia Progressive Party.

After the 1974 elections, Clark formed the Australian Conservative Party (ACP). As well as an emphasis on immigration policies it promoted increased defence spending, a stronger stand on crime and family values issues. Clark tried to position the ACP within the parameters of Australia’s major non-Labor parties. With his attention diverted by the ACP, by 1975 the ICA had financial problems and was

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69 ibid., samples of election advertisements.
70 This analysis seems unlikely, though ICA may have contributed to Grassby’s defeat.
73 Robert Clark, Australian Conservative News and Views, August 1975.
practically inactive. Despite some organisation the ACP did not stand candidates in the 1975 elections as it was believed that this would attract votes away from the Coalition parties.\textsuperscript{74} In 1975, the enemy was Gough Whitlam and his 'socialist misfits'.\textsuperscript{75} Yet while a Fraser government might have viewed with sympathy some of the aims of the ACP, for its part the ACP regarded Fraser as left leaning.\textsuperscript{76} The ACP's core platform, opposing non-European immigration and multiculturalism, had already been repudiated by the Liberal Party. Clark's attempt to move his organisation into the centre had failed. In 1976 the ACP was abandoned and he returned to the ICA.

Clark and the ICA's radicalisation was reluctant. For a time ICA literature continued to blame the Whitlam government for immigration policies, attempting to exonerate Fraser and Mackellar from responsibility.\textsuperscript{77} However, the tone of the ICA began to change. By 1978/1979 the ICA accused the Liberal Party of treasonous behaviour and alleged that it had been secretly working for the 'Asianisation' of Australia since 1966.\textsuperscript{78} Clark's desire to steer a middle path was still evident by 1980\textsuperscript{79} when the ICA formed yet another political party, the Progressive Conservative Party (PCP). Essentially the PCP differed little from its earlier incarnation except that immigration was even more to the fore and defence was the only other issue raised. It was,

\textsuperscript{74} Starr et al., op. cit., p. 374.
\textsuperscript{75} 'Why there are no A.C.P. candidates', \textit{The Australian Conservative News & Views}, 29 November 1975.
\textsuperscript{76} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{For Your Children's Sake the Asian Invasion Must Stop}, ICA pamphlet, n.d., circa 1979.
\textsuperscript{79} Saleum, op. cit., p. 133.
however, as implacably hostile toward the Coalition parties as it was toward the ALP. Its main objectives were, STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE BLATANT VOTE-CATCHING MOVES OF THE LIBERAL/COUNTRY PARTY COALITION AND THE A.L.P.\footnote{1}

In any event, the PCP was not able to garner any significant electoral support. In the Commonwealth elections held in October 1980 PCP candidates for the Senate polled only 6,247 votes (0.08 per cent), well behind another rightist party, Reverend Fred Nile’s Call to Australia, with 118,535 votes (1.54 per cent) of the vote.\footnote{2}

From the mid to late 1970s the ICA and PCP faced increasing competition from other small anti-immigrant groups. The Union of Caucasian Christian People\footnote{3} operated from Perth. Robin Linke’s Immigration Control Council, mentioned earlier, was also Perth based\footnote{4} but by 1983 Linke had severed his connections.\footnote{5} The Campaign Against Illegal Immigration of the European Australian Association formed in nearby Fremantle\footnote{6} while yet another organisation, the Migrant Policy Action Group, was based in Maddington in West Australia.\footnote{7}

\footnote{3} ‘Aboriginal Land Rights’, Union of Caucasian Christian People ephemera, n.d.
\footnote{5} By 1983, Linke ran for the Senate as an independent. In a letter to the Daily News, newspaper clipping, n.d., circa March 1983, he stated ‘I am not the spokesperson or even a member, of the Immigration Control Association.’
\footnote{6} ‘Campaign Against illegal Immigration’ Audacity, 31 March 1978.
\footnote{7} ‘Newsletter’, Migrant Policy Action Group, 26 May 1978

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The Queensland Immigration Control Association ran independently of the main body of the ICA. While Clark had sought accommodation with conservative forces, Dr John Dique’s Queensland ICA had enthusiastically forged links with other extreme-right groups and causes beyond the single issue of immigration.67 This was hardly surprising, Dique had been a member of the League of Rights since 196568 and many of his views were derived from that organisation.

A pathologist, Dr Dique held similar views to that other League stalwart, Raphael Cilento. Both medical men believed that immigration would result in the importation of third world diseases.69 Along with membership of the League, Dique was also secretary for the Anglo Celtic Federation of Australia.70 While he supported League issues such as Citizens Initiated Referenda and sundry conspiracy theories71 his central arguments revolved around the ‘supremacy’ of the Anglo Saxon race and the inferiority of groups like black Africans.72 In this regard the views of both the Anglo Celtic Federation of Australia and the Queensland ICA were almost identical. While Dique occasionally made an impression on the wider community, as in 1987 when he distributed a leaflet, ‘The Asianisation of Australia’, attacking Asian immigration,73 his contacts and influence within the far right were more significant

67 Moore, op. cit., p. 119. 
68 Saleam, op. cit., p. 112. 
than any impact he might have made on the wider community.\textsuperscript{94}
Despite the disappearance of the national body of the ICA in 1981, the
Queensland branch remained active until 1993 when Dique deferred to
groups such as Australians Against Further Immigration and
Maryborough based Tony Pitt.\textsuperscript{95}

It was likely that a dilemma between the leaders and the followers of
the anti-immigration groups occurred at this time. As mentioned
above, in 1983 Robin Linke abandoned the Immigration Control
Council to run as an independent. Clark abandoned the ICA in 1981
when it merged with Australian National Alliance (see below) to form
the Progressive Nationalist Party. Clark then moved on to the
pensioner right’s group, Greypower. Becoming New South Wales
president he caused some concern by distributing racist propaganda.\textsuperscript{96}
While Clark may have wished to move more into the political
mainstream, the followers of his group appear to have been more
radical. This precipitated the collaboration with Australian National
Alliance and the formation of the Progressive Nationalist Party.\textsuperscript{97}

In Melbourne in May 1988 Robyn and Rodney Spencer formed
Australians Against Immigration. The groundwork for ‘respectable’

\textsuperscript{94} See for example ‘Our Poisoned Food, and Cancer, and Our Options,’ \textit{The Realist}, March-April 1990. This was published by the racist New Zealand Conservative Front. See also Ronald E. Henderson, \textit{The Last White Rose. The White Race, Survival or Oblivion?}, Ronald Henderson, Berry, 1992. Henderson (no relation) like Dique, was heavily influenced by League of Rights and Dique’s publications and the conspiracy theorist Peter Sawyer. His book presents similar arguments to Dique, though as it was privately published has probably not circulated widely.


\textsuperscript{96} Crisp, op. cit., p. 47.

\textsuperscript{97} James Saleam interview, Sydney, 2000.
opposition to immigration had already been laid. Academics, like Dr Robert Birrell used ecological arguments against immigration\(^98\) and identified the problems of ‘ethnic or immigrant concentration[s].’\(^99\) Australia’s Bicentennial year saw the opening of a rancorous immigration debate from which the fledgling Australians Against Immigration could only profit. The years of funding for multiculturalism had not eliminated racism; ‘it is still a problem in multicultural Australia’\(^100\)

Reflecting the change in tempo of the immigration debate Australians Against Immigration changed their name to Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI) in 1989. The addition of the word ‘further’ suggested that restrictive immigration policies were not aimed at any ethnic group or nationality, but the whole practice of immigration. Like Clark before them, the Spencers flirted with the political middle ground. AAFI’s literature promoted non-racial issues in the immigration debate. These included reduced unemployment, reduced pollution and environmental preservation by avoiding overpopulation.\(^101\) While these arguments were aimed at the political centre, the AAFI still resorted to racist arguments. Mirroring the concerns of Drs Dique and Cilento they extolled the health benefits of keeping the ‘spread of exotic diseases into Australia like Hepatitis B

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\(^101\) AAFI election pamphlet, n.d., probably circa 1990.
and TB... at bay"102 a reference to a consequence of non-European immigrants. AAFI literature also promoted the idea that Australian culture should advance and that government clearly planned 'the incorporation into Asia of an Asiansed [sic] Australia.'103 AAFI was not a group like Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population, a respectable organisation, though both were formed in the same year and AAFI used similar arguments.104 While it was happy to incorporate the concerns of such groups its links with the far right were influential in determining its ideology.

Along with Robyn Spencer, one of AAFI's founding members and, its most public face was Denis McCormack. Claiming to be a Chinese scholar105 McCormack courted links with the League of Rights.106 The Spencers were linked with the National Reporter.107 This newspaper was edited by Paul Martin a pseudonym used by Arthur Smith the former

102 ibid.
103 ibid.
104 Graeme Campbell and Mark Uhlmann, Australia Betrayed. How Australian democracy has been undermined and our naive trust betrayed, Foundation Press, Victoria Park, 1995, pp. 57-60. Campbell and Uhlmann address most of the issues raised by AAFI in their book, hardly surprising as Cambell in his role as an MHR enthusiastically endorsed AAFI. See also pages, 75 – 81 (health), and 106 – 109 for his endorsement.
107 E. Woodger, the New South Wales Secretary of AAFI wrote, 'We know that this edition of 'The National Reporter' will be going to various country destinations. This will be the new market for the AAFI
neo-Nazi leader (see chapter 3) and canvassed many of the issues highlighted by AAFI, but also had a strong antisemitic bias. Not surprisingly, the Spencers and McCormack quickly steered AAFI toward the extreme right.

While AAFI never succeeded in organising outside of Sydney and Melbourne, by 1994 it claimed 1100 members. This seems credible. By 1996 this may have increased to as many as 2000, a significant number for an Australian extreme-right group. Some of AAFI's growth must be credited to their election strategy. The political scientist, Nicholas Economou, analysed AAFI's strategy noting, the way in which AAFI has sought to exploit opportunities in by-elections have provided for this single-issue party to press its agenda, there is substantial scope for political actors who might otherwise be at the fringes of the debate to find a gateway in to the political mainstream.

Economou observed that in by-elections where the major parties both participated the AAFI scored a respectable average vote of 4.5 per cent. This increased to 8.9 per cent in by-elections where one of the major parties was absent. Its highest vote was 13.6 per cent in the Blaxland by-election in 1996. While AAFI's electoral strategies were effective, Robyn Spencer and Denis McCormack worked hard to promote the

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108 Ramsey, 'A wilderness voice we can't ignore,' op. cit.
111 Ibid., 244 - 245. This result obviously had something to do with the retirement of Paul Keating after his defeat by John Howard in the national elections. Generally for AAFI by-election results, see also, 'Editorial, The vote against immigration,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 March 1994. Sian Powell, 'Crank Outsiders,' *Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 March 1994.
McCormack’s blunt, uncompromising style was an asset. He argued:

There are empty scrotums walking around the corridors of power and influence all over the country. Everybody knows that immigration, multiculturalism and Asianisation are the red hot issues in Australia today, ... Well, we want Australians to know there’s at least one group, one political party, going around giving it a red hot go, sticking it to every pollie at every public meeting, every forum, we can get to.\textsuperscript{133}

Tensions within the AAFI proved inevitable. Members like Jan Watkins, who contested the New South Wales seat of Macarthur at the 1996 federal elections, avoided racist slurs. Watkins’s campaign literature concentrated on the cost of immigration and multiculturalism, the environmental benefits of a reduced population, privatisation, employment, crime and referendums on important issues. Only the question of referenda, suggesting the far right’s enthusiasm for Citizens Initiated Referenda, might indicate that Ms Watkins supported an extreme-right agenda.\textsuperscript{134} Others like David Hughes, AAFI candidate for the New South Wales seat of Throsby suggested immigrants might be turned into ‘blood and bone.’ Robyn Spencer did not distance herself from Hughes’s statement.\textsuperscript{135} More generally, tensions within the far right may have promoted divisions. The alliance with the \textit{National Reporter} and the defection of some National Action members to AAFI\textsuperscript{136} suggests a racial-nationalist element was present. This group would hardly have endorsed some of the pro-British, pro-Monarchy views of other AAFI fan groups like the

\textsuperscript{112} Ramsey, ‘A wilderness voice we can’t ignore,’ op.cit.
\textsuperscript{113} McCormack cited in ibid.
\textsuperscript{114} ‘Jan Watkins for Macarthur,’ election pamphlet, 1996.
\textsuperscript{116} Saleam, op. cit., pp. 316 – 317.
League of Rights, which was trenchantly attacked by National Action (see below). Denis McCormack was closely linked to the League, as was the ALP Member for Kalgoorlie, Graeme Campbell. By 1998 McCormack had become the Australia First Party’s Vice President clearly casting his lot with its founder, Graeme Campbell. In the same year, the Spencers abandoned AAFI to head Pauline Hanson’s One Nation party in Victoria. AAFI was swallowed up and destroyed by One Nation. The Spencers accurately surmised that One Nation had the widespread support needed to gain real political power but did not anticipate the instability of that group. Their association with One Nation did not last long past the 1998 elections and AAFI was finished.

AAFI’s career showed that anti-immigration had some electoral and popular support from the community beyond the far right. However, it does not appear to be an issue that could generate a mass following. Hence activists were pushed to the margins, finding a devoted following among members of other like minded extreme-right groups. For AAFI this meant competing views of the impact of immigration which created divisions within the group. While ‘Asianisation’ was widely seen as a threat, the motives for this process were widely debated. An ‘Australian culture’ was promoted but the different visions of the League of Rights and the racial nationalists were at odds. The only point of agreement was that immigration should be stopped. In the post Tampa environment the actions of the major political parties in promoting tough immigration and refugee policies has denied the extreme right an opportunity to advance its views.
Australian National Alliance & Australian National Action

The Australian National Alliance was formed in January 1978 by a group of young right wing activists with similar views, Ed Azzopardi, Frank Salter, Jim Saleam, Alex Norwick, and Myles Ormsby. Azzopardi and Saleam both studied at the University of Sydney. Initially their group was styled National Resistance. The name change to Australian National Alliance reflected its move from a purely university based group into a national political organisation.¹¹⁷ As Saleam characterised the coming together of this group and their backgrounds,

I met with Ed Azzopardi, who at this time was in close contact with a guy called Frank Salter Jnr and I was in contact with a man called Alex Norwick who had run a group called the Nationalist Workers' Party in Sydney. We all met around November, December of 1976. We had a whole series of discussions and meetings. There were a few other people involved. We started talking about what we called nationalism. We had all come to very, very similar conclusions albeit from very different backgrounds. This guy Norwick ... had some association with the National Australia Association [an anti-immigration group] but of course being of Russian origin, he had no particular sympathy for Anglophilia. Frank Salter was very pissed off with the League of Rights scene and conservatism. Ed Azzopardi, he had always been an Australian nationalist of many sorts. So there was a blending of views, a melding of views and we spent quite a lot of time talking about it. I suppose it is different to the models that some have put up of how these groups come into being. This was the situation, we were a group of people, I would hope, not unintelligent, maybe, I don’t know. But we spent a lot of time discussing what it meant, what Australian independence meant.¹¹⁸

As Andrew Moore has noted the emergence of National Alliance was around the same time ‘wombat nationalism’ was being promoted on

¹¹⁷ David Greason, I was a teenage fascist, McPhee Gribble, Melbourne, 1994, pp. 137 – 138.
¹¹⁸ Saleam interview.
the left through groups like the Maoist, Australian Independence Movement.\(^{119}\) That both the far left and far right should seize on a similar program is not surprising, especially as both Saleam and Azzopardi had a deep understanding of, and respect for the far left and the way in which it organised.\(^{120}\) This did not mean that National Alliance respected the Left’s politics. As one poster declared, ‘Screw Capitalism! Fuck Communism!’\(^{121}\) For National Alliance, nationalism lay at the very heart of the group. As its literature declared, Australian National Alliance is an Australian nationalist movement dedicated to the principle ‘Australia First’ . . . Our movement is in the old nationalist tradition which sought a unique Australian identity in a Nation controlled by only the Australian people.\(^{122}\)

Both Azzopardi and Saleam were political animals. Azzopardi had an association with Jack Lang and had been invited by the former Labor premier to be involved in his newspaper *The Century*.\(^{123}\) Azzopardi’s links with Jack Lang meant a respect for some old Labor traditions like White Australia. Saleam had been a keen student of right-wing politics, subscribing to a great number of local and overseas publications. Saleam believes his activities at University of Queensland had also brought him to the notice of that state’s Special Branch.\(^{124}\) Azzopardi and Saleam could also claim an understanding of left ideology when most of their colleagues on the right still regarded the left in crude stereotypes.

\(^{119}\) Moore, op. cit., p. 120.
\(^{120}\) Ibid. As Moore notes, and Saleam agreed at interview, ‘that Saleam admired the CPA (ML) and Ted Hill, its long term leader.’
\(^{123}\) Saleam interview.
\(^{124}\) Ibid.
One of the most striking aspects of National Alliance was that its 
eschewal of conspiracy theories and the crude policies offered by most 
other extreme-right groups. Its program was logically consistent, well 
written and well argued. It was prepared to usurp icons and causes 
that had hitherto been more the preserve of the left, notably the Eureka 
Flag. It is worth quoting Saleam at length on some of these aspects, 
The use of the Eureka Flag was a very intentional thing and a lot 
of what National Alliance did was intentional. For want of a 
phrase that group had a happy time for the simple reason that 
groups that could have been our opponents did not understand 
what we were on about. I found that quite ironic. I had a 
number of discussions with leftoids and whatever, some 
knowing who I was, some not and they could not work it out. 
For them what was right wing politics was god, queen and 
country, red, white and blue – this was different. Some said it 
was a Nazi thing but then they realised there were no references 
to any of this in the literature. They realised that from what little 
contact they had with some of the members that we were not 
interested in it. It did not mean to say that we did not know 
about it, I have said to you that I knew all about it. But, it was 
not where this group was coming from. It couldn’t successfully, 
initially be countered. Some left groups said it was a type of 
fascism or whatever. But because it was in their view, 
indigenous, they did not know what to do. The National 
Alliance side stepped all the stuff about the National Front of 
Australia being founded in 1978 and the connections with the 
[British] National Front and John Tyndall and so on and so forth. 
No one understood it and that was very good because it meant 
that the group could get established and I think that from my 
point of view that initiated a certain tradition on the so called 
right of politics and it was initiated because it actually managed 
to get initiated. It actually lasted whereas a lot of other things 
hadn’t. . . . That it actually had a rationale and a logic and it 
actually approximated some type of Australian reality, even 
though we as the people who started it deliberately intended 
that we not deal with the right wing. That we not approach the 
League of Rights, that we don’t deal with the Nazi party or that 
we don’t have certain things in our paper or that we don’t allude 
to certain issues. For arguments sake we didn’t want to get 
involved in the right wing’s conspiracy doctrines, so we 
deliberately wrote an argument about the so called Jewish 
influence in the USSR and how nonsensical it was and how 
Soviet policy had developed in a new direction. That is how 
National Action then got the reputation for being a left wing 
movement. That is something that stuck to me, in fact, through a
lot of the right wing circles, [David] Greason\textsuperscript{125} alludes to it, that I was called a National Bolshevik and that the way in which National Action presented itself, it wasn’t against the Soviet Union, it just said the USSR was another imperialism, but not necessarily against Australia was all new on the right wing scene. Some of the old hands like the people around Rosemary Sissons’ National Front, a few Leaguers and then later van Tongeren and co said that is all very obvious why; Jim Saleam is a communist with a national flavour. That stuck to me for years and years. It was used by these people in their smears and attacks and so on all the way through but we used to laugh at it.\textsuperscript{126}

In these respects, National Alliance was something quite novel on the right. Other groups that had formed around the same time like Rosemary Sisson’s Australian National Front, in Melbourne, were largely derivative, in this instance copying the structure of John Tyndall’s’ British National Front.\textsuperscript{127} As Saleam noted, his political stance as well as that of the National Alliance caused some consternation and confusion on the far right. This has continued. In 2001 an email circulating on the internet accused Saleam of being a communist and being linked with the Jewish Board of Deputies via a relationship with a Jewess.\textsuperscript{128}

National Alliance did not prove to be an enduring organisation. The leadership of ANA had been astute in discerning many of the weaknesses of the far right, in particular by avoiding those with Nazi

\textsuperscript{125} David Greason and Saleam later had a falling out and became bitter enemies.
\textsuperscript{126} Saleam interview.
\textsuperscript{127} Greason, op. cit., pp. 137 & 146. The National Front was also more directly anti-Communist than ANA. See The National Front Objectives, undated ephemera, circa 1978.
\textsuperscript{128} ‘From the Pen of Smoke’, email 17 January 2001. The email concludes, ‘To, Jimmy, you have been warned often enough, you have prospered under the obligation of solidarity, true Nationalist [sic] have kept quite about your treachery out of embarrassment. However your liaison [sic] with the Race-traitor Leon Gregor who with the aid of Asians was trying to take over the BIWF was the last straw. Henceforth all your informing, mendacity, treachery etc will be exposed. You are exposed as a false Nationalist.’ The identity of Smoke is not known.

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backgrounds. In this they were reasonably successful although the neo-Nazi con man, Graeme Royce, was able to infiltrate the organisation under one of his many pseudonyms, Graham Maguire. Before his exposure, he had convinced Frank Salter to take a costly lease on premises in Kings Cross that effectively bankrupted ANA. Salter resigned and the organisation began to fall apart.129 In his book I was a teenage fascist, David Greason alleged that there were a number of people with Nazi backgrounds involved, not least Saleam.130 Saleam rejects this characterisation131 and claims only seven people with that background ever joined or were associated with ANA and National Action in the period 1982 to 1991. The epithet "nazi", according to Saleam, was used as a smear by Greason and by the media. Greason’s account at times appears self-serving, extolling himself while characterising people he dislikes, notably Saleam, as politically tainted and inept. Their mutual antipathy reflected the extreme right’s tendency to squabble. One pamphlet in circulation even claims that Greason’s book is plagiarised from Cecil Herbert Sharpley’s 1952 book, The Great Delusion: The Autobiography of a Communist Leader. While there are some similarities in style, the pamphlet does not make a convincing case for its central charge. Greason’s account of events offers many insights but it can be equally said to be a highly partisan account.132

130 Greason, op. cit., pp. 143, 152 & 224.
131 Saleam interview.
132 See P. Giannopoulos, David Greason “Racism Expert”: Credibility Exploded. Is Dave the Real Demidenko?, Federation of Australian Nationalists, Melbourne (?), 1995. For a highly critical account of Greason and his book see also, Jim Saleam, We Knew The Teenage Fascist: Fractured Notes On The Fractured Life Of David Greason, at http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/ on 4 May 2002. This document, among other things, claims Greason had a psychiatric breakdown, was homosexual, contemplated firebombing a nightclub, was involved in fraud, shoplifting and criminal damage. It also claimed that the Australia/Israel Review has knowingly allowed claims by Greason to be circulated.
Whatever Saleam’s earlier associations it does appear that by the time he became involved in ANA that he had ended any associations with neo-Nazi groups. A photograph of himself in Nazi uniform with Ross May came back to haunt him.\textsuperscript{133}

ANA made some interesting initiatives. Its paper \textit{Audacity} was well produced and cogently written. Other right publications like the League of Rights’ \textit{New Times} had changed little in style, content or layout from the 1930s. \textit{Audacity} eschewed conspiracy theories in favour of a more rational, though greatly idealised, view of Australian history. It rejected most of the right’s preoccupation with the monarchy in favour of republican ideals. As Andrew Moore has pointed out ANA recognised that any significant political movement would need the support of the working class.\textsuperscript{134}

How ANA might have developed is a moot point. The financial chaos that Graeme Royce precipitated within the group may have only hastened its demise. Dissension between key players in ANA might well have seen the group dissolve. ANA’s chairman, Frank Salter, took a more cautious approach than other activists, notably Azzopardi and Saleam.\textsuperscript{135} By late 1979 Salter seems to have been intent on gaining ‘respectability’ for ANA.\textsuperscript{136} Conversely the approach of Saleam, Azzopardi and the younger activists had about it the air of undergraduate activism, not surprising considering their involvement

\textsuperscript{133} Andrew Moore, op.cit., p. 121
\textsuperscript{134} ibid., p. 122.
\textsuperscript{135} Greason, op. cit., p. 227.
\textsuperscript{136} Saleam thesis, p. 148.
at university. Saleam, Myles Ormsby and David Greason contributed articles to various publications, using pseudonyms, which subtly promoted ANA, while denigrating others on the right.\textsuperscript{137} While these tactics suggest a more cerebral approach than other right wing groups might attempt, their ‘cleverness’ seems to have done little to advance the group in attaining any substantial following. Azzopardi’s wish that ANA should have the ‘discipline of Spartans and the fanaticism of Jesuits’\textsuperscript{138} seems similarly naïve. In essence ANA remained a group for angry, albeit idealistic activists whose message would seem to have little appeal to the working classes living in the suburbs surrounding Australia’s major cities.

ANA might well have adopted more populist issues if it wished to expand its influence. As it was, ANA not only distanced many other right-wing groups but also attempted to usurp some of the territory claimed by far left. As Saleam noted, groups like National Alliance, ‘challenged for possession of the labour-nationalist territory.’\textsuperscript{139} This involved some conflict between left and right, but at the margins of politics. Although there were incidents of violence and intimidation its effects were contained within a minute population of extreme political activists. Its effect upon the wider community was minimal.

Some of the preoccupations of ANA members, who later formed National Action, were taken to the new group. Most importantly, the

\textsuperscript{137} Ibid., p. 147, Greason, op.cit., pp. 204 – 205.
\textsuperscript{139} Saleam thesis, p. 184.
sectarian character of sections of ANA was carried over into the new
group. This aspect of National Action would increasingly bring it to the
attention of the authorities and the media. It was also one reason that
National Action remained a small, if militant group, though it also
contributed to National Action’s survival while other groups
disappeared.

With ANA effectively bankrupted and dissident members of the group
departing, remnants merged in May 1981 with Robert Clark’s
Progressive Conservative Party to form the Progressive Nationalist
Party.\(^\text{140}\) As both Saleam and Greason agree, the PNP was no more than
a brief interlude between the demise of ANA and the formation of
National Action\(^\text{141}\) even though the PNP claimed a membership of
1000.\(^\text{142}\) The most significant event would be the formation of
Australian National Action.

There are three differing accounts of the foundation of National Action.
David Greason asserts that he founded the group in March 1982 with
two other people.\(^\text{143}\) Denis Freney cites April 1982 as when ‘Saleam and
a few others formed National Action.’\(^\text{144}\) Saleam cites February 1982
with an inaugural assembly on April 25 1982, ANZAC day being
deliberately chosen as the foundation dates for the organisation.\(^\text{145}\)
Freney and Saleam’s accounts broadly coincide and Freney makes no

\(^{140}\) 'Racist attacks escalate', *Tribune*, 28 September 1988.
\(^{142}\) Moore, op. cit., p. 120.
\(^{143}\) Greason, op.cit., p. 274. On page 276 Greason cites a February start for the group.
\(^{144}\) Freney, op. cit., p. 13, Also Denis Freney, ‘Submission to Human Rights Commission 3.
mention of Greason's involvement. In either event, Saleam was undoubtedly the most significant member in National Action from its inception in 1982 until his imprisonment in May 1991.

Many characteristics of ANA were carried over to National Action. One of the most notable was the antipathy toward the old right. In an article by Saleam, 'Break from the Right' he argued that, We need men of action, forward thinkers, visionaries, intolerant men ready to guarantee the national future by calling forth, politicising, the national will.\footnote{Saleam, 'Break with the Right,' National Action Bulletin, no. 10, n.d. circa 1983.}

The article argued that the conservative right (including groups like the League of Rights\footnote{For National Actions hostility to the League of Rights see, 'If You thought We Were Critical of the League of Rights: Read their Criticism of National Action,' Ultra, no. 46, October 1987 and 'League of Rights Fizzles in anti-Bank Fight,' National Action, no.33, June-July 1989, ibid.}) consisted of cranks and traitors, subservient to Britain and the monarchy who would sell out the country. They lacked the vision to create modern institutions, were subservient to international interests and capital and were essentially hostile to nationalist ideals. Change could only come by radical-nationalist actions.\footnote{Saleam was the pseudonym used by Alec Norwick, an ANA member and founding member of National Action.} In extending this argument, Alec Saunders\footnote{Saunders was the pseudonym used by Alec Norwick, an ANA member and founding member of National Action.} identified what he called 'three racial-patriotisms.'\footnote{Alec Saunders, The Social Revolutionary Nature of Australian Nationalism, Australian National Action, Sydney, 1986, p. 1.} The first, conservative patriotism, was hostile to social reform, Anglo-centric and denied the worth of other European groups. It was identified with politicians like Sir Robert Menzies.\footnote{ibid., pp. 3 - 4.} Progressive patriotism was identified with the ALP as it initially developed and through politicians like Arthur Calwell (though...
not the contemporary Labor Party). Finally, the radical nationalists were identified as groups like National Action. In a tendentious and at times laboured analysis, Saunders credited the progressive and radical nationalists with a ‘racial-socialistic’ program that was neither Marxist, fascist, national socialist nor antisemitic. Libya’s Colonel Gaddafi was a role model as an, ‘anti-Marxist ... pan-Arab racial-nationalist’ and ‘authoritarian-socialist.’ The utopian socialist William Lane was extolled for views that have troubled contemporary historians – his later authoritarianism and his extreme views on race. Henry Lawson and Arthur Calwell were upheld as exemplars of Saunders’ views on radical nationalism. Saunders, whom Freney described as a ‘theoretician’ of National Action, obviously was intent on defining the ‘third way’ or even Strasserite position of the group, though his quixotic ideas often rendered his message obscure.

If ANA made some tactically good moves it also made some bad ones that were carried on to National Action. Its substantive agenda was novel though a perusal of the organisation’s literature shows a propensity toward violent rhetoric and an intolerance for other rightist groups that alienated them from potential allies. In some cases, the

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152 ibid., p. 4.
153 ibid., pp. 4 – 5.
154 ibid., p. 5. Saunders travelled to Libya, presumably as a guest of the government and was briefly, a member of Robert Pash’s pro-Libyan group National Vanguard. See Freney, ‘Submission to Human Rights Commission,’ op. cit., p. 6.
155 ibid., 7 – 14.
156 ibid., passim.
chief protagonists for both ANA and National Action were no more than angry young men. This is a point Saleam conceded at interview. Yes there is an element of that. An element of anger at the fact that people wished to play games with our politics. National Action decided that it would assemble its resources and we had no sooner done so than we were confronted by the famous Jack van Tongeren. He had deliberately; I have his book and also have his letters from the time, targeted National Action for takeover. He thought, oh, this is a good organisation, I’ll join this and I’ll get myself elected chairman and I’ll make it a Nazi Party. It was very good of him but, it was not what we wanted to do. After the troubles with van Tongeren in 1985 National Action became, for want of a phrase, and I would confirm it for you, a sectarian organisation as Andrew Moore puts it. It became internally policed and even though we had our ups and downs there was a lot more discipline in it and it actually functioned that way. People were expelled from it. I think I told you we had some fuckwit who came to it [NationalAction] who turned out to be fodder for the ANM. While I never ordered it or suggested it, his head collided with the wall over there. He interfered in projects and said he was a Nazi. A couple of the blokes just would not tolerate it and belted him and threw him out into the street. It was one of those things that happened and for want of a phrase actually came back at me in a couple of ways. But that was what it was like and we consciously decided that we were not going to be deflected from what we wanted to do. I think in that way National Action, for a brief period, became dangerous to the establishment and had to be addressed.160

These violent propensities were notable in the campaigns National Action conducted against those it saw as enemies. These included the Sydney radio and television personality Andrew Olle whose address and telephone number were published.161 The Uniting Church minister Dorothy McMahon was similarly targeted for her support of the African National Congress and ‘outed’ as a lesbian some years before she revealed this herself. The attacks were particularly vitriolic. McMahon was characterised as heading a “clique of homosexual [sic]

\[160\] Saleam interview.
\[161\] ‘The Media/Political Police Conspiracy to Fabricate Anti-Nationalist Material to “Prove” Complicity in “Racist Violence”:’, National Action, no 33, June-July 1989. As was the practice with several of their ‘enemies’ National Action branded Olle ‘A liar and propagandist for the political police.’
and lesbians . . . to push support for the murderous African National Congress.\textsuperscript{162}

National Action felt that it was unable to defend its views beyond its own publications. When the Nine television network’s show \textit{A Current Affair} broadcast an unflattering piece on the activities of National Action the group responded by visiting the home of reporter Marie Mohr where they allegedly found cocaine.\textsuperscript{163} If National Action had cause to be aggrieved, they were disingenuous in expecting that the mainstream media would grant them a sympathetic hearing.

Perhaps National Action’s most ill advised campaign was against the head of the New South Wales Special Branch, Detective Sergeant Neville Ireland. The group published Ireland’s address.\textsuperscript{164} Saleam and the group in general may have had cause to object to the operations of Special Branch, though it was an ill-advised move that further alienated National Action from the community. At the same time the rhetoric of the group suggested a resort to violence was being considered. \textit{Tribune} reported Saleam advocating “street action, direct action, personal approaches, militancy. We must be prepared to struggle, sacrifice and – dare we say it? – kill and be killed.”\textsuperscript{165} They were also informally linked with the Skinhead movement.\textsuperscript{166} Skinheads

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item Saleam interview. See also \textit{National Action}, no 33, June-July 1989.
\item Graham Williams, “Extremist group calls for officer to “be hit,”” \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, 5 May 1989.
\item “Racist attacks escalate”, \textit{Tribune}, September 28 1988.
\item “Radicals recruit skinheads as thugs,” \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 26 March 1990.
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were viewed as potentially, ‘a great reserve of strength for a revolutionary nationalist party.’ Such an alliance reinforced the community’s negative perceptions. The leadership were aware of the potential damage that National Action’s violent image caused. In a pamphlet directed at university students they argued,

> It is very necessary for the apologists for the Overseas student influx to tell as many lies as possible to get us off the track. One of the best, which has operated particularly in New South Wales has been the accusation of “violence” against ordinary students and supporters of the nationalist party, National Action . . . . The accusations of violence have another and more sinister reason. The soft liberal-left are SETTING UP AN ATTACK on the nationalists and concerned students by the Marxist Left. Accusations of violence, and the creation of an emotionally charged atmosphere are designed to INTIMIDATE the great mass of Australian students into silence.

The charge of violence stuck to National Action. It was reinforced when Saleam was sentenced in May 1991 to three and a half years prison for a shotgun attack on Eddie Funde, the Australian representative of the African National Congress. In April of 1991 Perry John Whitehouse murdered a fellow National Action member Wayne Smith at their headquarters in Sydney, ironically over an argument about Saleam’s pending trial for the shotgun attack.

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170 Saleam suggests Whitehouse may have suffered from a personality disorder. Saleam thesis, pp. 196 – 197.
171 Smith was tagged ‘Bovver’ Smith by the media, though according to Saleam this title was never given to him by any National Action members.
As a sectarian organisation, National Action developed a rigorous program of internal policing. Members were informed who was regarded as an enemy. When Boris Link, created problems in the organisation, forcing the retirement of Azzopardi, members were advised to ‘avoid contact’ with him.\textsuperscript{173} Similar measures were also taken against Robert Leys after he had been expelled from National Action.\textsuperscript{174} Members were also warned to avoid contact with neo-Nazis, Jack van Tongeren’s breakaway group, Australian Nationalist Movement and Robert Pash’s, Australian National Vanguard.\textsuperscript{175}

In an attempt to further its influence National Action formed a number of ‘front’ organisations. The South African Defence Campaign of Australia (SADCA) continued National Action’s attack on Community Aid Abroad and support for apartheid.\textsuperscript{176} Another group that was alleged to be a front, the ‘Sons of Kokoda’ was implicated in violent incidents.\textsuperscript{177} National Action attempted to extend its links with overseas nationalist groups to bolster its international position and also received foreign visitors.\textsuperscript{178}

Despite its revolutionary aims that were opposed to parliamentary government, from 1986 to 1996 National Action contested several

\textsuperscript{173} ‘Special Notice,’ \textit{Ultra}, no. 52, July 1988.
\textsuperscript{174} ‘The Taxi you seig heil for Father Bob Leys,’ \textit{National Action}, no. 34, 1990
\textsuperscript{175} ‘Notice,’ \textit{Ultra}, no. 31, 1985.
\textsuperscript{176} ‘Community Aid Abroad’s Network of Death,’ SADCA, ephemera, n.d.
\textsuperscript{177} Saleam thesis, p. 182. Moore, op.cit., p. 122. Sons of Kokoda was probably started by Melbourne activists in the National Republican Movement, who apparently published some material using this name. Whether any National Action members were involved with Sons of Kokoda cannot be verified.
elections. While no candidate achieved a high vote, the exercise aimed to increase National Action’s public profile. By 1991 National Action was further pursuing this agenda under the leadership of Michael Brander, its Adelaide based organiser. Involved with the group since 1987 as South Australian organiser, Brander took over leadership of the group after Saleam’s imprisonment in 1991.

In an attempt to register National Action as a political party, advertisements were placed in the LaRouchite, Citizens Electoral Council newspaper the New Citizen. It may be that LaRouche and the CEC’s antipathy toward the British monarchy was attractive. Nevertheless, such a link is curious as the two groups shared little else in common. Saleam, who placed the advertisement, did not consider the LaRouche influence to be great at that time. This move reflected the internal turmoil of the group that had culminatated in Saleam’s imprisonment. Brander wished to re-launch the nationalist cause. The tensions between Brander and Saleam affected the organisation between 1989 and 1991 as did a state crackdown upon the extreme right. The September 1989 edition of National Action’s internal bulletin, Ultra, was entirely concerned with the severity of the sentences passed on Jack van Tongeren and his ANM colleagues and the increasing

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180 Saleam interview.
182 Henderson, op.cit.
184 ibid.
pressure felt by Saleam as a result of New South Wales Special Branch police action.\textsuperscript{185}

By 1988 having increased its public profile and attempted to cement its pre-eminence in the nationalist area, National Action pursued other groups for unification talks.\textsuperscript{186} This may have been a reaction to the formation of Australian National Vanguard and the Australian Nationalist Movement. Both challenged in the territory held by National Action. The formation of AAFI in that same year further eroded National Action's position in nationalist politics.

Prior to this, in 1985 a former Perth based National Action member Eugene Donnini\textsuperscript{187} who had split from ANM\textsuperscript{188} began his own group styled the Australian Populist Movement (APM). While short lived, APM produced its own magazine, \textit{Stockade}.\textsuperscript{189} It pursued a nationalist agenda, not dissimilar to National Action. APM was active in areas more familiar for groups like the League of Rights. These included alternative health and conspiracy theories.\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Stockade} also dealt with 'green issues,' suggestive of later attempts to meld the nationalist and green causes.\textsuperscript{191} National Action’s attempts to bolster its position seem to have met with little success. In 1989 the Melbourne based group, National Republican Movement was formed. In its appeal to youth, its adoption of labour traditions, its anti-Monarchism and its opposition to

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\textsuperscript{185} 'National Action Under Sustained Political Attack,' \textit{Ultra}, no. 61, September 1989.

\textsuperscript{186} 'National Action in Unity Discussions,' \textit{Ultra}, no. 48, January 1988.

\textsuperscript{187} Freney, ‘Submission to Human Rights Commission,’ op. cit., p. 6.

\textsuperscript{188} Saleam thesis, p. 166.

\textsuperscript{189} APM appears to have dissolved in late 1986.

\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Stockade}, no. 1., Spring 1985, passim.

\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., p. 5.
Asian immigration it was very similar to National Action. While the National Republicans never achieved the public recognition of National Action, they clearly challenged them on their own ground.

As with the League of Rights, National Action might be deemed a success, purely as a result of surviving. All its competitors have disappeared. While National Action is now mostly represented by Michael Brander in Adelaide, its former national status would appear to mean support still exists Australia-wide. On figures used by Saleam, at its height the organisation had around 500 committed members, a number Brander matched but with over half in Adelaide. However, Saleam’s figures also point to structural weaknesses in the organisation. National Action was predominantly male (86%), with just over fifty per cent of its members under 30 years of age and eighty nine per cent of its membership based in the inner city. Like Australian National Alliance before it, National Action failed to find any great support outside metropolitan areas, even as far

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195 This perception is also bolstered by National Action’s web site.
197 Saleem telephone conversation.
198 Ibid. These statistics are incomplete though would seem reliable in establishing general membership trends.

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as the mortgage belts. Its following did not penetrate into country areas.\textsuperscript{198}

Energetic attacks by police, media and other community groups no doubt helped to destabilise National Action. Despite Saleam's imprisonment, Brander managed to hold the group together at least in South Australia.\textsuperscript{199} Even had the group not been destabilised its structural weaknesses precluded its chances of attaining a mass following. This resulted from the political stance taken by the group - its 'third-way' ideology. Internally consistent and more intellectually rigorous than most other approaches on the extreme right, this ideology denied it any popular following. The sectarian isolation of National Action created a political movement that was resistant to some internal disputes but that was neither strong enough or popular enough to withstand the concerted attacks of the state. Nor did National Action appreciate clearly enough how its radical and militant stance would isolate it within the wider community as a 'dangerous fringe' group.

Essentially National Action was captive to its own rhetoric. It rightly identified the need to strictly police its membership but this attracted a few members whose association had catastrophic results.\textsuperscript{200} It initially protected National Action from interference from other groups and the state but fostered the image of National Action as dangerous. As an experiment for an extreme-right group, National Action's ideas have

\textsuperscript{198} This point was conceded by Saleam in interview.  
\textsuperscript{199} Penelope Debelle, 'In a State of Hate,' \textit{Adelaide Advertiser}, 10 October 1995.  
\textsuperscript{200} Saleam thesis, p. 194
been influential. Its exploration of ‘wombat nationalism’ has created an ongoing force within the Australian right that looks to Australian history to find its own ideas and symbols. In addition, its avoidance of populist and conspiracy ideas suggests that there is a place for a more intellectual extreme-right group within Australia. However, as with overseas groups such as Nick Griffith’s British National Front, their appeal is limited. With attempts by the extreme right to form loose alliances such as the Inverell Forum (see epilogue) and through widely circulated publications like Saleam’s *The Nature of State Power in Australia*, the legacy of National Action’s leaders may be as theoreticians of the far right.

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THE CHRISTIAN FAR RIGHT

Within the Christian community there exists a wide range of views analogous to the left–right dichotomy of secular politics. This chapter is concerned with Christian groups whose theological understandings have led them to adopt a radical-right political position. Most of these groups have a fundamentalist understanding of the Bible, though not all fundamentalist religious groups can be bracketed within the far right.\(^1\) Worldwide there has been a significant growth in fundamentalism within all the major religions. In a study on fundamentalism sponsored by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,\(^2\) the series editors, Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, noted that fundamentalists, no longer perceive themselves as reeling under the corrosive effects of secular life. On the contrary, they perceive themselves as fighting back, and doing so quite successfully. ... Particularly potent are those fundamentalists whose participants are convinced that they are called to carry out God’s or Allah’s purposes against challengers.\(^3\)

It is outside the scope of this work to describe the nature and scope of Christian fundamentalist thinking or its history, though numerous

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\(^1\) Within the wider Christian community there is a mixture of religious thought that illustrate this range of views. The Adventist family includes the more mainline Seventh Day Adventist churches through to avowedly radical and racist groups such as the Christian Identity movement. See J. Gordon Melton, *The Encyclopedia of American Religions*, 3\(^{rd}\) edition, Gale Research Inc., Detroit, 1989, pp. 77 – 86 & 530 – 531.


studies are available. However, it is worth noting that the eschatology of some fundamentalists is concerned with what they view as a titanic struggle between the forces of Satan and God to direct the world’s affairs. Some fundamentalist groups view this as a conspiracy to divert humanity from a righteous path that has been consciously acted out through secular institutions. To this end fundamentalist groups have engaged in political activism to change the direction of these secular institutions even though many fundamentalists hold that the ‘end times’ have been pre-ordained.

Fundamentalist groups are not confined to Christianity. A Sydney based Islamic paper, Nid’aul Islam, promotes conspiracy theories which blame Muslim suffering on the machinations of Israel and the United States. In the Australian context this paper is aimed at a small section

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5 For an account of the end times, largely based on the eschatology of the American minister Reverend Jerry Falwell, see Joe Cuomo, Ronald Reagan and the Prophecy of Armageddon, broadcast 1985, Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

6 ‘Dinkum Aussie Extremism,’ The Review, vol. 26, no. 6, June 2001, p. 30. For an international view of the revival of fundamentalism across all religions see also Marty and Appleby, op. cit. Lawrence, op. cit., is a useful overview. Karen Armstrong, op. cit provides an excellent overview of the motives and modus operandi of fundamentalists.
of the Muslim community and essentially reports on Middle Eastern politics. In the 1991 census only 2.6 per cent of the population was recorded as belonging to a non-Christian religion while 74 per cent acknowledged some Christian affiliation. While *Nid’aul Islam,* undoubtedly distributes extremist literature of growing interest to Australia’s security services, unfortunately language and cultural barriers and its preoccupation with the Middle East has precluded analysis of the group in this thesis.

Likewise, a number of fundamentalist Christian organisations have been excluded as they are not political. The Jehovah’s Witnesses, the Christadelphians and the Exclusive Brethren are examples of groups who eschew secular political involvement on theological grounds. This has not stopped some of these groups from disseminating radical doctrines. The Christadelphians distribute literature that promotes their idea that the Catholic pontiff is the Antichrist and involved in a satanic intrigue to destroy ‘true’ Christian religion. Such theological arguments remain at the fringes of Christian debate, but as they do not intrude upon political discourse they are not discussed in this chapter.

**American Christian extremism: Oral Roberts to Jack Chick**

The influence of the United States is of importance in assessing the Christian Right, a term coined in that country. A great deal of the

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literature and aims of Australian Christian-right groups mimics their American counterparts. Some of the groups discussed below operated as ‘branch offices’ of United States based organisations and distributed their material. As the historian David Parker has noted this strategy ‘has generally been unsuccessful,’ but the influence of American groups and their methods is one of the most prominent features of the Australian Christian right.  

Fundamentalist and charismatic churches have existed in Australia from the early twentieth century. In 1909 a Pentecostal church was established in Melbourne. However, American style evangelism was generally unknown in Australia until the visit of the controversial Pentecostal preacher, Oral Roberts in 1956.

Roberts had been contacted by Australian Pentecostals in the early 1950s and, after an aide visited Australia, Roberts was persuaded to tour the country. Robert’s 1956 antipodean visit was little short of disaster. His Melbourne crusade degenerated into ugly confrontations fanned by a hostile press. Roberts’s ‘relentless and unembarrassed commercialism’ combined with his apparent belief ‘that everything he says and does is part of God’s plan for him to heal and save as many souls as possible before Jesus returns’ did not impress a cynical

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11 Humphreys and Ward, op. cit., p. 135.
13 ibid. See especially pp. 73 – 79.
Australian audience. Roberts departed Australia in high dudgeon proclaiming a lack of police support and communist agitators had spoiled his visit.  

The shambles into which Roberts’ visit descended ensured that organisers of the American evangelist, Billy Graham’s tour, three years later, planned carefully and sought the support of established groups. However the visit by Roberts was a precursor for a brand of Christianity that was overtly hostile to the left. In a Cold War atmosphere, Christianity was held to be incompatible with communism.

Graham’s Australian tour in 1959 was attended by over three million people and has been held by the historian Stuart Piggin to herald a revival in Australia’s morals and Christian observance. Piggin however, did not canvass Graham’s fervent anticomunism. The American writer and critic of the Christian right, Sara Diamond, has argued that Graham was ‘puffed’ by the US media for his anticomunist rhetoric that included statements such as ‘Either Communism must die, or Christianity must die.’ Similar statements were reported in the Australian press. Graham’s strident anticomunism reflected his association with Bob Jones University in

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16 Harrell, op. cit., p. 77.
17 ‘3,250,000 Heard Dr Graham,’ Sydney Morning Herald, October 2 1959.
the United States and its sectarian political views. Like Roberts, Billy Graham's statements were made against the backdrop of the Cold War. They very publicly pitted evangelical Protestantism against communism in a fashion not even emulated by B.A. Santamaria's Movement. Santamaria's group, while trenchantly opposed to communism, operated mainly within the Australian Catholic community and mainstream political discourse. While it was secretive, Santamaria eschewed contacts with the extreme right (see chapter 2).

The antipathy of Roberts and Graham toward communism was taken up by other activists like Dr Fred Schwarz, an Australian physician who had been radicalised by the American Old Christian Right identity, Carl MacIntire. In 1953 Schwarz formed the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade (CACC) in Iowa. By the early 1960s Schwarz had moved away from his earlier association with MacIntire's hellfire and brimstone ultra-fundamentalism to align himself with conservatives. From there he moved toward members of the New Christian Right such as Tim LaHaye and Francis A. Schaeffer, characterised by their anti-humanist philosophies. Schwarz's book

21 Larry L. King, 'Bob Jones University: The Buckle on the Bible Belt,' Harper's Magazine, June 1966, pp. 51 – 58. Bob Jones University has long attracted criticism for its anti-Catholicism, segregation and support for the Republican Party. To his credit Graham has since moved well toward the centre of American religious life, though it is fair to comment that earlier in his career Graham was influenced by Bob Jones.
24 Erling Jorstad, 'The Remodelled Right: Schwarz and Stormer on Campus,' motive, no. XXVI, November 1965, pp. 29 – 32.
25 CACC still exists and publishes The Schwarz Report which can be found at http://www.anticomunism.com/ The site has a useful archive of reports going back to 1960 and includes a booklist of anti-communist, anti-evolution and Christian Right titles which are still available including titles by LaHaye and Schaeffer. For their views see especially Tim
You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists), became a best seller positing the idea that communism was an atheist plot akin to a mental disease. His anticommunism, no doubt combined with his Australian background, brought him to the attention of Henri Fischer’s *Australian International News Review* to which he contributed some articles and which publicised his ‘crusade’ in 1965 in Queensland and New South Wales. While Schwarz noted the atheist nature of Communism his tactics were more novel than a straight Christian versus Communism contest. In one article he posited that the American neo-Nazi leader, Lincoln Rockwell and ‘nazi-ism’ (and by extension the Australian neo-Nazi groups) were Communist ‘red herrings.’ He extolled Australia’s reliance on the United States and vilified Communist states.

Schwarz, like Graham and Roberts, made clear that Christianity and communism were mutually exclusive. Sara Diamond claims that the Catholic National Civic Council and CACC worked with Philippine government authorities primarily against trade unions from the 1970s until 1987. The campaign was directed by another Australian close to Schwarz, Dr John Whitehall, and supported the regime of Ferdinand Marcos.

26 Dr Fred Schwarz, *You Can Trust the Communists (to be Communists)*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1962, *passim*.
27 ‘Disliking communism is one thing, destroying it another,’ *Australian International News Review*, February 15 1966.
29 Dr Fred Schwarz, ‘We will follow after the United States,’ *Australian International News Review*, November 6 1965.
Another American, H. ‘Randy’ Pike established the independent Baptist groups in Australia in the early 1960s.\textsuperscript{32} Pike’s message was even more uncompromising toward communism. Before moving to South Africa to continue his mission, Pike published his anticommunist polemic, \textit{Religion, Red and Rotten},\textsuperscript{33} which railed against modernist and liberal churches as the dupes of communism. This book was circulated through the far right. A small Australian group, Kingdom Vision, recommended it along with Eric Butler’s \textit{The Red Pattern of World Conquest}, as essential reading in the battle against ‘Satanic’ communism.\textsuperscript{34}

Pike’s legacy is more measurable than Schwarz, Graham or Roberts. In 1988 the religious commentators Robert Humphreys and Rowland Ward estimated there were over eighty churches Australia wide embracing a congregation of perhaps 4,000, that followed independent Baptist theology.\textsuperscript{35} As a religious group they, are militantly opposed to all forms of theological liberalism, reject worldly forms of behaviour, dress and entertainment, and reject the modern ecumenical movement.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{32} Parker, op. cit., p. 628. Correspondence from Sidney Hunter of Evangelistic Literature Enterprise, May, 1991.
\textsuperscript{34} ‘Christianity or Communism? Make a Positive Choice Now!’ \textit{Kingdom Vision}, ephemera, circa 1980.
\textsuperscript{35} Humphreys and Ward, op. cit., p. 82.
\textsuperscript{36} ibid., p. 83. See also Bill J. Leonard, ‘Independent Baptists: From Sectarian Minority to “Moral Majority.”’ \textit{Church History}, vol. 56, no. 4, 1987, pp. 504 to 517. Leonard’s observation that the sins of society, ‘include: abortion, the public school system, criminal violence, sexual immorality, drinking, homosexuality, drugs, rock music, adultery, fornication, communism, divorce’ (at p. 514) would be held by most Australian followers of independent Baptist churches.
Independent Baptist churches have no governing body so each church is autonomous. The Biblical Fundamentalist published by Sidney Hunter of Evangelistic Literature Enterprise serves as their unofficial mouthpiece.

Hunter’s organisation distributes material for a number of contentious United States based groups. One example, Chick Publications, has received considerable negative publicity from mainstream Christian groups for its conspiracy theories. The majority of J.T. Chick’s publications are in comic book form. Chick’s ‘Alberto’ series supposedly chronicles the experiences of a former Jesuit priest, Alberto Rivera. Among other things, it claims that the Roman Catholic church was directly responsible for the establishment of the German Nazi Party, the Holocaust, the persecution of Orthodox Christians, pogroms against the Jews, the founding of the Ku Klux Klan, Masonry, communism and Islam and the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.\(^{37}\) Other tracts attack evolution, homosexuality, humanism and other \emph{bête noirs} of the Christian right.\(^{38}\) Despite their crude and unsophisticated nature Chick’s tracts continued to be circulated by Hunter. The West Australian based, Concerned Christian Growth Ministries, which attempts to expose extremist Christian groups published four exposes


\(^{38}\) See for example, J.T. Chick, \emph{Creator of Liar?}, 1972; \emph{The Beast}, 1988; \emph{Big Daddy?}, 1972; \emph{Burn Baby Burn}, 1991, Chick Publications, Chino. Chick’s web site at http://www.chick.com/ also lists available publications and other material of this nature.
revealing Alberto Rivera and Jack Chick to be frauds.\textsuperscript{39} These charges were dismissed by Hunter who declared that regardless of persuasive evidence to the contrary: Chick’s publications were accurate.\textsuperscript{40}

Hunter also distributed material for Accelerated Christian Education, an educational program used by small Christian schools and parents educating their children at home. The Accelerated Christian Education system has been criticised for physically isolating students and emphasising Creation Science in its curricula.\textsuperscript{41} Its founder Donald Howard, stressed his abhorrence for the secular world and the need to educate children in a biblically correct way, which \textit{per se} is hostile to humanism and posits most secular institutions and left wing politics as ‘anti-God.’\textsuperscript{42}

Through \textit{The Biblical Fundamentalist}, Hunter has championed some far right causes in Australian politics. Hunter found biblical justifications for opposing gun restrictions and cited the far right journal of Jacki Butler, \textit{Wake Up!} as a valuable guide to his readers (see chapter 2).\textsuperscript{43} \textit{The Biblical Fundamentalist} has also promoted the prominent American


\textsuperscript{40} Sidney W. Hunter, ‘Alberto is For Real,’ \textit{The Biblical Fundamentalist}, vol. 21, no. 2, 1988.

\textsuperscript{41} Rodney Smith, ‘Church – State Conflicts in Queensland,’ \textit{Social Alternatives}, vol. 5, no. 4, 1986, p. 54.


Creation Scientist, Henry Morris.\textsuperscript{44} Morris has been widely criticised for distorting evidence in his ideological zeal to ‘prove’ that the account in Genesis of the formation of the earth is factual and scientifically provable.\textsuperscript{45} One critic referring to a book on Creationism co-authored by Morris, described it as, ‘shoddy, dishonest, and deceptive scholarship.’\textsuperscript{46}

The Creation “Science” Movement

The misleadingly named Creation Science movement is one of the most important and visible aspects of the Christian far right. Despite evolution being unassailable fact and the universal condemnation of Creation Science by reputable scientists, the Christian far right has expended considerable effort and money in trying to prove creationism.\textsuperscript{47} Moreover, they have been influential in some conservative and populist circles. Behind the façade of science the Creationist movement is overtly political and anxious to prove the Bible as literally true. The peak Australian body, Answers in Genesis (formerly the Creation Science Foundation) was explicit on this matter. If you destroy the foundations of anything, the structure will collapse. Likewise, if you want to destroy Christianity destroy the structured base, the foundations on which it is logically built. These foundations are established in the book of Genesis.

\textsuperscript{44} See for example Dr Henry Morris, ‘Days of Praise. The Saving of His House,’ \textit{The Biblical Fundamentalist}, vol. 24, no. 8. Morris notes for example as ‘fact’ that, ‘the Noachic deluge was a worldwide cataclysm which destroyed the entire antediluvian human population except those on Noah’s Ark.’


Is it any wonder that Satan is attacking Genesis more than any other book? In similar vein their publication *Ex Nihilo*, warned parents that 'children soon recognise that evolution does contradict the Bible.' Groups like Answers in Genesis hold evolution responsible for most of the things the Christian far right deplores. The anti-Creationist group, the Australian Skeptics reported that Ken Ham, a leading member of the Creation Science Foundation had told his audience, evolution was blamed for abortion, racism, homosexuality, slavery, euthanasia, lawlessness, the Holocaust, and the philosophy that “everyone has a right to their own opinion.”

Despite the view that the famous Scopes 'Monkey' Trial in 1925 in Tennessee had laid the matter to rest, Creationists and their allies have continued to resist evolution. After Allen Roberts claimed to have discovered Noah's Ark on Mt Arrat in Turkey Australia nearly managed a re-run of Scopes in 1997. The University of Melbourne geologist Professor Ian Plimer, with the support of the Australian

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49 Geoff Chapman, 'Hints for Christian Parents,' *Ex Nihilo*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 26–27.
51 In 1925 a Tennessee biology school teacher, John Scopes, was charged with teaching the Theory of Evolution, which was banned under that state's laws. Defended by the prominent US attorney, Clarence Darrow, Scopes was found guilty and fined. However, the widespread publicity and Darrow's forensic arguments attacking Creationism, juxtaposed against the bumbling but sincere defence of William Jennings Bryan was widely seen as a defeat for Creationism. For an account of the trial see, R. Ginger, *Six Days or Forever? Tennessee v. John Thomas Scopes*, Oxford University Press, London, 1974.
53 Roberts was a member of the Bible Fundamentalists of Australia, see, 'Who are the Men,' *The Fundamental Evangelistic Witness*, November 1980.
Skeptics, unsuccessfully attempted to sue Allen Roberts under the Trade Practices Act. 54 Answers in Genesis has influenced others on the wider Christian right. The Reverend Fred Nile’s Australian Festival of Light has endorsed the Creationist position. Formed in October 1973 the Festival of Light was modelled on its British counterpart. 55 Under Nile’s leadership it has campaigned against pornography, 56 abortion 57 and homosexuality. 58 It has supported the teaching of Creation Science in public schools. In March 1992 a division of the Festival of Light, the Parents Federation for Quality Education, conducted a seminar, ‘Should Creation be Taught in Schools?’ Despite no credible evidence from any scientist at the conference, the seminar concluded Creationism should be taught. One participant John Heininger, then a member of the Creation Science Foundation, attacked opponents of Creation Science as unethical and


55 ‘Do You Care?’ Australian Festival of Light pamphlet, n.d., circa 1980.


ideologically driven. Another participant linked evolution with atheism, socialism, and Marxism.

Reverend Nile has rejected links between the Festival of Light and the far right. On many morals issues he is closer to other ultra-conservative Christian groups such as the Liberal Party’s Lyons Forum, which has a similar agenda to Nile on abortion, pornography and homosexuality. To his critics however, at least parts of Nile’s agenda are identical to that of the far right. His fellow Uniting Church minister, Harry Herbert, launched an attack on Nile in the Uniting Church’s journal while the religious commentator James Murray also criticised Nile’s political agenda. At best Nile’s position appears ambivalent. Certainly his rhetoric is similar to that of sections of the far right. In 1992 Nile warned of, An Atheistic Socialist Republic . . . where the Christian value system is completely replaced with a secular humanist value-less system – relative and subjective, that legalises abortion, euthanasia, soft and hard drugs, pornography, prostitution, homosexuality and easy divorce, etc., etc.

While Nile has distanced himself from groups like the Australian League of Rights and the Logos Foundation (discussed below) he has

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60 Jeffrey Smith, ‘Communicating the Creation Message in the Heathen Country of Australia,’ in ibid. For a critical view of the seminar see also, Alex Ritchie, ‘The Festival of Light and a flood of nonsense,’ The Skeptic, vol. 12, no. 2, p. 23. Dr Alex Ritchie worked as a palaeontologist at the Australian Museum and has been a prominent critic of Creation Science.


supported some of the far right’s political agenda, notably Citizens’ Initiated Referenda.

Many far-right Christian groups have adopted Creation Science as a part of their core beliefs. *South East Christian Witness*, a supposedly interdenominational magazine, endorses Creation Science material.\(^{66}\) Claiming to have seen a photograph of Noah’s Ark, Barry R. Smith the New Zealand / Australian evangelist also asserts that the Genesis account is correct.\(^{67}\) The attack on evolution has spilled out into more overtly political arenas than the fundamentalist churches. The Sydney conspiracy theorist Alan Gourley claimed that,

> Evolution theory provides the elitists with a base for socialist theory and paganism, and with that makes all the kaleidoscope of deviant self-destructive anti-social behaviours appear beautifully logical. . . . This myth [evolution] supplies the foundation for the humanist/pagan religion which in turn is the cheese in the liberal/socialistic trap.\(^{68}\)

Eric Butler and the League of Rights distributed anti-evolution books by the New Zealand antisemite and conspiracy theorist, A.N Fields whose 1940s diatribe is still in print.\(^{69}\) This theme has been used by Butler who has claimed a link between evolution and Marxism.\(^{70}\)

The enthusiastic acceptance of Creationist thinking is a hallmark of religious and political groups that sets them apart from conservative

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organisations. It has aligned the Christian far right with groups like the League of Rights. However, this is by no means one way traffic. Christian groups like Barry Smith Evangelism have adopted some of the issues of concern to groups like the League. For example Smith endorses the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.\textsuperscript{71}

A far more uncomfortable relationship for the Christian Right is with some New Age groups who also oppose evolution and are attracted to some biblical prophecies such as those contained in the Book of Revelations concerning Armageddon. Nexus, a magazine devoted largely to conspiracy theories and New Age issues such as alternative energy and UFOs has reported sympathetically on Allan Roberts and his ‘discovery’ of Noah’s Ark.\textsuperscript{72} Stan Deyo, an American now living in Australia, has produced a book primarily concerned with UFOs and conspiracy theories, that also endorses the account of ‘The Beast’ or ‘666’ found in the Book of Revelations.\textsuperscript{73} While fundamentalist Christians and New Age conspiracy theorists may disagree on many issues there is a strong resemblance between the two groups in terms of their conspiratorial worldviews and antipathy toward the left.\textsuperscript{74}

More comfortable associations for the Christian Right have been around issues of morality. In 1978 Queensland activist, Rona Joyner, formed two groups to try and stem the perceived lack of morals in

\textsuperscript{71} Smith, op. cit., pp. 61 – 64.
\textsuperscript{73} Stan Deyo, The Cosmic Conspiracy, West Australian Texas Trading, Kalamunda, 1978, pp. 78 – 79.
Queensland: the Society To Outlaw Pornography (STOP) and the Campaign Against Regressive Education (CARE). With the support of Queensland’s Christian fundamentalist groups Joyner campaigned against two social studies courses which were to be introduced into Queensland schools.²⁵ Man: A Course of Study (MACOS) and the Social Education Materials Project (SEMP). Joyner declared that,
Children do not go to school to learn to think, they go to learn to read, write and spell correctly. They can start thinking when they are older.²⁶

Joyner’s distaste for progressive social studies courses was endorsed by Jacki Butler. In her magazine Wake Up! A picture of a young girl was accompanied by the text,
Mummy – Guess What We Learned In School Today?
• How to write a suicide note
• Which contraceptive to use when I have sex with my boyfriend
• Why abortion is better than adoption²⁷

Joyner successfully lobbied the Bjelke-Petersen government to remove both MACOS and SEMP from Queensland schools and was a force behind Creation Science being taught in Queensland schools.²⁸ The Festival of Light also supported Joyner in the attack on the MACOS course as anti-Western and pro evolution:
MACOS appeals strongly to the evolutionaries and to the secular humanists, but these are not the values which should underlie our school system.²⁹

Joyner, Butler and the Festival of Light all concurred that education was only intended to inculcate Christian values to children. The success

that Joyner had enjoyed in her campaign against social studies propelled her into an even more vigorous campaign against pornography. In an ironic twist a pamphlet that reproduced passages Joyner had collected from books she considered to be pornographic was itself banned by Queensland police as obscene.\textsuperscript{80}

In 1983 Jacki Butler formed Women Who Want to be Women. Like Joyner she was largely concerned with moral issues but developed strong links with the League of Rights.\textsuperscript{81} In 1983 with the Festival of Light, Women Who Want to be Women sponsored a tour by the American Christian Right activist Phyllis Schlafly for a conference on Women in the Family.\textsuperscript{82} Butler also became embroiled in a vitriolic controversy over feminist studies at Griffith University.\textsuperscript{83} Undaunted by this, Butler continued her campaign against evolution, Asian immigration, United Nations treaties and for Citizen Initiated Referenda. Butler’s political career however was brought to an end by ill health after a car accident.\textsuperscript{84} Joyner and Butler both pointed to fundamentalist religious stirrings, particularly in Queensland from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. However the pre-eminent Queensland Christian far-right group was Howard Carter’s Logos Foundation.

\textsuperscript{80} Wells, op. cit., p. 98.
\textsuperscript{81} Lyndall Crisp, ‘Harvest of Hate,’ The Bulletin, April 4 1989, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{84} Eric Butler interview, Melbourne 1997.
The Logos Foundation

The Logos Foundation was founded in 1966 by Howard J. Carter in his native New Zealand. In 1969 Carter moved with his wife and family to Australia. By 1970 Carter operated the Logos Foundation along with its affiliated church group, the Covenant Evangelical Church. In 1971 the church was located at Blackheath in New South Wales but around 1980 Logos and the church moved their headquarters to Vancouver, Canada. This experience appears to have been unsatisfactory. Logos returned to Blackheath until 1988, at what time the entire group moved to Toowoomba in Queensland. Carter's activities in the period between 1970 and 1988 are obscure. It is fair to speculate however that Carter was deeply involved in setting up his Covenant Evangelical Church in locations around Australia (including Toowoomba) as well as overseas. By 1987 Carter boasted branches of his church in, 'Australia, Canada, USA, Philippines and Fiji.'

In 1976 Carter established links with the contentious American religious leader Ern Baxter. Baxter was a proponent of the 'discipling' or 'shepherding' movement. Briefly, shepherding propounded the view that lay members of church groups should submit to the authority of their church leaders. Baxter's ideas were disseminated through the journal *New Wine*, which was often referred to by Carter in his journal.

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86 Logos pamphlet, n.d., no publication details.
88 Boyle, op. cit.
90 Logos pamphlet, n.d., no publication details. Carter states that, 'he established a relationship with Dr, Ern Baxter as his pastor and spiritual father.'
The shepherding movement was controversial. Even the prominent fundamentalist American evangelical, Pat Robertson, attacked the movement.\textsuperscript{91}

Shepherding quickly ran out of control when church leaders sought to increase involvement over their parishioners into every aspect of their lives.\textsuperscript{92} The evidence suggests that this was the aim of church leaders like Howard Carter. One disgruntled ex-member of Logos described how their shepherd had advised them to remove their difficult teenage son from their home on the basis that Old Testament law allowed for unruly adolescents to be stoned.\textsuperscript{93} It also appears that the shepherding structure helped Carter to ensure that his followers paid their tithes. The hierarchical nature of shepherding meant that his use of church finances was not questioned.\textsuperscript{94}

Carter's association with Ern Baxter brought him into contact with another extreme Christian philosophy, Reconstructionism, already discussed in the introduction of this thesis. The leader of the movement, Roussas J. Rushdoony had contributed articles to \textit{New Wine}.\textsuperscript{95} Like shepherding, Reconstructionism is a controversial

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{91} Attacks also came from groups like the Cult Awareness Network on the basis that shepherding was a form of mind control. See Diamond, op. cit., pp. 116 – 119; Melton, op. cit., pp. 417 – 418; Daniel G. Reid, \textit{et.al.}, eds., \textit{Dictionary of Christianity in America}, InterVarsity Press, Downers Grove, 1990, p. 1083.
\item \textsuperscript{92} Colin Grigg interview, Bowral, 1995. Grigg was a Pentecostal Four Square Church pastor. He was a follower of Logos and applied shepherding methods within his own congregation. He confirmed that the shepherding movement was widespread amongst charismatic churches such as his and affirmed that it often involved ‘guiding’ parishioners in areas of their personal as opposed to spiritual life.
\item \textsuperscript{93} Greg Robert, ‘Sex Scandal Divides the Bible Belt,' \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, October 13, 1990.
\item \textsuperscript{94} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{95} Sara Diamond, op. cit., p. 138.
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movement. Broadly it argues that Biblical truths cannot be questioned and that the laws of the Old Testament apply to modern society. To this end sodomites, non-observers of the Sabbath and unruly teenagers, among others, would face the death penalty. Secular governments would have little to do other than in defence. Society would be organised by 'bible-believing' Christians. Because of their post-millenialist views the agenda of the Reconstructionists is avowedly political. Writing in a tribute to Rushdoony, his son-in-law and fellow Reconstructionist, Gary North noted that,

Rushdoony's writings are the source of many of the core ideas of the New Christian Right, a voting bloc whose unforeseen arrival in American politics in 1980 caught the media by surprise. This bloc voted overwhelmingly for Ronald Reagan. Two weeks after Reagan was inaugurated, Newsweek (Feb. 2, 1981) accurately but very briefly identified Rushdoony's Chalcedon Foundation as the think tank of the Religious Right.

Logos's philosophy was troubling to a number of Christian groups. Advising its members that Logos was an extremist group, the Uniting Church produced a pamphlet warning that Logos sought to form a theocratic state. The conservative Christian evangelical and University of Queensland academic, Neville Buch, also attacked Logos for its radical agenda aimed, he claimed toward creating a Christian dictatorship, which was both racist and intolerant. Buch decried such sentiments citing a Reconstructionist who claimed, 'The so called underdeveloped societies are underdeveloped because they are

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97 Post millenialists believe that Christ will not return to earth until 1,000 years of Christian rule.
socialist, demonist and cursed." A Lutheran chaplain declared that Logos's philosophy was the sword 'by which evil is rooted out and the enemy of God's people is set to flight.'

With this radical agenda Howard Carter admitted to a 'lot of sympathy' despite declaring Logos to be reflective of 'the moral and social values ... of a majority of Australians.' Carter did not just appropriate some of the more radical theology of the Christian Right in the United States. Increasingly from 1986 till his downfall in 1990 Carter sought to emulate the political successes and style of the American Christian Right and to become a major influence as a kind of Christian 'think – tank' among the churches and for right-wing politics. Carter claimed that the Logos Foundation had moved to Toowoomba because there 'was an insufficient economic base in the Blue Mountains.' This seems questionable. More likely the move to Queensland reflected the benign attitude of Joh Bjelke-Petersen's National Party government to far-right causes. This enabled Carter to expand his organisation as an influential player in far-right politics.

Carter's proselytising for radical-right causes and issues had began when the group was still at Blackheath. From 1983 Logos had produced a magazine, Restore and circulated letters and other material to church leaders around Australia. By 1987 Restore was replaced with the more

professional Logos Journal reputedly launched at a cost of just over $100,000. The new magazine was described as ‘Australia’s top publication on applied Christianity’ which touted for subscriptions with the warning that the ‘consequence of being uninvolved is to be ruled by godless men.’ Again the methods of the Logos Foundation mimicked those of the American Christian Right.

Developing a mailing list across the country Logos bombarded churches and supporters with its views on a number of issues. By October 1988 their newsletter boasted that over one million items had been mailed opposing the four referenda questions for the election in September 1988. At a cost of nearly $100,000 Logos claimed to have been part of the successful ‘no’ vote. Carter reported that church leaders around the country had actively distributed the ‘Constitutional Broadsheet’ and that one pastor had given out 21,000 copies. Logos continued producing its ‘Broadsheets’ on a range of issues. These included education (advocating no state control), international treaties (opposing Australia’s participation), capital punishment (supporting), homosexual acts (opposing their legalisation), voice of the people (advocating Voters’ Veto, similar to Citizens Initiated Referenda) and pornography (against). A number of ‘research papers’ were also issued on issues such as euthanasia, abortion and fertility technology.

105 ibid.
106 ‘Australia you can make it,’ Logos Foundation, advertising pamphlet, n.d.
To try and increase its support Logos began a program styled ‘Operation Scatterseed.’ For this program, teams of church members, both whole families and single individuals agreed to relocate around the country to spread the Logos message. By Logos’s own estimation this took a considerable effort on the part of ‘Scatterseed’ participants and suggests that Logos members had a quite remarkable commitment to the organisation. Another Logos initiative was its ‘Shareholders in the Nation of Australia’ program. This invited people to contribute $25.00 per month for a period of up to six months. By the end of 1988, Logos claimed it had ‘sold’ 533 shares which would have brought in $79,950. Other sales for October brought Logos another $29,687. Logos’s aim for 2,000 shareholders, if reached, would have generated $300,000 in revenue.

There is reason to believe that Logos’s figures may be correct. Various newsletters state a staff of thirty-one people, thirteen of whom were Carter’s personal staff. This figure does not account for the Covenant Evangelical Church. Nor were figures given for the amount raised from the church’s tithes and offertory gifts. With a Toowoomba congregation of around 800 this amount would not be negligible. Some staff would generate more income, such as those involved in the management of Logos’s motel in Toowoomba, and Logos’s Christian music mail order

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115 Greg Roberts, ‘Christian crusaders march to the Right,’ Sydney Morning Herald, November 14 1987. Roberts noted that the Christian Right were ‘flush with funds.’
division Hosanna! Music. However, the organisation would have needed a fairly large cash flow to support its operation which by 1988 also boasted offices in New Zealand, Canada and the Philippines. By 1989 through its affiliated Fijian church Logos was considering starting a clothing manufacture venture.\textsuperscript{116} Carter’s personal tastes were also expensive for the church. These included his house, a Mercedes Benz car and frequent overseas travel on top of his salary.\textsuperscript{117} Despite public comments to the contrary, many church assets were in Carter’s name.\textsuperscript{118} *Sydney Morning Herald* journalist, Greg Roberts, estimated that Logos spent around $600,000 on its advertising and mail out campaigns.

If Logos had made a name for itself in Christian and right-wing circles it truly came to national prominence during the 1989 Queensland state elections. While disavowing support for any party the Logos Foundation continued its mail campaign on moral issues and instituted a press campaign featuring full page advertisements on moral issues. These supported the incumbent National Party and diverted attention from the corruption charges that had flowed from the Fitzgerald Inquiry.\textsuperscript{119} Again mimicking American Christian Right groups Logos called on party leaders to ‘state their views on abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and capital punishment.’\textsuperscript{120} Logos enlisted the support of another fundamentalist group, the Christian Outreach Centre, as well

\textsuperscript{116} *Did you know* *Logos Newsletter*, vol. 4., no. 3, April 1989.
\textsuperscript{117} Greg Robert, ‘Sex Scandal Divides the Bible Belt,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 13 1990.
\textsuperscript{118} Telephone conversation with Derek Brown, 1991. Brown had been a senior Logos member and succeeded Carter when he left. He confirmed that some of the church’s main assets were the personal property of Carter and his family. This probably precipitated Logos moving to Dubbo in NSW after Carter’s departure.
\textsuperscript{120} Greg Roberts, ‘Qld poll: morality v corruption,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, October 24 1989.
as the Queensland chapter of the League of Rights, in insisting that moral issues and not corruption were the key election issues.\textsuperscript{121} Whatever the import of Logos’s campaign the National Party was defeated in that election by a considerable margin.\textsuperscript{122} Carter’s wish to place his own agenda before the electorate failed.

Carter’s role in Logos expired soon after the election debacle. A shepherd within the group revealed that a female member confessed to adultery with Carter over several months.\textsuperscript{123} Like other church leaders at that time in the United States, Jimmy Swaggart and Jim Bakker, sexual transgressions were not tolerated. Carter resigned.\textsuperscript{124} Logos floundered and, despite relocating to Dubbo, eventually dissolved.

The rise of the Logos Foundation, its ability to raise money and the extent of its influence all show that Carter was a dynamic individual with a great amount of drive. A charismatic speaker he skilfully utilised the methods of American Christian Right groups in attracting funds and supporters.\textsuperscript{125} In twenty-one years he had established a significant empire. Equally Carter was a cynical manipulator who used the devotion and preparedness of his followers to sacrifice, to advance his empire, controlled as it was by the insidious method of shepherding. The growth within fundamentalist churches and the apparent naïvety of many of Logos’s followers supported his drive. In

\textsuperscript{121} ibid.
\textsuperscript{123} Greg Robert, ‘Sex Scandal Divides the Bible Belt,’ \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, October 13 1990.
\textsuperscript{124} ibid.
\textsuperscript{125} ibid. See also ‘An Interview With Howard Carter,’ \textit{Logos Foundation}, cassette tape, July 1987.
Australian terms only the Citizens Electoral Councils (see chapter 7) would seem to match the devoted personal and financial following that Carter achieved.

With the demise of Logos no similar organisation has appeared on the Christian right, though a myriad of smaller religious groups still exist that would subscribe to many of the views propounded by the Logos Foundation. Some organizations such as Gospel Economics, which first appeared in 1986 have disappeared.126 More recently groups such as Endtime Ministries based at Landsborough in Queensland have disseminated conspiracy and anti-Catholic material.127 Others, like South East Christian Witness, continue to find a small audience.

Overall, the religious ferment which was particularly noticeable in the 1980s has subsided. Most church groups avoid overtly political roles while groups like the Festival of Light appear to have an ageing following. Nile’s appeal is minimal. Except around the issue of abortion the American Christian Right has similarly retreated from its prominent position of the 1980s.

Unlike other sections of the far right, fundamentalist Christian groups may still have the potential to form the nucleus for a political crusade. However in largely secular Australia such religious based groups

126 Gospel Economics Inc was run by Trevor Johnson from Newcastle, NSW. He produced the Gospel Economics Newsletter that combined biblical admonitions of economics with conspiracy anti One World Government tracts and support for groups like Logos Foundation. See for example ‘The Truth Behind the International Year of Peace,’ vol. 1, no. 3, October 1986 and ‘Constitutional Referendum,’ vol. 3, no. 6, August 1988, both in Gospel Economics Newsletter.

would seem to have little chance of succeeding unless some common issues can be found to invigorate their constituency.
This thesis has documented the careers of many activists ignored in most general histories of twentieth-century Australia. Peter Allan Sawyer is a case in point for the need of historical redress. His rise and fall as a prominent player on the Australian radical right lasted for barely five years from late 1987 until 1992. Yet his career illustrates many themes, in particular the bizarre world of the conspiracy theorist.¹ For many people Sawyer appeared as an almost messianic figure. Through his newsletters, Inside News, and Australians’ Right to Bear Arms, via his books and a telephone ‘0055’ number Sawyer cast himself as the earnest prophet of doom. His career attests to several themes of general significance to understanding the Australian far right; specifically the reliance on conspiracy theory and the changing alliances and groups within the radical right. Sawyer developed a devoted following remarkable for its diversity. It included New Age followers, fundamentalist Christians, ufologists, Larouchites, gun activists, antisemites, a collection of fringe dwellers and the ‘ordinary’ Australians who felt concerned about their country’s future.

¹ While directed at a prominent American conspiracy theorist Donna Kossy’s observations on conspiracy theories can be applied to Sawyer’s world. See ‘William Cooper Exhibit,’ at http://www.teleport.com/~dkossy/cooper.html, on 23 March 1999.

Conspiracy theories are like black holes; they explain everything, sucking in facts the way black holes suck in matter. And, like black holes, each conspiracy theory is a portal to another universe that paradoxically resides within our own. Everything you’ve ever known or experienced, no matter how "meaningless," once it comes in contact with that universe, is enveloped by it, and is then cloaked in sinister significance.
Peter Sawyer first came to prominence in 1985 with the publication of his book *Dolebludging, a Tax Payer’s Guide*. Written when he worked as a clerk in the Department of Social Security in Geraldton, Western Australia,² the book claimed that Social Security fraud was endemic and easily perpetrated. Sawyer alleged there was a lack of safeguards to ensure that only those entitled to benefits would receive them. Sawyer did have some legitimate grievances, unappreciated at the time. As a disgruntled ‘whistleblower’³ he left the department and then proceeded to use the loopholes he had identified to claim benefits. He reappeared to announce the fraud on television and repay the money to make his point. Sawyer claimed that this fraud was achieved with the connivance of highly placed government officials to highlight the problem. Nevertheless he was charged, along with his wife Marilyn, although the charges were dismissed in court.⁴ Sawyer’s experience was responsible for the appearance of his newsletter, *Inside News*. If he had an inclination already towards the conspiratorial view of history this was about to be given full sway.⁵

The first issue of *Inside News* appeared in September 1987. A number of political events had stirred the populist right into action. Paul Keating, the Federal treasurer, had warned that Australia could become a ‘banana republic.’ The Australian dollar had dropped by nearly one third of its value. Take-over activity in corporate Australia as well as

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³ Brian Wilshire has continued the characterisation of Sawyer as a whistleblower. See Brian Wilshire, ed., *One Man Banned. The Best of Peter Sawyer, Whistle Blower*. Brian Wilshire Round Corner, 1996, passim.
⁴ ibid., pp. 1 - 14 for Sawyer’s own account of this episode.
⁵ Sawyer was rumoured to have links with the League of Rights, Eric Butler denies this but says Sawyer did have links with League fellow traveller, Jeremy Lee. Eric Butler interview, Melbourne 1997. See below.
the high profile of business leaders like Robert Holmes a Court, Alan Bond and Laurie Connell was prominently featured in the media. This was at a time when high interest rates were bankrupting small businesses and farmers. The suspicions that many on the radical right traditionally held for big business combined with populist sympathies in the bush for struggling farmers were to become part of Sawyer’s political focus. Sawyer viewed these corporate buccaneers as agents or accomplices for the forces he saw himself exposing.

Against this background two other political events were to become important for the radical right. On 19 September 1985 Paul Keating introduced a package of tax reforms that included a national identification system known as the Australia Card.6 This was not just anathema to the radical right. The Liberal Party opposed the card, as did some members of the New Right, through organisations like the H.R. Nicholls Society. But the introduction of the Australia Card coincided and became entwined with another event. This was the so-called ‘Joh for Canberra’ push led by the Premier of Queensland, Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen. As has already been noted, Petersen had emerged as something of a hero for many on the right. His opposition to the anti-apartheid demonstrations against the South African Springbok team in 1971 had put him on the national political agenda. His involvement in the demise of the Whitlam government, his actions in breaking an electricity strike in south-eastern Queensland and his ban on protest marches were all viewed with some degree of satisfaction by many right-thinking citizens. Petersen had many connections to

people on the radical right. Some like Jacki Butler had links with Sawyer and the Australian League of Rights, the Logos Foundation and individuals like Rona Joyner, the Queensland morals crusader (see chapter 5). Petersen’s preference for a flat tax rate and the backing of some business people seemed to legitimise his campaign. It certainly helped the Coalition loss in the 1987 election.

In retrospect the ‘Joh for Canberra’ campaign lacked depth and any solid financial backing. When the Stock Market crashed in September 1987 many of his backers disappeared. The subsequent revelations of the Fitzgerald Inquiry into the Queensland police severely damaged Bjelke-Petersen who was forced to step down in December 1987. Despite this the Premier had earned the trust and respect of radical-right groups who supported his Canberra push. The Australia Card was caught up in the political manoeuvring of the time. The Card was not just a political issue designed to force a double dissolution of the Federal Parliament. Many groups campaigned against the card but for Sawyer it had a sinister purpose - to enslave Australia.

Events in mainstream Australian politics were not the only factors that assisted Sawyer’s rise to prominence. To many fundamentalist Christians the introduction of the Australia Card was a step toward an event prophesied in the Bible, namely the coming of Armageddon. Among adherents of fundamentalist Protestantism there had been a considerable amount of ferment surrounding the ideas put forward in

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9 Kelly, op. cit., p. 295 and Butler interview.
books like Hal Lindsey’s, *The Late Great Planet Earth.*

Lindsey, a popular fundamentalist author was said to have sold fifteen million copies of this book alone. It was widely distributed within Australia through fundamentalist groups. How much Sawyer was influenced by these ideas and how much he contributed to the ferment around them is impossible to estimate. It seems, though, that Sawyer became a focus for the conspiracy industry and remoulded much of it with an Australian focus. Whereas most of the American material saw the United States as central to world events Sawyer, in a perverse act of patriotism, moved the epicentre to Canberra as the upcoming seat of a One World Government.

With a public profile established through the Social Security episode, Sawyer chose to lead the first issue of *Inside News* with a story on the Australia Card. This started Sawyer on some of his most well known conspiracy theories. Public reaction to Sawyer’s claims led to Federal parliamentarians receiving large volumes of mail on the subject and in turn strident attacks on Sawyer were mounted in the Federal Parliament. Sawyer argued that the Australia Card apparatus had already been established and that its implementation was a formality. Using the Department of Social Security a system called ‘Stratplan’ had begun. Three thousand Wang computers were to be linked to regional offices then to Canberra and a super computer which could monitor all aspects of every Australian’s life. The super computer was housed in a complex in Deakin in the Australian Capital Territory that had been

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11 ibid., frontispiece.
specially constructed with, 'Re-inforced, pre-stressed concrete two to four feet thick!'\textsuperscript{12}

While Sawyer's views were extreme, they did contain a modicum of credibility. It is not remarkable, for instance, that the Federal Government should purchase a large number of computers. For some people this may have suggested a conspiracy of the type Sawyer articulated. But from this point Sawyer continued to embellish. Both his conspiratorial views and his newsletter took on ever more strident tones. By the second edition of \textit{Inside News} in October/November 1987 the Deakin Centre had become the hub for a massive surveillance operation with links to other international systems such as the American Defense Network.

Sawyer also began to promote the views of others on the international radical right. He endorsed a tape by Jonathon May in conjunction with a Christian Identity pastor Lindsay Williams, distributed through a Queensland based Identity church.\textsuperscript{13} This connection does not seem to have bothered Sawyer; nor did the implausibility of Jonathon May's story.\textsuperscript{14} Even other sections of the radical right questioned May and

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Inside News}, September 1987 p. 3.

\textsuperscript{13} May and Williams were not the only Christian identity figures endorsed. Lieutenant Colonel 'Bo' Gritz a long time identity and survivalist figure received Sawyer's approval. May and Williams' material was distributed by Christian Identity Ministries which operates from a post office box in Cardwell, Queensland. According to Fred Grigg of Mandate Ministries, the Cardwell group mainly operated as a mail order establishment run by J.G. Verhoeff.

\textsuperscript{14} Briefly, May said he had discovered documents issued by Charles I of England. These gave him property and other rights which enabled him to set up a trust that by 1986 had him in control of funds of over $US180 billion. May further claimed that his efforts to establish a 'Bank of Texas' with the wealthy Hunt family in that state, were destroyed by international bankers. Some of May's story is true. He was imprisoned by Texas authorities but, for fraud. For May's story see Milton William Cooper, \textit{Behold a Pale Horse}, Light Technology Publishing, Sedona, Arizona, 1991, pp. 333 - 359. Cooper (see introduction) is best known for his views on UFOs and is regarded as a crank even among ufologists.
Williams’ account, but this did not stop Sawyer from supporting them. The February 1988 issue of *Inside News* promoted a tour by Williams and listed regional organisers from around Australia. Williams’ plane fares were paid by AUSI Freedom Scout leader Ian Murphy.\(^{15}\) Some of the prominent organisers for Williams’ tour included Broken Hill painter Pro Hart and Brisbane based Bruce Whitehead, who would later gain prominence as the founder of the Pauline Hanson Support Movement.\(^{16}\)

In the highly emotive style that characterised much of his work Sawyer made his own declaration as a ‘freedom fighter’:

> I contend that my right to live as a free individual, in a society of free individuals, is the most important possession I have. It is, in truth, the only possession of any real value that I can preserve and pass on to my children, for without it, all else is temporary. I will die for it if I have to, kill for it if I must. But in the name of God I will just not let it be taken from me without a whimper. I will not condemn my children to anybody’s version of slavery, without a fight.\(^{17}\)

Nor was Sawyer’s ‘declaration of freedom’ the only dramatic part of his newsletter. He inaugurated his own ‘Black Hat’ award, based on the concept in American cowboy films that the villains always wore a black hat. Sawyer used this allusion to suggest that anyone who invoked his disfavour could later be held to account in his other creation - the ‘Treason Trials.’ These would take place once Australia was ‘liberated.’

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\(^{17}\) *Inside News*, October/November 1987.
To Sawyer, the world was full of conspiracies. There was even a secret society of dentists who worked toward a One World Government. In one of his more notorious predictions, Sawyer claimed that Aborigines had been armed with several thousand AK47 assault rifles, financed by Laurie Connell and stored by Alan Bond. At the celebrations for the Bicentennial in January 1988 Sawyer predicted an armed uprising followed by the declaration of a national state of emergency. This would be the prelude for the subjugation of the country and the introduction of a police state in May 1988.18

It was hardly surprising that Sawyer's dramatic predictions would provoke some comment. One of the first to attack Sawyer was Eric Butler. Writing in the League publication On Target,19 Butler claimed that he had been disturbed by allegations made by Sawyer, which he had checked and found to be untrue.20 Butler was concerned with Sawyer's popularity among some League followers. His own long time associate Jeremy Lee had supported Sawyer and appeared with him a number of times.21 Other League supporters like Alan Gourley in Sydney22 were also attracted to Sawyer, as was the LaRouche organisation.23 In his January newsletter Sawyer responded to Butler's article by alleging Butler had been told he was a follower of occult

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19 On Target, November 1987.
20 Butler interview. Butler found Sawyer's claims about the Deakin centre and twelve mansions being constructed around Canberra for influential people like the Rockerfeller family unbelievable.
21 Butler interview.
22 First and Last Discussion Papers, February 1989.
23 Sawyer endorsed the campaign by LaRouche's groups to have him released from jail. See "Do You Want to Help Lyndon LaRouche," Inside News, September/October 1989. In a 1998 telephone conversation with one LaRouche supporter who declined to be identified, he claimed the LaRouche organisation supplied Sawyer 'with an endless stream of material' and that the fax machines 'ran hot.'
practices. Whatever Butler's motivations, a significant split was
beginning to develop between Sawyer and one of the more influential
radical-right organisations.

The nature of Sawyer's links with the League is open to dispute. Butler
claimed that the League and Sawyer had had no links and that the only
connection was through Jeremy Lee.24 In his attack on the League and
Sawyer (discussed below) Senator Ron Boswell characterised Sawyer as
a tool of the League.25 Former League of Rights National Director,
David Thompson, claimed that as early as 1984 Sawyer had addressed
a League dinner.26 For his part Sawyer denied any association with the
League other than through Jeremy Lee. In an attack on Boswell,
denying these connections Sawyer claimed that his association with Lee
had caused a fundamental split within the League of Rights.27 Sawyer
and Butler's accounts are similar, but it is tempting to accept
Thompson's statement about Sawyer. It seems unlikely that Sawyer
suddenly adopted his conspiratorial views and the League has been an
important conduit through which radical-right activists have
'graduated.' Otherwise, Sawyer's links with groups like the LaRouche
organisation could hardly have endeared him to Butler and the League.
 Writing in 1990 Butler noted that,

Australian Peter Sawyer is a classic example of
another able and charismatic figure who has been
a major diversionary influence. I can only express
my amazement at the manner in which sincere
people can financially or in any other way support
a self-proclaimed prophet whose predictions have
been consistently wrong. The tragedy is that he

24 Butler interview.
says some things about the green hoax and other matters which are true. But Sawyer appears to have gone right "over the top" with some of his more recent predictions. . . .

If the League felt nervous about Sawyer others on the right did not. In early 1989 Alan Gourley advocated co-operating with a plan by Sawyer and the Citizen Electoral Councils to form a 'resistance movement' to field candidates at a Federal election. Sawyer was also championed during this period by Jacki Butler as well as receiving support from the New Age magazine Nexus and New Age follower Jenni Edgley.

Mainstream conservative groups were also beginning to take an interest in Sawyer. An influential critic of Sawyer was Adrian van Leen, leader of the West Australian based Concerned Christians Growth Ministries. A Pentecostal minister, van Leen publishes Take a Closer Look, challenging some of the more scandalous movements that affect the Christian community. In the March 1988 edition of his publication, van Leen denounced Sawyer and warned his readers to carefully examine his claims. Van Leen's exposé carried some weight. He has consistently attacked fringe organisations from a theological viewpoint and had wide access to the mainstream press as an authority on extremist Christian groups. An attack from within the Christian

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29 First and Last Discussion Papers, February 1989. Gourley also circulated a rumour in this paper that Sawyer was to be murdered.
32 For instance, Van Leen was prominent in the debate over the Children of God/Family of Love sect when the New South Wales Department of Community Services raided the cults.
community, particularly the Pentecostals, was well placed to harm Sawyer's credibility. A Queensland based Pentecostal minister, Fred Grigg, claimed that many ‘end time’ churches followed Sawyer closely. Grigg ran a Queensland based organisation, Mandate Ministries that was dedicated to ‘exposing’ cults.33

That van Leen’s attack hurt Sawyer is evidenced by the latter’s reaction. Writing in the July-August 1988 Inside News in relation to van Leen and the attack by Boswell, Sawyer began to display an injured paranoia that increasingly characterised his writings. I would leave “good” Senator Boswell with the following thought, however, concerning his use of the “Van Lean” [sic] article to give his little “hate pack” the “required Christian flavour”, since, obviously, none of his advisers have bothered to find out; Mr. Van Lean is, according to some sources, an “ex” Jesuit Priest, just as the Marxist “missionaries” stirring up trouble on the Aboriginal Missions in the North of Australia, are apparently “ex” Jesuit Priests, . . . Mr. Van Lean, and his particular brand of vitriol, have already been “asked to leave” an assortment of Christian Churches . . . Boswell, Van Lean, Klimionok, Jana Wendt, Sparkes, Hawke and the rest of you stick THAT in your Marxist “One World” pipes and smoke it. Make your rules, fiddle with our Constitution, build your Deakin Centres, plan your plans, do what you will. You, and all your traitorous ilk will NEVER break the spirit of the true Australian. The Christian ANZAC spirit LIVES; there are not enough of you, and you will NEVER be strong enough, to defeat it. Do your damndest; we are ready for you, we will RESIST, and for our children we will WIN!!!34

The most serious rebuff for Sawyer’s ‘freedom movement’ came from the Queensland National Party Senator, Ron Boswell. In the Senate on 27 April 1988, Boswell, incorrectly, accused Sawyer of promoting the

33 Correspondence with F. Grigg 30 March 1992. While Grigg warned against Sawyer (Take a Closer Look, March 1988) his own actions are suspicious. Grigg operated a mail order service that distributed many conspiracy titles such as the virulently anti-Catholic comics written by Jack Chick discussed in the previous chapter.

34 Inside News, July/August 1988, capitalization in original.
views of the League of Rights. To the great chagrin of Sawyer, Boswell
tabled sixty-four failed predictions Sawyer had made in Inside News
and with Jeremy Lee on a video they both produced. Boswell went on
to warn ministers of religion not to support or disseminate Sawyer’s
material. Boswell was also a prominent member of the Assemblies of
God, Australia’s largest Pentecostal denomination, and had enlisted the
support of that church’s leader, Pastor Rodney Klimionok.35 Writing
after the attack the Bulletin’s Lyndall Crisp, dismissed Sawyer as only
‘the notorious eccentric.’36

Consciously or not Boswell’s attack was similar to the tactics employed
by Rabbi Solomon Fineberg, who adopted a strategy of ‘isolating’ the
American neo-Nazi, George Lincoln Rockwell. Briefly Fineberg called
on the Jewish community to resist publicly attacking Rockwell as well
as asking media groups not to give Rockwell gratuitous publicity. This
was one of the most effective means whereby Rockwell’s public profile
was minimised and with it his influence.37 As Jeffrey Kaplan has
pointed out, this approach can have dangers. Arguably, it was in
Boswell and the National Party’s interest to emphasise the threat of
Sawyer and the League. However, such an attack can raise the target
group to a level not commensurate with its size. For Sawyer, it meant
that he could point to foes much weightier and powerful than himself,
in the process giving his followers a view of his own martyrdom.38 By
discrediting Sawyer, Boswell probably achieved his aim of limiting

35 Senator Ron Boswell, interview, Canberra 1996.
potential damage. As he noted in his address, members of Parliament had been inundated with letters from concerned constituents about Sawyer’s Deakin Centre claims. Sawyer would not pose a threat to the National Party, though groups that followed him would.

As a result of Boswell’s speech Sawyer lost support in some of the larger Pentecostal and charismatic churches like the Assemblies of God. With his alienation from the League of Rights and its supporters, Sawyer moved further into the orbit of Lyndon LaRouche and the Citizens Electoral Councils. Sawyer maintained his audience among the dissatisfied conspiracy theorists and some gun owners who believed restrictive gun legislation was planned by the coming One World Government. He also still held some appeal with smaller Christian groups and among sections of New Age followers. The Peoples Bureau of Investigation based in Lawson, New South Wales enthusiastically endorsed him. Despite only producing one publication in July 1988, the *P.B.I. Press* featured a collection of articles along the lines of Sawyer’s *Inside News* and a full page championing Sawyer’s views. Another Sawyer follower, Ronald E. Henderson (no relation to the present writer), a white supremacist, regurgitated most of the arguments of the radical right on the need to support the perpetuation of Anglo Saxon society and relied heavily on Sawyer’s predictions.

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One of Sawyer's most important supporters was the Sydney talk back radio host Brian Wilshire. Through his program on Sydney station 2GB, Wilshire has been a conduit for many conspiracy theorists. (This has not included Eric Butler or the League of Rights.) In 1992 and 1993, Wilshire published The Fine Print and Fine Print 2, both of which used Sawyer's material and included allegations that a Sawyer informant had been shot in the stomach after leaking information to him. Wilshire also claimed both editions of the book were best sellers, a reasonable claim as both books were carried by all the major book retailers. In 1996 Wilshire edited another book culled from Inside News stories. This reflects Wilshire's continuing fascination with Sawyer's grim predictions - even though the more fantastic articles were not used.

The influence of Lyndon LaRouche on the Australian right wing is the most enduring political legacy of Sawyer. The popularity of Inside News helped LaRouche to reach a considerable Australian audience, even though LaRouche was already represented through the CEC. In early 1990 David Greason noted Sawyer's role in disseminating LaRouche propaganda. In particular, Greason referred to a major Inside News article that linked the assassination of the Swedish Prime Minister with LaRouche's jail sentence in December 1988 (see the following chapter for more detail). Sawyer's links with the CEC were not always

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43 Butler interview.
45 Wilshire, One Man Banned, op. cit.
harmonious. In his May-June newsletter of 1989 Sawyer described the group as 'another political party,' intolerant of dissent.\(^{48}\) It was perhaps this caution toward the CEC that caused Sawyer to react so trenchantly when Greason's articles appeared. Sawyer claimed that Greason was a CIA agent (apparently because of his freelance contributions to Australian Playboy) and that he and journalist, Dennis King, who had written critically of LaRouche, were homosexual partners.\(^{49}\) Homophobe allegations are one matter but Sawyer launched into an even more vitriolic attack,

> Mr. Greason is on my list of those knowingly involved in the cover-up of what is happening in this country. I shall leave it to those who follow as to whether Mr. Greason should stand trial for his treason, or be humanely disposed-of like any other sick and incurable animal.\(^{50}\)

Hurt by the continuing attacks upon him Sawyer's writings delved ever more into a paranoid world. He began promoting survivalist material that advised his readers to dispose of all their assets and purchase gold bullion, a service he offered commercially.\(^{51}\) At the same time Sawyer published detailed instructions on how to store and hide guns, food and ammunition for what he saw as the coming battle.\(^{52}\) He also took up the LaRouche cause in the often bitter campaign against the former United States Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger. (Kissinger was widely reviled on the right but LaRouche and his supporters had begun harassing Kissinger personally as well as linking

\(^{49}\) *Inside News*, January/February 1990.
\(^{50}\) Ibid. Perhaps Sawyer was mistaken when he called Greason's American collaborator, Stephen King (the horror novelist?), instead of Dennis King.
\(^{52}\) Ibid. See also Sheena MacLean, 'Seeds of Unrest,' *The Age*, 23 March 1991.
him with numerous sinister events. Sawyer published claims that Kissinger had organised the kidnap and assassination of Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro. If Sawyer had had prior reservations about the CEC it did not affect his use of material from LaRouche.

In July 1990 Sawyer attempted to turn his personal following into an electoral victory at a State by-election for the seat of Landsborough caused by the retirement of the former Premier M.J. Ahern. As Premier, Ahern had earned the enmity of many on the right for his role in the downfall of his predecessor Sir Joh Bjelke-Petersen. In the state elections held in April 1988, Trevor Perrett for the CEC had won Petersen’s seat of Barambah. In a prelude to the debate within the National Party occasioned by Pauline Hanson, speculation about the National Party’s demise at the hands of Sawyer and other right-wing groups featured in the national press. No doubt aware of this political ferment Sawyer attempted to emulate Perrett and capture another ex-Premier’s seat. His campaign was directed by the activist Michael Darby (see chapter 2).

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From 1988 Darby became ‘Sawyer’s right hand man, underwriter and self-appointed treasurer.’ Most probably through their prior association from the 1960s, Darby’s friend Lyenko Urbancic (see chapter 2) was the main Sydney contact for Sawyer’s 1988 ‘Liberty Tour.’ Darby managed to assemble a formidable number of right wing identities as contacts for Sawyer’s meetings during that tour. Darby was linked with Sawyer at the height of his popularity - a time when it appears Sawyer was not only attracting followers but also, substantial amounts of cash. Darby promoted himself at the time as a consultant for other aspiring politicians who wished to run as independents with Sawyer’s blessing. This may have been a financial incentive for Darby’s support. Overall Darby’s actions show the enthusiasm some sections of the right have for anybody who has electoral appeal and a far-right agenda. In Darby’s case his aspirations within the Liberal Party did not deter him from supporting as fringe a figure as Sawyer; Darby later sought pre-selection for the blue ribbon Liberal seat of Wentworth in Sydney’s eastern suburbs. Darby’s political past might ensure that his other avocation as ‘bush poet’ holds more promise than politician.

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57 Confidential source.
58 ‘Sawyer Itinerary – Liberty Tour,’ confidential source. The tour through NSW and Queensland had contacts with a few well known far-right people. Brian Wilshire for a lunch in Sydney, Neil Orme of the People’s Bureau of Investigation, Jackie Butler in Brisbane for Citizens’ Initiated Referendum and John Koehler a founder of the Citizens Electoral Councils.
59 ‘Peter Sawyer Meeting; Kelvin Grove High School Auditorium, Wednesday, 29 June 1988; 7.30 pm Eyewitness Account,’ confidential source. This meeting was chaired by Darby and CEC candidate Trevor Perrett addressed the meeting. The author noted, These people [the audience] were for the most part fairly ‘not well off’ – ... many were obviously the disillusioned elderly. One father brought his disabled son in a wheelchair, to hear the “good news.” Darby, the riot inciter, patted the lad on the head. And after a while, plastic buckets were passed around, like in church. But buckets, not plates or quaintly woven baskets. And they were rapidly filled to overflowing with the hard earned cash of the multitude ...”
In the 1990 poll, Sawyer collected a creditable seventeen per cent of the vote. According to Darby his vote went as high as thirty three per cent in Landsborough, in the heart of the electorate. 62 These kinds of results would not be repeated until the Confederate Action Party fielded contestants in the 1993 Federal Elections. Any comfort that Sawyer may have taken from such a strong vote for an independent did not show in the articles in the newsletter. He continued to rail against attacks on him by Eric Butler and the League and against his attackers in the Federal parliament, Ron Boswell and Keith Wright of the Labor Party. Even by 1996 when Brian Wilshire produced his edited version of the newsletter Sawyer was still bitter, although taking some consolation in Wright’s jailing on sex charges. 63 Sawyer, however, also had problems in this respect. When members of the Queensland Counter Terrorist Squad executed a search warrant at Sawyer’s property they found child abuse and child pornographic material for which Sawyer was charged. 64

By 1991 Sawyer turned his attention to other matters. He warned of the dangers of child immunisation and advocated ‘quack’ medical treatments. 65 His strident homophobic views were combined with LaRouche propaganda. In November his newsletter featured a bold headline declaring President George Bush Snr. to be the world’s leading homosexual child abuser. 66 By this time the diverse nature of Sawyer’s conspiratorial allegations suggest a failing grip on reality and

63 Wilshire, One Man Banned, op. cit., p. 2.
64 Janine Hill, ‘Man face child porn charges,’ Sunshine Coast Daily, 1 June 1996.
66 Inside News, November 1991
the increasing influence of LaRouche. This link is most notable in Sawyer and LaRouche’s attacks on public figures on spurious sexual grounds.⁶⁷ In his final newsletter Sawyer left his readers with a list of ‘programme code words,’ Kilo 1 through Kilo 12, which he said were used by United States military forces. Sawyer claimed that agents receiving one of these code words would have to perform certain sexual acts. A Kilo 7, for example, designated performing oral sex and fondling a younger person.⁶⁸

From an Australian perspective Sawyer’s writings at least placed Australia at the centre of his conspiratorial musings. By 1991 Sawyer had decided that Canberra had been designed on occult lines and was to be the seat for the One World Government. He saw in the design of the national capital sinister occult significance including ‘Halls of the Dead’ and secret chambers linking buildings.⁶⁹ Yet however bizarre Sawyer’s writings became, failing health,⁷⁰ reputed alcoholism,⁷¹ and legal problems rather than ridicule, ended his public career.

In the end Sawyer left a spurious legacy. Supporters who followed his advice may still have hidden weapons. Others may believe, as Sawyer did, in the completely amoral nature of politicians and government and on Sawyer’s recommendation children may have been denied vaccines for diseases such as polio that had been nearly unheard of since the

⁶⁷ Cf Sawyers allegations and the Kissinger incident at note 52.
⁷⁰ Wilshire, One Man Banned, op. cit., pp. 1 – 6 for a list of Sawyer and his wife’s travails. As well as two heart attacks, Sawyer also claims to have been harassed by the CIA, MI5, ASIO and Mossad as well as having been shot at twice.
⁷¹ Butler interview for allegations of alcoholism. In Inside News, February 1988 Sawyer admitted to two drink driving charges that may lend some credibility to these allegations.
1950s. At a more pragmatic level, the neo-Nazi leader, Arthur Smith saw Sawyer as an activist intent only on raising money for himself.72 Sawyer was more extreme than some that followed him but some of his concerns still find resonance in more contemporary radical-right groups. Like Pauline Hanson would later do, Sawyer was also able to forge alliances across otherwise disparate groups and widely disperse his message. Sawyer did have some talent but his faults and extremism eventually destroyed him.

72 Arthur Charles Smith interview, Lithgow 2000. Smith attended one of Sawyer’s meetings and was struck by efforts to raise money. He was also aware of Sawyer’s pronouncements and, like Eric Butler, less than impressed.
THE CITIZENS ELECTORAL COUNCILS

The Citizens Electoral Councils (CEC) is a controversial political group with a cult-like following. Formed in 1988 in Queensland the group relocated to Melbourne in October 1992 and has become the leading Australian outlet for the views of the self-styled American political prisoner Lyndon LaRouche. The CEC combines an eclectic mixture of conspiratorial and economic ideas that advocate a new regime of nationalism founded upon high technology and unlimited growth. The CEC is an example of a militant and well-funded conspiracy group that has made increasing inroads into the traditional rural support base of groups like the League of Rights. It operates a sophisticated political machine that is an integral part of the international LaRouche movement. The most striking aspect of the CEC is its unequivocal support for LaRouche whom the CEC believes holds the fate of humanity in his hands.¹

The history of the CEC divides into two periods. The first from its foundation in March/April of 1988, its initial electoral success and an internal party split late in that year. The second began with the launch of CEC’s newspaper New Citizen in early 1989 and its incorporation into the LaRouche network in 1991. The CEC is ongoing. As with Peter Sawyer and other Queensland far-right groups the genesis of the CEC

¹ For example see Michael J. Sharp, ‘Why the Fate of Mankind Hangs on the Exoneration of Lyndon LaRouche,’ no publication details, circa 1994. The document was provided by the CEC to the author as ‘evidence’ of the group’s victimisation. See also ‘LaRouches at Centre of World History,’ The New Citizen, vol. 4, no. 9, 1998, pp. 4–5.
was bound up in the ferment that surrounded Premier Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen. Local dissatisfaction with the manner in which Bjelke-Petersen resigned his seat of Barambah was the catalyst for the CEC’s formation.

Craig Isherwood, the present National Secretary of the CEC, was present at the group’s formation between March and April 1988. He recalls that a group of local farmers and business people including himself, John Koehler, a farmer and activist and a number of others formed the CEC to contest the Barambah by-election on a platform which advocated Citizens’ Initiated Referenda (CIR). Andrew Markus claims that the CEC was ‘established by League of Rights activists’ though there is little evidence to support this claim. Isherwood, however, acknowledges that in rural areas such as Barambah local people were aware of the League and its support for CIR though Isherwood claimed this was the extent of the League’s involvement.

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2 Denis Murphy, Roger Joyce & Margaret Cribb, eds., The Premiers of Queensland, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1990, pp. 506-511.
3 Isherwood was elected chairman, while Koehler and Alan Edwards were elected as vice-chairmen, Gordon McLean, secretary and Harvey Schwenke, treasurer. Koehler was also elected as the election campaign director. See South Burnett Times, March 23 1988.
4 Craig Isherwood interview, Melbourne 1997.
5 Andrew Markus, Race. John Howard and the remaking of Australia, Allen & Unwin, 2001, p. 125. Markus’ chapter on the extreme right (‘The politics of paranoia,’ pp. 113 – 142) offers little by way of references and contains many factual errors. He incorrectly calls CEC’s program for Citizen’s Initiated Referenda, ‘Voter’s Veto’ (p.126). While there are similarities the two systems are different in that CIR can initiate legislation which Voter’s Veto does not. He also claims that ACT politician Dennis Stevenson ran as a candidate for CEC (p. 128). While Stevenson was allied to CEC he never ran as a CEC candidate. Generally Markus seems to also overestimate the influence of the League of Rights.
6 Isherwood interview.
Isherwood characterised the group in its early days as little more than a populist right-wing movement that gained power by good luck. He recalls that,

So a group of us got together and decided that we had to do something about that [Bielke-Petersen’s departure]. So we put together a populist style operation organisation of people who had no idea, no background in politics whatsoever. We decided the campaign on a single issue, basically Citizens’ Initiated Referendum. We put up a candidate at the by-election … Trevor Perret was the guy who was elected. I stood publicly against him in the selection process where he was chosen. He had a higher public profile than I. I then stood in behind him as chairman of the Barambah CEC at that point and supported him vigorously, his campaign, which we won.7

Trevor Perret did not last long as the sole parliamentary representative of the CEC. He resigned from the party in September 1988. By the following year he had joined the National Party.8 In an interview with the Australia Israel Review Perret recalled that, ‘It did not take me long to dump them. They started preaching conspiracy theories. They became demanding, wanted me to become totally dependent on them.’9 Perret’s criticisms were echoed by others. His most damaging claim was that the CEC aggressively sought to raise funds by gaining access to Perret’s constituent files.10 Perret’s defection caused an internal rift in the fledgling group. Some supporters sided with Perret and left the party. Isherwood and another group established the New Citizen, a tabloid style newspaper, which continues as the official journal of the CEC.

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7 ibid. See also ‘The Real Lesson of Barambah,’ the Courier Mail, 18 April 1988 and ‘Barambah vote anti ‘lies, contradiction’’, Courier Mail, 19 April 1988.
10 ibid.
Between February 1989 and late 1990 publication of the *New Citizen* was the CEC's sole political function until the group's first major policy document, *Sovereign Australia. An Economic Development Programme To Save Our Nation* was launched.\(^{11}\) The sequence of events over this period is obscure. Two members of the organisation, John Koehler and Maurice Hetherington, another farmer and National Director of the CEC, made contact with LaRouche's Food for Peace organisation.\(^{12}\) At this time LaRouche and his associates had made strenuous efforts to gain a following in countries throughout the world.\(^{13}\) In Australia this attempt to gain recognition included promotion of the Food for Peace campaign and working with Peter Sawyer particularly over the allegations concerning President George Bush, noted in the previous chapter.\(^{14}\) Food for Peace attracted a number of Australian groups,

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\(^{12}\) Isherwood interview.

\(^{13}\) There are organisations linked with LaRouche in Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Sweden, Russia, and throughout South America. See Ciarán Ó Maoláin, *The Radical Right: A World Directory*, Keens's Reference Publications, Burnt Mill, Essex, 1987, passim. Despite LaRouche's anti-British stance he has been linked with groups such as Hugh de Courcy's Intelligence Digest (which was used by Wilfred Kent Hughes, see chapter 2). This link would no longer seem to be operating. LaRouche's *Executive Intelligence Review* magazine has claimed de Courcy is an agent of British intelligence, Pentecostalism, the Militias and Pentecostalism,* Executive Intelligence Review*, n.d. or publication details available. LaRouche's British links would be at best tenuous. See Philip Rees, *Biographical Dictionary of the Extreme Right Since 1890*, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1990, pp. 224 – 225. Rees notes that LaRouche, 'has postulated the most bizarre and elaborate conspiracy in American history, one involving Henry Kissinger, “an agent of the British”.' It is not possible to corroborate but some of the pronouncements of the British based entrepreneur, Mohamed Al Fayed after the death of his son with Princess Diana in Paris suggest Al Fayed has been using material provided by LaRouche. LaRouche groups continue to circulate their claims about the British Royal family. The mass circulation *New Idea* recently published a scurrilous article that acknowledges input from *Executive Intelligence Review*. See 'Cruel Britannia,' *New Idea*, December 14 2002, pp. 2 – 3. The article was billed the 'Sordid Secrets of the Royal Family.'

\(^{14}\) Isherwood regards this as a coup for Sawyer, and would obviously still stand behind these allegations. See also, 'The Franklin Cover-up,' *The New Citizen*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1992, p. 15.
notably the Rural Action Movement with which Maurice Hetherington had some association. The American connection was forged via a senior LaRouche aide, Allen Douglas.\textsuperscript{15} Douglas has maintained very close links with the CEC and is a frequent contributor to \textit{New Citizen}.\textsuperscript{16} By the time the CEC's manifesto, \textit{Sovereign Australia} was released in 1991, the CEC was firmly in the LaRouche orbit.

Critics of the CEC have referred to a LaRouche 'take-over' of the CEC. While the LaRouche organisation has been interested in forming close ties with local groups around the world the union of CEC and LaRouche would seem to have been more a marriage than a take-over.

As Isherwood noted,

\begin{quote}
We are part of the LaRouche network philosophically, we are part of his international organisation, that is why we get called LaRouchites and so forth. There are no formal or legal ties there is nothing. It is basically LaRouche's international philosophical organisation that we align ourselves with.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

Isherwood is correct to assert that no formal legal ties link the CEC with LaRouche's United States based groups. Legalities aside, however the CEC functions as an integral part of the international LaRouche network. Although LaRouche has never visited Australia, through the CEC he has become a major force on the Australian radical right. Born on 8 September 1922 in New Hampshire, Lyndon Hermyle LaRouche

\textsuperscript{15} In a 1992 interview Hetherington mentioned these links with Food for Peace and the Rural Action Movement. At the time it was run by Max Johnson and Rod Madden, respectively president and vice president of RAM. See \textit{Background Briefing}, ABC Radio National, broadcast 12 July 1992.

\textsuperscript{16} See for example, Allen Douglas, 'Queen rewrites Australian Constitution,' \textit{The New Citizen}, vol. 4, no. 8, p. 6.

\textsuperscript{17} Isherwood interview.
Jr., was the eldest son of conservative Quaker parents. He first made his political career on the far left of politics as a member of the Communist Party USA, the Socialist Workers Party (a Trotskyist group) and splinter groups that formed around Students for a Democratic Society. This last group formed to protest American involvement in the Vietnam War but after the killing of several students at Kent State University in 1970 sections were implicated in several violent incidents. LaRouche has continued a nominal association with the American left. The quirks of the American political system are such that he regularly runs as a presidential candidate for the Democratic Party, though in reality he has veered toward the right. Today he is mainly placed on the far right of the political spectrum. An iconoclastic politician he has attracted a great deal of opposition from groups on all sides of politics.

To summarise LaRouche’s political philosophy is a difficult task. In the broadest terms LaRouche divides the world into two opposing groups; the supporters of Plato and the supporters of Aristotle. For LaRouche the ideal governmental system was that formed by Plato while the

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system advanced by Aristotle is cast as evil.\textsuperscript{20} With this premise
LaRouche has fashioned his own complex view of world conspiracy. As
author George Johnson notes,
\begin{quote}
For LaRouche’s followers, the crowning touch of their
conspiracy theory is that it offers an epistemology that seeks to
justify paranoid thinking, \ldots In LaRouchean Neoplatonism,
causal links are unnecessary. Because ideas are more real than
facts, influencing another’s thinking is, by their definition,
conspiracy. According to this logic some of the weird
juxtapositions in LaRouche’s world view make their own kind of
sense. \textsuperscript{21}
\end{quote}

LaRouche’s view of the two opposing forces of thought in history,
Plato versus Aristotle, underpins his other conspiracy theories. While
bizarre to the outsider they have an internal consistency. The enmity
he holds for the British aristocracy apparently devolves from his view
that they used an Aristotelian model to craft a weapon of control over
humanity. Again, as Johnson argues, despite the differences in
emphasis, this view is remarkably similar to the much better known
conspiracy centred on the Illuminati.
\begin{quote}
Like most conspiracy theorists, LaRouche borrows from the
folklore of political paranoia. The Aristotelians’ trick of keeping
the masses in the darkness and exploiting their ignorance is
traced not only to Egyptian cults but also to the Eleusinian
mystery religions, the Gnostics, the Rosocrucians, the
Freemasons - the chain of secret societies that form the root of
the Illuminati conspiracy. \ldots The British are linked into the
system, because in the early part of the century some members
of the British aristocracy belonged to the occultist Society of the
Golden Dawn. Just as cults have controlled their members by
breeding irrationalism, LaRouche believes, so do the British
promote Aristotelianism, so did Hitler promote his occultist
Nazism.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{20} Lyndon LaRouche, ‘Taking up the cudgels against Aristotle,’ \textit{The New Citizen}, vol. 2, no. 9, 1989, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{22} ibid., p. 199.
With these ideas LaRouche and his followers believe themselves to be fighting the British controlled ‘oligarchs’ - the followers of Aristotle. In what amounts to a kind of perverse British Israelism, LaRouche has characterised Zionist Jews as the pawns of the British. LaRouche’s enmity has been echoed by his CEC affiliates who have denounced prominent members of Australia’s Jewish community. As with other areas of LaRouche’s worldview some doubt the extent of his antisemitism. Laird Wilcox, compiler of a directory of the American radical right, and long time observer of extremist politics in the United States remarks that,

Although LaRouche’s opponents classify him as a right-winger, no one on the right wing seems to think so. If I were to venture an off the wall opinion, I would say that LaRouche is a maverick leftist with certain stylistic flourishes common to the right. Conspiracy-mindedness, is by no means an exclusive province of the far right, for example, but is frequently associated with it. The accounts of his “racism” and “anti-Semitism” are overblown bullshit. Most of his staff is either Jewish or some other ethnic minority. His current running mate in the 1992 Presidential Election is Rev. James Bevel, a black civil rights activist.

This point was reinforced by Craig Isherwood, who claims that at least thirty per cent of LaRouche’s American followers are Jewish. Locally the CEC use what in Australian terms might be called the Eric Butler defence – they are not antisemitic but anti-Zionist. Considering

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23 For more of Larouche’s views see also, LaRouche, The Power of Reason, op. cit., passim. LaRouche claims for example that Frederick Engels was a British agent who ‘recruited’ Karl Marx, at p. 66 and that Sigmund Freud, apart from being bisexual was associated with the London Tavistock Institute (see below for the CEC accusations that Tavistock controlled the mass murderer Martin Bryant) at pp. 154 – 155.


25 Correspondence from Laird Wilcox, 16 September 1992.

26 Isherwood interview.
LaRouche’s and the CEC’s slanders against prominent Jewish people and organisations such as the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith such protestations are unconvincing. The high proportion of Jewish members of LaRouche’s organisation is perhaps more a testimony to individual gullibility.

Critics, like American author Dennis King, have painted LaRouche as the face of a new American fascism. However identifying LaRouche as a fascist is problematic. LaRouche’s organisation does have some fascist flourishes as with his authoritarianism and (belated) anticommunism. In other respects this analysis falls short. Antisemitism aside, LaRouche could not be accused of racism toward any particular group. Nor does he posit the idea of the nation as the supreme entity as is common to some fascists. Rather, by the adulation of his followers and his own less than modest self-assessment, LaRouche could more accurately be described as the leader of a political cult. The American writer Marcia Rudin has outlined some of the major characteristics of cults, many of which seem applicable to LaRouche’s organisations. These include, advocating how society could be improved, an allegiance to an all powerful leader or messiah, the extent to which cults discourage rational thought, are shrouded in secrecy and exist for themselves.

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27 For LaRouche’s views on the ADL see The Power of Reason, op. cit., pp. 205 – 212. This claims that the ADL is a masonic organisation and created neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan organisations, had links with Soviet intelligence, is part of the pro-drug lobby and was behind a campaign to assassinate LaRouche. See also ‘The world’s biggest drug-pushers: a profile of the Anti-Defamation League,’ Executive Intelligence Review, September 1992, Supplement, pp. 2 – 18.

The cult like qualities of the CEC are evident in the unquestioning way in which the group handles the thoughts of LaRouche. In response to a question on the motives of environmental groups, Isherwood stated, Whose interest does that lie in? It lies in the same interest as I mentioned before, in the sense of the British oligarchy that have stated this clearly. They want to get rid of at least four billion people on the face of the planet. That there are too many people around. Have a look at the United Nations Population Conference. We fought that vigorously down here with their proposing to reduce the world's population. That is what the environmental movement is about. It is a killer organisation at the top, in order to reduce the world's population. It hates the essence of mankind. It promotes the idea that man is nothing more than a beast that likes to waste the earth's resources. That is why when you are confronted by a murderous apparatus, which is what we have to deal with here, then you have to tell people and if they get upset, well so be it.29

Isherwood has a profound trust in LaRouche's ideas, especially those concerned with the British generally and the environmental movement specifically. Unlike some conservative critics who have assailed environmentalists as unrealistic, LaRouche has labelled the environmental movement dangerous. For instance, his followers distributed car bumper bar stickers advising people to 'Feed Jane Fonda to the Whales.'30 To further these views LaRouche has been accused of attempting to infiltrate the conservative 'Wise Use' movement. This group tried to counter the environmental lobby's popularity by advocating environmentally sustainable development.31 Similarly LaRouche groups labelled the 1992 Rio de Janeiro conference

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29 Isherwood interview
30 When Fonda's brother attempted to tear down a poster at an airport with the same legend, a LaRouche supporter filed assault charges against him. See King, op. cit., p. 147.
31 The 'Wise Use' movement has been linked with several Christian Fundamentalist groups as well as some corporations with interests in controversial developments. See "LaRouche and "Wise Use". The Fringe of the Anti-Environmental Lobby" at http://www.anet-sif.com/, on June 3 1997.
on world climate a ‘death summit’ and have referred to the Green movement as ‘Satanic cults’.

The CEC have closely followed LaRouche’s reasoning regarding the motives of the local Green movement. Deriding positive intentions by Australian environmentalists Isherwood contends,

The world is full of sincere people who think they are doing the right thing. But if you go back and do the work as we have done you will find that the environmentalist movement was set up and established in this country through the Australian Conservation Foundation by Prince Phillip and so forth, as a method of population control for the benefit of large companies. Now we attack the heads or the philosophy behind the propagation of operations which are designed to, as you see from the New Citizen, dupe people. There is a need for environmental concerns but we propose the idea that you save the environment by minimising the harm on the environment by using high technology solutions. That is how we propose you solve many environmental problems. In many cases there are many many frauds propagated through the environmental movement. Namely the ozone layer hoax. If you go and look at the scientific proof for it you will find that it is a hoax, the global warming hoax, the DDT hoax, it is all garbage.

LaRouche’s hostility toward the environmental lobby was linked with his support for the nuclear power industry and the Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars) of the Reagan administration. Through his Fusion Energy Foundation and its publication Fusion, LaRouche made inroads into sections of the scientific and military community that supported Star Wars and alternative energy sources such as Cold Fusion. The scientist, Jeff Hecht said of Fusion magazine:

The magazine was a strange mixture; attacks on the organisation’s opponents and allegations of bizarre conspiracies accompanied articles extolling fusion and directed-energy weapons. . . . Some conservatives and advocates of nuclear power were appalled by LaRouche’s politics, but others welcomed allies of any sort. The Fusion Energy Foundation

33 Isherwood interview. Peter Sawyer promoted the same view.
hopped on the beam-Weapons bandwagon before Ronald Reagan, and claimed "credit" for Reagan's "Star Wars" programme. The claim is dubious but LaRouche and his followers did have a surprisingly strong influence on the Reagan Administration - especially on naive advocates of Star Wars, who felt isolated from a sceptical scientific community.\(^{34}\)

In the Reagan years, with access to senior people in the White House, LaRouche was at the peak of his influence. Partly because of LaRouche's abrasive actions this did not last. During the campaign for Reagan's second term, LaRouche and his associates circulated rumours as to the mental health of the president's Democratic opponent, Michael Dukakis. At a press conference a LaRouche representative asked Reagan if Dukakis was 'fit to govern'. Reagan inappropriately replied, 'Look, I'm not going to pick on an invalid,' an obvious allusion to the rumours being spread by the LaRouche organisation.\(^{35}\) With mounting criticism of LaRouche's access to senior administration officials this embarrassing episode accelerated LaRouche's expulsion from government circles. LaRouche's estrangement from the U.S. political establishment was confirmed on 27 January 1989. He was jailed for fifteen years for defrauding the Internal Revenue Service and deliberately defaulting on $US30 million in loans from supporters\(^{36}\).

\(^{34}\) Jeff Hecht, 'In the name of science,' *New Scientist*, 10 February 1990. See also Dennis King & Ronald Radosh, 'The LaRouche Connection,' *New Republic*, November 19 1984, pp. 15 – 25, for some of the links between LaRouche and the Reagan administration.


\(^{36}\) 'The Limits of Propaganda: Lyndon LaRouche Goes to Jail,' *Special Edition*, Anti-Defamation League, May 1989. In an earlier case that was declared a mistrial it was alleged that LaRouche and his supporters had deliberately overcharged contributors credit cards. When people complained LaRouche staffers tried to persuade them to convert the over charging into a loan, which prosecutors claimed the organisation never intended repaying.
Given LaRouche’s manifest lack of political success his claim to be a ‘statesman’ and the world’s pre-eminent economist is more than a little absurd. However, through the formidable number of publications and organisations linked to him around the world he has managed to meet some important politicians. These included Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India.\textsuperscript{37} Aside from affiliated organisations such as the CEC, which publish their own material, LaRouche produces three major publications, \textit{Fusion}, \textit{The New Federalist} and \textit{Executive Intelligence Review}. This last journal has been described as the product of the finest private intelligence organisation in the world.

What motivates Lyndon LaRouche is open to speculation. His writings are verbose and littered with literary and historical allusions. Despite their apparent learning they are for the most part self indulgent and devoted to the political promotion and fortunes of Lyndon LaRouche. As the historian Daniel Pipes has noted, LaRouche’s ‘many references to ancient philosophers and world history give his theories a seemingly profound quality that masks extreme incoherence.’\textsuperscript{38} In short LaRouche is a megalomaniac capable of cynically exploiting his followers’ gullibility. Nearing eighty years of age LaRouche’s continuing influence may abate. It is a moot question as to whether his organisation will survive him or whether he becomes another failed and obscure economic prophet for the far right such as C.H. Douglas. It does seem likely that in the short-term LaRouche’s second wife Helga Zepp LaRouche, twenty-six years his junior, will succeed him.


If there is some ambivalence over LaRouche’s politics, the CEC is firmly established on the Australian extreme right. Through New Citizen the CEC has promoted its fellow travellers. A notable ally was the controversial Australian Capital Territory MLA, Dennis Stevenson, twice elected to the Territory’s assembly in 1989 and 1992 as the representative for the Abolish Self-Government Coalition. The CEC’s enthusiasm for Stevenson reflected the Canberra politician’s use of CEC material.39 In 1992 he introduced a bill to ban adult videos from sale and linked the prominent Melbourne based Jewish solicitor, Mark Leibler, with the pornography and drug trades.40 With the support of the CEC Stevenson also campaigned against the fluoridation of Canberra’s water supply.41 Since leaving the assembly in 1995 Stevenson has continued his political career. In 1999 he chaired the annual far-right forum held at Inverell in New South Wales (see epilogue).42 He has also featured in Ray Platt’s newspaper, The Strategy,43 labelled by Senator Ron Boswell as an ‘anti-Semitic, racist and extremist rag.’44

The former Australian Democrat Senator, Paul McLean, has also received support from the CEC. McLean led a campaign to expose

"corrupt" banking practices, outlined in his book *Bankers and Bastards*, a conspiratorial diatribe against the banks. The CEC saw an advantage in McLean's anti-bank message to promote its own proposal for a new national bank. Another anti-bank/conspiracy theorist, Len Clampett has used *New Citizen* to advertise his book. *New Citizen* has carried advertisements for Christian Identity Ministries and National Action (see chapter 4). In other issues *New Citizen* published material by the Rural Action Movement and Robert Pash's Australian People's Conference. For its part the Australian People's Conference used LaRouche material in its publication *New Dawn*.

The CEC has also attempted to influence mainstream politicians. Their most notable success was Ross Lightfoot, a West Australian Liberal Party Senator. Lightfoot had previously attracted some controversy over anti-Aboriginal comments and his condemnation of the South African Bishop, Desmond Tutu. He lent his support to a petition that promoted one of LaRouche's economic schemes. Similarly, Lightfoot was enthusiastic for one of the CEC's favourite projects, the 'new Silk Road,' a scheme to link Australia with Asia via a series of gigantic

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47 Len Clampett, *Hand Over Our Loot 2*, Len Clampett, Launceston, 1990. Clampett rehashes the old theory that banks illegally create credit and advocates a social credit like system to be run by government. He also believes that the banking cartels are part of the 'plot' for one-world government.
51 Jason Jeffrey, 'The Background of a Beast!' *New Dawn*, ephemera, no publication details.
bridges. The man whom former Prime Minister Paul Keating dubbed 'the brain-damaged Honourable Member for Bruce,' Ken Aldred, also used the parliament on behalf of the CEC. Under parliamentary privilege he attacked the CEC’s *bête noir*, Mark Leibler, using the familiar CEC tactic of accusing him of being a drug pusher. Aldred also claimed that an Australian diplomat was a paedophile. In return the CEC promoted Aldred as a future leader of the Liberal Party. This pattern has continued. In 2001 the CEC persuaded the Queensland federal parliamentarian Bob Katter and New South Wales State member Peter Webb, to sign petitions for a 'New Bretton Woods' agreement. Both men subsequently claimed that the CEC had deceived them.

The CEC also attempted a dalliance with Pauline Hanson. An article in *New Citizen* had claimed that Hanson was 'run' by her advisers and that John Pasquarelli, was an agent of the Mont Pelerin Society. Another adviser, Jeff Babb, was her 'controller' and yet another, David Thomas, had sinister security links. The article continued that Hanson 'was created as a "countergang" ... by the Australian establishments "multicultural" apparatus.' Despite these criticisms Hanson still

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52 Michael Kapel, 'Lights Out,' *The Australia Israel Review*, vol. 22, no. 9, p. 16.
55 Dixon, op. cit. Both the CEC and Aldred must have been suffering from delusions of grandeur if they believed Aldred could lead the federal Liberal Party.
56 'MPs distance themselves from LaRouche cult,' *ADC Online*, vol. 2, no. 4, 2001 at antidef@ozemail.com.au.
57 The Mont Pelerin Society is an international think tank. LaRouchites believe it is a conspiratorial group.
58 Allen Douglas, 'Cinderall kissed a toad,' *The New Citizen*, vol. 4, no. 8, p. 32.
utilized material supplied by the CEC. She published their allegations that a separate Aboriginal state was being planned and on another occasion Hanson advocated sending food to North Korea, using a LaRouche source.\footnote{A Right old rat's nest,' \textit{The Age}, Sunday June 21 1998.} Her former adviser, Jeff Babb, remarked that, 'a sign of the ineptness of her [Hanson] remaining close supporters is that they have let in extreme LaRouchites.'\footnote{Ibid.} It is alarming that mainstream politicians have been so easily influenced. Rising media scrutiny and criticisms from within the Commonwealth parliament have not helped the CEC's attempts to garner political support.\footnote{\textit{Adjourment Neo-Nazi Organisation}, Australian house of Representatives, \textit{Hansard}, June 25, 1997.}

Outlined in their \textit{Sovereign Australia} program the CEC has promoted a series of reforms based on LaRouche's economic theories. Part one\footnote{\textit{Sovereign Australia. An Economic Development Programme To Save Our Nation}, op. cit.} details a program of economic reform and part two canvasses legislation for the establishment of a national credit bank, the promotion of manufacturing and rural industries, the elimination of foreign debt and a ban on foreign currencies in Australia.\footnote{\textit{Sovereign Australia Pt. II}, op. cit.} Both volumes claim to show how LaRouche's economic theories stem from his profound understanding of those matters.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 5 – 6.} In reality, their analysis contains nothing that is new. Essentially both volumes reject 'economic rationalism' and support the re-introduction of tariffs to support local industry and agriculture combined with the establishment of a bank to provide citizens with cheap credit. In many ways the economic
program does not differ substantially from other right-wing groups like One Nation or the Social Credit movement.65

_Sovereign Australia_ is a typical example of the CEC’s and LaRouche’s contempt for people and ideas that contradict their own views. Adam Smith is derided as a fraud who is uncomfortably lumped with Karl Marx in their alleged hatred of humanity.66 Other economists are treated in similar fashion,

why that dangerous charlatan Milton Friedman, who preaches drug decriminalisation as part of his “radical free enterprise” economics, was given a Nobel Prize, while the greatest living economist, Lyndon LaRouche, is sitting in jail.67

Vitriol and protectionism aside the CEC’s economic panacea is based on massive growth and high technology. The program advocates a huge increase in population through immigration from ‘English-speaking parts of the world.’68 High technology power sources, notably nuclear energy,69 the establishment of a fertile interior by an extensive irrigation program70 and the expansion of the military.71 The barriers for such a program’s implementation are only the machinations of corrupt politicians and evil forces like the British aristocracy.72 In 1997 the CEC launched a further ‘economic miracle’ plan advocating Australia should be linked into a ‘new silk road’ which would provide rail links to promote trade between China and Western

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66 _Sovereign Australia Pt. I_, op. cit., pp. 19-20
67 ibid., p. 16.
68 ibid., p. 22.
69 ibid., p. 28.
70 ibid., pp. 29 – 31.
71 ibid., pp. 38 – 42.
Europe. As with most of the CEC program the approval of LaRouche is sufficient to justify support.

The CEC’s economic program was presented as an integral feature of wider societal changes. Increases in government spending on defence would provide technological advances and other economic benefits. Sovereign Australia advocated that the military forces be greatly enlarged with compulsory military service and nuclear weapons. Politicians would be kept honest with Citizens Initiated Referenda as well as a trained and armed population. The Australian nation could then flourish, supporting one or two billion people.

To some extent the economic aims of the CEC resemble those of groups like National Action. Pre 1949 Labor Party policies are extolled, as are politicians like John ‘Black Jack’ McEwen for his protectionist policies. In line with the CEC’s general anti-corporate stance the group has called for the ‘repeal of all Federal and State anti-union legislation.’ In similar vein the CEC wants a ‘New Bretton Woods’ system which would return the global economy to ‘tariff protection, fixed exchange rates and government support, through banking and otherwise, for agriculture and industry.’

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74 King & Radosh, op. cit. p. 22.
77 Ibid.
The CEC’s critique of Australian society is based largely on their conspiratorial worldview. In 1997 CEC published a booklet opposed to Aboriginal land-rights on the basis they were ‘genocidal’ and part of a plot directed by the Queen’s husband Prince Philip. Multiculturalism is labelled a ‘pious fraud.’ In line with its anti land-rights and anti-multiculturalism views the CEC has campaigned against the racial vilification laws. Their impact on the CEC seems the primary cause though the support given by groups like the Anti Defamation Commission (ADC) to that legislation is a part of their objections - the ‘ADC . . . is a front for Queen Elizabeth’s Privy Council.’

In other areas the CEC has produced numerous articles to support its worldview of the perfidy of its opponents. In one major article about the Port Arthur massacre the CEC claimed that Martin Bryant had been programmed by a British charitable group the Tavistock Institute. Through psychiatric programming over many years, the article claimed that Bryant was turned into a mass killer. The CEC was the first group to dispute the official version of the Port Arthur massacre and placed an even more sinister twist to those tragic events. Another version of the massacre, devised by West Australian Joe

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78 Aboriginal “land rights”: Prince Philip’s racist plot to splinter Australia, Citizens Electoral Councils of Australia, Coburg, 1997.
79 ‘Fighting Platform,’ op. cit.
82 Tavistock Institute’s aims say it ‘seeks to apply social science ideas and methods to problems of policy and practice.’ For an overview of the group see its web site at http://www.tavinstute.org/docs/overview.htm.
Vialls\textsuperscript{83} (discussed in the following chapter) has also had wide circulation.

The CEC has faced increasing scrutiny. The group has been attacked in parliament and in 1996 the \textit{Australia Israel Review} published a major \textit{exposé} about its activities. 'Inside the Asylum,' was also used as the basis for an ABC \textit{Four Corners} report, 'The LaRouche Cult in Australia.'\textsuperscript{84} Both revealed the seamier side of the CEC that apparently included, fraud, brainwashing, family separations, antisemitism and spying. These attacks and the bizarre nature of the CEC's message have helped to limit the appeal of the group. As a political organisation the only major success has been the election of Trevor Perret, discussed in the previous chapter. The CEC’s vote in state and federal elections has been abysmal. However, by another measure the CEC has been a very successful enterprise. In 1999 returns to the Australian Electoral Commission showed it had received donations of over one million dollars.\textsuperscript{85} Yet in the 2002 Victorian elections, the CEC’s primary vote in the lower house eclipsed that of the Australian Democrats.

As noted above, the CEC may face a crisis with the death of LaRouche and the loss of an apparently charismatic leader. However, it is a very well funded and dedicated far-right group that is part of an equally successful international movement. Its generally poor showing at the polls is, it seems, incidental. The group's support lies in proselytizing

\textsuperscript{83} Vialls seems to have made a career of these kinds of allegations. See also ‘Nuclear Bombs in a Briefcase,' \textit{Nexus}, vol. 2, no. 15, 1993, pp. 38 – 39.
\textsuperscript{84} 'Inside the Asylum,' \textit{Australia / Israel Review}, vol. 21, no. 10, 1996.
\textsuperscript{85} Mike Seccombe, ‘Conspiracies are a nice little earner,' \textit{Sydney Morning Herald}, February 2 1999.
for the cause. A striking feature of meeting LaRouche’s followers is their total dedication to LaRouche and his ideas. For example, the CEC’s National Secretary Craig Isherwood, believes that following LaRouche has enriched his life, almost to the extent that he has proceeded to another higher plane. This helps to explain the group’s intolerance toward dissidence and their willingness to charge exorbitant amounts to followers of the group outside its inner sanctum.
Formed in July 1990 in Toowoomba in south-east Queensland the Confederate Action Party (CAP) could serve as a textbook example of both the potential and the traps that face the far right in contemporary Australia. As has been discussed in previous chapters, Queensland had been a centre for the propagation of various right-wing groups. These included the Logos Foundation and the Citizens Electoral Councils. In the early 1990s the peripatetic Peter Sawyer was still an active force on the radical right in the area. In the same month the Confederate Action Party formed, Sawyer contested a by-election for the seat of Landsborough.

The exact circumstances of the Confederate Action Party’s formation remain contentious. Andrew Markus has postulated that the group formed as a response to ‘the LaRouche influenced Citizens Electoral Councils and a substitute for the Logos Foundation.’ Daniel Ben-Moshe has argued that Jeremy Lee approached his friend, Perry Jewell, to start a new party based on Citizens Initiated Referenda. The CAP therefore was created in the Australian League of Right’s ‘sphere of

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1 Andrew Markus, Race. John Howard and the remaking of Australia, Allen & Unwin, 2001, p. 130. In Markus’ defence a certain amount of animosity and rivalry did seem to exist between the two groups.
influence' in Toowoomba at the behest of one the League's long time members. James Saleam rejects both these accounts and contends, The founders [of CAP] had met through the transport business and had little prior political involvement and had tenuous contacts with organizations either of the Conservative Right or Extreme Right. Their coalescence matched the formative stages of other Extreme Right organizations ... personal contacts, formation of ideas and a will to act, and the generation of organization initially unconnected to other structures on the Right. The CAP leaders had financial means ... to fund their party.

Markus's suggestion seems least likely. At the time of the formation of the CAP, the Citizens Electoral Councils' only activity was publication of New Citizen. CEC members like Craig Isherwood were moving into the orbit of Lyndon LaRouche but full integration into the LaRouche mould did not occur until 1991 at around the time the group relocated to Melbourne. This was some period of time after the CAP had formed. Likewise the CAP never sought to fill any vacuum left by the demise of the Logos Foundation, which essentially was a radical Christian organisation, something the CAP never sought to emulate.

The research conducted by Saleam of the CAP's registration by the Queensland electoral authorities and his interviews with founding members like Perry Jewell, a Queensland trucking entrepreneur, confirms the party was formed by a group who had no formal connections with the radical right. While Ben-Moshe overstates the influence of Jeremy Lee on the formation of the CAP it would appear

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highly improbable that the foundation members of the CAP were not aware of the political turmoil current in Queensland. Nor would they have been ignorant of the political campaigns and beliefs that the League, Logos, Sawyer and others had used before the party was formed. As Saleam notes, a CAP member, Jeff Gehrmann, wrote to Perry Jewell that the CAP was the party ‘Peter Sawyer spoke about years ago.’

In the final resort it seems the CAP was formed as a populist radical-right group by individuals who had previously held no strong political affiliations. Nonetheless, they were influenced by the political milieu then current in south-east Queensland. The charter developed by the CAP, ‘A Promise to the People of Australia’ and its slogan, ‘One Flag One Nation,’ is a representative example of the political aspirations of both populist and far-right groups. Moreover, the CAP’s charter and slogan, while hardly original, became central themes in the rise of Pauline Hanson. In many respects Hanson was a recipient of the legacy of the Confederate Action Party.

The initial success of the CAP was due to the hard work of some of its founding members, notably Perry Jewell, Warren Woodford and John Jarvis. All were involved in the transport industry and specifically used their trucking contacts to help disseminate their message via word of mouth, pamphlets and speaking engagements throughout.

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4 Jeff Gehrmann cited in Saleam, op. cit., p. 289.
Queensland. The CAP formulated an electoral platform that appealed to a wide range of interests. 'A Promise to the People of Australia' contracted to act on forty-four issues which covered increased penalties for criminals, the availability of legal services, immigration and refugees, guns, education, youth issues, defence, voting (including Citizens Initiated Referenda), welfare, tax, workplace issues, transport and finance. It also pledged to abolish the family law act and the Aboriginal Affairs Department, cancel foreign aid, revoke foreign and international treaties and rescind the Australia Act, five areas upon which Pauline Hanson later focused.

The 'Promise' held appeal for a number of interest groups. The gun lobby was reassured that the CAP would move to allow 'the right of citizens to own firearms' and protect their families and property. Immigration was to be restricted to 'traditional and Christian countries.' Refugees would be excluded. The long held concern of many far-right groups that United Nations treaties were secretly undermining the nation and paving the way for a socialist One World Government was addressed. The CAP would assert 'Australian Sovereignty over the Nation's land and resources' and rescind 'foreign originated Conventions whose adoption overrules the Australian constitution.'

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6 Saleam, op. cit., p. 270.
The 'Promise' was also published in some issues of Fight.
8 ibid.
The formulation of the ‘Promise’ was crafted with the concerns of Queenslanders in mind. Perry Jewell claimed to have informally polled ‘thousands of persons’ when formulating the program. This paid immediate dividends. For example, by the second edition of the CAP’s newspaper, *Fight*, the Maryborough Chamber of Commerce had pledged its support for the newspaper and by extension the CAP. Maryborough remained a stronghold for the CAP, as it later was for Hanson and the gun lobby. The widespread populist support for the CAP and its success in appealing to a wide section of the Queensland population was tacitly admitted in 1993 when former National Party premier, Russell Cooper, proposed a merger with the CAP.

While the CAP addressed widespread community concerns it was also receptive to the views and ideas of the radical right. This was particularly apparent with the recruitment in 1991 of Anthony Ronald (Tony) Pitt. He had worked in a number of jobs, as a bank officer, kangaroo shooter, farm labourer, Royal Australian Air Force technician, electronics worker and secondhand furniture dealer before he ‘became a full time unpaid pro-freedom activist.’ In some ways Pitt resembled Peter Sawyer. Like Sawyer, Pitt appears to have been

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9 Saleam, op. cit., p. 268. See also Malcolm Brown, ‘The death penalty in, the “socialists” out,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February 1993.
radicalised by an unarticulated grievance against the political system. Writing to CAP members Pitt railed that ‘Now I seek revenge. I want to get rid of the whole lot of the bastards [politicians].’ Like Sawyer, Pitt developed comprehensive, sometimes bizarre conspiracy theories. He prosecuted his views with zeal and used spiteful and aggressive rhetoric when dealing with his enemies.

Pitt’s editorship of Fight, as well as his drive and dedication, helped to further the CAP’s message. In common with other right-wing figures examined in this thesis, in the end his involvement proved divisive. Nevertheless, Pitt energised the Maryborough community where his business was located and introduced his readers to a number of far-right issues and personalities. By the second edition of Fight Pitt editorialised in support of Jeremy Lee’s fears of a New World Order. He also featured two articles, a letter and a full-page advertisement from Peter Sawyer. By the fifth edition Pitt endorsed a League of Rights’ video by its then National Director, David Thompson. Noting that while he disagreed with some of the League’s views, Pitt argued that, ‘the people who slander the League pose a far greater threat to Australia and the rest of humanity than the League does.’

By August 1992 the concerns of the CAP were well established. A feature article in Fight warned that a republic could lead to a

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15 See Pauline Hanson chapter and the comments by activist Joe Bryant on Pitt’s inability to work in a group.
17 ibid.
totalitarian socialist state. A further article, probably written by Pitt, accused the major parties of sabotaging Australia’s defence. A large photograph headed ‘After Invasion Comes The Occupation’ purported to be of a ‘girl seized by invaders, raped, tortured, mutilated, murdered.’ Pitt editorialised that Australia needed a militia of 600,000 ‘armed men across Australia’ to defend itself. A series of articles then exposed the diabolical intent of the United Nations and Australian politicians to secretly impose a New World Order.

By the middle of 1993 the CAP may have had as many as 2,500 members in Queensland alone. With its success at the September 1992 State elections the party appeared to be in an enviable position. Increasingly the group looked to expand. In 1992 the CAP established itself as a national political organisation with branches in New South Wales and Western Australia. While results outside Queensland were disappointing, in the 1993 federal elections the party performed credibly in that state. As Saleam notes, ‘it was a leading force’ on the far right.

These electoral successes, however, did not breed stability. Soon after the 1993 federal elections personal and ideological disputes between

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19 ‘The Grand Republic of OZ,’ in ibid. An accompanying cartoon with the caption ‘Do you want their flag and their sort of republic?’ shows two skinheads bearing the Eureka Flag. It is unclear if this is a swipe at republican National Action.
21 ibid.
22 See for example, ‘The New World Order Myth or Monster’ and ‘GATT is another NWO Con’ ibid.
23 Saleam, op. cit., p. 269. Ben-Moshe, op. cit., p. 174 suggests a membership anywhere between 100 and 2,000. The considerable electoral support for the CAP and its wooing by Russel Cooper, discussed above, suggests that a figure around the 2,000 mark is not excessive.
24 Saleam, op. cit., p. 275.
leading members began to surface. Differences between founding members Perry Jewell and John Jarvis (who was supported by Pitt) led Jewell to try and have Pitt expelled. This proved disastrous for Jewell when the CAP’s National Executive passed a motion of no confidence in his leadership. This precipitated a free for all among the leading members of the group. In response to the no confidence motion Jewell attempted to deregister the party (initially successful) and was first opposed by Pitt’s wife Pat and later by Jarvis and his wife who successfully re-registered the party nationally.

The internecine warfare within the group was helped along by other groups like the CEC, who held grievances concerning its members being lured away by the CAP. Jewell, in particular, was vilified by his opponents. In the end, Jewell, possibly the most capable leader within the CAP, left to form an ill-fated successor party, the Conservative Action Party, which quickly slid into oblivion. By mid 1995 the CAP in Queensland was defunct. While the real strength of the CAP always lay within Queensland, the final blow to the organisation was delivered in Western Australia. In Geraldton on 12 January 1996 a former member of the CAP, Wayne Tibbs, was murdered in a gangland style execution. Tibbs’s links with drugs, guns and money laundering

27 Ben-Moshe, op. cit., p. 173.
28 See Saleam, op. cit., pp. 275 – 279 for an account of the factional warfare that erupted within the group.
29 It is interesting that One Nation’s fate, after the resignation of Pauline Hanson, appears to rest in Western Australia.

Brief mention should be made of Pitt’s assertions about the disintegration of the CAP. In response to allegations made by David Ettridge of One Nation that ‘Tony Pitt was part of a faction that led to the destruction’ of the CAP,\footnote{David Ettridge, ‘Warning: Tony Pitt: One Nation Member lists,’ reproduced in National Interest News, no. 18, n.d., circa 1998.} Pitt averred that the, ‘C.A.P. was destroyed three times, once by the Fabians, once by ASIO, and once by National [Party] stooges.’\footnote{Tony Pitt, ‘Salient Points in Ettridge’s letter,’ in ibid.} On the balance of evidence Ettridge’s assertions seem accurate, although overstated. Pitt has never provided evidence to support his claims that the CAP was destabilised from outside. Moreover despite his apparent sincerity, Pitt proved unable to function as anything other than a disruptive party member.

In the final analysis how do we assess the CAP? Was it no more than a passing interlude? Its driving force, Perry Jewell, remains largely an unknown outside the right and its followers. As Saleam has noted, ‘Jewell’s near bumbling oratory, [was] delivered with sincerity’\footnote{Saleam, op. cit., p. 270.} but despite this paucity of talent as an orator, Jewell developed a party platform that had resonance. Jewell’s summation of the CAP’s position in the run up to the 1993 federal elections, Like a Hole in the Head, is a clever exposition of the CAP’s position. Jewell realised that political
parties were anathema to many voters but reasoned that the CAP could plausibly have provided ‘salvation’ from a corrupt political system. The Confederate Action Party could save the nation from a political ‘dictatorship’ and guarantee a ‘Genuine Democracy’ protected by ‘British Common Law’ as a bulwark against the ‘New World Order.’

Credit is due to Jewell for his talent in organisation. The party was well funded outlaying over $70,000 during its 1993 electoral foray. It displayed, as has been noted, a political acumen worthy of the major parties with its ‘polling’ of constituents. However, the radical nature of the group, rather naturally, attracted extremist followers. As in the case of Pitt, this caused dissension over the group’s direction and contributed to its demise.

Tony Pitt: lone political activist

With the demise of the CAP Pitt retained editorship of Fight and changed the name to National Interest (sometimes National Interest News). In 1997 Pitt announced a new political party of which he was National Chairman,

\[\text{THE AUSTRALIANS are DIFFERENT. The party believes the candidates should be independent and represent the electorate. The State elements of the Party are also independents in a}\]

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35 Saleam, op. cit., p. 275.
36 Pitt has used his National Interest paper to publish other titles such as Action for the Hunter Valley Concerned Citizens Association, Wake Up Australia and Student News, a somewhat fanciful attempt to attract university students to his cause.
voluntary alliance to achieve the broad aims set out above. Minor differences of opinion and aims are to be expected, tolerated, even encouraged. There are 500 pro-freedom organisations working to save Australia. In the past they have all been too independent to even work together. This disarray has kept crooked politicians on seats in Canberra. Let us cooperate and end their reign.\(^{37}\)

Essentially this new political group reflected both Pitt’s thinking as it had developed in the CAP’s newspaper *Fight* and his attempts to weld a coalition between various far-right groups and individuals. The Australian’s manifesto was a combination of CAP policies and Pitt’s wish list. Pitt outlined a four-point plan that could ‘save’ Australia. This would restore the separation of powers, institute Citizen Initiated Referenda, revitalise the economy and provide for the election of ‘patriots’ to political office. To this list Pitt appended thirty-two policy initiatives which expanded on the CAP’s policies and his own economic, social and educational ideas. For instance, Pitt called for the institution of ‘one simple and equitable tax’ to replace all existing taxes.\(^{38}\) Other policy favourites, included fines and jail sentences for public officials who flaunted the constitution, the elimination of ‘social engineering’ in schools and electoral fraud, the reintroduction of the gold standard, no separate Aboriginal state (which Pitt believed had been legislated for) and the repeal of both the Family Law and the Australia Acts.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{38}\) This tax was very similar to Hanson’s disastrous attempt to promote the two per cent ‘cascading easy tax.’

\(^{39}\) Ibid.
Pitt was aware from his experience with the CAP that significant support for the radical right existed. His solution as to how to achieve political power was a kind of ‘claytons’ non-party party. This loose arrangement had long been a dream for the far right. Essentially Pitt and others believed that if an army of like-minded independents could be elected they could capture the political agenda. This dream showed the political naïveté of Pitt and a large section of the far right. The Australians did, however, have some level of organisation with contacts in all states and territories. Queensland remained central for the group where its decisions were made.40

If in late 1996 Pitt had entertained the idea of this political entity leading an assault on government his attention was distracted by the emergence of Pauline Hanson. In 1996 Pitt began extolling Hanson in his publications.41 By 1998 he was a member of One Nation, yet by 1999 he had been expelled. Pitt’s relations with Pauline Hanson and One Nation are discussed in the following chapter though the rise of the Hanson political juggernaut was the primary cause for the disbandment of The Australians.

Despite quite considerable efforts, political success has continued to elude Pitt. In a letter to supporters in early 1998, Pitt calculated that he had distributed 1,840,000 papers and over 6,000 videos on one subject alone.42 The success of his papers is speculative. Many were sent as

40 'Newsletter,' The Australians, 20 November 1996.
unsolicited mail and Pitt had no mechanism to judge the nature of the recipients of his mailouts. The success of his ‘Bill of Rights’ video suggests some level of support within the community though in the same letter Pitt also threatened the end of National Interest (which did not happen) due to a lack of funds and health problems for his wife.

Pitt might be characterised as a slightly less hysterical version of Peter Sawyer. As with Sawyer, Pitt is the recipient of a wide range of quite spurious information that fuels his agenda. For example, in a Peter Sawyer like revelation, Pitt suggested that the assassination of John Kennedy and the death of Harold Holt were linked, as both men had allegedly tried to use silver as the basis of their country’s currencies. In similar vein, Pitt dedicated a large proportion of one edition of National Interest to Joe Viall’s allegations that the Port Arthur massacre was not perpetrated by Martin Bryant acting alone.

Essentially Pitt believed that Australia’s politicians were actively conspiring to sell out the country. He believed all politicians in the major parties were privy to this treasonable behaviour. In Pitt’s estimation they were indistinguishable, hence they were collectively labelled ‘ALP/DEM/LIB/NAT/GREEN.’ Pitt was at his most shrill warning against an invasion of Australia. With the active connivance of

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43 After a written request from Pitt for information I received a copy of Fight and have remained on his mailing list ever since.
44 Tony Pitt, ‘What has the Assassination of John F Kennedy (US President) got to do with the death of Harold Holt (Aust Prime Minister)?’, National Interest Newspaper, no. 30, 2 June 2002. This article may have been inspired by a LaRouche source.
46 This description appears in every issue of Pitt’s publications and is always capitalised.
the political elite and at the behest of the New World Order and the United Nations, Pitt believed that an invasion by an unscrupulous Indonesian force was imminent.\textsuperscript{47} Pitt viewed Asians in general and the Japanese and Indonesians in particular as corrupt and cruel people who were actively planning genocide in Australia. With no political will to oppose these invaders Pitt believed that only the establishment of an armed militia of 620,000 men could either prevent this invasion, or, if it were attempted, thwart the aims of the occupying nation.\textsuperscript{48} Australian politicians were not just cooperating in a scheme to assist in the invasion of the country. Pitt believed they were allowing Australia’s assets to be sold to foreign interests\textsuperscript{49} and had secretly negotiated for the establishment of an independent Aboriginal nation that would encompass most of the continent.\textsuperscript{50} Aboriginal leaders were, ‘Greedy foolish three quarter white bludgers.’\textsuperscript{51} Other favourite topics for Pitt included gun control, multiculturalism and nuclear weapons that had been denied to Australia through the efforts of people in ‘universities and all of these snotgobblers.’\textsuperscript{52}

Pitt firmly endorsed the constitutional monarchy. He believed that a republic would be another step toward dismantling basic rights and


\textsuperscript{48} ibid.


moving Australia toward a place under a One World Government. He distributed a car bumper sticker, ‘GREAT REPUBLICANS Hitler – Stalin – Idi Amin – Pol Pot – Mao – Beware???’ to highlight his views.\(^{53}\) Pitt sought to influence university students. In a special edition of his newspaper, which included a fanciful question and answer session, he spoke to ‘Freedom Students’ from Melbourne on republican issues.\(^{54}\)

Pitt’s opposition to a republic became an issue through which he formed a loose coalition with three prominent far-right activists. These were the gun control opponent, Ron Owen and Exposure editors, David and Kelly Summers. Pitt featured a major article by Ron Owen on the dangers of the republic\(^{55}\) and endorsed the Summers, whose magazine Exposure features New Age and conspiracy articles on the struggles of ‘freedom fighters,’

I have stayed with David and Kelly [Summers] and I can tell you their life is no bed of roses and they are not getting rich from EXPOSURE magazine. It was not the police and the courts that led Peter Sawyer (INSIDE NEWS) to surrender, it was lack of support. Ron Owen (LOCK STOCK & BARREL) doesn’t have carpet on the concrete floor of his unfinished house but he still puts out his magazine. Jeremy Lee has travelled at least a million miles trying to warn Australians.\(^{56}\)

More widely Pitt and his publications have been used by other far right groups to promote their cause. The Inverell Forum,\(^{57}\) conspiracy radio


\(^{54}\) ‘Questions and Answers on the Republic of Oz,’ Student News, no. 1, National Interest News, no 21, n.d., circa 1999. In a more philosophical bent Pitt also opined to the ‘Freedom’ students on issues including socialism, local government, the United Nations, the death penalty, ‘filthy literature’ in schools, freedom, safe sex and AIDS.


\(^{56}\) Tony Pitt, ‘No fun being a freedom editor,’ National Interest, no. 16, 30 May 1998.

broadcaster Brian Wilshire\textsuperscript{58} and \textit{The Strategy} newspaper a conspiracy and anti New World Order publication\textsuperscript{59} have used Pitt's publications, along with other conspiracy related publications and videos. At the least this suggests that Pitt had access to a far-right market and that his publications found a receptive audience. Pitt has also written favourably on Holocaust revisionist Frederick Töbin, the Rural Action Movement and the One Nation breakaway party the City Country Alliance.\textsuperscript{60}

As a sincere advocate for his views Pitt undoubtedly sacrificed much in the way of time and finances in trying to 'save' Australia. His views have become more strident over the course of his public life with his growing conviction of the treasonous behaviour of politicians. The banner headline in one edition of his newspaper read simply 'Revenge.'\textsuperscript{61} Previously Pitt had tried to portray himself as the battler who cared about his country. Progressively this image was replaced with an angry and bitter Pitt emerging with his message of unremitting doom. Concurrently Pitt appeared to suffer from delusions of grandeur. In the issue of \textit{National Interest} aimed at students, cited above, Pitt posited himself as an authority on constitutional and life matters dispensing his wisdom to credulous youth.

\textsuperscript{60} Tony Pitt, 'Dr Frederick Töbin an Australian citizen – Jailed in Germany,' 'Australia went the other way' and 'Progress Report – National Interest Newspaper,' \textit{National Interest News}, no. 24, n.d., circa 2000.
In this vein Pitt increasingly sought to present himself as an authority on most matters. He has written on how to solve the ecological crisis concerning the Murray and Darling rivers. Pitt has also had an ongoing obsession with One Nation, to write and have accepted a new constitution for the party to revive its electoral fortunes. Pitt’s obsession with this aspect of party politics is curious considering his apparent inability to work within any political group other than as the leading participant. In the 2001 federal elections he stood as an independent for the Queensland seat of Wide Bay. In a field with two other independents, CEC and One Nation candidates, Pitt won a credible 3.61 per cent of the vote. He was well ahead of Maurice Hetherington of the CEC who languished at less than one per cent but of the total vote, well behind the One Nation candidate who polled over eleven per cent.

Pitt proved unlikely to achieve any significant political power. The expense and personal sacrifice would seem to militate against his continuing presence on the far-right firmament. Outside of the established and more formal groups such as the League and the CEC he represents a long line of lone activists who by dint of their determination and fanaticism join the political fray.

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Gun activists. Ron Owen & the AUSI Freedom Scouts

Ron Owen migrated to Australia from England in the early 1970s eventually settling in Gympie, Queensland in the early 1980s where he operates a business, Owen Guns.\(^64\) Owen first came to prominence with his publication *Lock Stock & Barrel*, a magazine dedicated to conspiracy theories, survivalist material and firearms. Several editions of the magazine were banned for including material on manufacturing explosives and converting semi automatics to fully automatic weapons.\(^65\)

Owen also founded the Firearms Owners Association of Australia that he operated in tandem with *Lock Stock & Barrel*.\(^66\) His activism as an advocate for the people’s right to buy and use powerful weapons may have been self-interested. By 1994 Owen operated five branches of his gun business around Queensland. His magazine and its links with his business made sound economic sense.\(^67\)

Owen’s notoriety stems from his pugnacious and aggressive style, reminiscent of the tactics National Action employed when it began printing the home addresses of people it disliked. *The Review* claimed that Owen ‘has once again sparked public outrage’ when he published

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\(^{64}\) Ron Owen, telephone interview 1999.


\(^{66}\) In 1994 membership for the Firearms Owners Association of Australia was $25.00 which included a twelve month subscription to *Lock Stock & Barrel*.

\(^{67}\) Currently Owen only trades from his Gympie premises. He maintains a web site for *Lock Stock & Barrel* at [http://www.lockstockandbarrel.org](http://www.lockstockandbarrel.org) that also links to his Owen Guns website which advertises his mail order services. Owen’s business interests appear reasonably substantial.
the home address and photograph of the home of Federal minister
David Kemp on his website. To some extent Owen seems to have
enjoyed the offence that some people took at his articles and he went
out of his way to reinforce this offence. For example he produced car
stickers with messages like, ‘Australian Lobster Party Red, Hard Shell,
Lives Under a Rock, With a Head Full of Shit’ and ‘Register Poofers –
Not Guns – Before They Kill Us All.’ When questioned as to why he
bashed gays Owen replied,
Well look, just don’t call them gays, you’re ruining the word
gay. Look I mean the names got to be a homosexual, or a
sodomist, I mean they’re devious, and they are basically
controlling the influences in the government and the media ... I
mean with their practices, they’re dying at the age of 40.
Everything’s very short for them. They can’t see a future. I mean
they don’t reproduce normally, so it’s live for the minute.

A potentially more serious aspect of Owen’s career than his recycling
of ‘red-neck,’ homophobic and racist material has been his association
with American militia and survivalist material. As Adam Indikt of The
Review notes, Owen had written on ‘resistance groups’ and tactics.
These included assassination, sabotage and counterfeiting. It resembled
material used by militia groups and made famous through works like
The Turner Diaries. Owen was hardly doing anything new. Peter
Sawyer, too, had advised his readers on gun matters, including storing
and hiding weapons from the authorities while The Turner Diaries had
been in circulation on the right-wing for a considerable period before

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68 Adam Indikt, ‘Far Right & Dangerous,’ The Review, May 1999. See also Tom Pearson,
‘Fear campaign by gun lobby,’ The Guardian, 12 May 1999 at
Owen’s website contained ‘the names, photos and addresses of individuals who have publicly
made known their opposition to the unfettered right to own guns.’
70 Warren, op. cit.
71 Indikt, op. cit.
Owen became an activist. Where Owen was in a unique position was as a retailer of weapons and distributor of survivalist paraphernalia such as twenty-four hour ration packs, night scopes, gas masks and other items well suited to the aspiring survivalist. Despite all this there has been no evidence to suggest that Owen has in any way been associated with violent acts. His main disputes with the authorities have occurred over banned editions of his magazine and a tax matter.\footnote{Ben-Moshe, op. cit., p. 122.}

Owen’s thinking and obvious appreciation of the American militia movement reflects his evolution as a political activist. Owen’s development as a constitutional ‘analyst’ is similar to the peculiar stance taken by the American Posse Comitatus (see chapter 3). Owen argues that the 1689 Bill of Rights and Magna Carta still protect individual rights such as gun ownership. Owen also believes that it is illegal to change the Australian constitution and that the formation of a republic would constitute a ‘revolution’.\footnote{See ‘Lock Stock & Barrel’ at http://www.lockstockandbarrel.org/LockStockindex.html on 14 February 2002 and Ron Owen, ‘Australia at the Cross Roads,’ \textit{National Interest News}, no. 20, n.d., circa 1998/9.} In terms reminiscent of the arguments employed by the Posse Comitatus, Owen appeals to the idea that the true patriot will be guided by the highest law of the land. In common with its US counterpart, the Australian constitution has been usurped by ‘treasonous’ politicians and civil servants.

To people rightly educated and truly taught, the ruling Constitutional safeguards and principles are in truth everything, but in the opinion of our politicians they have no substantial existence or worth. . . . As long as we have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority [the constitution] of this country as a sanctuary of liberty, a sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race, the sons of Australia worship
freedom, they will turn their faces towards the Commonwealth of Australia.74

Like Pitt, Owen believes that the monarchy and the current constitutional arrangements are the last bulwark against the designs of politicians of all parties whose republican plans are a part of the wider surrender to the omniscient forces behind a New World Order. Even the anti-republican Prime Minister, John Howard, is accused by Owen of working toward these ends.75 In the lead up to the republican referendum Owen established a group to support the ‘no’ case. This was styled the Constitutionalists and essentially promoted Owen’s views in respect of the republican issue and the right to bear arms.76 As with so many on the far right, Owen’s worldview endorses a conspiratorial view of history whereby he traces the origins of the New World Order back to the Classical era of Plato, through the Illuminati and Marxism to the present day.77

Aside from Pitt, Owen has links with other far-right groups and has interviewed Eric Butler, Jeremy Lee and Ian Murphy (discussed below). Kerry Spencer-Salt’s National Watchman (see chapter 9) has also reported favourably on Owen and his views.78 Ben-Moshe asserts that Owen has used material from the CEC, though any links between Owen and this group would be coincidental given one’s admiration for the monarchy and the other’s hatred of it.79 Owen’s most public ally is

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74 ibid.
75 ibid.
79 Ben-Moshe, op. cit., p. 133.
his vice president in the Firearms Owners of Australia, Ian McNiven, who achieved some notoriety in the wake of the Federal Government’s moves to restrict semi-automatic firearms after the Port Arthur massacre. McNiven was videoed dressed as a Hitler like figure he called Little Jackboot Johnnie, a caricature of Prime Minister Howard.

McNiven argued that,

Little Jackboot is launching a brutal, totalitarian attack on our fundamental freedoms. It’s not about this bullshit that it’s only the semi-automatics that’s gunna go. It’s everything. Make no mistake. Once it’s given up, it must be bought back, and you can only buy it back with the most expensive currency in the world, the only currency that you can purchase freedom back with is blood, that’s the only currency.  

Like Owen, McNiven had links with Tony Pitt and has also been associated with the Inverell Forum (see epilogue).

The same ferment that was apparent in far-right and gun-owners circles from the late 1980s and early 1990s was also apparent in the formation of Australians United for Survival and Individual (AUSI) Freedom Scouts. The progenitor of the group was a wealthy grazier from Cobar, Ian Murphy. Formed in late 1987 or early 1988, AUSI was ostensibly a loyalist militia force that would become an adjunct to the Australian military in the event of an Indonesian invasion. At one level Murphy’s group approximates the formation of the secret armies of the 1930s, groups that espoused their loyalty and also posited themselves as an adjunct to properly constituted government forces. Unlike the Secret Armies however Murphy’s entrée into the far right was not over the threat of a communist insurrection. As with Pitt, Murphy dreamed

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80 Warren, op. cit.
of a 600,000 strong militia army ready to defend Australia from foreign invasion with only a few hours notice.81

There is little evidence to suggest that the AUSI Freedom Scouts have progressed far beyond the rhetoric of its founder. Like Owen, Murphy seemed to enjoy media attention and dire pronouncements. In May 1995 the press reported that the AUSI Freedom Scouts had been under scrutiny for links with extremist Christians within the Defence Department, though no action seems to have been taken.82 Certainly the Freedom Scouts have a mutual attraction for British-Israeli groups and the Christian Identity movement. As discussed in chapter five, Murphy was involved in bringing the American Christian Identity Pastor Lindsay Williams to Australia in 1988. One group styled the ‘Northern Watchdog for the Truth about Politics Religion History Religion Youth’83 eulogised the Freedom Scouts.

There is a group of people in Australia prepared to defend this country against any enemy, be it from within or without. These men and women believe in all our God-given freedoms. They believe in our Australian Constitution and all that it stands for, and also in our flag - the flag for which so many Australians have died in so many wars. When you see a man or woman wearing the badge and emblem of the A.U.S.I. Freedom Scouts, you see men and women who love their country enough to put their life on the line to keep it free for you and me and our loved ones. You might hear their names blackened, but this slander come only from the enemy of your freedom and lifestyle and mine. If you would like more information about this group of people, send us a note, and we will send you more information on how you can join or support the men and women who truly care about you and me.84

82 ‘Freedom for “Scouts” is Right to Bear Arms,’ Sydney Morning Herald, 5 May 1995.
Ben-Moshe has argued there is a synergy between the Freedom Scouts and the Christian Identity Movement.\textsuperscript{85} As with Owen, there are strong similarities between these groups and their American counterparts. However only one militia group, the Loyal Regiment of Australian Guardians with tentative links to the Freedom Scouts, was raided by Federal Police and ASIO. Several arrests ensued along with the confiscation of weapons and explosives.\textsuperscript{86}

Ian Murphy’s radicalisation came from the economic distress being suffered in the bush in the mid to late 1980s and some initial contacts with LaRouche organisations, though as Saleam notes ‘this soon yielded to traditional conservative concerns.’\textsuperscript{87} Essentially, for Murphy, Christian symbolism and the monarchy remain central preoccupations despite his obvious attraction to conspiracy theories.\textsuperscript{88} Murphy’s more conservative credentials may have been part of the reason he persuaded the Vietnam veteran, Ted Serong to accept patronage of the Freedom Scouts. A recent study by Anne Blair sheds some light on Serong’s acceptance of this controversial role after a long and distinguished military career that included international recognition for his role as a counter-insurgency expert. Since 1952 Serong had links with the World Anti-Communist League, especially its regional arm the Asia Pacific Anti-Communist League.\textsuperscript{89} Serong had also been

\textsuperscript{85} Ben-Moshe, op. cit., p. 134
\textsuperscript{86} ibid., pp. 141 – 142.
\textsuperscript{87} Saleam, op. cit., p. 301.
\textsuperscript{88} For example Murphy, like Pitt, also believes that the Port Arthur massacre was not perpetrated by Bryant. See ‘Secrets and Lies’ \textit{ABC Lateline}, broadcast 12 May 1999, transcript at http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/stories/s25143.htm.
received by other Cold War warriors when he addressed the ultra-conservative RAND Corporation.

Serong’s background certainly suggests a militant anticommunism. It may have been his links with the WACL that prompted him to accept a speaking invitation with Graeme Campbell at the 1993 League of Rights annual seminar. Either way the link between a revered Australian general and the disreputable League of Rights was unusual.\textsuperscript{90} The issue on which Serong spoke was his belief that ‘forward defence’ of the nation was the best policy.\textsuperscript{91} Serong believed that the northern areas of Australia should be irrigated and that a population of fifty million Anglo-Celtic people could live in a newly fertile interior, partly as a bulwark against invasion.\textsuperscript{92} Serong was suggested to Murphy by ex-servicemen while Murphy had a curriculum vita that Serong could appreciate. A father of seven, Murphy had built his own church on his property and was concerned about an invasion from Indonesia. Evidently Serong was impressed with the group and its military training, declaring that the Freedom Scouts were ‘capable of taking guerilla action ... like the Boers in South Africa.’\textsuperscript{93}

Not surprisingly Serong was also linked with the CEC who were no doubt attracted by his vision of unlimited population growth and the

\textsuperscript{90} ibid., p. 186.
\textsuperscript{91} ibid., p. 187.
\textsuperscript{92} ibid., p. 188. Although such ideas of a populous and fertile interior have been extant for some time in Australia, Serong’s advocacy for these ideas suggests he may have been suffering from diminishing mental capacities.
\textsuperscript{93} ibid., p. 189.
greening of the deserts. Serong’s main link was with the LaRouche fan and former Liberal member, Ken Aldred. Serong made statements (reminiscent of Tony Pitt) that Indonesian troops were already on Australian soil and endorsed the claims that Martin Bryant could not have been solely responsible for the Port Arthur massacre. According to his biographer, Serong was the patron of the Loyal Regiment of Australian Guardians. Ben-Moshe is probably correct when he says that Serong ‘has emerged as the defacto militia ideologue.’ However while Serong may have had a distinguished career the picture that emerges from Blair’s study is of a man who since the late 1980s had declined into unsubstantiated conspiracies combined with a ‘Colonel Blimp’ view of the world. Whatever prestige Serong’s name may have had it now seems severely tarnished.

Murphy, Owen and Pitt all represent a face of the far right that became prominent in the late 1980s. The three men were mostly linked through their commitment to the pro-gun lobby, the constitutional monarchy as a bulwark against tyranny and their fears of invasion. What most set them apart from older groups like the League was not their worldview but the militancy with which they promoted their ideas. At times their rhetoric appeared as an incitement to violence or illegal activities, clothed as the actions of patriots. Ian Murphy attempted to create an organisation with a structure and some substance while Pitt would seem to have abandoned any such attempts and Owen has remained

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94 ibid., p. 190.
96 ibid., 190.
97 Ben-Moshe, op. cit., p. 126.
the lone activist. None of these men proved able to emulate the successes of the CAP and while all three sought links to Hanson, they were eventually rejected. Their main achievement was promoting their view of a corrupt and venal body politic. They remain links in a tradition of individualistic far-right dissent that by dint of their personal commitment continues to circulate these ideas. Within a fractious extreme-right firmament their most significant role appears to be keeping these dissenting ideas alive.
The political career of Pauline Hanson engendered considerable debate and has usually been understood by the media as a triumph for the radical right. This chapter will qualify that view and argue that Hanson and One Nation had a destructive impact on the far right. By any standard, however, Hanson's rise from obscurity to become one of the most prominent figures in Australian public life was a remarkable, if unstable, venture. Hanson appealed to many sections of Australian society. Her populist rhetoric attracted disenchanted voters, while her anti-immigration and anti-Asian stances drew support from sections of the far right. Hanson's naivety and vulnerability attracted a broad cross section of voters who felt disenfranchised by, or resentful towards the major political parties and the far-reaching economic changes that affected their lives from the 1980s onward. Even Hanson's sex appeal especially it seems to males over forty, has been cited as a factor in her allure.

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1 For a discussion of the winners and losers in the 1980s see Paul Kelly, *The End of Certainty. The Story of the 1980s*, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1992, pp. 361 – 385. In many rural areas of the country the 1990s were still times of economic hardship.


3 This appeal was not only for men. In 2001 the largest selling Australian women's magazine, *The Australian Women's Weekly* did a six page 'Amazing Makeover Pauline Hanson talks about fashion, men and loneliness,' a sympathetic opportunity for Hanson to connect with a female audience. See Michael Sheather, 'The new-model Pauline,' *The Australian Women's Weekly*, April 2001.
While well known it is important to sketch some of an outline of Pauline Hanson’s political career. On 10 September 1996 in her maiden speech to parliament, she warned that Australia was in danger of ‘being swamped by Asians.’ The speech received considerable media coverage. On 11 April 1997 with her two advisers, David Oldfield and David Ettridge, she launched Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party. The high point in Hanson’s political career came in Queensland’s 1998 state elections when One Nation won eleven seats with twenty-three per cent of the vote.\(^4\) It was all down hill from there. In the federal elections held in October 1998 Hanson suffered her first major setback when she failed to be elected to the Queensland federal seat of Blair. However, One Nation did win a single Senate seat. A string of disasters followed. Four months later, in February 1999, three of Hanson’s Queensland MPs resigned from the party after publicly criticising Ettridge and Oldfield. In April 1999, amidst growing acrimony with Hanson, Oldfield was elected to the New South Wales Upper House. In August 1999 the party was deregistered in Queensland. Attempts began to recover nearly half a million dollars in electoral funding. In November 2000 the New South Wales branch was deregistered. This preceded the defection of five more Queensland MPs on 13 December 1999. The resignations of David Ettridge on 15 January and David Oldfield on 4 October 2000 followed. Despite a fractured and publicly warring party, One Nation was re-registered in Queensland in January 2001. In February 2001 the party won three seats in the West Australian Upper House and later three more seats in the Queensland parliament.

Amid even more disunity, during the federal elections on 10 November 2001 Hanson failed in her bid to enter the Senate. At a federal level the party's representation remained at one. In January 2002 Hanson resigned amid allegations that the West Australian branch of One Nation was attempting to take control of the party.

Some representations of Pauline Hanson depicted her as a creature of the far right. For example, Alan Moir, *The Sydney Morning Herald* cartoonist, often caricatured Hanson wearing the robes of the Ku Klux Klan. However, this chapter will argue that Pauline Hanson should not be counted a member of the radical right, rather a political leader whose policies attracted a strong following from sections of the extreme right and who, from time to time, promoted some of their concerns. She is best seen as a populist politician who articulated widely held views on a number of issues notably immigration. It is true that populism has often been a hallmark of the leaders of the extreme right, though Hanson never developed an ideology beyond these issues. Politically she was never much more sophisticated than many of her followers. The paradox of populist groups like Hanson’s is that without the development of any defined ideological stand the organisation becomes prey to opportunistic activists promoting their

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7 This attraction was not only for the Australian far right. Hanson also received sympathetic coverage from overseas groups. See Norm Dixon, 'Hanson, Oi! Oi! Oi!,' *Green Left Weekly*, at http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/1997/284/284p14.htm on 3 June 2000.
8 See also David Wells, 'One Nation and the Politics of Populism,' in Bligh Grant, ed., *Pauline Hanson One Nation and Australian Politics*, University of New England Press, Armidale, 1997, pp. 18–28.
own causes, yet the development of rigid policies narrows the appeal of the group. Further, it appears that Hanson’s most enduring legacy has been in mainstream politics. On 14 January 2002 the day after Pauline Hanson resigned from politics and the leadership of One Nation,9 The Australian editorialised that,

The Hanson message reverberated at state elections but when it came to the crunch federally, Mr Howard knew moderate supporters would flee should the Coalition strike preference deals with One Nation. While outwardly opposing them, he ensured the Liberal rhetoric and often the platform itself tackled many of the Hanson concerns. It decried the Aboriginal industry for failing its people, and it criticised the UN. . . . the Coalition deserved to be re-elected because it offered “stewardship of this nation through very difficult times.” And above all, with boatpeople, “we decide who comes here and under what circumstances.” . . . John Howard, through his words and his shifting of the agenda to the populist Right, made Pauline Hanson redundant.10

Hanson’s policies embraced concerns held by prominent politicians, not just her ‘red-neck’ followers. As the social commentator Robert Manne observed, issues like multiculturalism, Aboriginal reconciliation, immigration and sexuality were of central importance to Prime Minister Howard and his ultra conservative ‘natural allies:’ Tony Abbott, Phillip Ruddock, Nick Minchin, Wilson Tuckey and Ross Lightfoot.11 Hanson’s views on Aborigines, for example, can be compared with those of Lightfoot, who remarked in 1993, ‘that Aboriginal people in their native state were the lowest colour on the civilisation spectrum.’12

9 Mike Stektete, ‘Soul of the party calls it a night,’ The Australian, 15 January 2002.
Conservative politicians were not alone in promoting views similar to Pauline Hanson. In the aftermath of her maiden speech the influential Sydney radio talkback presenter, Alan Jones, gave considerable, coverage to Ms Hanson. Responding to one caller Jones intoned, Yes, she said that she [Hanson] was critical of the $40 million spent on Mabo processes, she said that without any land claims being approved, $40 million and no land claims. $40 million, she said, and no one has yet been allocated any land and then, she said, another billion given to Aborigines by ATSIC to buy the land they can't get through Native Title claims. No money for health, no money for policing. Unbelievable. She's speaking for more than a handful of Australians, I can tell you.\textsuperscript{13}

Nor were Hanson's views on multiculturalism simply the preserve of the marginalised far right. In the mainstream media, writing in Sydney's \textit{Daily Telegraph}, Piers Akerman regularly attacked multiculturalism. In one article he also praised the war criminal Lyenko Urbancic (see chapter 2) and denigrated former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's multicultural policies. According to Ackerman, Mr Urbanchich [sic] was one of a number of members of the Liberal party in the late 1970s and early 1980s to express their considerable disillusionment with the wimpish policies of former prime minister Malcolm Fraser, who among other things, has hastened the destruction of the Australian nation with the introduction of divisive and baseless multiculturalist policies.\textsuperscript{14}

Akerman's claims went further than Hanson in her maiden speech. Here she decried 'minority lobbies' and argued that, A truly multicultural country can never be strong or united, . . . In Australia, multiculturalism has come to mean minority ethnic groups, funded by ordinary taxpayers, playing games with gutless politicians at the expense of the great majority. It is a divisive policy.\textsuperscript{15}


\textsuperscript{14} Piers Akerman, 'Faith in a broad church,' \textit{Daily Telegraph}, 14 August 1997.

As the journalist Margo Kingston observed when she travelled with Hanson in the 1999 campaign, Hanson’s more extreme utterances were often a result of her inability to clearly articulate her views or her inclination to speak before she had adequately reflected on an issue.\textsuperscript{16} Nevertheless, Hanson often said little more than was already being disseminated by the ‘shock jocks’ of radio and right-wing tabloid journalists. Hanson’s ability to monder the language set her apart.

Nor is there evidence that Hanson consciously developed a radical-right agenda, though she was undoubtedly influenced by some of the far-right’s concerns. This reflected Hanson’s inability to formulate a cogent political philosophy of her own – for example, her speeches were usually crafted by others. More often than not, Hanson’s \textit{ad hoc} statements were instinctive reactions or the result of the ideas of people with whom she had most recently been in contact, though her political and rhetorical skills undoubtedly improved during the time she spent in the public spotlight.\textsuperscript{17}

Hanson was a successful populist politician, who in a voting system such as ‘first past the post’ might well have remained in parliament. The fractious nature of One Nation, the revolving door of advisers and Hanson’s own lack of depth and discipline, all contributed to her eventual political extinction. However, no single factor was as destructive of her political ambitions as the preferential voting system.

\textsuperscript{16} Margo Kingston, \textit{Off the Rails The Pauline Hanson Trip}, Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, 1999, \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{17} ibid. One good example of Hanson’s \textit{ad hoc} policy decisions, in this case on environmental issues, is at pp. 129 – 130.
When the major political parties refused to direct preferences to One Nation the party was unable to get candidates elected and this hastened Hanson’s political demise.

Hanson must also be judged in terms of the singular characteristics that differentiate her home state of Queensland from the rest of the nation.18 As the political scientist, Murray Goot has shown, Queensland differs in significant ways from the other states, especially in regards to educational qualifications. Over forty per cent of Queenslanders left school at or before the age of fifteen (as did Hanson). Queensland also has a very high proportion of people engaged in trades or traditional blue-collar occupations.19 Hanson enjoyed considerable support from these demographic groups.

The previous chapters have described the political extreme right activism that had been a feature of Queensland politics since the 1980s. Groups like the Logos Foundation, the Citizens Electoral Councils, the Confederate Action Party, along with activists like Peter Sawyer had all been prominent in that state. Hanson was a recipient of the groundswell of far-right political support that these groups had initiated.20 While Hanson benefited from this electoral disenchantment she was also an heir to the populist style of Queensland’s long serving

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18 For Hanson’s background see David Leser, ‘Pauline Hanson’s bitter harvest,’ Good Weekend, 30 November 1996 and David Fagan, ‘The Parochial world of Hanson,’ Weekend Australian, 12 – 13 October 1996.


20 Rae Wear, ‘One Nation and the Queensland Right,’ in Michael Leach, Geoffrey Stokes & Ian Ward, eds., The Rise and Fall of One Nation, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2000, pp. 57 – 72.
premier, Sir Johannes Bjelke-Petersen. As the historian Henry Reynolds has observed,

The strong regional support for One Nation is not surprising to anyone who has watched local politics over the last twenty-five years. In that time rural south-east Queensland has given strong support to right-wing politics. Both the League of Rights and the Confederate Action Party flourished there for a season or two. It was there that Joh Bjelke-Petersen had his electoral base and where his memory is still venerated. While Pauline Hanson drapes herself in the Australian flag, she could with more justification put on the mantle of the long-serving National Party premier. She is closer to Bjelke-Petersen in style than the present parliamentary members of the National Party.

Hanson acknowledged her political debt to Bjelke-Petersen when she stated that he was ‘as close to a political hero as she has ever had.

Despite this political heritage Hanson’s views could sometimes be at odds with populist politics and the views of the rank and file of One Nation. Margot Kingston argues,

As for homophobia, Hanson personally didn’t seem into that, although there was plenty of homophobic material on One Nation’s Web site. She frequented gay bars. She had gay friends. She had removed an anti-homosexual reference from her draft maiden speech written by John Pasquarelli. She had a policy of extending property rights to gay partners – a highly unusual example of consistency with her ‘equality for all Australians’ rhetoric. (After the election, her Queensland MPs refused to support a State Labor Government Bill implementing her ‘policy,’ and David Oldfield voted against a similar measure after his election to the New South Wales Upper House.)

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21 There is a great deal of material on Bjelke-Petersen and his politics. For his populist style see especially, Deane Wells, The Deep North, Outback Press, Collingwood, 1979; Margaret Bridson Cribb & P.J. Boyce, eds., Politics in Queensland 1977 and beyond, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1980; Evan Whiton, The Hillbilly Dictator Australia’s Police State, ABC Enterprises, Crows Nest, 1989 and James Walter, ‘Johannes Bjelke-Petersen: The Populist Autocrat,’ in Denis Murphy, Roger Joyce and Margaret Cribb, eds., The Premiers of Queensland, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1990, pp. 495 – 528.
23 David Leser, ‘Pauline Hanson’s Bitter Harvest,’ Good Weekend, 30 November 1996.
24 Kingston, op. cit., p. 188.
These iconoclastic views extended to her support for abortion and admiration for Prime Minister Paul Keating.²⁵

Although Hanson campaigned around issues like immigration, gun control and Aboriginal welfare, her support in far-right circles was not monolithic.²⁶ On balance, Pauline Hanson and One Nation diminished many groups on the radical right. Groups like Australians Against Further Immigration were absorbed into the One Nation Party (see chapter 4). The electoral aspirations of Graeme Campbell and his Australia First Party were swamped by One Nation’s successes. Eventually, with Hanson’s influence waning, Campbell joined One Nation and Australia First was abandoned.²⁷ Even National Action lost valuable members who deserted to join One Nation on the basis of its anti-immigration policies.²⁸

As noted elsewhere in this thesis, some on the far right had long advocated the need to form alliances. To these individuals, Hanson was a sympathetic leader who understood their concerns and had that distinct rarity on the radical right – electoral appeal.²⁹ Tony Pitt, discussed in the previous chapter, was an early convert to the Hanson cause. In November 1996 Pitt wrote to his supporters bemoaning his

²⁵ ibid., pp. 42 – 43.
²⁹ For instance, Alan Gourley through his Constitutional Heritage Protection Society wrote,

If the resistance movement can, just for once, understand the ‘life or death’ choice, and the ‘now or never’ chance, then perhaps we may unite in a last effort to gain political representation.

lack of resources and noted the emergence of One Nation. Later he informed readers of an unsuccessful attempt to support or merge with Graeme Campbell’s Australia First Party saying that, ‘I have for years been begging the pro freedom groups to resolve their differences and work together.’ In the same issue Pitt extolled Hanson’s virtues and included information on joining One Nation. By 1998 Pitt, and his wife Pat, were running One Nation’s Maryborough branch in south-eastern Queensland.

Like Pitt, Peter Archer was another activist who was attracted to One Nation. Archer had a long history of activism on the far right. An acolyte of Peter Sawyer he was one of the organisers for the Sawyer and AUSI Freedom Scout’s tour of the American Christian Identity pastor, Lindsay Williams (see chapter 6). In 1992 he published *The Australian Crisis*, a far-right critique of what Archer claimed was a plot to enslave Australia and the coming of the New World Order. Essentially the book reiterated many of Sawyer’s arguments, as well as those of Jeremy Lee, especially on issues such as government surveillance and the ‘sinister’ role of the United Nations. Archer singled out the Lima Declaration, which Australia ratified in 1975, as particularly odious. The Lima Declaration, which pertains to free trade, has continued to draw the ire of many sections of the far right. Archer later emerged as One Nation’s Hunter Valley organiser before he was expelled from the party in November 1997. Archer and Pitt’s

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33 Ibid., pp. 6-10.
expulsions from the party display a battle for Hanson’s favour between far-right activists. Archer disingenuously claimed his expulsion was the result of his criticisms of Pitt’s growing influence and right-wing extremism. 34 In truth he was dismissed after Pitt’s wife gave a tape to David Ettridge in which Archer criticised Hanson. 35 Tony Pitt later employed the same tactic against another party official, Brendan Bell. 36

For that matter neither Tony Pitt nor his wife lasted very long in One Nation. They were expelled in 1999 in bitter circumstances. David Ettridge circulated a memo to One Nation members warning them against Pitt as a person who ‘believes One Nation should be run his way.’ Ettridge advised party branches not to circulate Pitt’s newspaper, the National Interest. 37 Ettridge may have had genuine cause for concern. Joe Bryant, another far-right activist who started the group United People Power, also had differences with Pitt. Bryant had worked with Pitt in groups including the Inverell Forum and believed that Pitt was, ‘a long time preacher of unity, but he does not practice what he preaches.’ 38 Despite his expulsion Pitt continued to comment on One Nation affairs especially in his attempt to foist his ‘white ant proof’ constitution on the party. 39

36 ibid.
37 Pitt published a rebuttal to Ettridge’s claims as well as the full text of Ettridge’s memo. See Tony Pitt, ‘Salient points in Ettridge’s letter,’ National Interest News, no. 18, 1999.
39 See Tony Pitt, ‘Improving One Nation,’ National Interest News, no. 18, 1999; ‘One Nation – Fragmented six ways,’ National Interest News, no. 24, 1999; ‘We can save the good aspects of
Other far-right activists had similar career trajectories to Archer and Pitt. One was the unstable Bruce Whiteside, who had formed the Pauline Hanson Support Movement before One Nation was formed. He was expelled from the party on April Fool’s Day 1997. In 1998 David Summers, editor of *Exposures* (see chapter 8), was expelled after publishing an interview with Hanson in which she apparently questioned the veracity of Martin Bryant’s complicity in the Port Arthur massacres, that other *cause celebre* in radical-right circles. Hanson later distanced herself from these assertions. It was not all one-way traffic. Joe Bryant, mentioned above, ran a successful Sydney based print shop and had done *gratiss* work for Hanson. When Hanson apparently failed to acknowledge his help Bryant disassociated himself from One Nation.

 Others on the radical right shared an initial enthusiasm for Hanson but left disillusioned. The neo-Nazi, Arthur Smith claimed that,

> I got associated and helped out with One Nation and I have had long dinners with Pauline Hanson. I could safely predict the way One Nation was going to go. I’m not a member. I was a member and I resigned. I found that there were so many mistakes. . . . The movement is ruined. It was ruined by David Oldfield. . . . they had this country in their grip. The fact remains that nearly 1,000,000 people voted for One Nation in the last election. It took the combined vote of the other three candidates to stop Hanson getting the seat.

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Pauline Hanson’s One nation IF they listen and learn from bitter lessons I endured in the C.A.P.,’ and ‘Constitutional amendments to save One Nation,’ both *National Interest News*, no. 30, 2000.

40 Kingston, op. cit., p. 267. For Whiteside’s instability see also pp. 241 – 244.


42 Gerard Henderson, ‘Closing the door on your worst enemy,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 March 2001. Henderson noted that Hanson appeared to still endorse some antisemetic views.

43 Kingston, op. cit., pp. 134 – 135. Bryant had done printing work for Hanson, initially gratis, but when he asked for some recompense after another request he was dumped.

Other members of the radical right treated Hanson with caution. While impressed by Hanson, Eric Butler regarded her of less importance than the League’s long time friend, Graeme Campbell.45 Echoing his mentor’s sentiments the League’s then National President, David Thompson, referred to Hanson’s meteoric rise but qualified his praise for her by noting that the issues that Hanson raised had already been aired by Graeme Campbell. He concluded that, ‘If Pauline Hanson could make common cause with others like Campbell . . . in the service of a genuine form of nationalism, Australia may yet be recovered.’46 The League’s praise for Campbell partly reflected that group’s patriarchal views. Nonetheless, acclaim for Campbell was not limited to the League. James Saleam commented,

I think that it is probably a pity that Graeme Campbell was not more successful in stitching together an organisation in 1995/6 based around gun people, AAFI, ex-Labor people, whatever. It may have had a more positive development. Hansonism is, for want of a better phrase, a radicalisation of the conservative section of the Liberal and National party electorates with some blue collar support. There is nowhere else to go and it is not in any way ideological or disciplined. It is pseudo charismatic and it did not offer anything. In the end it has turned out to be a disaster. If there were any opportunities for anything there they were mishandled grossly.’47

The Citizens Electoral Councils attacked Hanson and her party as the product of Lyndon LaRouche’s enemies. In their view Hanson had been ‘created’ to attract political dissent.48 The CEC’s secretary, Craig Isherwood was prescient in his views on Hanson,

45 Eric Butler interview, Melbourne 1997.
47 Saleam interview.
If she does not come up with the really significant and radical policy ideas for this country she will go the way of everyone else. She has had a typical response from the rural right-wing groups. You get a pretty woman in a red dress up the front of the room and every hot blooded male from this side of the Queensland and New South Wales border, and the other side of the Queensland border wants to know about her. But it is the sort of response which will just fade out if she makes a mistake or something else comes along which is equally enticing. That area of politics is extremely fickle. It does not have much depth to it. If she does not consolidate with programmatic solutions to this country she will go the way of everyone else. I do not think she is inherently racist. I think she is branded that because of the phenomenon she represents. I think she voices a lot of the concerns of rural Australia. A lot of the inadequacies of what Howard represents are causing her to get an enormous amount of popularity. . . . I have seen too many parties like the CAP for example. People come with fervour they get disillusioned and they go. The next federal election is a long way away, a lot can happen between now and then. I think she has kicked out most of the creeps. Pasquarelli and these other guys have been kicked out. 49

Hanson’s links with the far right were sometimes farcical. Publication of her book, Pauline Hanson The Truth 50 engendered controversy, especially regarding claims that Aborigines practised cannibalism, 51 that a future president of an Australian republic could be an Asian lesbian cyborg 52 and that semi-automatic weapons should be legalised. 53 The book comprised two sections, the first a collection of speeches written by John Pasquarelli for Hanson, the second a pseudo-academic treatise on Australian politics, immigration, Asianisation, gun control and Aboriginal affairs. Authorship of the second section of the book has been debated but more than likely it was by the Adelaide based academic, Joseph Smith. 54 Hanson had not written any sections

49 Craig Isherwood interview, Melbourne 1997.
50 Hanson, The Truth, op. cit.
51 ibid., pp. 131 – 147.
52 ibid., p. 159.
53 ibid., pp. 191 – 207.
of the book. She may not even have read its controversial sections.\textsuperscript{55} While the right may have attempted to hijack Hanson, she maintained her independence.

Some note must be made of Pauline Hanson's maiden speech to the House of Representatives on 10 September 1996. It was a brilliant political statement. As Andrew Markus has noted, 'This was a speech for the times, most carefully crafted, designed to provoke, with different messages for different audiences. Its objectives were splendidly achieved.'\textsuperscript{56} Despite the mistrust some held for Hanson's then adviser, John Pasquarelli, it was with his help that Hanson significantly improved her national profile through the maiden speech.\textsuperscript{57} Largely written by Pasquarelli, the speech\textsuperscript{58} posited Hanson as the ordinary woman 'who has had her fair share of life's knocks' who used common sense and who understood 'ordinary Australians' concerns.' Hence her views were not radical or necessarily divisive but echoed the concerns of ordinary people. In writing this speech and other early press releases and statements for Hanson, Pasquarelli displayed an intuitive understanding of the qualities that Hanson represented and combined then with his own radical views. For his part, John Pasquarelli had made something of a career on the far right. Before joining Hanson he had worked for Graeme Campbell.

\textsuperscript{55} One episode recorded by Kingston, op. cit., pp. 100 – 101 suggests this. A similar view was expressed by Denis McCormack in Martin, op. cit.
\textsuperscript{56} Andrew Markus, \textit{Race, John Howard and the remaking of Australia}, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, 2001, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{57} Eric Butler held similar qualms about Pasquarelli. He claimed he was dismissed because of his attempts to have himself elected to the Senate. Butler interview.
\textsuperscript{58} The full text of the speech can be found at a number of places. I used the copy in Hanson, \textit{The Truth}, op. cit., pp. 2 – 11.
He also had links with John Bennett, the Holocaust denier and with the League of Rights. In the speech Pasquarelli addressed far-right concerns such as immigration, programs for Aboriginals, gun laws, Asianisation and multiculturalism. On the whole they were presented in a less extreme way and with less inflammatory language than was common on the radical right.

As already shown, Pauline Hanson held views that were not uncommon among some sections of the Liberal and National parties. When she wrote her controversial letter to the Queensland Times criticising the federal government’s policy toward Aboriginals it was only by chance that the story was picked up by the national media after Hanson’s political rivals tried to embarrass both Hanson and the Liberal Party. The ensuing fracas saw Hanson lose her Liberal Party candidature but after six weeks, which meant that she appeared on the ballot paper as the Liberal Party candidate, without any other conservative contestants. She won the seat with over forty-eight per cent of the primary vote with a swing of nearly twenty-three per cent.

Hanson’s appeal to the far right is of most concern to this thesis, although as noted above she appealed to a far broader electorate than the radical right on a number of different levels. Conservative commentators such as the Sydney Morning Herald journalist Paul

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60 Pauline Hanson, ‘Letter,’ The Queensland Times, 6 January 1996.
62 ibid.
Sheehan have argued (in part) that Hanson was a media creation.63 Her message was at times distorted by the media and the ‘multicultural industry’ and reflected unease among ordinary Australians toward the issue of immigration.64 Sheehan noted the response by the Prime Minister, John Howard to calls by the Leader of the Opposition, Kim Beazley, to refute Hanson’s statements.

In my view there should be robust debate in this country about the size of our immigration policy. People are entitled to attack the present immigration levels without being branded as bigots or racists. . . . If someone disagrees with the prevailing orthodoxy of the day, that person should not be denigrated as a narrow-minded bigot. That is basically what has been happening in this country over a very long period of time.65

In retrospect Hanson lacked stability and depth. As one commentator remarked this, ‘gawky and confused person has trailed her way across the stark Australian political landscape leaving in her wake a string of poisoned political waterholes.’66 Hanson appeared to many voters to represent many things. Mostly though, she was an antidote to the mainstream political parties. Attempts to capture and guide the direction she was moving in failed. The only victors were people like her abrasive adviser David Oldfield, who won a parliamentary seat in New South Wales and the other men and women who were elected to parliament. Hanson remains outside the political process. For the far right the dream of a grand coalition formed beneath Hanson’s political skirts proved illusory, largely through both her and the far right’s inability to form cohesive policies and alliances.

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64 See especially pp. 153-171 in ibid.
65 Howard cited in ibid., p. 107.
66 Peter Robinson, ‘Hanson’s poison will outlast her,’ *The Sun-Herald*, 21 June 1998.
More fundamentally the electoral appeal of the radical right was diminished by a conservative government that surreptitiously addressed many of the concerns raised by Hanson. In areas like Aboriginal reconciliation, refugees and Australia’s international obligations the Howard government has moved resolutely to the right. Hanson has been deprived of a platform by a national government that has successfully answered most of the political questions she raised. The political oxygen available for maverick politicians like Hanson or the far right was limited. So too are the chances for the far right to participate directly in the political process. The tragedy of Hanson and her politics is that so much of her platform has become a part of the political mainstream in Australia.
EPILOGUE

In 2002 what status does the far right have? As was discussed in the previous chapter by 2000 Pauline Hanson had left much of the far right in disarray. The attempt for greater influence through Hanson failed as One Nation disintegrated. However, as this thesis has shown, a great deal of radical-right activity has always revolved around committed individuals. In the post Hanson era, this activism looks set to remain one of the far right’s defining characteristics. Modern technology, mainly the internet, has made the propagation of ideas and views relatively simple. On the other hand, any political website now competes in a global system in which it is but one small voice. These developments have not meant the end of all the established groups on the far right. That old war horse, the Australian League of Rights, as well as its more contemporary adversary, the Citizens Electoral Councils, maintained their structure and membership despite Pauline Hanson. However, the fortunes of the two groups appear to be quite different.

In 2002 the League of Right’s historical dominance of the far right has been broken. Challenges have been made by many different groups and individuals. The League looks set to become only one voice among many in the radical-right’s debates. This fragmentation of the far right has been occurring for some time.

One of the most successful groups of the contemporary period, that reflects this trend, is the Inverell Forum. This was established in the
northern New South Wales town of the same name, by Ross Provis and Keith Coulton in 1988. Now in its fourteenth year, the Inverell Forum, has received contributions from a wide variety of groups among Australia's far right, as well as a number of activists more connected with ultra-conservative groups. Coulton and Provis were initially attracted by Citizens' Initiated Referenda.

While Coulton has disappeared from the far-right firmament Provis remains active in a number of different groups. In 1989 he formed the Australian Community Movement (see chapter 7) which he lauded as an activist, rurally based organisation, which campaigned against the major political parties and rural debt. The Australian Community Movement seems to have withered by the mid 1990s but in 1993, Provis caused some controversy when he claimed to journalists that his group of farmers had acquired 'light machine

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2 Speakers have included, Peter Archer (see chapter 9); Scott Balson (Global Web Builders); Joe Bryant (Independent Enterprise Freedom and Family, United People Power and currently Independent Small Business Australia); Graeme Campbell (former ALP MHR, Australia First, One Nation); Len Clappett, (anti-bank author); Michael Darby; Leon Gregor (British-Israel World Federation); Jeremy Lee, Betty Luks (League of Rights); Dennis McCormack ( Australians Against Further Immigration); Paul McLean (former Australian Democrat and author of Bankers and Bastards); David McNiven (gun activist); Jeanine McRae (Union of Farmers); Ken May (Rural Action Movement); Geoff Muirden (Australian Civil Liberties Union); Ian Murphy (AUSI Freedom Scouts); Tony Pitt; Ray Platt (The Strategy); Jim Saleam (National Action, Nationalist movement); Ray Smythe (Christians Speaking Out); Kerry Spencer-Salt (The National Watchman); Dennis Stephenson (linked to Citizens Electoral Councils); David Thompson (League of Rights); Brian Wilshire (radio presenter). A record of Inverell Forums since 1999, some with brief summaries of talks, can be found at http://www.northnet.com.au/~mb on 3 June 2001.
4 Saleam, op. cit., p. 306.
6 Saleam, op. cit., p. 306. Provis continues to argue for reducing rural debt as causing farmers to either get big, or get out. See Ross Provis 'Letters,' News Weekly, 8 April 2000.
guns, mortars and artillery pieces' to wreak havoc against politicians. His enthusiasm for firearms may have led to his later involvement in the militia group, the AUSI Freedom Scouts. By 1998 he was a candidate for One Nation, having also been linked with Graeme Campbell's Australia First group.8

Provis's legacy is the Inverell Forum. It has become an annual meeting point for the far right. As a regular participant, Antonia Feitz revealed, the event attracted an array of far-right activists such as Jeremy Lee, Joe Bryant (see chapter 9), Ray Platt (The Strategy newspaper) as well as anarchists and even 'Bruce the Pixie from the Byron hinterland.'9 The radical right, through groups like the Inverell Forum, operates as a loose confederation; Tony Pitt characterises it the 'Freedom Movement.' Motivated by opposition to the direction of Australian and world politics, the extreme right contains a number of contrary views as to how to react to contemporary events. The Inverell Forum is an example of the League's continuing ability to contribute to the radical-right's discourse, but as a participant rather than leader. In 2001 a number of activists, including James Saleam and Neil Baird, instituted the Sydney Forum (see below) which has developed along similar lines to the Inverell Forum.

Neil Baird's News Report, an email service that appears several times a week has become another significant forum for debate. The former New South Wales treasurer of One Nation, Neil Baird, has

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8 Anti-Defamation Commission, 'Senior One Nation Official Was A Former President of an Extremist Organisation,' media release, 10 June 1998.
9 Feitz correspondence.
been described as a member of the extreme-right. The evidence for
this is inconclusive. It might be more accurate to describe the News
Report as an alternative news source with a strong radical right
flavour. When The Australian's political columnist, Glen Milne,
attacked the News Report in November 2001 Antonia Feitz, who
contributes regularly reacted with indignation.
Milne's inclusion of Neil Baird among the "whackos" of the
far Right was bizarre to say the least. Australia is indeed in a
sorry state if Baird's arduous and unpaid work to
disseminate a wide range of opinion from around the world
to counter the stultifying mainstream media's focus on
'lifestyle' is considered 'extremist' political activity. ...Milne
didn't even get his facts right. He wrote: "Other
whackos now surrounding Hanson as part of One Nation
include: Neil Baird, party treasurer in New South Wales.
Baird publishes one of a plethora of extremist online
newsletters. His contribution is called 'National Watchman
Update.'" Sorry, Glenn, but Neil Baird actually publishes
Update".Oops.

Feitz's analysis is valid. Baird does disseminate a wide range of
material, from the left (or at least the views of the likes of John
Pilger and Noam Chomsky) to conservative, to the far right. Feitz
herself was aggrieved when the Sydney Morning Herald columnist,
Imre Salusinszky claimed that Feitz was a long time member of the
League of Rights.

I am not a long time member of the Australian League of
Rights. I have by invitation - like Alexander Downer - twice
addressed the League's seminars. My topics were the

\[10\] Glen Milne, 'All is forgiven, Pauline,' The Australian, 11 March 2002.
\[11\] Antonia Feitz, 'Opinion: Seven Networks Milne's attack on the "extremists of the far
good, '" in ibid., issue 414. Her colleague, Ann Crosson noted that,
The Australian today ( 5th November, Guy Fawkes Day if I'm not mistaken, and
an appropriate effigy to incinerate comes to my mind. Choose your own guy and
build your own bonfire. I'm not saying who my choice is! ) printed a scathing
attack by Glen Milne on the "loony right". He particularly attacks poor old Neil
Baird, our hard working editor, but seems not to have done his homework as he
has Neil confused with Kerry Spencer-Salt! But who cares about accuracy
except us racist radicals!

In Ann Crosson, 'Opinion: Seven Networks Milne: Sloppy mind, sloppy thinking,' ibid.
Crosson and Feitz were correct as to Milne's confusion.

\[12\] Feitz replied that, 'Salusinszky stupidly claimed I am "a prominent League of Rights
activist, who was being coy about her affiliation." ... With any luck it also shows that
alternative voices are increasingly being heard loud and clear and that we're scaring
the pants off them.' Correspondence with Antonia Feitz.
excesses of feminism and the dangers of globalisation. Hardly seditious. The League’s National Director, Betty Luks, [sic] asked permission to republish my Baird comments (they’re too short to be ‘articles’) in their “On Target” weekly newsletter. I make no apologies for associating with the Australian League of Rights. There are some very fine and thoughtful people among them, particularly Jeremy Lee. I think that as far as our traditional freedoms are concerned -freedoms of association and of free speech - we Australians either use them or lose them.\textsuperscript{13}

Feitz is certainly no stereotype for a radical-right activist. Jennifer Campbell the letters editor of \textit{The Australian} noted that, ‘Antonia Feitz, she’s a mother of five, very educated. I think she’s a part-time librarian, and she writes regularly, beautiful letters.’\textsuperscript{14}

The \textit{News Report} certainly features many familiar far-right names. Alan Gourley (see chapters 2 and 6) contributes on a semi regular basis, most recently warning about the development of an artificial strain of polio and its consequences. Gourley posed the rhetorical question,

Could you imagine that power and control of confused survivors would be of interest to those who now rule the world? We do not have to sit about like mesmerised chooks waiting for the axe to fall and I really hope concerned people are developing a survival instinct.\textsuperscript{15}

Robyn Spencer (see chapter 4) has used the News Report to outline her two acrimonious separations from One Nation and her new work opposing multiculturalism,\textsuperscript{16} while two of her former colleagues praised her as a ‘living national treasure.’\textsuperscript{17} Other regular \textit{News Report} contributors linked to the far right include Michael Darby, David ‘The Duke’ Oldfield, Geoff Muirden, Jeremy Lee,

\textsuperscript{13} ibid.
\textsuperscript{15} Alan Gourley, ‘Artificial reproduction of the Polio virus,’ \textit{The News Report}, no. 551, 15 July 2002, nhiro@goanna.net.au.
\textsuperscript{17} Bob Mackley and Mark Halden, ‘Robyn Spencer - A Living National Treasure,’ in ibid.
Betty Luks, James Saleam and Ray Platt. Overall the *News Report* has become an important conduit for information for the far right.

The CEC, unlike the League, has maintained its independence from the rest of the Australian far right. While it is motivated by similar concerns its role as the disseminator of LaRouche propaganda continues to set it apart. Its financial acumen and dedication may have been factors behind its relatively strong performance in the November 2002 Victorian State Elections. The CEC polled over twice the number of votes for the Australian Democrats in the Legislative Assembly.\(^{18}\) In the west Melbourne district of Derrimut the CEC candidate received 8.74 per cent of the primary vote. The CEC claimed an average vote in seats contested of 1.6 per cent. It should be noted, however, that in Derrimut as in the Melbourne (0.85 per cent) and Essendon (1.55 per cent) districts the CEC candidates were first on the ballot paper and thus may have benefited from the donkey vote.\(^{19}\)

Of all the groups still current, the CEC exhibits characteristics that could incline it toward more activist opposition to society’s institutions. It has already adopted robust means of attacking those it views as an enemy. The group’s uncompromising message to its followers might be seen as inviting a physical response. As with sections of National Action, some followers of the CEC regard their

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\(^{18}\) The CEC received 9647 primary votes or 0.33% of the total votes cast. The Democrats received 3919 votes or 0.14%. It should be noted that in the Upper House the Democrats received 51,735 votes or 1.79%. The CEC did not contest the Upper House. See, ‘Election Results,’ at [http://www.vec.vic.gov.au/Elections](http://www.vec.vic.gov.au/Elections) on 9 December 2002.

purpose with an almost Jesuitical fervour. This must go some way to explain the significant amounts of money the group is able to attract. As with National Action, the CEC polices its cadres strictly and is intolerant of internal dissent. As a result it has retained a stable and dedicated leadership. However, its message is unlikely to attract any substantial numerical following – it plumbs depths of absurdity, Queen Elizabeth as a drug pusher, or her husband as a despotic mastermind - that rival some of Peter Sawyer’s ideas.

The current temper of international politics, post 11 September 2001, may help the far right to a more prominent role in Australia’s domestic politics, though this remains speculative. The extreme right has sought to capitalise on the uncertainties that recent events have caused. Following the terrorist attacks on the United States in 2001 and the Bali bombing in 2002, a report by the Anti-Defamation Commission observed the increased activity by sections of the far right.20 The report notes that the League of Rights had circulated conspiracy theories about the alleged complicity of the Israeli intelligence services in the attacks on the United States. The CEC implicated the ‘global financial oligarchy’ (i.e. the British) in the ‘9/11’ and Bali attacks.21

Another war horse of the Australian far right, James Saleam, is once again active in racial-nationalist circles Saleam has recently circulated a petition for the ‘Patriotic No War Against Iraq Committee.’ As Saleam argued ‘nationalist activists’ needed to become involved in opposition to the war because, ‘It would be

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21 ibid.
remiss on our part if we left the public noise against the war to be monopolised by the fake Hawke-Whitlam-Fraser-Hewson group or the rabid Trotskyite Left.22 Others on the far right have been vocal in their support for the Iraqi regime and opposition to any war. In 2002 at the 2nd Sydney Forum, Saleam spoke on the topic, ‘Neither Washington Nor Mecca – wars on terror, globalist ideology and Islamic reaction.’ The keynote speaker for the conference was the Iraqi chargé d’ affaires, Dr Saad Al Samarai. Other speakers included Wayne van Blitterswyk, a former member of the neo-Nazi ANM, Joe Bryant (see chapter 9), Bob Doring of the Australian Right to Bear Arms association, a militant pro-gun group, as well as two former members of One Nation, Neil Baird and Welf Herfurth.23

In 2002 the CEC has actively opposed an American led war in Iraqi. A CEC press release supporting an Australian Democrat motion in the Senate claimed that President Bush’s plan to launch a war was based on ‘a 1996 Israeli government policy that is being foisted on

22 ‘Anti War Statement,’ The News Report, no. 595, 4 October 2002, at nbaird@goanna.net.au The petition written by one Peter Whitford is a classic statement by the far-right radical nationalist cause: We, the undersigned, oppose the participation of Australian troops and the expending of national resources in a war against Iraq. We say that the drive to war against Iraq has nothing to do with the interest of the Australian nation, but everything to do with the interests of the oil multinationals and the Zionist entity called Israel. We demand the neutrality of Australia towards Iraq, the continuation of the beneficial trade with Iraq and a repudiation of all New World Order schemes directed against Iraq. Some people confuse Islamic fundamentalism and its contention with liberal ideology with the justification for a war against Iraq. Because we are opposed both to Islamic fundamentalism and Western liberalism, we say: Neither Washington, Nor Mecca, but Independence For Australia. Yet, Iraq is not an Islamic fundamentalist state, nor does it support terrorism. The Iraqi and Australian peoples are not enemies even if the New World Order proclaims it so.
No To The New World Order War Scheme Against Iraq!
In ibid.
the President by a nest of Israeli agents.24 For the CEC these allegations were linked with LaRouche's assertions that the 11 September attacks were ultimately directed by the British and their security services, through Israeli operatives who controlled a 'clique' in the American military establishment. The ultimate aim of the attacks, it is alleged, had been the death of the president, vice-president, the secretary of defence and a nuclear exchange with Russia followed by a coup d'état in the United States.25 No one could accuse the CEC of economising in respect of extravagant detail.

While the conspiracy mills may have become ever more fanciful in their attribution of blame and motives for the recent terrorist attacks a more immediate problem for these groups has developed. While attention has focussed on militant Islamic fundamentalist groups like the al-Qaeda network and Jemaah Islamiah, it seems likely that security surveillance of Australian extremist groups will increase. The terrorist attacks have raised the need to understand and respond to the phenomena of political and religious extremism, not just abroad, but at home.

A similar situation exists overseas. Reports suggested that the anthrax scare that followed the 11 September attacks in the United States could be the work of domestic terrorists.26 The reaction by some right-wing groups to the attacks also suggests sympathy between extremist groups that transcends any Islam /Christian

divide. For instance, the British-based web site for the far-right National Revolutionary Faction, hosts a page for the Islamic Resistance Support Association. This provides pro-Palestinian and anti-Israeli propaganda. Elements of the American Christian right saw the attacks on the United States in the light of their own understanding of Armageddon and some have speculated that their eschatological view may have influenced some Islamic preachers. In Australia similar sentiments are readily apparent. The CEC's website is now available in Arabic (as well as Polish, for reasons not entirely clear). Other antisemitic groups have accelerated their anti-Jewish and pro-Arab, especially pro-Palestinian rhetoric.

Several groups have expressed alarm at proposed legislation that would increase the powers of ASIO. Writing for the News Report after ASIO had raided the homes of some Islamic activists, Antonia Feitz lamented,

They raided Muslims this time but who'll be next? Christian fundamentalists? Neil Baird? the League of Rights' Jeremy Lee? Anybody who's ever addressed or even attended the Inverell Forum? It's not an unreasonable question considering that one of the men targeted is 'guilty' of publishing a newsletter and that they all had attended lectures by an Islamic cleric.

James Saleam concurred with Feitz. Noting his previous entanglements with the security apparatus he argued,

28 The terrorist attacks appear to have reinvigorated American Christian fundamentalists who view it as an omen of the 'end-times.' See Kevin Sack, 'Boom time for the prophets of doom as believers fear the worst,' Sydney Morning Herald, 24-25 November 2001.
29 See Damian Thompson, 'Fundamentally Wrong,' The Spectator, 29 September 2001, pp. 15 – 16. Thompson claims that one Safir al-Hawali has become 'Saudi Arabia's answer to Hal Lindsay . . . describes the annihilation of Israel and America by Islam.'
31 Antonia Feitz, 'Enough is enough,' The News Report, no. 611, 1 November 2002, at nbaird@goanna.net.au.
I must agree with Antonia Feitz’s criticism of ASIO . . . We may forget too easily that the culture which surrounds ASIO is one enmeshed in Australia’s secret-state history. ASIO has always been a political-police force and cannot really be understood as any sort of genuine investigative security agency (if there is such a thing!) . . . Having seen this agency lie to a Supreme Court justice by culpable acts of omission, I wouldn’t feel too confident if the same people were swearing out warrants for search etc in front of the judiciary . . . There is no doubt a quasi police state has arrived. But the repression is hardly total and a full resistance must be mobilised.32

In its inimitable fashion the CEC went even further. In the CEC’s view the proposed legislation giving ASIO increased powers to deal with suspected terrorists would create a ‘fascist police state’ akin to Hitler’s regime. Imploring its followers to lobby the ALP to oppose the legislation in the Senate the CEC declared that Prime Minister Howard and New South Wales Premier Carr had ‘whipped up and milked post-Bali,’ hysteria.33

The Christian far right has also continued a presence, largely on the internet. Frank Dowsett of the Covenant Vision Ministry (see chapter 5) maintains a web site. Frederick Töbin of the Holocaust denial Adelaide Institute does likewise, though Töbin’s credibility was severely damaged when even David Irving declared that Töbin was harming the Holocaust ‘revisionist’ cause.34 Other groups have fared less well. National Action is currently limited to its Adelaide base and seems moribund. Tony Pitt seems to only operate via his website, as does Ron Owen. Small neo-Nazi groups, usually only one or two people, continue to spring up and disappear, though for the most part they seem inconsequential.

32 James Saleam, ‘ASIO and a police state culture,’ The News Report, no 612 2 – 3 November 2002, nbaird@goanna.net.au.
34 Report on Antisemitism in Australia, op. cit., p. 20.
It seems then that in many ways Australia now has a ‘virtual’ far right, existing more vitally in cyber-space than on terra firma. Some organisations still exist, though the majority of activism is transmitted through the World Wide Web punctuated by irregular gatherings. If nothing else the internet has become a vital means for far right groups to transmit and discuss their views. It seems impossible to gauge what impact this ‘virtual’ far right has. Since the political demise of Pauline Hanson there has been no major opportunity to test the influence of the extreme right via the ballot box.

Generalisations are dangerous, but it does seem fair to say that the swing to the right in Australian mainstream politics in the last two decades has increasingly denied political space to the extreme right. Since the advent of the Howard government in 1996 this trend has accelerated. Howard’s stance on issues such as immigration and refugees has denied the far right much opportunity in areas that were once successful in gaining followers. This has left the far right with only two major areas that might be electorally popular, in which it can try to oppose the government - restrictions on firearms and opposition to tough new anti-terrorist laws.

Crystal ball gazing is also perilous but, in summary it seems likely that groups like the CEC will remain a feature of the far right. In rural areas it is quite likely populist groups may form from time to time. Unless a new Pauline Hanson is found most of these will fold. The majority of extremist activism will be left to individuals whose primary means of communication will be via the internet. Where
they can find common cause the far right will, from time to time, 
seek alliances with some sections of the far left. Only some 
catastrophic event or change in Australia’s domestic arrangements 
could foreseeably give the far right a chance to gain any substantial 
political support. The radical right will nonetheless continue as a 
voice of dissension, even hatred, in the secret ‘virtual’ life of the 
nation.
CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to answer a number of questions pertaining to the history of the far right in Australia since 1950. How did the extreme right evolve? How have its ideas developed? What overseas influences have shaped the extreme right? Who were some of the minor and major activists of the right whose dedication to the cause has helped shape the movement? How should we judge the results of their endeavours? Does the extreme right represent a threat to liberal democracy?

As chapter one showed the groups that began to form around the 1950s were substantially different in terms of personnel to those groups that had preceded them, though in terms of their opposition to communism, the groups initially resembled those of the interwar period. In evolutionary terms the most significant change in the far right has been its inexorable alienation from mainstream society. Through the 1950s and 1960s the radical right saw itself largely as a group of patriotic organisations. While their thinking may have been extreme, as with the neo-Nazis, these groups still saw themselves working within most of the accepted parameters of political discourse. Increasingly, since the 1970s, the progressive alienation of the extreme right has caused a reappraisal of its relationship with mainstream Australian politics. Much of the extreme right came to see itself as a body committed to revolutionary change. As a result radical-right groups have become more oppositional and suspicious of the establishment. Admittedly this process has been less noticeable in the case of the League of
Rights. A hangover from the late 1940s, the League has been cast to
the periphery of politics but has still been supplanted by more
militant radical-right groups like the CEC.

Another significant change, in part a reflection of the progressive
alienation of the far right, has been the move away from organised,
clearly defined groups, toward an increasing reliance upon informal
associations and individual activists. The secret armies of the 1930s
through to the Social Credit, anticommunist and neo-Nazi groups
of the 1950s and 1960s all coalesced around a group of ideas and
found common cause within some organisational framework. Even
a maverick individualist like Frank Browne sought to direct his
political energies through a formal organisation, the Australian
Party. This is not to say that highly organised groups like the CEC
do not still have a place, only that their ability to dominate the
direction that the far right moves in has been considerably diluted.

This move away from tighter organisational structures appears to
be partly the result of the instability from which so many groups on
the extreme right suffered. Internecine squabbling, the ‘everyone
wants to be Führer’ syndrome, has destroyed many radical-right
groups that otherwise showed promise. The far right’s concerns
about the dangers of infiltration and subversion by the state,
whether real or imagined, has also helped to destabilise groups.
Working alone to attempt to influence the direction of radical-right
thinking may well have its advantages.
Technology has played its part in this evolution. Through the 1950s, 1960s and to a lesser extent the 1970s the costs and equipment associated with publishing and distributing material were substantially higher. Some level of organisation was necessary to defray the costs of undertaking these activities. The widespread introduction of computers and photocopiers resulting in a decrease in their relative cost has meant that activists can now quite feasibly publish and distribute literature and polemic from a home office. While costs could still be significant, subscriptions and donations meant that an individual’s message could have a wide distribution. This was especially noticeable with Peter Sawyer. The Queensland activist operated with not much more than a photocopier and computer software to prepare and print his newsletter. He received subscriptions and donations to support himself and many of his followers used their photocopiers to reproduce the newsletter and distribute it even more widely. As has been noted, recently the internet has become an even cheaper means by which activists can disseminate their message.

The membership of the extreme right has also evolved. The nature of groups like the New Guard, with its middle class members of ex-service background, or the Old Guard with its upper class leadership, no longer holds true with the far right. It is a cruel but accurate observation that the far right has more than its fair share of political nobodies and the dispossessed. High profile supporters as evinced by Ted Serong’s patronage of the AUSI Freedom Scouts
became rare indeed. Again this reflects the alienation of the radical right. For anyone that wants to form a successful political career, open association with the radical right is professional suicide.

One of the most striking developments of the far right’s ideas has been in its move away from simple anticommunism toward a more complete antipathy toward the values and attitudes of contemporary Australian politics. With the implosion of the left, anticommunism is no longer a central element in much radical-right thinking. An example of this has been the development of the red/brown or National Bolshevik alliance. Conversely, the centrality of conspiracy in the far-right’s thinking has not changed. If anything conspiracy has become even more important to the far-right’s critique of society. As a result it might be argued that the conspiracies have become even wilder and more encompassing then ever before. This has been apparent with groups like the CEC and individuals like Peter Sawyer.

More recently sections of the far right have attempted to make their conspiracy views more acceptable by the use of pseudo-scientific arguments. Groups such as the Christian far right and Holocaust denial groups have used the ‘results’ of allegedly scientific arguments and analysis to ‘prove’ their contentions. Holocaust deniers have claimed that analysis of materials removed from the gas chambers of the death camps ‘proved’ that no such extermination had occurred. The ‘Creation Science’ groups claim
that their scientific methods have also ‘proved’ their ‘young earth’
theory. These methods have raised the ire of many in the scientific
community who have comprehensively and conclusively debunked
these claims, yet they continue to resurface. As a tactic they have
proved remarkably effective while the evidence suggests that they
have given many people cause to doubt two historically and
scientifically proven facts, namely that the Holocaust did occur and
that evolution is not just a theory. However for these far-right
groups the political capital in the employment of such disreputable
tactics is far more important than the problem of falsifying
evidence. In one case the Bible can be ‘proven’ to be without error
and in the other Adolf Hitler can be rehabilitated with a
concomitant revenge to be extracted against Jewish people and
Israel.

One notable feature of the ideas of the far right has been the way in
which ideas that were far right twenty, thirty or even fifty years ago
have become acceptable, while others that were acceptable have
become the province of the far right. In the 1950s when Frank
Brown wrote disparagingly of ‘darkies’ and ‘bhoongs’ he escaped
censure. Today it is unthinkable to use such derogatory terms.
Conversely, when the advertising magnate John Singleton lent his
name to the libertarian Rip Van Australia in the mid 1970s, it seemed
an extreme vision. Today under the mandates of economic
rationalism much of what Singleton and his co-author advocated
has become orthodox.
As chronicled in this thesis, overseas influences have played a significant role in the development of the Australian extreme right. The Scottish originated Social Credit movement has been a feature of the Australian far right since the 1930s. Neo-Nazis flourished briefly in the 1960s and 1970s. Its sibling, the Holocaust denial movement largely takes its cues from groups like the Institute for Historical Review in the United States and individuals such as the British historian, David Irving. The Christian far right has essentially mimicked its more successful counterparts in the United States. The Australian CEC is almost wholly a branch office for the American Lyndon LaRouche. While their origins are not domestic in some cases the foreign derivation of these groups does not always mean that they have failed to adapt to local conditions. Through the League of Rights, Australia might currently be counted as the world’s pre-eminent centre for Social Credit. While the CEC is primarily focussed on LaRouche it also has shaped its message to relate to Australian conditions.

In terms of the literature of the far right, local groups have decreased their reliance upon foreign sourced materials as a greater corpus of locally produced work has become available. For the early neo-Nazis, for instance, material mostly obtained from the United States was recycled for local use. Some groups still rely almost exclusively on foreign sources for their output, such as the Christian Identity churches. In other areas groups have evolved their output to give it an Australian flavour. For Social Credit, Eric Butler’s
CONCLUSION

considerable number of books and pamphlets now at least matches that of C.H. Douglas.

In Australian terms there has been a local contribution to the wider international extreme right. For example the works of Alexander Rudd Mills have become important to the esoteric neo-Nazi movement. The most significant development, however, was the anti-immigration and racial nationalist movement which pre dated the development of such groups in other parts of the world. In this respect, groups like National Action were the antipodean counterparts of groups that formed in other countries like the British National Party. What has also been true is that the international extreme right has shown more interest in the fortunes and ideas of sister organisations around the world and this international debate and cooperation is continuing. For example American white supremacist groups were interested in the fortunes of Pauline Hanson whom they saw as a like minded and successful political operative.

The minor and major activists of the Australian extreme right have been canvassed in this thesis. Many of the minor activists passed almost without recognition, though other more important members, Eric Butler and Peter Sawyer, for instance, did from time to time have an impact on wider society. Through dedication and hard work, with perhaps some luck, such activists assumed a prominent position in the broader political oeuvre, albeit in Sawyer’s case
extremely fleetingly. Antipathy by the media has meant that most far-right activists rarely feature in print or on the airwaves.

A more profound question is how to judge the endeavours of the extreme right. Almost with one voice, for example, the far right has opposed immigration from non-traditional sources, at least since the late 1960s. From the 1970s it has opposed the policy of multiculturalism. Since the 1980s the far right has opposed Native Title issues and what it saw as the preferential treatment towards Aborigines. When Pauline Hanson articulated many of these issues to a far wider audience than has generally been accorded any section of the radical right, they resonated with a large number of Australians who accordingly voted for Hanson. At the very least it must be the case that the extreme right played a significant role in promoting these views. Hanson did not invent these grievances. Rather she reflected populist notions that were then in currency in large parts of Australia.

The far right might best be judged as a creeping disseminator of dissident views. As has been noted in several places in this thesis these ideas are most widely heard during times of economic hardship, however they are spread continually via the publications and contacts of the far right. They constantly question the motives of the State’s actions and powers accusing the authorities of crimes including treason. Accordingly, it seems that among a fairly large percentage of the population, possibly up to ten per cent judging
from Hanson’s support, some of these ideas are accepted. When some of these notions then gain the approval of influential columnists and talkback radio announcers with influence they are further reinforced for some members of the community. Right-wing ideas can be insinuated very slowly.

The evidence gathered in this thesis suggests that while the radical right has not represented a threat to liberal democracy in the time frame that has been studied, nor has it been an inconsequential force in challenging some of the precepts of liberal democracy. These challenges mainly relate to its questioning of the motives, worth and integrity of the democratic system of governance. Some level of skepticism is of course a healthy characteristic of a democracy. More objectionable is the basis on which the far right has promoted this conflated cynicism with skepticism. The far right has insinuated the idea that politicians are traitors who like to subvert people’s freedom and destroy ‘true’ Australian culture. Along the way the extreme right has also promoted racial intolerance and antisemitism and encouraged acts of violence toward minorities together with the distribution of what is accurately described as hate literature.

The foundations of Australian culture and society are not set to crumble at this onslaught by the far right. However, if the far right is accepted as a persistent force of dissident and sometimes subversive ideas then further scholarly study of the subject is
merited. One area that is noticeably lacking in this country is a biographical political dictionary of the right, which should include entries on the extreme right. Such a work would be a valuable aid to researchers and teachers. Work on the followers of the far right, rather than the leaders, might also provide valuable insights into this political phenomenon. In the end, of course, extremism of any kind, political or religious, cannot be eliminated though a greater understanding might mitigate its influence.

This thesis has shown the far right as an unstable and fissiparous body who have nevertheless been a constant feature of the Australian political landscape. The concerns of the far right have evolved over the half-century this thesis has tried to chronicle. In the 1950s groups were largely concerned with the threat they saw posed by communism and attempted to disseminate their views through alliances with fringe elements of the major conservative parties. Unlike their pre-Second World War counterparts, the composition of the far-right’s membership became more marginal as did their relationship with mainstream political views. Each successive decade had its own characteristic examples of extreme-right activism. In the 1960s the neo-Nazi movement, in the 1970s the rise of the anti-immigration movement, in the 1980s Christian fundamentalism, Holocaust denial and an indigenous stream of neo-Fascist activity. The 1990s were notable for the extreme-right’s attempts to gain electoral representation which, the thesis argues, was a factor in the success Pauline Hanson would achieve at the
1996 federal plebiscite. Through this examination the thesis has attempted to demonstrate that despite its fractious nature and intermittent appeal it has influenced a significant minority of Australia's population.
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A HISTORY OF THE
AUSTRALIAN EXTREME
RIGHT SINCE 1950

by Peter Charles Henderson
BA (Hons) Macquarie

A thesis submitted
in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
December 2002

School of Humanities
University of Western Sydney
PLEASE NOTE

The greatest amount of care has been taken while scanning this thesis,

and the best possible result has been obtained.
STATEMENT OF AUTHENTICATION

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text. I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other institution

[Signature]

Peter Charles Henderson
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ABBREVIATIONS

AAFI ...................... Australians Against Further Immigration
ABC ................... Australian Broadcasting Commission (later Corporation)
ACP ........................ Australian Conservative Party
ACT ........................ Australian Capital Territory
ADC ........................ B’nai B’rith Anti-Defamation Commission
AIF ............................ Australian Imperial Force
AINR ........................ Australian International News Review
ALP ............................ Australian Labor Party
ANA ........................ Australian National Alliance
ANM ........................ Australian Nationalist Movement
APL ............................ Australian Protective League
APM ............................ Australian Populist Movement
ASIO ........................ Australian Security Intelligence Organization
ATSIC .................. Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islanders Commission
AUSI .................. Australians United for Survival and Individual Freedom
BNP ........................... British National Party
BUF ............................ British Union of Fascists
CACC ..................... Christian Anti-Communism Crusade
CAP ............................ Confederate Action Party
CARE ..................... Campaign Against Regressive Education
CEC ............................ Citizens Electoral Councils
CIA .......................... Central Intelligence Agency
CIR ............................ Citizens’ Initiated Referenda
CIS .......................... Commonwealth Investigation Service
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Communist Party of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSR</td>
<td>Colonial Sugar Refining Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLP</td>
<td>Democratic Labor Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICA</td>
<td>Immigration Control Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IG</td>
<td>IG Farbenindustrie Aktiengesellschaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>Institute of Public Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MACOS</td>
<td>Man: A Course of Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHR</td>
<td>Member of the House of Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAA</td>
<td>National Archives of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSPA</td>
<td>National Socialist Party of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBI</td>
<td>Peoples Bureau of Investigation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCP</td>
<td>Progressive Conservative Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Progressive Nationalist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PU</td>
<td>People's Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QC</td>
<td>Queen's Counsel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAAF</td>
<td>Royal Australian Air Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RSL</td>
<td>Returned Services League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADAF</td>
<td>South African Defence and Aid Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SADCA</td>
<td>South African Defence Campaign of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDL</td>
<td>Sane Democracy League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMP</td>
<td>Social Education Materials Project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>Schutzstaffeln</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STOP</td>
<td>Society To Outlaw Pornography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UFO</td>
<td>Unidentified Flying Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
UN ................................................................. United Nations
US ................................................................. United States of America
USA ................................................................. United States of America
USSR ............................................................... Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VPA ................................................................. Voters Policy Associations
WACL ............................................................... World Anti-Communist League
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A work of this nature involves the assistance and advice of many people. I would like to thank the far-right activists who gave their time and shared their knowledge and archival material. Of special note are Dr James Saleam, Mr Arthur Smith, Mr and Mrs Eric Butler, Mr Craig Isherwood, Pastor Colin Grigg, Mr Geoff Muirden and Mr David Thompson. They were generous with their time and while our politics differ they were happy to share their thoughts.

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During the course of the preparation of this thesis my mother Vera died at the age of sixty-four from a cerebral aneurysm. Unlike much of the rest of my family Vera was not a member of the right, just a decent and caring person. It is to her memory that I dedicate this thesis.
ABSTRACT

This thesis is a narrative history of the major groups and individuals on the Australian extreme right since 1950. It assesses their genesis, growth, successes and failures. The work examines these origins in regard to both Australia’s domestic situation and international influences on the extreme right. This thesis has relied extensively on primary documents, official government records and the testimony of leading members of the extreme right.

Chapter one examines the groups that emerged in the post World War Two period. It concludes that they were significantly different in terms of personnel and ideas from the groups that had preceded them. Chapter two examines the Social Credit movement and the Australian League of Rights. It argues that the League’s alleged hegemony over the Australian extreme right has been exaggerated and that the group is in decline. Chapter three examines the neo-Nazi and fascist groups and concludes that while their ideas remain powerful, only the Holocaust denial movement remains viable. Chapter four examines the anti-immigration and racial nationalist groups. It argues that these represented one of the most powerful areas in which the extreme right operated and were a genuine attempt by some sections to forge a viable indigenous movement. Chapter five examines the Christian extreme right and its successes in the 1980s and 1990s.

Chapters six and eight examine the importance of individual activists on the extreme right. They argue that the role of these individuals will continue as an important element of extreme right
activity. Chapter eight also examines the rise and fall of the Confederate Action Party. It concludes that while it represented a potentially powerful political force internecine fighting destroyed the movement. With the individual activists it built a constituency, especially in Queensland, which formed the basis of Pauline Hanson’s support. Chapter seven examines the Citizens Electoral Councils. It argues they are representative of a cult like movement which has the potential to promote dissent in society. It may replace the League of Rights as one of the more important groups of the extreme right. Chapter nine examines Pauline Hanson and One Nation and concludes that while Hanson was not a member of the extreme right her movement was a magnet for them and eventually proved damaging to the extreme right.

The conclusion contends that the extreme right is an under researched phenomenon which has exerted a significant negative influence over Australian society. Its evolution has reflected both national and international trends. While it did not constitute a threat to the status quo it did influence a significant section of Australian society.
INTRODUCTION

The aim of this work is to present a narrative history and analysis of the primary manifestations of the extreme right within Australia from the 1950s to the present. Australian historical writing lacks a comprehensive treatment of the subject. There have been studies made of individual groups, most notably the Australian League of Rights and Pauline Hanson’s One Nation movement. However, these generally have failed to place their subjects into a wider historical perspective or have descended into ideological condemnations which do little to further an understanding of why the groups emerged, their links with other groups and the reasons for their successes and failures.

Having said this Andrew Moore’s 1995 study *The Right Road?* provides a reliable overview of right-wing politics in Australia. Constrained, however, by space and the scope of its subject (from 1788 to 1995) this

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study was unable to examine topics on the extreme right in any detail. To date it is the only attempt to cover the subject fully.

Recently two important academic contributions have been made on the subject. These are James Saleam’s ‘The Other Radicalism: An Inquiry into Contemporary Australian Extreme Right Ideology, Politics and Organization 1975-1995’ and Daniel Ben-Moshe’s, ‘An Assessment of the Characteristics, Methodologies and Racist Beliefs of, and Interaction between Organised Racist Groups in Australia.’ Both are examples of activists contributing to the academic literature. At least part of Saleam’s thesis was reflected upon in unusual circumstances. As head of National Action, Dr Saleam served a gaol sentence for his disputed role in the firebombing of African National Congress representative Eddie Funde’s house. For his part Dr Ben-Moshe was an executive officer of the Jewish anti-fascist organisation, the B’nai B’rith Anti-Defamation Commission (ADC) and his thesis reflects access to that organisation’s files.

These are significant contributions but even so the relative dearth of Australian material on right-wing politics might be compared to the considerable number of studies that have been made of left-wing politics in this country or the large and growing corpus of works on the far right in both the United States and Europe. The present thesis aims

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6 For a succinct overview of the far right in the United States see, John George & Laird Wilcox, Nazis, Communists, Klansmen and Others on the Fringe. Political Extremism in
to contribute to this truncated literature and to address similar questions to those raised by Andrew Moore in *The Right Road?* How did the extreme right evolve? How have its ideas developed? What overseas influences have shaped the extreme right? Who were some of the minor and major activists of the right whose dedication to the cause has helped shape the movement? How should we judge the results of their endeavours? Does the extreme right represent a threat to liberal democracy?

A number of works have explored the issues that propel individuals to take up cudgels for the extreme right. The most well known study of this phenomenon remains Richard Hofstadter's 1963 work on the 'paranoid style.' Hofstadter surmised that this style was characterised by individuals who felt persecuted and systematised their grievances 'in grandiose theories of conspiracy.' Where clinical signs of the

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paranoid resulted in 'overheated, oversuspicious, overaggressive, grandiose and apocalyptic' ideas in relation to the individual the political 'spokesman of the paranoid style finds it directed against a nation, a culture, a way of life whose fate affects not himself alone but millions of others.'

Hofstadter's observations are still relevant to this thesis. The paranoid style described by Hofstadter can be easily applied to several of the studies in this thesis. Chapter six, for example, details the brief political career of Peter Allen Sawyer and is almost a textbook example of both the clinical and political aspects of this paranoia. Other examples abound in the following chapters of the ways in which the exponents of this political style have warned of 'threats' to the nation and its citizens. Hofstadter attempted to abstract the basic elements of this style and in most of his examples a parallel can be made with groups and individuals within Australia: Conspiracy is not a 'motive force' in history rather history is conspiracy (see, for example the discussion in chapter 2 on Eric Butler). "Apocalyptic warnings arouse passion and militancy' (see, for example chapter 5 and the Christian Far Right). 'A fundamental paradox of the paranoid style is imitation of the enemy' and admiration for their organisation. This was a notable feature of National Action discussed in chapter 4.

Hofstadter's observations as to how the paranoid style asserts itself are most important to this thesis.

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8 ibid., p. 4.
9 ibid., p. 29.
10 ibid., p. 30.
11 ibid., pp. 32 - 33.
The recurrence of the paranoid style over a long span of time and in different places suggests that a mentality disposed to see the world in the paranoid's way may always be present in some considerable minority of the population. But the fact that movements employing the paranoid style are not constant but come in successive episodic waves suggests that the paranoid disposition is mobilized into action chiefly by social conflict that involve ultimate schemes of values and that bring fundamental fears and hatreds, rather than negotiable interests, into political action. Catastrophe or the fear of catastrophe is most likely to elicit the syndrome of paranoid rhetoric. 12

The following chapters show this process in action. For instance chapter 4 describes the reaction by the radical right to the end of 'white Australia' and the beginning of widespread immigration from non-traditional sources. Here the threat to the Australian nation was a common theme, along with catastrophic results to the fabric of the country. The only observation which should be added to Hofstadter's remarks as a theoretical construct of the extreme right is that while a substantial minority of the population can be drawn to embrace extremist ideas, there always exists a small but dedicated group who continue to advance these views. The operation of the Australian League of Rights, discussed in chapter 2, is one such example.

Despite their venerable status Hofstadter's views have attracted little criticism over the years 13 and remain germane to an understanding of the radical right in all its manifestations. Contemporary to Hofstadter's views was the study by the social psychologist Hans Toch on the motivations of individuals to join social movements, including extremist groups. 14 Toch examined, among other things, the 'dynamics of disaffection,' the motivations to join groups and the attractions of

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12 Ibid., p. 39.
conspiracy theory. While his study covered similar ground to Hofstadter's, Toch remained preoccupied with membership of the Left and while his views can be applied to the far right they do not advance or detract from Hofstadter's ideas on the paranoid style. A more valuable recent study by another social psychologist is Raphael Ezekiel's *The Racist Mind* discussed below.

Roger Griffin has also sought to explain the 'psychological dynamics of Fascism.' For Griffin,

the affective basis of all ideologies can be located in the perennial neuro-psychological human drive to find a sense of belonging. This drive is fulfilled through the medium of myths capable of providing a powerful experience of self-transcendence which immunises people from the sense of isolation, impotence and absurdity which might otherwise engulf them.\(^6\)

Griffin's concerns were essentially with Fascist thinking that he sees emerging when certain conditions are met. 'Palingenetic ultranationalism' a feature of Fascist thought arises with the 'conjunction of ideological factors' including '(i) the rebirth myth, (ii) populist ultra-nationalism and (iii) the myth of decadence.' Griffin's ideas are especially relevant to the development of the anti-immigration groups and the foundation of Australian National Action discussed in chapter 4. National Action certainly formed as a reaction to these three preconditions. More generally Griffin's ideas of the psychological preconditions complements Hofstadter's earlier studies to suggest that an attraction to extremism reflect an individual's psychological make-up. The biographical sections in the following chapters supports Griffin's ideas of this 'self-transcendence' in the

\(^{16}\) ibid.
\(^{17}\) ibid., p. 201.
actions and ideas of the people who have and do lead the Australian radical-right.

Most radical-right groups have failed to attract or sustain a mass or even moderate following. Perhaps this partly explains the lack of scholarly interest in the subject. Conversely the proliferation of books and articles on Pauline Hanson parallels her support at the polls. Hanson sprung to prominence in 1996 when she won the nominally Labor seat of Oxley in Queensland after losing her Liberal Party preselection. Despite an unstable political career, Hanson managed to form her own party, One Nation and aligned herself with a number of populist and far-right causes. In the process Hanson and One Nation received more scrutiny than any other far-right group in Australian history. Similarly the League of Rights, a Social Credit group with strong antisemitic and conspiracy leanings, has gained some notoriety in part, through its longevity.

Nevertheless, researchers in this area would be accustomed to a general apathy toward and ignorance of the Australian far right. National Party Senator Ron Boswell, who has monitored and warned of the extreme right over a number of years, is a notable exception (see chapter 6) as is the author and historian Mark Aarons.¹⁸ While the communist newspaper Tribune has not been extensively used it too has warned against the dangers posed by the far right. Many politicians, who might be expected to have a concern about such groups, seem

disinterested in extremist politics. Despite, or perhaps because of this ignorance, a number have been linked with far-right groups.

The problem of studying the Australian extreme right is exacerbated by debate over exactly what it constitutes. The left-right dichotomy of the conventional political spectrum is at best imprecise and often subjective. A more satisfactory model that is circular and notes commonalities between the far left and right is discussed below. There is also a tendency to label groups with titles like ‘neo-Nazi’ as a form of censure even when the group has no links or sympathies toward Nazism. This name-calling has originated not only on the left but on the right where terms like ‘femi-Nazi’, reputedly coined by US talk back radio personality Rush Limbaugh to describe feminists, has gained currency.

In terms of this thesis the extreme right has been defined to incorporate a number of common characteristics.\(^{19}\) The extreme-right worldview generally supports the capitalist system, especially the sanctity of private property and support for petty commodity production though many sections are antagonistic toward corporate and financial capital. In this sense the right’s support is often for the small entrepreneur (farmers, tradespeople and so on) as opposed to large corporations, particularly multi-national companies. The right supports an idyllic nationalism that mostly romanticises Australian history. It is almost invariably opposed to Australia’s elites in politics and business. While it is rarely overtly totalitarian in its stated aims, the adoption of the far-

\(^{19}\) For the purposes of this thesis the terms ‘far right,’ ‘radical right’ and ‘extreme right’ will be used to mean the same thing.
right's program would inevitably result in dramatic changes to the
country which would see a far-reaching shift in Australia's political,
business and social norms. This attribute clearly distinguishes the
extreme right from conservative groups, as does its general antipathy
toward ideologies such as 'economic rationalism.' Virtually all extreme-
right groups express hostility toward socialist or left-wing politics.

Two other significant characteristics of the far right are also worth
noting. With the exception of some groups on the Christian right
racism is a feature that clearly separates these groups from mainstream
conservatism. Racist sentiments are best illustrated by antisemitism,
though not all groups adopt an anti-Jewish platform. In some instances
racist ideas are presented as a xenophobic reaction or as an attempt to
retain Australia as 'Australian.' In other groups, especially those with
antisemitic ideas, these outside groups are 'exposed' as threatening
Australia or being actively engaged in a conspiracy against Australia
and/or the western world.

The final attribute of every group in the present study, with the
exception of National Action, a racial-nationalist group, is the reliance
upon conspiracy theory. Conspiracy theories are not by their nature
necessarily political. Nor do they need to be the exclusive province of
either the left or right wings of politics. If the popularity of conspiracy
sites on the internet or the large array of books on the subject is any
guide, conspiracy theories transcend politics.\(^\text{20}\) Conspiracy theories

\(^{20}\) For examples of recent books written by conspiracy theorists see Milton William Cooper,
*Behold a Pale Horse*, Light Technology Publishing, Sedona, 1991 and A. Ralph Epperson,
*The Unseen Hand. An Introduction to the Conspiratorial View of History*, Publius Press,
Tucson, 1985. Both are lengthy books that lack credible evidence and stretch the credulity of
seem popular as a means to understand complex events, mixed with a
deal of skepticism about the motives of different people. Conspiracy
theorists view mainstream historians as recording a series of events
that simply happen without perceiving the underlying hand of
malevolent intriguers. As the author of a book on conspiracies argues
there are two versions of history: the ‘Accidental View of history:
historical events occur by accident, for no apparent reason’ and the
‘Conspiratorial View of History: historical events occur by design for
reasons that are not generally made known to the people.’

As a political tool conspiracy theories have a number of uses. For the
leaders of right-wing groups, knowledge of these conspiracies gives
them a certain amount of power, both as a prophet and as a person
who can stand up to the conspirators. For the group it gives them an
inside knowledge of events and why they happen. It is a tool with
which to proselytise for new adherents to the cause. In more extreme
cases conspiracy theories can act as a call to arms. Frequently,
knowledge of a conspiracy is paraded as a warning to other
Australians of impending doom or detriment, positing the group as
earnest potential saviours.

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the reader. Nevertheless both have had some influence on the far right. The best known
conspiracy theory is probably still *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* available in many
different editions. Nesta Webster’s *World Revolution. The Plot Against Civilisation*, Omni
Publications, Palmade, 1994, like the *Protocols* is a classic of the genre and despite first being
published in 1921 has gone through many editions. For World Wide Web sites typing
conspiracy into a search engine reveals a huge quantity of material. The site
http://www.snopes.com rates current conspiracy theories on the web as true, false or to be
determined.

21 Epperson, op. cit., p. 6.
22 Cooper, op. cit., p. 37, tells his readers that they, ‘are fully justified in taking whatever steps
may be necessary, including violence, to identify, counterattack, and destroy the enemy [the
Illuminati].’
In such a complex, technological age it seems surprising that a relatively unsophisticated approach like a conspiracy theory could hold much attraction. Conspiracy theories may vary in their level of sophistication, but on the whole they have much in common with medieval admonitions of hellish torture and satanic intrigues. It is outside the scope of this thesis to examine the attractions of this peculiar predilection other than to note the way in which the mass media pander to these ideas. There is a darker side to this conspiracy milieu. In 1995 Matthew Kalman and John Murray published an article questioning the links between the New Age and Green Movements with the extreme right. The Australian magazine Nexus was singled out as having made an impact in Britain. Nexus was said to be promoting the agenda of the US militia movement and an influence on the British conspiracy theorist David Icke. More generally, Kalman and Murray warned that the New Age and Green movements needed to become ‘aware of the racist and neo-Nazi thinking’ promoted by such journals. Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke follows Kalman and Murray, when he notes the links between what he calls ‘esoteric Nazism’ and the conspiracy industry.

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23 Television shows such as The X Files are devoted to conspiracy theories. Popular magazines uncritically promote astrology, numerology and clairvoyants. After the terrorist attack that destroyed New York’s World Trade Center in September 2001 it was reported that Nostradamus was popular after a bogus email reported he had predicted the tragedy. See Amy Harmon, “The Search for Intelligent Life on the Internet,” at http://www.crikey.com.au/media/webcrap.html on 25 September 2001.


25 For a humorous view of Icke and his beliefs see Jon Ronson, Them. Adventures With Extremists, Picador, London, 2001, pp. 142 – 173. Icke believes the Bilderburg group is central to the New World Order conspiracy but considers that it is ruled by twelve feet high lizards. Icke seems to have developed a significant following. Ronson’s book is at times a challenging view of extremists and why they have developed their views.

Antisemitism both as conspiracy and as fact, is an emotive issue not only with the far right but also in wider society.\textsuperscript{27} The Spectator columnist, Petronella Wyatt, observed that antisemitism had become fashionable in some London circles after the destruction of the World Trade Centre towers in New York.\textsuperscript{28} The London Daily Telegraph columnist Barbara Amiel revealed that a diplomat had called Israel a ‘shitty little country’ whose policies could help cause a world war. The diplomat was later revealed to be the French ambassador Daniel Bernard.\textsuperscript{29} In Australia the ABC radio presenter Terry Lane was attacked for his unrepentant antisemitism.\textsuperscript{30} Worldwide conspiracy mills have worked overtime in equating the events of 11 September with Jewish agents, no more so than in some Islamic quarters.\textsuperscript{31} Certainly antisemitism or even suspicion of Jewish motives has been a constant feature of political life. On the far right, as previously noted, it is sometimes a core part of the beliefs of groups like the Australian League of Rights. Nonetheless, antisemitism is not a ‘compulsory’ attribute of far-right groups though its reach is deep into ‘respectable society.’ Both on and beyond the extremes of politics, the Jews as a


\textsuperscript{29} Petronella Wyatt, ‘Poisonous prejudice,’ The Spectator, 8 December, 2001, p. 72.


\textsuperscript{31} The Indonesian Islamic cleric Abu Bakar Bashir has been quoted as claiming that the terrorist attack on 11 September 2001 ‘was a Jewish conspiracy, hatched with the aid of former secretary of state Henry Kissenger.’ See Don Greenles, ‘Unlikely advocate of evil,’ The Australian, 5 February 2002. This and similar conspiracies about 11 September bear a resemblance to some neo-Nazi views of what they call Jew York and the idea that the United States is run by Jews.
people and the state of Israel seem to be judged on different criteria to other people and nations.

Allegations of antisemitism are often defended by resorting to a defence of being anti-Zionist. Literally this would mean being opposed to either the establishment or even the continuing existence of Israel. Anti-Zionism has been a feature of some elements of the Jewish left, as well as, of other disparate groups who fall outside the parameters of this thesis. For the extreme right anti-Zionism is sometimes a convenient label appropriated to disguise antisemitism. The real sentiments of the far right can often be discerned in their comparison between Israel’s policies toward the Palestinians with the racial ideas of Nazi Germany. Such accusations are baseless and no doubt intended to cause offence.

A great deal of modern antisemitism rests on the infamous forgery The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. This work has gone through a number of printings and has found its way into every corner of the globe. Norman Cohn summarises The Protocols as containing,

three main themes: a critique of liberalism; an analysis of the methods by which world-domination is to be achieved by the Jews; and a description of the world-state which is to be established. These themes are interwoven in a most confusing manner, but on the whole it can be said that the first two themes predominate in the first nine ‘protocols’, while the remaining fifteen ‘protocols’ are devoted mainly to a prophecy of the coming kingdom.33

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33 Cohen, op. cit., p. 67.
The *Protocols* undoubtedly remain the basis for much anti-Jewish sentiment on the Australian far right. However, some groups have interpreted the *Protocols* as pertaining to groups other than the Jews.\(^{34}\)

Some far-right groups resent the activities of the ADC and publications like *The Review*. To many on the far right this is seen as spying and a deliberate misrepresentation of their views. Referring to the nomenclature employed by such Jewish groups, one radical nationalist expressed his disdain of the ADC in memorable terms: 'I don’t mind being called a fascist but when they label me a fucking Nazi then they want a fight.'\(^{35}\)

Conspiracies like the *Protocols* or ones based on a mistrust of government and/or authority no doubt find some resonance within wider society. Falsehoods can gain currency or acceptance if enough people keep on promoting them. This, in turn, ensures that even the most bizarre theories peddled on the far right will always find an audience.

If a linear model is adopted for the political spectrum then clearly some groups are further to the right than others. The League of Rights shares concerns with conservative groups and its members have often been linked with the National Party (formerly the Country Party). Other groups like the Citizens Electoral Councils,\(^{36}\) a member of American

\(^{34}\) Peter Sawyer, for instance rejected Jews as the authors of the *Protocols*. See chapter 6.

\(^{35}\) Confidential source.

\(^{36}\) It might be noted that the name of this group suggests that 'citizens' should take an apostrophe as in the 'Citizen's Electoral Councils.' To my knowledge this group has never used an apostrophe.
Lyndon LaRouche's worldwide network, dubbed by the American writer Dennis King, the 'new American fascism,' share virtually no common ground with mainstream politics and would be placed further to the right than the League. If a circular model of the political spectrum is adopted, groups like National Action could be placed where the far left meets the far right. Some of National Action's colleagues on the far right bracket National Action with the far left. The waters are further muddied by concepts such as that of National Bolshevism or the Red-Brown Alliance where the aims of both the far left and far right are quite plausibly compatible. Strasserite arguments, that resemble some of the concerns more associated with the far Left and which advocate anti-capitalist and working class mobilisation are current at the fringes of politics.

Aside from racism and the use of conspiracy theories some of the attributes of the extreme right could be compared with those of the so called New Right. As the historian Stuart Macintyre argues, Their supporters used that designation, the New Right, to distinguish themselves from the older, more pragmatic conservatives, ... As champions of market freedom and unrelenting enemies of socialism ... they reinvigorated right-wing politics but they emphatically repudiated conservatism. They regarded themselves as the true radicals, the agents of change.39

37 See chapter 7.
38 See chapter 4.
39 Gregor Strasser (1892 – 1934) was a prominent member of the Nazi Party until disagreements with Hitler caused his estrangement. He was shot by the SS during the purge known as the 'Night of the Long Knives' where Hitler also had Ernst Röhm eliminated. Along with his brother Otto (1897 – 1974) Gregor, 'developed a more radical form of National Socialism ... appealing to a younger generation and picking up the anti-capitalist points from the party programme.' Their program was 'presented as a national 'German' idealist form of socialism' in opposition to the platform of the Marxists. See Alan Bullock, Hitler and Stalin Parallel Lives, Harper Collins, London, 1992, p. 169. Gregor was dubbed the 'Trotsky of the Nazi Party.' See Rees, op. cit., p. 376.
A HISTORY OF THE AUSTRALIAN EXTREME RIGHT

The policies of the New Right have indeed radically changed the country and their vision might be regarded as extreme. However while there may be points of convergence between the extreme and new right their visions are ultimately divergent. While the New Right has championed globalism, economic rationalism and market reform the radical right has attacked all three. Essentially these two facets of the right wing are separate entities and while this thesis has recorded some links between the two groups the New Right has not been included in this study.

For many activists association with the far right is a life’s work. Far from seeing themselves as extremists the leaders of these groups often portray themselves as ‘freedom fighters.’ They are either warning their fellow citizens of dire plots against them or enticing their followers on the path to some imagined Nirvana. However, the career of the extreme right-wing activist is not a road to fortune or acclaim. They face a hostile reception and are marginalised and vilified (albeit with good reason).

The former neo-Nazi Arthur Charles Smith, a minor celebrity in Sydney in the 1960s and 1970s, faces an uncertain future. When I visited him at his home in Lithgow in 2000 I was struck by his tenuous existence, his poor health and his impoverished state; a far cry from the Führer who had regaled and shocked Sydney forty years earlier. Others like Eric Butler, whom I interviewed at the League of Rights’ offices in Melbourne, may have done marginally better in material
terms. Yet while he may enjoy a comfortable middle class existence, he is shunned by most of the political world he has sought to influence.

Proponents of the far right do not differ from other people who harbour strong beliefs. Like evangelical Christians or the more committed members of political parties, activists at the leadership level are keen to share their views with others. Most believe fervently in the veracity of their ideas. One of the striking aspects of the research undertaken for this thesis was the openness and accessibility of many on the far right. The opinions and motivations of the foot soldiers, however, may depart from their leaders. This is one possible area for further research. The marginalisation of extreme-right activists may be legitimate, though equally they would claim a right to be heard. This seems a valid request in a liberal democracy where the right to free speech is important.

Much of this thesis focuses on potted biographies of political losers, so much so that questions might arise about the point and purpose of this dissertation. Does the extreme right merit much attention or any further study?

It is true that most of the studies that are included in this thesis are of political losers. The muckraker journalist, Frank Browne, ended his life a drunken object of scorn. Cass Young, the Melbourne Führer died of heroin addiction, destitute and ignored. The Christian polemicist, Howard Carter, succumbed to cancer after his sexual shenanigans were

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41 Raphael S. Ezekiel, The Racist Mind. Portraits of American Neo-Nazis and Klansmen, Viking, New York, 1995 is such a study
revealed and his church group dumped him. On the other hand, although at individual levels the cause of the far right has been largely unsuccessful, the right has remained a constant feature of Australian politics. Over the course of this study from 1950 to the present, voting patterns suggest that somewhere between five and ten per cent of the population endorses at least some of the ideas that the far right has put forward. While this support has been split between different groups there is nonetheless a constant groundswell of support for right-wing agendas and causes. Therefore understanding the far right provides a legitimate insight into the character of Australian politics.

The strongly biographical nature of this thesis may also be of concern to the reader. Professor Ian Kershaw talks of his reluctance as a structuralist historian to undertake a historical biography but nevertheless completed a massive work on Adolf Hitler. Central to his understanding of Hitler was that man’s ‘charismatic leadership’ – a notion [of Max Weber] which looks to explanations of this extraordinary form of political domination. As with Hitler’s control of Germany, the contemporary Australian far right is dominated by individuals. The following chapters demonstrate this aspect with reference to individuals such as Eric Butler of the League of Rights, Frank Browne of the Australian Party, Jim Saleam of National Action and lone activists like Peter Sawyer and Tony Pitt. Hence this biographical approach.

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One of the most salient points in favour of continuing research on the far right is the power and resilience of the ideas groups espouse. The far-right critique essentially opposes the tenets of liberal democracy and pluralism as they have developed in modern democracies such as Australia. Surprisingly the far-right critique is one that has hardly faded with the contemporary demise of an influential left wing in Australian politics. On occasions the far right has shown itself to be popular. In dispensing its radical views the far right has also produced a challenge to modern scholarship. Two examples will suffice; the first for history and the second for science.

In April 2000, Mr Justice Gray of the Queen’s Bench Division of the English High Court of Justice brought down his decision in the case of David John Caldwell Irving versus Penguin Books Limited and Deborah E. Lipstadt.43 Well known in history circles as a non-academic historian, who has specialised in studies on World War Two, Irving sued Lipstadt and her British publisher Penguin Books. He claimed that in her book Denying the Holocaust,44 Lipstadt had libelled him. As the judge summarised the claim,

The essential issues in the action can be summarised as follows: Irving complains that certain passages in the Defendants’ book accuse him of being a Nazi apologist and an admirer of Hitler, who has resorted to the distortion of facts and to the manipulation of documents in support of his contention that the Holocaust did not take place.45

While Mr Justice Gray was clear that the case was not a judicial review of ‘what did and what did not occur during the Nazi regime in

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43 A transcript of the Hon. Mr Justice Gray’s decision can be found at http://www.courtservice.gov.uk/judgments/ob_irving.htm on 2 May 2000.
45 Mr Justice Gray, op. cit., at 1.1.
Germany the issues at stake revolved around Irving’s use of primary sources. Essentially the trial judge found that ‘Irving’s historiographical “errors” converge, in the sense that they all tend to exonerate Hitler and to reflect Irving’s partisanship for the Nazi leader.’ The manner in which Irving had used his sources was ‘a further pointer towards the conclusion that he has deliberately skewed the evidence to bring it into line with his political beliefs.’

Expert evidence in the trial was provided by Professor Richard Evans who has since written his own account of the trial. Evans concurred with the trial judge that, ‘the writings of the Holocaust deniers seemed neither morally nor politically harmless.’ David Irving represents an erudite, though intellectually dishonest challenge to historical discourse. The libel trial demonstrated that Irving had attempted to pervert historical scholarship to propound his own political view. Australian Holocaust deniers like John Bennett and Frederick Toben (see chapter 3) who have used many of Irving’s arguments may find themselves under increasing scrutiny.

In a similar vein some Christian fundamentalists have sought to denigrate scientific scholarship. Despite the overwhelming evidence presented by the scientific community in support of Darwinian evolution and its central position in scientific thought a group of

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46 ibid., at 1.3.
47 ibid., at 13.142.
48 ibid., at 13.144.
49 ibid., at 4.17(i).

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politically and religiously motivated Christians has sought to refute it as a fraud (see chapter 5). While this slander may lack the moral dimension of so-called Holocaust ‘revisionism’ it is no less disreputable in terms of the canon of work which it seeks to dispute.

Another justification for this study may be gleaned from these two examples. The extreme right shows no scruples in its use of both history and science to support its views. Both are powerful, even seminal means by which right-wing activists seek to justify their political stance. While this thesis does not purport to speak for the scientific community it notes the singular distortion of historical research and understanding, even when that distortion is represented through the crudest conspiracy theories.

In preparing this thesis extensive use of the available primary sources has been made. In some cases this task has been relatively easy, as with the League of Rights. Over his long career Eric Butler has been an indefatigable pamphleteer. Many of the League’s publications can be accessed through institutions such as the National Library of Australia. The League’s own Heritage Bookshop in Melbourne is also a treasure-trove of books, pamphlets and magazines by the League and other far-right groups with some original stock that dates back to the 1950s. Various libraries also hold collections of other publications such as Audacity at the Mitchell Library in Sydney. However, in many instances there are internal publications of the extreme right that have not to my knowledge been lodged at any library or institution. For access to many of these I have been indebted to the generosity of activists and
their photocopiers. In some cases I have subscribed to publications like Tony Pitt's *The National Interest*.

Collections of ephemera, such as the F.J. Riley collection at the State Library of Victoria, have also proved useful. Though here the lone pamphlet or leaflet merely confirms that some long-forgotten individual or group once protested against something before sliding into obscurity. Some ephemera is simply copied overseas material, notably from Ku Klux Klan groups in the United States; and there is some suspicion that this material is simply meant to alarm or offend rather than to present a cogent political statement. Second-hand bookshops have also been a haphazard source for books by radical-right groups. Sadly, despite entreaties to many proprietors, collections of magazines and other material by the far right never seem to find their way into these businesses.

Interviews with some of the more important people on the extreme right such as Eric Butler, Arthur Smith, Jim Saleam, Craig Isherwood and Geoff Muirden have provided a wealth of material for this thesis. In the case of the first three they were also generous in providing printed matter on their own groups as well as on others. Despite the hostile descriptions of them in the press, I found them all forthright and honest in their perceptions of themselves and their organisations and generous with their time. Their knowledge of the radical right and the personalities within, also provided me with leads to other groups and material.
Another source of information has been the National Archives of
Australia and files released by both the Australian Security Intelligence
Organization (ASIO) and its predecessor the Commonwealth
Investigation Service (CIS). However, because of ASIO's obsession with
secrecy and protecting its sources and agents, even files released on
minor activists thirty years on usually appear with less than half of the
folios that ASIO holds. No doubt the material withheld contains some
pertinent information. Moreover, what remains to the researcher needs
to be used judiciously as it often contains mistakes and it has been
treated accordingly.

The most consistent journal on far-right issues has been The Review
(formerly The Australia / Israel Review) which, while implacably hostile,
has reported on the far right for over twenty years. The West
Australian journal Take A Closer Look is valuable for its coverage of
extreme Christian groups, as is the journal of the Australian Skeptics,
The Skeptic. Easily available at most newsagents the magazines, Nexus
and New Dawn, uncritically promote conspiracies and the far right. Ron
Owen's Lock Stock and Barrel has often been available at newsagents
and promotes gun lobby propaganda, conspiracies and other far-right
groups. The major publications of the far right which are available on a
subscription basis include: the League of Right's New Times, On Target
and Heritage magazine; Roy Platt’s The Strategy; the Citizens Electoral
Councils’ The New Citizen and Tony Pitt’s The National Interest. All have
proved invaluable for researching this thesis.
The internet is an increasingly rich source for material on the radical right. Most of the major groups maintain their own web sites. The site at http://www.alphalink.com.au/~radnat/ contains some useful material on radical nationalist groups and links to other groups. Two on-line journals available by email are Neil Baird's The News Report at n Baird@goanna.net.au and the ADC's ADC Online at antidef@ozemail.com.au. Baird's newsletter contains material from a number of radical-right. Like much of the World Wide Web material it is of varying quality.

Some mention needs to be made of the extensive use of sources from overseas, in particular the United States. In the broadest sense, this material has been useful in understanding the wider implications of the growth of the far right internationally. The present study is particularly concerned with comparing the Australian right with its United States' counterparts. In the case of the League of Rights and the Social Credit movement connections to the United Kingdom are necessary to understand that movement. Fortunately, because of the growth of the American radical right and its political impact, research on that country's political groups has produced a great number of worthwhile publications. There has also been some excellent work in the United Kingdom with numerous publications by academics like Richard Thurlow, Roger Eatwell and Roger Griffin. The UK magazine Searchlight has for many years covered radical-right politics in great depth and remains an important, albeit partisan, resource.

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51 For relevant works by these authors see fn. 6 of the present chapter.
Knowledge of the international right-wing scene is also made necessary by the links between some radical-right groups and organisations in other countries. As political activists, many far-right leaders take a keen interest in events overseas. For example National Action and the British National Party have conducted an ongoing correspondence on matters of mutual interest. The various neo-Nazi organisations had earlier sought to link up with the wider international neo-Nazi movement. They had a fascination with the careers of prominent neo-Nazis like Lincoln Rockwell and Colin Jordan. The League of Rights had contacts with the British fascist A.K. Chesterton’s League of Empire Loyalists. The League also formed the British League of Rights, a rare achievement for an Australian group. The League was a member of the World Anti-Communist League, a forum for many radical-right groups around the world and had contacts, among many, with the Institute for Historical Review a Holocaust denial group. Eric Butler contributed to the publications of the John Birch Society, an American far-right group, as its Australian correspondent. In short the people and events around the international scene interested and influenced the Australian radical right.

In the case of some groups the links with overseas organisations are striking. The Citizens Electoral Councils operate very much as a branch office of Lyndon LaRouche’s political empire. LaRouche is arguably one of the most influential figures in the American and international far right. Something of a maverick, he seems to inspire either devotion or distrust in right-wing circles. LaRouche has been accused of being an agent of the left because of his earlier Trotskyist leanings and one
source even posits the novel idea that LaRouche is an agent of the Vatican.\footnote{It's also fair to ask what makes LaRouche tick. One theory is that he may be secretly sponsored by the Vatican. How else does one explain the tantrums against Freemasonry and secret societies ... against Anglican apostasy (dope-pushing British imperialism), and against anything that smacks of planned parenthood or population control (the Malthusian activism of the Rockefeller's)? When these tirades are occasionally juxtaposed with respectful quotations from His Holiness, it makes us wonder.\ At http://www.pir.org/cgi-bin/ibenlin1.cgi/aE. The site at www.pir.org is an interesting repository and resource for material on intelligence and political issues. Generally the site appears to condone the conspiratorial view of history, though it does offer full text extracts from a number of international magazines which canvass these topics.} He has forged an organisation of considerable size and reach that promotes its leader as the world's greatest statesman and intellectual. The most striking aspect of the organisation is its comprehensive conspiratorial view of the world, its history and its future, the sophistication of its publications and communications together with the cult like following it has developed.\footnote{For a succinct critical biography of LaRouche see Rees, op. cit., pp. 224 – 225. The most comprehensive study of LaRouche is Dennis King, \textit{Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism}, Doubleday, New York, 1992. For LaRouche's own views of himself see his biography at http://www.larouchepub.com/resume.html. See also chapter 7.}

Another such group with strong links to the United States was the Christian extreme-right Logos Foundation. Most of the Logos Foundation's theology was borrowed from comparable American groups and its political campaign was closely modelled on the US Christian-right movement. As this suggests, an understanding of the parent groups is necessary to comprehend their Australian affiliates. Therefore this thesis includes details on the American Right to provide both context and details of interaction between these groups. Even with groups such as Pauline Hanson's One Nation, overseas parallels can be illuminating. Riots in the north of England at Oldham in July 2000 involved the BNP, which polled over 16 per cent at the national elections in Oldham West. While direct comparisons are never
entirely adequate, some commentators have linked support for the BNP with local unemployment.\textsuperscript{54} Sweeping changes to parts of industrial Britain, accompanying globalisation, have also caused resentment. Similar dissatisfactions have also been noted in the rise of Pauline Hanson. Some supporters appear to have registered a protest vote against the major parties rather than support Hanson’s political agenda. Such mute dissatisfaction is set against a comparable context in northern England and rural Australia of withering economic traumas accompanying the globalising of monopoly capital.

A final note on sources is necessary. Occasional use has been made of ‘confidential sources.’ In some cases, quotations were included (as with this introduction) when a particular explanation illuminated some aspect of the thesis. In chapter three serious allegations about the sexual preferences and improprieties of the late Sir William McMahon have been recorded using a ‘confidential source.’ The use of such material is of course debatable, especially as it cannot be verified by the reader. It was with the greatest reluctance that such material was used. I was satisfied that the evidence I had seen made a valid case for the inclusion of this material, and I alone must bear responsibility for its use.

Some explanation needs to be made of the organisation of this thesis. It was quickly concluded that an integrated approach, recording all the groups together over the time frame of this study was neither desirable

nor possible. Such an approach would not allow for any comprehensible narrative structure.

Therefore, the thesis is divided into chapters that cover each of the major groups. This has meant a certain amount of duplication. Often activists either switch their allegiances or operate over two or more groups and this has resulted in some arbitrary categorisations. For instance, Jeremy Lee has been included in the chapter on the Australian League of Rights. Lee has been associated with the League for most of his career, though for a period he was close to the conspiracy theorist Peter Sawyer (the subject of chapter 6) as well as some Christian-right groups. Because his association with the League has been enduring and is ongoing, he was included in that chapter.

Readers may not always agree with these categorisations however the fractious and changing nature of the far right makes this approach more manageable. This organisation is not intended to imply that the far right confines itself only to certain areas, or that groups operate within their own vacuums or that the history of these groups can be looked at as discrete phenomena. My organisation attempts to provide the reader with a comprehensible account of the far right since 1950 and an analysis of some of its values, ideas and activities.

Some readers may also disagree with the terminology used in this thesis. Perhaps most controversial, is the rejection of Australian National Action as neo-Nazi and its classification as a racial-nationalist organisation. Most literature on National Action has placed it squarely
within the neo-Nazi tradition. There are two main reasons behind this decision. As noted above the terms ‘neo-Nazi’ or ‘Nazi’ have been widely and inappropriately used. This nomenclature has been avoided except where a group explicitly associated itself with Hitler and the German Nazi Party. Second, the stated aims and objectives of the group’s leadership were neither Nazi in inspiration nor application. This does not imply any endorsement of the group; rather it suggests that a more rigorous nomenclature of the far right is necessary.

The inclusion of some Christian groups may be disputed. This thesis holds that religion cannot be divorced from politics. Like political groups, religions cover a broad spectrum of views and in some instances these are extreme. The rationale of being ‘Christian’ or following the ‘word of God’ is shallow. Further the modern phenomenon of fundamentalism across all the major religions is a threat to democratic political discourse. In some instances these groups advocate what would essentially become a totalitarian regime.

The reader’s attention should also be drawn to other stylistic matters. All citations of sources are made in full in each chapter even when a source may have been used in an earlier chapter. Most importantly, this thesis is a narrative history couched within an empirical tradition. Professor Richard Evans has a point when he locates the type of memory lapse associated with Holocaust denial with the ‘cultural turn’ of postmodernism that has influenced the discipline of history in recent years.55

As mentioned earlier, both Daniel Ben-Moshe and James Saleam are scholars who have participated in the subject of their academic endeavours, one opposing right-wing politics, the other promoting it. While affiliation with, or opposition to the far right provides neither a predisposition nor a mandate to study the subject, my own reasons for studying this topic may provide an insight for the reader.

Used in this thesis are the papers of my paternal grandmother, Mary Henderson. These provided some illuminating correspondence pertaining to the 1960s neo-Nazi groups, along with her membership card (number 14) of the Australian National Socialist Party. Born in Denmark, Mary settled in Australia in the late 1920s, after meeting my grandfather. She was a life long antisemite. I can partly attribute my interest in the far right to her comment to me as a rather surprised twelve-year-old, that ‘the best thing Hitler ever did was to kill the Jews.’ On a more positive note her copy of Alan Bestic’s classic book *Praise the Lord and Pass the Contribution* provided me with a more skeptical insight into the ideas and rationale of religious extremism. My maternal grandfather, with whom I sometimes had a difficult relationship, shared with Mary a deep interest in the occult as well as a belief in UFOs, conspiracies and alternative ‘medicine’. Of Slavic birth the creation of communist controlled Yugoslavia after World War Two created in him an intense hatred of left-wing politics. In his view, anything to the left of the Australian Liberal Party was a communist general.’ He noted that postmodernism implied ‘that all “facts” claiming objective existence are simply intellectual constructions – in short, that there is no clear difference between fact and fiction.’ Eric Hobsbawn, *On History*, Abacus, London, 1997, p. 7 and Keith Windschutte, *The Killing of History*, Encounter Books, San Francisco, 2000, *passim*, have also attacked this aspect of postmodernism.

plot. The difficulties I felt I endured as a teenager with him helped me to embrace the left and also promoted my interest in what Christopher Evans has dubbed ‘Cults of Unreason’.  

The far right deserves the attention of researchers. While it has never sustained a mass following over a significant period, it still retains the power to influence the opinions of a not insignificant number of people. With over fifty years of operation it can be guessed that the League of Rights has exerted some sway. Peter Sawyer and the Confederate Action Party (chapters 6 and 8) were popular with the electorate. While it has failed at the ballot box, the Citizens Electoral Councils raise substantial amounts of money. Further, some sections of the far right are able to promote or initiate violence and intemperance toward others. The racist hue of contemporary politics suggests that there are fertile grounds for the far right to pursue. The diminished vote for One Nation at the Commonwealth elections of 10 November 2001 (498,000 primary votes) suggests that there is still considerable potential for some far-right causes. This thesis hopes to fill some of the void in Australian historical writing on the subject and provide a starting point for further research and debate.

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58 Alan Ramsey, ‘What might have been – if only the ‘others’ had druthered Kim,’ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 November, 2001.