

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR'S NOTE

Diversity, Ethnic Violence, and Racial Survival TOQ Editor 3

ARTICLES

The White Australia Policy in Retrospect: Racism or Realism? Andrew Fraser 7
 Who Owns White Australia? Andrew Fraser versus
 Keith Windschuttle R. J. Stove 31
 The Empire Strikes Back: Reverse Colonization in Europe Derek Turner 41

CLASSICS CORNER

Race Mixture in the Roman Empire Tenney Frank 51
 History and Science in Tenney Frank's Scholarship E. Christian Kopff 69

BOOK REVIEWS

*A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the
 Confederacy 1861-1868* Reviewed by Michael Masters 83
Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology Reviewed by David Wilson 97

About the Editors 103
 Editorial Advisory Board 104
 Index to Volume 5 107

THE OCCIDENTAL QUARTERLY (ISSN 1539-3925), a journal of Western thought and opinion, is published by The Charles Martel Society four times annually in the Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter. Unsolicited manuscripts from contributing authors should be submitted to the editorial department: P.O. Box 695, Mt. Airy, MD 21771. Style sheets are available upon request. Subscriptions in the U.S. are \$40 annually, \$78 for two years, and \$114 for three years; subscription rates for Canada are \$45 (one year), \$88 (two years), and \$129 (three years); European subscription rates: \$60 (one year), \$118 (two years), and \$174 (three years). All subscriptions, including additional inquiries or subscription problems, should be mailed to the subscription department: P.O. Box 695, Mt. Airy, MD 21771. Back issues are \$10 each.



**We've got to
do more than
just pray for
immigration reform.**

First read ...

**BREACH OF FAITH:
*American Churches
and the Immigration Crises***

"Russell's well-documented manuscript provides the historical background to the dramatic shift of religious thought and social action regarding immigration. Radical churchmen — Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic — encourage political and legal action on behalf of expansive immigration procedures and culturally-distorting programs which promote the interests of legal and illegal aliens.

"Breach of Faith, a primer promoting immigration reform, is filled with quotes, statistics, and analysis — all useful to a reader who wants to address members of the clergy or members of Congress." — Peter B. Gemma, MIDDLE AMERICAN NEWS

Then pray and take action.



8.5x11 format; 140 pages

\$12.00 postpaid

special: two copies for \$20.00 postpaid

fax: 706 -733-7652

e-mail: books@wspublishers.com

website: wspublishers.com

EDITOR'S NOTE

DIVERSITY, ETHNIC VIOLENCE, AND RACIAL SURVIVAL

Ethnic violence defined three major news stories in the second half of 2005. First, blacks displaced in New Orleans in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina erupted in a spasm of lawlessness – looting, vandalism, assault, rape, and murder – as the flooded bayou recalled the turmoil and chaos that followed the decolonization of the Belgian Congo. Second, young males of African origin – black and Arab – rioted for weeks in the Third World suburbs of Paris and other French cities. Third, a mob of five thousand white Australian men assaulted nonwhites, chiefly of Middle Eastern origin, on a beach near Sydney. Attacks by immigrants on two Australian lifeguards triggered the outburst, but the roots of the young Aussies' racial rage lay in several years' history of gang violence by Middle Eastern youths against white Australians, including a number of instances of gang-related attacks on young Australian women, in Sydney and other cities.

One crucial lesson of these disturbances, obfuscated as usual in the predictable drone of the West's megalopolitan media, is that predominantly Third World urban enclaves will often respond to sudden setbacks, whether natural disasters or alleged police excesses, by spiraling into lawless chaos. Cities with large concentrations of blacks seem simply incapable of coping with the aftermath of a large-scale natural disaster. Hence the survival of a major U.S. city (New Orleans) – with a predominantly black population, administered by a largely black civil service, policed by largely black law enforcement agencies, led by a black mayor, which subsequently descended into the chaos of ineptitude and bureaucratic incompetence – could only be depicted by its inhabitants and their apologists as entirely dependent on immediate outside aid and leadership (that this help, public or private, was nearly all to be supplied by white Americans is of course unmentioned by the ranters against "racism"). Not to mention the fact that one displaced black resident testified before Congress that she was convinced the levies were bombed on purpose while another described the aftermath of Katrina as a campaign of "ethnic cleansing."

Similarly, in France, nonwhite dwellers in that nation's burgeoning non-French enclaves, most of them Muslim, lashed out after two youths were electrocuted after hiding from police near a transformer in an electrical

power station. According to the *International Herald Tribune*, in “the first three weeks of November, about 10,000 cars were torched and several hundred public buildings vandalized across France in the worst social unrest since the student-worker rebellion in 1968. Some 4,770 people were taken into custody for suspected rioting.” Significantly, as in New Orleans, the rioters and their sympathizers blamed the white majority—specifically the police and the French nation in general—for their outburst. And, just as after Katrina, the international media laid the onus for the French disturbances on the law-abiding white French rather than on the Third World rioters.

To be sure, a self-satisfied moralism based on the once comfortable civic and religious values of the bourgeois West no longer suffices to exorcize, let alone explain, the symptomatic explosions along the Mississippi and the Seine. The repeated failure of a decisive plurality of American blacks to respond to civic challenges civilly and effectively—fifty years after *Brown*, a century and a half after emancipation, nearly three hundred years after their arrival in Jamestown—can no longer simply be regarded as either their fault or the fault of American whites. Similarly with France’s nonwhites: They or their parents or their grandparents were allowed to immigrate to France; today they claim to be “excluded” by the French as “foreigners.” Yet neither their complaints, nor the aversion that most of the French have for the aliens, can be easily dismissed as either false or malicious.

A report by the Renseignements Généraux, the French police intelligence service, leaked to a Paris daily, concluded that the violence was neither orchestrated nor religious, but was rather a “popular revolt” linked to a “crying lack of integration.” As a result, Jean-Marie Le Pen’s poll ratings have shot up significantly. According to UPI editor Martin Walker, “a clear majority, 61 percent, now see Le Pen as a legitimate candidate, and that his policies of compulsory mass expulsion of immigrants, including children born in France and thus French citizens, are an acceptable part of political discourse.”

What is disturbing to Walker and his like is that at least some of the tooth-paste is now out of the tube. The fact that Frenchmen are openly expressing their concerns to pollsters in larger numbers than ever indicates a rising public restlessness over the ethnic factor that has been “diversifying” French society, and a willingness to reverse course. Throughout Europe, Canada, and Australia, open criticism of multiculturalism and diversity has become increasingly vulnerable to criminal sanction. The cultural forces of political correctness, employer sanctions, draconian “hate speech” laws, mandatory diversity training, and other efforts to suppress public expression and behavior on race and the impact of racial differences, are clear signs that the forces that have recently dominated the West fear open discussion of ethnic and racial issues. But can the global pressures for conformity to egalitarian orthodoxy withstand the dual pressure of rising minority resentment and a reactive desire among whites to preserve their communities and their cultures?

Once again, the impact of multiethnic "diversity" has hammered home the findings of what has become popularly known as sociobiology. Highly diverse populations, reflecting dissimilar racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural origins, create a host of social problems. The conventional wisdom will always view neglect, "exclusion," economic factors, prejudice, and discrimination as the culprit. When the integrity of a group's distinctive qualities and traits is imperiled, conflict is inevitable. Our unique heritage, intertwined with the racial and ethnic foundations of Western civilization, is under nonstop assault by proponents of "multiculturalism" and "diversity." Individuals, when left to their own, uncoerced intuitions, nearly always seek out communities and neighborhoods that are compatible with their own interests and ethnicity. Differences are a part of human nature. It is simply reasonable to expect people to identify and associate more closely with members of their own race. Governments should adopt and cultivate social policies that strengthen the unique historical richness of ethnic enclaves, such as the vibrant British- and European-derived character that continues to define many older communities — not only in the Midwest and New England, but also in the U.K., France, and other regions of Europe, rather than forcing the social reengineering policies of "diversity" on these older, homogeneous communities.

* * *

The recent ethnic turmoil in Australia underscores the reality that civil and rational discussions of ethnic and racial matters, *from our vantage point*, are increasingly forbidden in public parlance. On one side, the public continues to raise concerns about the nonwhite immigrant tide that is engulfing the shores of Sydney's beach resorts, flooding the Southwest U.S., and swamping communities throughout France. On the other side are the accepted views of the chattering classes, the societal elites who set policy and establish what is and *isn't* proper for open discourse. The fact that a thoroughly documented article on the risks of ending the White Australia policy by Andrew Fraser, a professor at a major Australian university who enjoys widespread support from his students and has established a solid academic career, was withdrawn from publication in the *Deakin Law Review*, an Australian legal journal, is further evidence of the intolerance of the forces for toleration.

Professor Fraser's timely article is the lead article in this issue of *TOQ*. The telling fact that Professor Fraser could not publish his scholarly assessment of recent developments on the political and social biology of racial differences in a scholarly journal is clearly an attack on intellectual freedom, and of the obstacles that independent-minded scholars confront when challenging egalitarian orthodoxy. Accompanying Fraser's piece is a related article by R. J. Stove, which offers an independent perspective on the Fraser Affair and

the politics behind the renewed interest in the White Australia Policy. Also in this issue is the return of *TOQ*'s occasional feature, the Classics Corner. Distinguished historian Tenney Frank's article "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire" is reprinted in full from the original text, and classical scholar E. Christian Kopff provides a postscript analysis of Frank's scholarship.