

INTEGRAL NATIONALISM



***The Reborn Spirit
of the
Australian People***

**AUSTRALIA
FIRST
PARTY**

Australia First Party—National Contact Line 02 8587 0014

PO Box 593 Rockdale 2216

PO Box 103 Crows Nest 4355

PO Box 223 Croydon 3136

PO Box 129 Collie 6225

Cover illustration by Norman Lindsay. [*My Army, Oh, My Army*]
Left to right—Norman Lindsay, Henry Boote [editor of *The Worker*],
Rose Lindsay, A. G. Stevens, Roderick Quinn and Henry Lawson.



INTEGRAL NATIONALISM

SECTION ONE

AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISTS ARE RESOLVED THAT OUR NATION SHALL LIVE

Nationalists need to fully understand the fact that the Australian People are facing their national death. In revolutionary politics [and the proposition of Australian Nationalism is no bourgeois day-dream] there are no certainties. If any Nationalist desired certainty as the psychic force within his consciousness, we would advise a speedy conversion to some species of religious-political fundamentalism. Neither the existence of the Nation nor our political success are guaranteed through some law of "historical inevitability". Oswald Spengler, the historical-philosopher of an earlier epoch, maintained that "men" can only do that which history calls upon them to do; that they must, therefore, surrender to facts and base action upon realities and not sentimentalities.

Following on from such a rigid logic, we should then recognise the fact that our Nation is in the process of disintegration:

[1] The Australian Identity has been submerged by Americanisation, and Multiculturalism. The process of Asianisation will obliterate this identity - finally, and irrevocably.

[2] Australian Independence, compromised once by Empire, was never realised and the Nation passed like a worn-out whore from master to master - from British Empire to American capitalism, to the Pacific Rim Economic Order promoted by a "developing" Asia.

[3] The Australian People, compelled into a suburban-consumer ethos by the process of 1950s capitalism, were denied by process the formative will to achieve the conquest of identity and independence.

[4] The Australian Crisis is universal throughout the nation's social order. The decline of the family, the demise of personal standards and values, the drug problem, youth suicide, youth unemployment, and

the degradation of our environment may all be singular problems, but taken together each presents an element of a terminal decline for the Nation.

These symbols of crisis for the Nation are facts for us, and facts which must be faced squarely.

Equally it is a fact for each of us to internalise that we Australian Nationalists carry the National Idea inside us and through our struggle affirm its will to exist. Upon us is placed an enormous weight; because there is no certainty that the Australian People and National Idea will live out the 21st century, we are therefore obliged to dedicate and rededicate ourselves to the political struggle. We proclaim not that Australia will be but that it must be. If it is the case that the Australian future is expunged from history it shall not be because we did not hear the call to sacrifice and mobilise into action. For Australia we fight; we cannot afford to lose.

SECTION TWO

THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF INTEGRAL NATIONALISM

Australian Nationalism is not a civic patriotism, not an old soldiers' patriotism, and definitely not a class-based conservative nostalgia (1). The academics would say our Nationalism is an integral concept. Essentially, a number of elements are fused or syncretised together, each cannot be understood without the other. In union the "total" is greater than the sum of its parts ie., an integral-nationalism is itself a political concept and not simply a term applied to a grab-bag of ideas thrown together in arbitrary arrangement.

Its basis may be given as:

[1] A Nation Is An idea.

A people can exist outside a High Culture (2), but a Nation cannot. A High Culture can create many Nations, as the European Culture most certainly has. Each Nation carries some aspects of that Culture Idea and expresses it uniquely: hence, for example, we may speak of German, Greek, Spanish, Italian, English, Russian and French Nations, etc.

Australian Nationalists assert that Australia is also a Nation regardless of our previously derivative and colonial status. The Australia Nation by its actions, creations, and expressions carries an Idea. A Nation is a people carrying a Cultural Idea as an aspect of that single Idea of a High Culture. The Idea is the motivational spirit in all aspects of the National life.

[2] A Nation Is A Destiny

The Nation is a Destiny and all citizens of this Nation are born into it (3). The Nation as an organic reality has a claim upon each person encompassed by it. The Nation is not as liberals would have it - a simple collection of "individuals" united only by loyalty to a market and a banking system. Rather, the Nation is a psychic reality which imposes itself upon "individuals" whether they will it or otherwise. The individual is a unit of the Nation: the Nation is a Destiny because it lives, and consequently the individual contributes to it and has no philosophical and cultural significance separated from it.

[3] A Nation May Fall Prey To Decadence

Because a Nation is a Destiny, a living entity, it may fall "sick": it may be assailed in various ways, weakened, "diseased". In other words, a Nation may become a victim of decadence. The Nation struggles continually to avoid life- crisis. Decadence is expressed culturally and "psychologically": the art forms of a Nation may become confused, abstract, grotesque; its population may live private lives, economic lives, and eschew any pretence of civic or political pride; a Nation may lose its ability to affirm its identity or independence.

Nationalism therefore becomes the force which animates the people, compels it to express the National Idea. It is the VITALISTIC PRINCIPLE, that which affirms life for the Nation, the power which guarantees and regenerates it.

[4] A National Destiny Is The Property Of The Whole People

The Nation cannot be defined only by, or through, its cultural or political elites.

The Nation exists in the flesh of every member of the National community.

Each member of the Nation contributes in some way, from the beautiful to the banal, to the life of the Nation. In that sense alone, the real equality of human beings exists. Since each contributes, each is entitled to the respect born of intellectual or physical labour.

[5] A Nation Is A Natural Unit Of Existence

The collapse of the Marxist myth over the last decade has left internationalist liberal capitalism as the dominant "world" ideology. To globalise markets, capitalism must break down Nations into formless masses.

A "market place" does not require cultural ideas or inconvenient identities. It requires only consumers.

The Australian Nation, already suffering the ravages of suburbanised consumer-capitalism was ripe for the final leap into an "Asian Destiny", a PACRIM economic order.

The Natural Order, however, is a world of Nations, of Peoples true to their Identities. The world of IMPERIALISM, EXPLOITATION, DIVISION OF LABOUR, and FREE MARKETS has been under constantly energetic criticism and rebellion in many parts of the globe; it is the "Nationalist" forces in European societies which struggle for this undeniable right to cultural self-determination. Nationalism has become the great revolutionary ideal of the epoch, virulently assertive right at the very moment liberal-internationalism crows that history is about to end in a global village, the market millennium.

As people fight that which is destructive of cultural-spiritual life, they grasp for natural structures.

The Nation is a natural structure of race, people, destiny, virility, union, and freedom. Nationalism is hence the creed of any People seeking its preservation as an Identity. Nationalism reaches back behind the epoch of international capitalism, and also goes beyond it towards a different millennium: The era of diversity and integrity.

[6] National Regeneration Overcomes Individual Alienation

In an order which alienates the individual from his cultural-identity, the worker from his labour, each citizen from every other citizen, the farmer from his land, and pits the "enterprise" ant-heap at war with itself, we may speak of ALIENATION as the characteristic problem of the society.

The cause of National Regeneration promises not merely the VITALITY of the Nation but the "reformation" of the individual; atomised man may yield to social man, co-operative man, integrated man. National Regeneration implies the revitalization of "collective" and "individual" into a higher unity: the alienation of man in liberal-capitalist society shall be overcome, not by a class or economic revolution, but through a reaffirmation of the unity of a natural existence lived in a natural unit - the Nation.

SECTION THREE

PARTICULAR CHARACTERISTICS OF AUSTRALIAN NATIONALISM

The notion of an integral-nationalism as demonstrated establishes for us the essential core component of our political ideology (4); each Nation, however, is possessed of peculiar historical circumstances which demand of it a particular response. Contemporary Australian Nationalism has peculiar traits of its own:

[1] As a nation born of a prior colonial status, Australia belongs very much to the 20th century rather than to the 19th. The idea of Nationalism emerged in Europe in the 19th Century as Nations emerged

out of the dynastic era. Modern Australian Nationalism is able to find forms true to the achievement of National Identity and Independence in the post-industrial epoch, in the era of the crisis of European Civilisation and of the "decline" of Europe as a power-centre.

[2] True Australian Nationalism has no imperialistic ambition (5) and indeed could never have formed, nor could ever form, such an appetite. Australian Nationalism is the organised expression of an Identity formed by Europeans on an Island-Continent in the South West Pacific area adjacent to Asia. This Nationalism is defensive of that identity; it asks nothing more and nothing less, than the right to identity and independence, such as is already assumed by Australia's neighbours.

[3] Australian Nationalism would adopt a Co-Nationalist [ie. co-operative Nationalist] attitude towards the genuine struggles of any people towards Identity and Independence against the totalitarian structures of modern global capitalism. Arab Nationalisms, Separatist Nationalisms, African Nationalisms, and others, are not to be necessarily deprecated because they may affect "anti-Western" rhetoric, but understood as the counter struggle to the global market nightmare and solidarised with where the purpose is served.

[4] Australian Nationalism has a nativist form for the historical reasons and purposes expressed as the base principles of an integral-nationalism; however, some of its forms arise from the peculiarities of Australia's formerly colonial status. Those unresolved historical problems, derived from the "British connection", will be solved by the modern movement.

[5] Australian culture is part of European Culture [a general expression and a particular expression] just as the Australian Nationality was born of [and now carried by] various European "stocks". Australian Nationalism hence recognises the essential connection with other forms of European Nationalism. It does not, however, place any form of "race-nationalism" ahead of nativist Nationalism but proclaims each an aspect of the other.

Just as "the Greenies" maintain "think globally, act locally"; so Australian Nationalists, aware as they are of a general crisis of European culture, act in their immediate backyard. They may solidarise with other European Nationalists [and one day assist - or even receive assistance from - other parties of the European Renaissance] but ACT UPON A REAL TERRAIN, the native soil of our Nation. Australian Nationalism, true to the character of the Australian People, will not lose itself in abstract notions or vague political constructs but apply itself to its immediate task: the achievement of the Australian National State through National Revolution.

SECTION FOUR

INTEGRAL NATIONALISM AND THE NATIONAL STATE

A Nationalism is nothing unless it secures State Power; once it has possession of State Power, it is obliged to forge a NATIONAL STATE. Integral-Nationalism would create not a machine like the current Australian State machine [which is an instrument of class rule driven increasingly to repressive methodology] but an expression of the organic-nation.

The National State must be the brain of the national organism, its command centre. The National State has as its objective the protection of the Nation from its external enemies and internal disintegration. The new State would be the means to harmonise the relations amongst all sections of the Nation and the instrument for the expression of this mobilised will. Such a State is limited by the very organic nature of its construction; it is not a totalitarian State but a State which actualises freedom in the only valid way it can be understood. This State causes the Nation's constituent elements (the Family, the trades and professions, the municipality, the cultural-class, etc.) to be "elevated" into aspects of the State inseparable from the concept of "power". The constituent elements exercise power, make policy and receive policy in an overall and mutually advantageous unity. A National State arises from a National Revolution. Obviously in the climate under which the construction of such a State would begin, the new State would exist as an act of revolutionary will. It would be compelled to clear away the refuse of a liberal bourgeois consumer order, clear away the oppressive and suppressive environment of this system so as to permit the natural order to emerge from the sick system of the modern society.

During this intermediate period the State would be an instrument of the national revolutionary movement and those sections of the population moved into the dynamic process of national rebirth. The more rapidly the cleansing-rebirth phase of the struggle is completed, the sooner we may witness the integrated National State. This State would oversee the creation of new social structures and political institutions, natural forms of the expression of national life and reinvigorate other structures (eg. The Family); it is expected, and would be a certainty, that the Nation, freed of the anti-life liberal political machine, would breathe life into the new form of the State.

SECTION FIVE

A NEW AUSTRALIAN; A NEW MAN

The Australian National Idea rests upon a European racial and cultural basis but of a nativist expression. Similarly the Australian "type" must be defined. Can a "new man" arise beneath Southern skies? Integral-Nationalism is not a materialist but a spiritual concept.

It should be recognised that the National Idea itself is primary, and commands the Identity - and hence the allegiance. The Australian of the 21st century, will not necessarily be a person of stocks fused together (6); the National Idea may be held aloft by an Australian of "undiluted" Irish or English or Russian stock, or by an Australian of "mixed" Swedish-Italian-Irish ancestry or Greco-French, etc. Modern Nationalists have rejected the reductionists of "Anglo-Saxon", "Anglo-Celtic", Nordicist, and even amalgamationist persuasions; if the base is not at issue, if the development of Australian Culture is not under challenge, then the Identity is never in doubt. And this Identity?

The experience in Nation-building is more than "Racial-Cultural" - it is profoundly SPIRITUAL. Overcoming the atomisation of the capitalist society allows the "return" of the subsumed type, no longer the "citizen" of our bourgeois order, but the archetype of 19th century Australia. That Australian character which formed in Australia's cultural springtime [1860-1900] still belongs to us and slumbers within us. The Australian of SELF RELIANCE, OF SELF DISCIPLINE, OF CO-OPERATIVE DISPOSITION YET INDIVIDUALLY CRAFTED, OF SACRIFICE, is more than a "model"; this Australian opened the outback, built the cities, created the labour union, fought at ANZAC cove, rescued the Nation at Kokoda, and created a style of living and thinking. This "type" is culturally-psychologically unique amongst Europeans; he may be frustrating to some, shallow to others. But this type was the Australian - and on a new level, and in another century, would be us again. It is this SPIRITUAL HARDNESS, DETACHMENT, AND CYNICAL HUMOUR which has maintained the Nation just as it formed it. We would place it in command of the Nation.

The "NEW MAN" of our continent Nation is today but a dream; the men and women of tomorrow may look at our suburbanised, consumerist, exploitive monstrosity and ask of themselves how the promise of Australia could have been lost - and why it was necessary to launch the National Revolution. To them, the old order would be incomprehensible. To us, it is our nightmare.

SECTION SIX

GLOBAL CRISIS: AUSTRALIAN REDEMPTION AND RENEWAL

Some years ago, in the wake of the collapse of the so-called "Eastern Bloc", some liberal pundits were predicting a sort of "end of history". Triumphant capitalism would supposedly engender a better world. Whatever it may be that liberal ideologues imagined the future would bring, Australian Nationalists see beyond the immediate.

In the 1970s it was certain "futurologists" who warned of a global food- population crisis; the theory has been buttressed by innumerable environmentalists who have warned of the universal degradation of soils, waterways, and vegetated areas. Population increase is still occurring in our "Near North" - in Asia. In fact, the reaction of the multiracialists and multiculturalists has been to admit to the phenomena and base Australia's submergence into Asia upon that basis; to quote Donald Horne and others, it is something to be done peacefully while the option is available.

It is no option; it is the genocide of the Australian Nationality.

The crisis will not be allayed by the immigration policies and economic enmeshment policies of the present System. Sooner or later The Yellow Peril, vehemently opposed by Australians in the 1850s-1880s (and beyond), has once again become a threat. And not just for Australia. The militarist-capitalist elite of Asia cannot be trusted not to tread the path of territorial acquisition.

Similarly the crisis of food and population operates globally to effect every European society. We stand before the opening of an era of population shift by peoples who cannot attain a national future within natural boundaries.

We live therefore, not in an era of capitalist nirvana but in the opening phase of a global struggle of peoples for resources and living space; this is not to say all Third World peoples are tomorrows imperialists. But some will be. Some could be the peaceful invaders of others' space and some the victims of other members of the Poor of The Earth. It is the politics of global capitalism that exacerbates and "catastrophizes" this underlying life-crisis, which brings on the explosion. Hence, we are privileged to live in a period where old liberal values will be threatened and then crushed by historical forces.

Once we admit that a policy of Australian survival is a worthy principle, we have a further choice. Shall we struggle for survival without MOBILISATION of the national will? It is our faith that to counsel the worth and future of the Australian National Identity is to urge a NATIONALISM that will become the weapon of that Identity. Such a Nationalism can be only an INTEGRAL-NATIONALISM. It must remould People and State.

The crisis of the first decades of the 21st 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 (7).

ENDNOTES

(1) This does not imply any lack of respect on our part for the ANZAC tradition. We see the essence of ANZAC: The fighting spirit.

(2) High culture - a term applied to commanding civilisation eg. Rome, China, Europe as opposed to the "cultures" of Papua New Guinea, Bali, Zimbabwe, or barbarian Europe (which may have an "identity", but which are not actual nations).

(3) Australia's identity allows persons of the European Race to adopt its identity and merge into it.

(4) Around the integral-nationalist core may be grouped various ideological principles, historical philosophy, constructive environmentalism, psychological or economic arguments, etc. if they be in harmony with the core-idea and tend towards successful political realisation and otherwise express a truth for a new society.

(5) Here, we differentiate between Nationalist movements, and those organisations who claim to be Nationalist - but who actually encompass imperialism within their ideology.

(6) The "Old Australian" was largely such an amalgam; however, post-1945 immigration has taken place of large numbers of Europeans. Physical amalgamation has been slow to occur. Amalgamation must be spiritual.

(7) Australian Nationalism is no racism or chauvinism; it is not a creed of repression and State terror.

Australian Nationalism admits to ANY their right to that which we claim for ourselves: IDENTITY, INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM. We will stand with men of any Race or Nation who reject globalism and who decline to enter the war of "Haves and Have Nots", who see in Nationalism a solution to global crisis and enforced internationalism.

Australian Nationalism is for the Australian People the faith of National Liberation. It is the mobilised

faith of our People to be masters of their Continent Nation, a people with a continuity flowing from the past, through our era, and to the future. It is the will to create a New Social Order on the ruins of the old liberal order.

In the new century, the Australian People will call forth a new Nationalism. This Integral Nationalism is our weapon in the revolutionary war before us.

26/01/1996

The grass grows over Eureka
and Stuart's tree is burned;
Greenaway's stones are down
and our eyes are dull and blind.

The increase-stones are scattered;
the soil is raped and bare;
none sings in patriotic voice;
and our ears are stuffed and deaf.

Our singers sing soft and pretty,
none shouts in warning tones;
our prophets are muffled and gagged,
and our mouths as dumb as stones.

Gone is the heat and fervour,
our patriot fires are ash
none shatters the sky with shouting
and our deepest thoughts are trash.

Fools of the bread and circus,
fools who have frittered away
our youth and our fire and ambition
in aping empty play.

Now is the time for returning
to courage and spears of the mind.
Awake, and see to your dawning,
oh, nation of the blind.

Nation of the Blind

Ian Mudie 1941
