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Liberal Morality on the Fast Track

Those whose reading extends beyond their local newspaper should be aware of the "inside" books on the different regions of the world by journalist John Gunther several decades ago. Although Gunther was never heavy-handed in intruding his political views in his most popular books, it was clear from some of his other writings that he could be classified as a liberal. His admiration for Franklin Roosevelt could only be described as heated.

In 1955, Gunther published *Inside Africa*, a weighty tome of over 900 pages that presents an interesting portrait of that continent in its final days of colonial rule. In his chapter on South Africa, he made it clear he was strongly opposed to apartheid.

I emphasize Gunther's liberal credentials because of the light they shed on a passage which appears in a chapter of *Inside Africa*, entitled, "Arab World in North Africa." A paragraph begins: "The two worst Arab traits are probably (a) cruelty, and (b) homosexuality." Gunther then goes on to speculate that Arab homosexuality is a result of both the acceptance of polygamy, wherein successful men are able to have up to four wives, leaving some men with no partners, and the rigid sexual segregation of Arab society, which prevents the social interaction of the sexes common in West-

ern society. The author concludes, "the Arab youth finds his sexual outlet either with prostitutes or among members of his own sex."

That a good liberal like Gunther could so openly and unapologetically express unequivocal condemnation of homosexuality is a sharp



John Gunther

reminder of the highly mobile nature of liberal morality. Forty years ago Third Sexism was seen as an evil aberration even by someone who liked the New Deal and disliked apartheid. Nowadays this kind of attitude by any politically correct liberal is practically unimaginable. Gunther would be among the first to be surprised if someone had told him that in less than 40 years after he wrote his book about Africa a

U.S. president would begin his term in office by advocating the admission of gays into the armed forces. Clinton's willingness to pander to the homosexual lobby is not unique in the history of the Democratic Party. Consider the illustrious career of Roberta Achtenberg at the Dept. of Housing and Urban Development.

Confronted with such dramatic examples of liberalism's moral relativism, I can only wonder just where the goal posts will be 40 years from now. Will there be a Cabinet post for Man-Boy Lovers? Will transvestites be given preference in hiring? Once upon a time liberals assured us that giving the Negro his "rights" by no means implied a steady progression which could only culminate in miscegenation.

Nowadays white parents who object to their teenage daughter's proclivity towards interracial dating are scorned and ridiculed on TV talk shows.

Present-day liberal-minority "morality," if such exists, is one big slippery slope. Behavior once seen as violating all standards of decency and civility is now portrayed as not only normal, but even superior. Irony of ironies, those who dare register their objections to this barnyard behavior are threatened with "hate speech" prosecutions.

The Safety Valve



In keeping with *Instauration's* policy of anonymity, most communicants will be identified by the first three digits of their zip code.

□ The 1996 New York City mayoralty race got underway in March when Rudolf Giuliani flew to Israel to court Jewish votes. While there he tucked a note into the Wailing Wall. A prayer for Jewish campaign funds?

200

□ A Hanukkah stamp, which pictures a menorah, was unveiled March 5 at the B'nai B'rith Klutznick Jewish Museum in Washington. It is in response to (or revenge for) the Madonna stamp that slipped by the Postal Service censors in 1995.

200

□ The news is full of "valiant" Israeli efforts to curb "terrorists" and "capture them all." For every terrorist captured, two more are born. What madness for us to take sides!

322

□ Any nation that permits its racial, cultural and religious heritage to be trashed by intruding alien minorities is already floating around in the toilet. All that remains is the flush.

287

□ William Safire has a 1 to 10 anti-Semitism scale. Hitler rated a 10. Safire claims the typical "Jews are Great!" American gets a 1. Farrakhan scores 7, Pat Buchanan 5. Apparently a few common-sense remarks about Israel make you half as bad as Adolf.

668

□ African countries periodically need fresh "development loans" to replenish their leaders' Swiss bank accounts.

901

□ The Wall St. Journal supports a Constitutional amendment stating, "There shall be

open borders." In the countless articles written on the subject of unrestricted immigration, the question of just how many immigrants would come is seldom discussed. Mexico has 90 million people, half under 20. A sizable number would gladly move to the U.S.

701

□ We have all met people like Hillary—so certain they know what's best for everybody that they are genuinely puzzled and angered by a word of criticism.

877

□ The more whites are outnumbered by non-whites in what was once white living space, you would think the more race-conscious they would become and the more impervious to an alien doctrine which seeks to submerge them in a maelstrom of miscegenation. Unfortunately the opposite seems to be the case. Here in South Texas the intermarriage rate between Anglos and Mexicans is at an all-time high. The local media are ecstatic at the hybridization. Greatly favored is the adoption by white couples of nonwhite and partly white children. Simultaneously a concerted assault is being made upon the last bastion of Anglo life—the all-white churches.

787

□ It would be interesting to make a list of the groups that can be criticized, such as whites, Arabs, Christians and Germans, and those groups that can't be criticized, Jews being at the top of the list.

762

□ A new 206-page scholarly tome is out: *Myth and Madness—The Psychodynamics of Anti-Semitism*, which searches for the causes of hatred for Jews. Anti-Semitism is a mystery only because the patently obvious causes must be ignored.

899

□ South Carolinians think they are well off just because they have some foreign companies providing jobs. But where does the profit of these German or Japanese firms go? They do not stay here.

294

□ While made to appear the riddle of all time, the solution to ending the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is quite simple: Israel must end its occupation of all its neighbours' lands, including East Jerusalem. Israel must stop thumbing its nose at a world which grows ever more dangerous. Today the Zionist state is armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons. Tomorrow an Islamic country could be wielding "the great equalizer."

Canadian subscriber

□ Americans and New Yorkers in particular are sick to death of the UN with its demands for more financial support, more troops to enforce its policies and a greater say for the

have-not nations. If on some lucky future date the UN decides to move to premises outside New York, what better site could be chosen than Jerusalem, where its moral and social teachings could be propagated to the world along with those of the major religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam? If any city deserves to be internationalized for both religious and secular reasons, it is Jerusalem.

100

□ America's dwindling white majority is like the frog that doesn't notice the pot of water he's in is slowly being brought to a boil. Buchanan's unpardonable sin is warning the frog.

654

□ I know of no more wretched creature on the face of the earth than the white Gentile liberal. After more than four decades of minority crime, violence, drugs, gang warfare, illegitimacy, legalized porn, public vulgarity and welfare, he insists that life in these Uglified States of America is better for whites than it was 45 years ago.

782

□ Jews don't actually believe in all those genocidal passages in their Talmudic scriptures. They just keep them there to preserve Jewish traditions. But those naughty historical revisionists who dig up facts detrimental to Jewish interests are definitely up to no good. Rabbis may ponder the sexual eligibility of three-year-old girls and nine-year-old boys, but digging up the names of Jewish commissars is *streng verboten*.

420

□ With all this to-do about Pat Buchanan and anti-Semitism, I'm beginning to worry about myself. Many years ago in an unguarded conversation with a friend I carelessly expressed

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an opinion regarding the Jewish composer, Gustav Mahler. I said I preferred Mozart to Mahler. Ever since, I've been afraid that my words might be mulled over by the thought police. I'm debating whether to go down to the police station and turn myself in.

984

□ Exit polls in Arizona showed Buchanan winning by 3 to 2 over Dole. When Forbes came out of nowhere to win, all Pat could do was shake his head and wonder what happened. Has anyone ever examined the software inside the vote-counting computers?

113

□ Thanks to Clinton, Chosen influence has never been greater in the U.S. Nonetheless, Jews can't rest easy. Their numbers being few, they have to exercise control through non-Jews. Can they be sure what a President Dole might do, particularly if he realized that his earthly stay was about over?

111

□ Has anyone compared the maniacal attacks on tobacco to the silent forbearance on hard liquor? Drunk driving anyone? Squad cars don't park outside bars. If the Bronfman family had the monopoly on tobacco that it has on booze, would the anti-cigarette campaign be as noisy?

468

□ Despite its exposure to decades of secular liberalism, the American people still prefer the religious right to the irreligious left, the Christian Coalition to the Jewish cabal, spiritual to materialistic values.

102

□ I've done enough reading and studying to know that many parts of what is now the U.S. are lost. White separatists should sit down and figure out what parts of the country are best for their survival and move there. Personally I would like to see as many separatists as possible concentrate in West Virginia, which has an overwhelmingly white population and some great real estate buys.

255

□ The other day one of cable's anthropological "documentaries" featured scenes of Australian aborigines "at home." The creatures were incredibly ugly and primitive—almost the missing links between ape-man and Aryan man. One of the half-naked was squatting on the ground, threshing wild grain with a stick, much like a monkey beating on a drum. These people, we were told by the smarmy commentator, represented some of the last of the beautiful "hunters and gatherers."

981

□ After a Jewish female judge put California's Proposition 187 on hold, does anyone still have any doubts that ours is a "guided democracy?"

943

□ There are over a million Hutu refugees in Zaire. Burundi is about to blow. What is the

U.S. going to do about it, the liberal press asks? The case for making this "all our fault" is even weaker than in Haiti or Somalia, but who cares? Whenever there's a mud quake, it's our duty to mop up.

820

□ Since Dole is going to be the Republican nominee, let me offer the first official Bob Dole joke: Did you hear about the movie Hollywood made about the Bob Dole candidacy? *Dead Man Walking.*

752

□ In the heyday of communism, the charge of Red contacts was brushed off as a McCarthyite slur—guilt by association. Even after the verdict was in on the Rosenbergs and Alger Hiss, mass media references to them as "alleged" or "accused" spies continued. Now, however, if your third cousin once attended an NRA meeting or your father-in-law's dentist voted for David Duke, you are a Nazi.

970

□ Whenever I see an American flag blowing in the breeze, I always think, "It's waving good-bye."

024

□ Free men discriminate. Slaves do not.

891

□ TV pundit George Will berated Buchanan for praising our European heritage. Heaven forbid that anyone should propose Germans did more than Gabonese in building America!

110

□ Clinton's speeches call for lockin' 'em up. His judicial appointments favor lettin' 'em loose.

566

□ Our masters don't care if our kids learn how to add in school. They can import Asian Indians to do math chores. What the educationists want our kids to learn is that the spectacle of one man kissing another man is a normal display of affection.

204

□ Reagan's "Eleventh Commandment" was that Republicans should not attack each other. Yet they have accused Buchanan of every sin short of cannibalism! This reveals the phony character of the so-called Republican Revolution. It mainly consists of increasing welfare giveaways only 10% instead of the Democrats' 30%.

912

□ In what sense did we win the Cold War when the worst enemies of our culture increasingly control our country?

308

□ Perhaps the reason massacres in Black Africa and Bosnia have so little impact is because we're brainwashed into thinking nothing comes even close to being as horrible as the Holocaust. The use of the word "genocide" for anything but the main event calls forth

dark hints of anti-Semitism. It's hard for the semi-literate public to grasp the fine distinction that what's happening around the world is bad, but whoa! Never that bad!

544

□ When Dole slammed the Hollywood smut factory, it was denounced as anti-Semitism, even though the Senator never referred directly to Jews, save in terms of praise!

950

□ Most major cities have two common characteristics: skyscrapers towering over streets clogged with menacing muds; cabbies fresh off the boat from a Third World hell-hole. If Abdul or Izzy understood English, I'd love to ask them how they got here and how many siblings and cousins will follow. Meanwhile I clutch my briefcase tighter, praying I'll reach my office safely.

112

□ Ever notice how when the parent of a black athlete is interviewed it's always the mother? San Antonio Spurs's star David Robinson's mom recently averred that she always knew her boy would be a big success, but "thought it would be as a neurosurgeon." That's what all black athletes would be, if it weren't for whitey.

033

□ Israel speaks of walling off Palestinian-controlled areas. The same liberals who are horrified by anything other than a Welcome Wagon on our Mexican border are all for the Jewish Wall.

890

□ By making ourselves the enemy of a billion Muslims, terrorism in the U.S. is certain to increase in the years to come. Few of our liberties will survive. Of course, the real terrorists won't be bothered at all!

626

□ Orwell's prescient *1984* has many parallels today. Instead of Big Brother watching over us, we have Big Sister Hillary. In Orwell's dystopia today's axioms become tomorrow's anathema and yesterday's "truths" go down the "memory hole" and never happened.

333

□ Shouldn't a stateless people, ubiquitous in Europe and victims of the Nazi death camps be given their own country in the ancestral Asian homeland they left centuries ago? How strange that Gypsies aren't demanding a hunk of India!

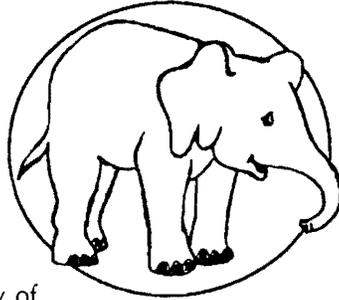
519

□ Jane Fonda would gladly have shot at American jets over Hanoi, rather than just pose atop Uncle Ho's anti-aircraft guns. Little if any harm was done to her career. In contrast, Anita Bryant's flourishing career crashed and burned when she dared criticize gays. She's a sales clerk now. Instauration better stop slamming the Liddys and the Limbaughs. They are smart enough not to criticize the Chosen.

145

The Elephant Should Get Real

Now that there is a temporary lull in the election hullabaloo mania, it's time for a little deep think. Much of the support for the Republican Party comes from people who consider—correctly—the Democratic Party as the party of minorities, a fact that the G.O.P. junta is careful not to advertise. Most minorityites believe that the Republican Party is white bread from heel to heel. If only it were true! Clinton's problem is to keep pandering to the minorities, but not to the extent of being viewed as a racial apostate. It's a tricky political tightrope, but so far the President hasn't fallen off.



As Instauration has said previously, the Grand Old Party must be "cleansed" of its paleos and neos, many of whose principles and policies can hardly be distinguished from those of the Democrats. It must be drilled into the heads of future G.O.P. leaders that only racism can defeat racism, that only unfettered white racism is dynamic enough to combat the various breeds of racism that dominate the Democratic Party.



If there's any hope for the American Majority in politics, the Republican Party has to become what so many of its members secretly and devoutly wish it to become—an openly pro-white party. Third parties divide the Majority vote, serving only as spoilers—though in rare cases they may swing enough votes from one party to elect the candidates of another. If any third party should ever get to the point of unseating a major party, it would only be the result of a long, intense and dedicated organizational effort.

Short of some catastrophe the Republican and Democratic Parties will be around for a long time to come. Instead of flirting with third parties, serious Majority members should put all their physical and mental energy into remaking the Republican Party in their image and selling this image to the rank and file.

In the course of this racial conflict, it must be made plain that any white who is a Democrat is a betrayer of his own kind. White Democrats must be shunned like lepers. Any white who belongs to the Democratic Party should be treated like Bosnian Serbs treat Bosnian Muslims and vice versa. When the day comes that white Democrats are given the silent treatment by other members of their families, American politics will start making sense and come out in the sunlight. The split in the white ranks will end. The G.O.P. will be free of its liberal and minority moles. Jews would have to shut up, shape up or leave for Israel. As today, politics will no longer be Republicans versus Democrats, but whites versus nonwhites. They may keep their old names, but in reality they will be a white party and a nonwhite party.

All this political sea change has to happen in the next half century or the Majority might as well throw in the towel.

Scattershot Rebels

A lot of strange people have been bobbing up recently in the white resistance movement in this country: Waco religious cultists, the Oklahoma bombers, Randy Weaver, and now the Freemen and Unabomber.

Is there anything these folks have in common? Very little. They all complain about the government, but their complaints differ. In one way or another, they have all made a bang but very few bucks. They attract very few followers. All have a fondness for guns or explosives, which means that many of them will spend a great deal of their lives in jail.

We know the bad things these people have done, but what about the good? By their words and acts they have publicized

the corruption that is gnawing at the very roots of civil society. They have exposed the stupidity and the itchy trigger fingers of law enforcement agents. Their courage in fighting the behemoth in Washington has left a lasting impression that some Americans simply won't take it anymore. It's sad. The hearts of many of these people may be in the right place, but their brains are somewhat muddled.

To turn this country around not only bright but charismatic leaders are needed—a hard to find combination. Chances are this country will never experience a bona fide revolution. It never did. What the colonies fought was a war of secession from Britain. What will probably happen here is a racial war that attempts

to hold the U.S. together, a war that will most probably end in the nation's fragmentation.

There is only one thing that binds, or should bind, these Majority dissenters together—race. But Terry Nichols, one of the two Oklahoma bombing suspects, has a mail-order Filipino bride. The congregation of David Koresh in Waco was, to say the least, colorful. The leader of the Indiana militia is a black. Until these ideological missteps are corrected, a white resistance movement is practically meaningless.

Perhaps the most that can be said for the sporadic violence erupting throughout the country is that whites are growing restless.

Suleiman the Magnificent

When we note the many countries that have expelled Jews throughout the ages, the questions of when and why are easily answered. Less frequently asked, but just as important, is another question: Where did those Jews go? During the 15th century, they swarmed to the Ottoman Empire.

Jews, of course, had been around in Anatolia/Turkey/Asia Minor since Byzantine times and even before. They poured out of the Iberian peninsula in the expulsion of 1492 and found refuge in communities throughout the Ottoman Empire, particularly in Palestine and in the capital city of Constantinople. Smaller numbers of Eastern European Chosen also joined the influx. The Sephardic, Spanish-speaking Jews came to be known as *Ladinos* (today, interestingly enough, my Spanish dictionary also defines *Ladino* as someone who is “crafty, sly, shrewd”). In 1520, when Suleiman I succeeded his father as Sultan, Jewish influence was at its peak.

Known in Europe as the Grand Turk, Suleiman reigned over the Ottoman Empire at the time of its maximum expanse and influence. Under the Pax Ottomanica, Suleiman’s domain included large chunks of the Middle East, most of North Africa, Eastern Europe and parts of Southern Russia. He had control of most of the coastline along the Mediterranean and Black Seas. In 1529 and again in 1532, he threatened Vienna, causing the renowned Habsburg jaw to drop in dismay. By way of reference, Suleiman’s contemporaries included Charles I, Francis I, Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, Leo XX, Columbus, Cortez, Raleigh and Drake.

In Suleiman’s time as in our own, Jews were involved in medicine, finance, trade and the textile industry. The wool industry in Salonika, for example, was largely in the hands of about 1,000 Jewish families. Not surprisingly, Jews were favored employees at the Imperial Mint and were appointed to administrative positions at mints throughout the empire.

Under a kind of religious apartheid instituted under Mohammad II, the Conqueror during the 15th century, Ottoman subjects were classified according to which religious group or millet they belonged to. The millets were politically and culturally self-contained. The Chief Rabbi or Priest was also the patriarch of each religious group. “The bended head is not to be stricken off” was the philosophy of the Muslim rulers. As long as Jewish and Christian subjects were willing to submit to Muslim rule, they were granted a fair amount of autonomy. Jews and Christians were considered *zimmis* or Peoples of the Book, whose monotheism was accorded respect because it predated that of the Muslims. By paying a special tax, which ex-

empted them from conscription, Jews and Christians were free to practice their faith. There was little challenge in playing “Guess Who’s the Jew?,” since Ottoman cities had separate Muslim, Christian and Jewish quarters. In the upper strata of society, rank and affiliation were reflected by one’s attire. In the office of the Grand Vizier, influential Jews were easily spotted by their blue slippers.

Though Suleiman made no use of Chosen soldiers, they proved to be important foot-soldiers in his other endeavors. They were as useful to him as he was to them, as these anecdotes show:

When Suleiman defeated the Hungarians in the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, the keys of the city were handed to him by a Jew named Joseph B. Solomon Ashkenazi.

Guess Who’s Jewish (You’ll Never Guess),
Len Chetkin, p. 111

Jews became so prominent as diplomats that Christian ambassadors had to solicit Jewish support before being permitted to approach [Suleiman].

The Jewish Connection,
M. Hirsch Goldberg, p. 53

Suleiman the Magnificent liked his Jewish doctor so much that he exempted him and his family from all taxes.

Ibid., p. 178

A particularly telling incident is Suleiman’s use of Jewish agents when he besieged the Christian fortress on Rhodes in the summer of 1522. The fort, one of the strongest in the world at that time, was manned by 60,000 defenders. Suleiman’s assaults came to nought until Jewish and Muslim agents on the inside enabled Ottoman forces to break in. Particularly ironic is the fate of a Jewish doctor who had long passed as a Christian convert within the fortress walls:

The Jewish spy, Apella Renato, was caught in the act of preparing to fire a bolt from a crossbow towards the enemy lines with a message attached to it, informing them that the garrison was almost at its last gasp. He was dragged before de L’Isle Adam [Grand Master of the Knights of St. John entrusted with defending the fortress] where, after torture, he confessed to having been in the Turkish service for years, and to having passed a number of other messages to them during the course of the siege. He was hanged, drawn and quartered, but not, according to one source, before confessing his sins and dying “a good Christian.”

Suleiman the Magnificent, Scourge of Heaven,
Antony Bridge, p. 67

The defeat of the Knights of St. John was Suleiman’s first great military triumph. It is worth noting how the Jews and Muslims worked together against Christian Europe, their common enemy. (The same was true in Spain before

the Christians expelled both minorities in 1492.) In recent times Jews, teamed up with Christians, have exaggerated and promoted the Judeo-Christian connection and have succeeded in portraying Muslims as a common enemy.

In Suleiman's day, as in our own, the notion was prevalent that importing Jews, their financial wizardry and their worldly goods was a surefire way to increase the prosperity of the host nation. It must be noted, however, that such prosperity is short-lived. When Jewish influence reaches its apogee, the long-range prospects for the state become extremely doubtful. The beginning of the end for the Ottoman Empire came while Suleiman was still on the throne.

The Knights of St. John handed Suleiman his worst defeat. After their trouncing at Rhodes, the Knights made the island of Malta their headquarters, which Suleiman's forces attacked in 1565. Though the Knights suffered heavy losses, the Turks lost the battle, along with 20,000 to 30,000 men. Suleiman, who had spent ten years of his reign in the fields with his troops, died the following year.

In 1571, just five years after Suleiman's demise, an Ottoman fleet of 280 ships was annihilated by a naval coalition of Spain, Venice, the Papal States and the Knights of St. John commanded by Don John of Austria at the Battle

of Lepanto. Thirty thousand Turks were killed and Turkish domination in the eastern Mediterranean ended. It was now downsizing time. Like the Roman Empire, the Ottoman Empire took centuries to completely disintegrate, lasting in name only until 1922. Militarism, multiculturalism, centralization of power, corruption and exhaustion of the core population had taken their toll on the Ottoman Empire as surely as on the Roman Empire.

Contemporary comparisons to the breakup of the Soviet Union and the fate of the U.S. are not out of line. America's separation of church and state may, in the long run, be as self-destructive as the much-vaunted religious tolerance of the Ottoman Empire. Our status as "the world's only superpower" could prove to be as ephemeral as that of the Ottoman sultans.

The moral for Instaurationists is that in our fondest dreams, as we fantasize about expelling the Jews to some country on the other side of the world or to some other planet (an intriguing science fiction plot!), we must also consider the vengeful mischief they would still be able to work from a distance. In retrospect the establishment of Israel, a home base where Jews can wreak their revenge on the rest of the world, was a mistake of global proportions.

JUDSON HAMMOND

Anthony Lewis, Warmongering Columnist

If crazy old Abe Rosenthal is the daffiest, weirdest Chosenite hanging around the N.Y. Times, Anthony Lewis has to be the nastiest and most sinister. Lewis's column is noteworthy for its Talmudic hate and venom.

A spokesman for the hard-core terrorist brand of Zionism, Lewis has now appointed himself an arbiter of "Western values." His column, "What Weakness Brings," in the September 11, 1995, edition of the newspaper of record concerned the situation in Bosnia.

Lewis shrieks to anyone who will listen that the peace plan first offered by NATO and the UN "rewards the racist Serbs." He is beside himself with rage that such a treaty would create a Serbian republic inside the artificial state of Bosnia, with the Muslims and Croats getting the rest of the territory. To most folks this would represent a sensible way to end a

miserable war as quickly as possible. Can any sane person believe that continued fighting is better? You can count Lewis among the warmongers who have clearly lost their marbles.

Lewis is totally opposed to nations based, even partially, on ethnicity. He believes France would remain France, even if all Frenchmen moved out. Ditto for Germany, Denmark, Spain, Canada and, of course, the U.S. He is desperately attempting to "establish" the principle that ethnic and racial origins have nothing whatever to do with nationality or citizenship. It is no coincidence that such rubbish spews from the verbally acrobatic mouth of one of the prime wanderers of all time. Lewis understands all too well that if the idea of ethnic and race-based states takes off, he would have no place to go but Israel.

Lewis describes his "vision of a good

society" as one that is multiethnic, tolerant and civilized. I am willing to agree with him on "civilized," extend qualified agreement to "tolerant," depending on the circumstances, but "multiethnic"? Sorry. This idea appears nowhere in traditional Western thought. Obviously we should not kill or drive out visitors or strangers in our midst if they are there with our permission in manageable numbers and behave themselves. But no country is obliged to allow its ethnic foundations to be corrupted or diluted to the vanishing point.

My reply to Lewis is simple. Put your butt where your mouth is. Go off to Bosnia, pick up a rifle and show us what you are made of. Until you do, I will have to assume that your deep concern for "Western principles" is based entirely on tribal self-interest.

N.B.F.

No to Neoconnery

They thought they had it all wrapped up in a neat little package. Bankrolled by men with deep pockets, neoconservatives, who wanted to channel and control the "Conservative Movement," smoothly and skillfully crept into the most weighty bastions of the U.S. rightwing during the Reagan-Bush fairy tale years. They intended to stay there, making sure that "conservatism," whatever that meant, stayed on course and on script. Their script, that is.

The impulse and objectives of the operation were clear. Liberalism was dying of old age and corruption, a gangrenous, syphilitic hag whose toothless come-hither leer drove millions into the ranks of the (supposedly) conservative G.O.P. Those who would become the leading neocons understood all too well that they had to jump the liberal garbage scow before it was too late. Tired old lefties for the most part, the neocons arrived on the political scene acting as if all the Americans who were already there should just move aside and let them take the helm. They would ensure that these crazy hicks and kooks with weird ideas about race, immigration and gun control would be put in their place, that is to say, down on the lower decks scrubbing out the pots and emptying the privies. The neocons would tell us where we wanted to go.

And so for the 12 years of the Reagan-Bush regime it went. True, every so often the Indians would get off the reservation and the good old boys would be allowed to blow off a little steam now and then. But they would be quickly headed off at the pass if they showed signs of drifting into an "America First," "Isolationist" or, God forbid, "racist" position. As for anti-Semitism, well, that's what we have Hate Crime Laws for.

A funny thing happened on the way to the 1996 elections. The American people, the real American people, weren't listening to Bill Bennett, Jack Kemp, the Kristols, George Will, Charles Krauthammer and Ben Wattenberg—the bozos who thought that it was just fine to let 50 million Mexican illegals take our jobs, that affirmative action was a "necessary evil," that "multiculturalism" was just fine, that America isn't a country, but just a bunch of abstract expressions and musty old documents. Majority members listened and told them to shove it.

A substantial body of the neocons have lately been engaged in a desperate effort to keep the Republican Party

and "conservatives" focused on "free trade" and "building democracy." They keep insisting, in increasingly hysterical tones, that economics is the be all and end all of human existence, with government by lawyer-politicians being the only sane, rational way for Americans to rule themselves.

It didn't wash. As the whole Mexican enchilada went sour before our horrified eyes and we saw our billions draining away, as the income of the American working man imploded, as average American workers began to understand that the domestic enemies are far more dangerous than any Bosnian Serb, huge blocs of citizens cried out, "Cut the crap!"

The coming struggle will not be fought over "enterprise zones" in the ghetto, the capital gains tax or juggling the Social Security and Medicare books. It will be fought over the basic human values of our people. Will we or won't we carry on the culture of our ancestors? Will our civilization survive? Will we remain a people or will we be submerged in a tide of strangers and aliens who are either indifferent to us, despise us or hate us?

Money issues will be important, because fiscal sanity is a hallmark of healthy, natural government of, by and for the people. What we will come to understand, however, is that the issues of the deficit, the federal debt, the budget, taxes, free trade and the like are only issues because a totally unnatural and perverted state of affairs has developed in this country.

I spoke to a colleague the other day, a "conservative" member of a minority group. As these people go, he is not too bad. He has a good sense of humor and none of that grim inferiority complex carried like a granite boulder on the shoulders of so many minorityites. He pointed out that the Republican Party and "conservatives" were all wrong. They were "abandoning" good, solid neocon positions for wild, radical populist ideas. Abortion, he averred, is a "non-issue" and should be soft-peddled. Immigration control was a mirage. Immigrants help keep the economy going and growing. The idea that there was a culture war was just silly. No such conflict existed. My minority friend just couldn't understand why there was all this anger and resentment. Actually, he said, the economy is doing quite well. We are just going through a period of "adjustment." This militia thing is nuts. Pat Buchanan is nuts. The Ameri-



The cunningest neocons. Pa Irving Kristol, an ex-Trotskyite, and sonny boy William, the most ferocious Buchanan basher.

can Spectator and the National Review have fallen into the hands of the Christian Right. And so on.

I almost opened my mouth, but decided against it. It would have been a futile mouthing.

The neocons really are out of touch. It's easy to comprehend why they are not, most of them, echt Americans. Having spent nine-tenths of their lives on Manhattan Island, they haven't a clue as to what is brewing in the heartland, in the hearts and minds of millions of fed-up, disgusted and enraged Majority members.

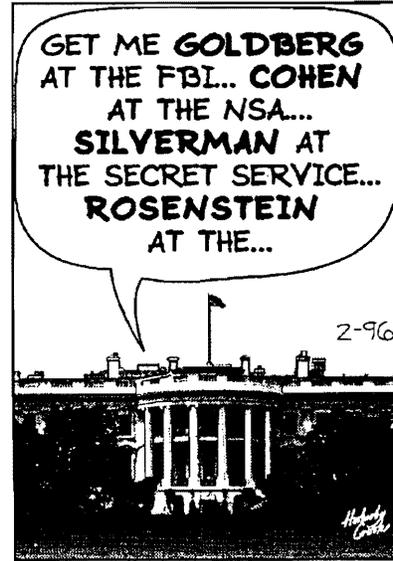
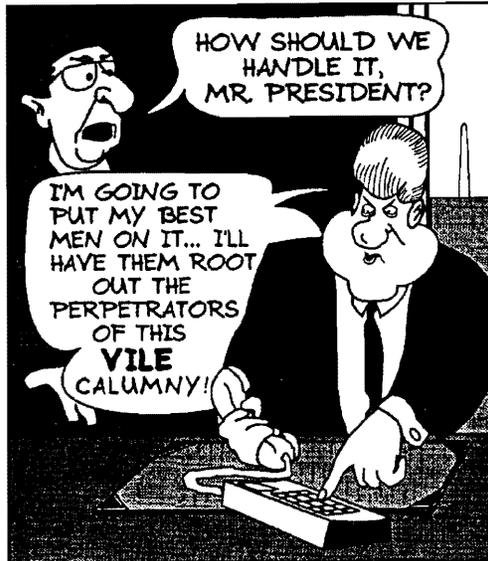
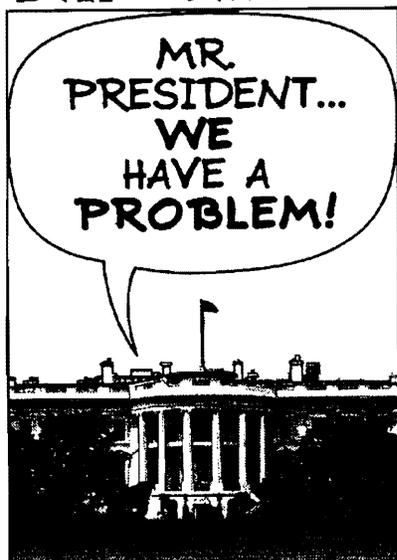
Listen up, neocons. America is not an abstraction to us. It is a country, made up of people linked together by blood and history. We know who is and who is not an American. You may make Israel your priority, your second

(or first) homeland, but this is *our* land and we will not let it go. We will not be "led" by the likes of you. Don't think that you can pull another stunt like you did with the Reagan-Bush crowd. Those days are over. We won't be told what subjects are "open to discussion" and what are not. We aren't interested in making "deals." We aren't going to dicker, haggle and bargain with our mortal enemies. We have no intention of taking half a loaf, playing both ends against the middle or settling for second place. We will say and do what we damn well please, whether it suits you or not. If you honestly want to repent, get your minds right and move over to our side of the street. Meanwhile we'll be watching. Blood tells.

N.B. FORREST

SNIGGERS

by Hookerby Crook



The Challenge

Isn't it time we stopped using the term "Judeo-Christianity"? That linkage never made sense, either to Jews or to genuine Christians. It's as much an oxymoron as "military intelligence", because the two faiths it couples together are virtual opposites. Then why have they been joined for so long? Because the shapers of the New Testament sought to legitimize it by founding it on the Old.

But Jesus was his own man! His faith could very well stand on its own as a new beginning, a fresh "revelation". Why should a religion founded in his name have to drag behind it the baggage of one so radically different? He had to present himself as of the House of David and akin to the older prophets because the Jews would never have listened to him had he not identified himself with their tradition. But how different from that tradition was his message of love and forgiveness! How different his God, a loving Father of all humanity, from the vengeful and bloodthirsty tribal god of Moses! And Jesus differs so much in character from the often murderously intolerant prophets of Israel that many people have wondered whether he could have been Jewish at all. His only vital connection to Judaism is that he tried to reform it. Under the aristocratic priesthood of the Sadducees, Judaism had become ossified, enslaved to the letter of the law. And the Sadducees were "collaborators", even their Chief Priest being appointed by the Romans. In denouncing their corruption and rigidity, Jesus naturally became a thorn in their flesh. Even worse, he preached that "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you", which struck at the root of their authority. For if an individual could find God for himself, who needed them?

Worse yet, who needed Moses? In proclaiming a God which Moses would never have recognized, wasn't Jesus rejecting Mosaic theology also? Wasn't he reaching back past the Mosaic aberration to that passionate belief in an afterlife which had fired the wondrous achievements of the Egyptian Old Kingdom? We need only compare the two men to realize how oxymoronic "Judeo-Christianity" is. When Moses repeatedly tells his followers that Yahweh says they're to go kill all those other people and take their land and "nothing that breathes shall be left alive" — isn't he expressing only the genocidal impulse of many another primitive tribe? When asked what his captains should do with the little boys of the defeated Midianites, he says in effect, "Kill'em all!" Was this a truly "enlightened" man? And if the Hebrews had been slaves in Egypt, they had now exchanged one slavery for another, because the regime imposed by Moses was truly totalitarian. Every aspect of life was dictated by the priesthood — nothing heard then about "a Kingdom of Heaven within you". Can we imagine Jesus approving a theocracy so ruthless that a

man should be put to death merely for refusing to listen to a priest?

Nor could he have approved Moses's insistence that the Israelites were a "chosen" people divinely licensed to dispose of all others as they saw fit. Ironically, that myth (since become the longest-running hoax in History) was the prophet's only major innovation. Breasted's The Dawn of Conscience shows that most of what Judaism claims to have derived from some "divine revelation" exclusive to itself was in fact borrowed from the high culture of Egypt, in which Moses had been schooled. Nor could he claim to have introduced the first true monotheism, since merely tribal gods don't merit the big G. But is monotheism such a great thing, seeing how much monopolistic intolerance it has spawned since Pharaoh Akknaten first tried to enforce it? Here we have to admit that Christianity itself has been the worst offender. Its record in the suppression of competing faiths has been appalling. The Church of the Inquisition had moved so far from its Founder that one might suspect it of having been taken over by the Devil during the Dark Ages!

YET, isn't it also true that most social advances since that time have been due to Christian reformers? That the glories of Christian art, music, and literature remain unsurpassed? Hasn't whatever civilization the world enjoys today (granting its Graeco-Roman roots) been created mostly under Christian influence? Neither Judaism nor any other faith had much to do with it. From the Renaissance to the Industrial Revolution and until about 1900 — when secular Jewish contributions began having great impact — the civilization now becoming global has been overwhelmingly the creation of white Europeans of Christian belief. (If the fabled "Wisdom of the East" had anything better to offer, why are those peoples now copying our ways as fast as they can?) And isn't it ironic that our dominant Anglo-Christian ethos is now being attacked on all sides by its beneficiaries — often by those coming from countries where the only effective law is still the law of the jungle? The very principles we gave them are being turned against us by alleged "victims" of our society, some even seeking to force their views on us by denying us that freedom of expression which is basic to any true democracy.

Some of those people will never admit that Christianity was a significant advance on Judaism. "Moses lived in more primitive times", they will say, "doing what he must to hold his people together! And hasn't Judaism evolved since then?" Indeed it has, yielding a great literature. But the old dynamic still operates! Jewish children are still taught to identify with it. Anyone doubting whether the

Mosaic tradition is racist need only recall the decades-long treatment of the Palestinian Arabs as Untermenschen, their appeals for a measure of autonomy met with a policy of "might, force and beatings." Who cannot see the genocidal cast of that teaching in the cold-blooded slaughter of over 800 innocents in the refugee camps of Beirut during Begin's invasion of Lebanon? And when Dr. Goldstein murdered 29 Arabs at prayer in Hebron, many young Israelis hailed him as a hero. Asked to explain this, Cabinet Minister Shunamit Aloni said it was because they had "emerged from a system of religious belief which teaches that we are a supreme People with the right to kill Arabs and take their property." The rabbi at Goldstein's funeral said, "Five thousand Arabs are not worth a Jew's fingernail." It took the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin to make another rabbi admit, "We are guilty of educating an entire generation in primitive thought." That thought has been opposed for many years by the courageous Dr. Israel Shahak of Jerusalem's Hebrew University, who suspects that most of his fellow-Jews still consider the rest of us to be somewhat less than human. Yet Jewish spokesmen in the West do not hesitate to accuse others of racism. And to any criticism of this "double standard" they will react with cries of "anti-Semitism!" as automatically as Pavlov's dog reacted to the sound of the bell. Have those people become so steeped in their own propaganda that they cannot see how hypocritical they are?

Apart from this tribalism, the greatest difference between Mosaic and Christian teaching is the insistence of Jesus on the reality of another world and a life hereafter. Despite his Egyptian upbringing, Moses is virtually silent on this. Granted, all we "know" of either man is from Scripture. We cannot tell what they may have taught privately to their initiates. Yet publicly to ignore the hereafter, as Moses did, is to ignore man's "spiritual nature" altogether. His god then becomes a kind of bullying overseer concerned only with the conduct of his subjects in this world, as though they had no destiny beyond it.

This focus on worldly success, coupled with obsessive concern for the physical details of ritual, typifies the teaching of Moses. The welfare of his Israelites depended entirely on their obedience to the wrathful god who had "bought" them by bringing them out of Egypt. Obey him, and they should live on the fat of the land, enslaving all others; disobey, and others would enslave them. Would it be unfair to summarize by saying that while both men were taken up to a mountaintop and offered dominion over the world, Moses took the deal and Jesus turned it down? Should we then simply label one faith as "bad" and the other "good"?

NOT so fast! There is another side to all of this, another voice to be heard. A spokesman for Judaism might very well say that when two faiths conflict, they must appeal their difference to a higher court. "We appeal to the Law of Nature!" he might say. "And its first commandment is to survive. That we have certainly done. 'Tribal'

though our faith may be, it has kept us together through nineteen centuries of the Diaspora and countless persecutions. Even after Hitler's Holocaust, we are stronger than ever before. Our accomplishments in science and the arts, our strength in the media and international finance, are out of all proportion to our numbers. What other 'tribe' can claim as much? And nobody gave it to us! By study and craft and a strict self-reliance we have worked hard for our success; you will not find our people on welfare. Could we have done all this without the faith which binds us in the world's oldest collective? Look how the State of Israel is restored! And in the capital of the world's most powerful country, we are running President Clinton's court even more than we ran Stalin's!"

"It would be absurd," he might go on, "to maintain that Judaism has no spiritual side. But why should we not seek success in this world when we've no more evidence of another than the Old Kingdom had? People hoping for a reward 'hereafter' have simply taken their eye off the ball! Some have even blamed us for inventing Christianity; they say that by persuading you to look to another world while scooping up the goodies in this one, we 'psyched you out'. That's obviously false. No prominent Jew since Paul has ever promoted Christianity. Haven't we rather seen your faith as the enemy of ours? And hasn't it been your enemy also? By cherishing foolish hopes of Heaven and fears of Hell — with all that sexual repression — haven't you done great damage to yourselves? The therapists' notebooks are full of it! And isn't your faith declining everywhere? While nobody else dares attack ours, haven't Christian scribes been meekly amending your New Testament to remove any reference offensive to us? We reject Judeo-Christianity just as you do, but on opposite grounds! Jesus to us was merely an apostate, an errant rabbinical student whose charismatic leadership posed a threat to our faith. Its survival mattered more than his."

"Set your complaints in this light," he continues, "and see how empty they are! You imply that we lack 'principle'? A principle has value only as it serves to advance our interest — or to block another's. Thus we may argue for it on one occasion and against on another, as any good lawyer should. When we were powerless, we embraced Communism as a means to empowerment, but it would be foolish to think we have any time for it now. (Though we may use it for our own ends, as when we used the Young Spartacists to help us trash that California YMCA where David Irving spoke.) The same logic applies to your vaunted 'freedom of speech'. Naturally we demand it for ourselves, but why allow it to people speaking against us? And why shouldn't we use the handy label of 'anti-Semitism' to deter them? Whether or not it is 'fair' — that foolish Anglo Saxonism! — it works. To quote that sagacious goy, Dr. Sam Johnson, 'Clear your mind of cant, Sir!' Then you will see the Law of Nature stand supreme. The people of Melos, you'll remember, saw it too late. When the Athenians demanded they surrender their little island to the Empire, they appealed to 'principle' and 'the gods'

—all in vain! The Athenians answered, 'Our opinion of the gods and our knowledge of men lead us to conclude that it is a general and necessary law of nature to rule whatever one can.' That's it, exactly! That is the lesson we Jews have learned the hard way — not to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven, but power. And we are winning it. Having survived everything your Christian 'love' has thrown at us, from the Templars burning our people in Jerusalem to Hitler burning them in Auschwitz, we are resolved never to be vulnerable again. And that means being in charge."

"If you do not relish a subordinate position," he concludes, "you must fight us with our own weapons — not the cowardly tactics of spraying our synagogues and top-

pling our tombstones! Jealousy will get you nowhere. You must compete with us. And even if you should succeed in beating us at our own game, then in a sense we shall have won anyway — for we shall have made you become like us!"

GRANTED, a real spokesman for Judaism would never be as frank as ours has been. But who will deny that his statement reflects reality? Here is the "challenge" of our title. How should Christians answer it? Not being one of them, this writer cannot say. But the challenge is clearly issued to all Gentiles. And those of us not willing to live under any "master-race" had better sit up and take notice.

PETER J. LORDEN

Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho, Plutocrats Have Got to Go!

I have always strongly opposed allowing any sort of "class warfare" to develop in the Majority movement. We are racist nationalists, not Marxist internationalists. We reject not only the fruits of Marxism but its seeds. We believe that race, blood and genes will determine the future of mankind, not money, production, interest and labor. Not that we deny the importance of any of these four factors. We recognize that while man does not live by bread alone, he'd get pretty hungry without it. We support sound, tried and tested, common sense economic and financial policies that are based upon the needs of real people of real flesh and blood, rather than on abstract ideas or the balance sheets of a corporation or investment bank. We are not opposed, in principle, to the idea that there are wealthy folks and poor folks. It is how they got or failed to get their money and how they use it or don't use it that interest us. Simply put, we are people people, not money people.

As the Majority movement continues to grow we will eventually have to face the problem of what to do about the wealthy. I am not talking about your hometown businessman who made a few million on real estate or the occasional guy who strikes it rich with a good restaurant or an invention. I am talking about the really wealthy, the men and women who control significant percentages of the national or regional economies, people who affect the lives of tens of thousands, maybe millions, with their personal decisions. These are the people who can buy and sell corporations, newspapers, television channels or senators—the people who currently run this country.

We have in America the so-called "Old Money" crowd, largely Majority by extraction, though now heavily diluted with Jewish blood. We also have a large number of rich people who cannot be neatly pigeonholed into one class or ethnic group.

What is to be done with these people and their money? Let us make it clear from the start that no Majority government will allow any white assault on other whites

simply because the latter are rich. Among our potential supporters are a certain number of those shifty, greasy types, often the loudest-mouthed in our crowd, who claim to have their eyes fixed firmly on their racial duty but who really have them fixed on the main chance. They are true *Lumpen* and must be kept sternly in line by responsible and duty-driven leaders.

If we will not permit a sacking of Scarsdale and Beverly Hills, what then should we do? The answer is that we will judge the wealthy like we will judge everybody else. A wealthy man or woman who has behaved in a racially responsible manner will be treated like any other Majority member. That is to say, his life, liberty and property will be as absolutely guaranteed as any government can guarantee it.

What about those who have not behaved in a racially loyal and responsible manner? Unfortunately this group comprises most of the very wealthy in this country, including all but a tiny percentage of the wealthy Jews. Like all other fools they will quickly be parted from their money. No Majority government can allow race traitors, much less Jews, to retain control of the means to oppose our reordering of American society.

Whether the separation of the disloyal wealthy from their ill-gotten gains comes about through confiscation, special taxes, forced loans or other means, it should only be done after their hostile actions against the Majority have been solidly confirmed. That is to say, it should be proved beyond a doubt that they have chosen to use their wealth in a racially and socially irresponsible manner.

If, for example, you have been a large donor to the Simon Wiesenthal Center or the ADL, if you are a major stockholder in the Washington Post, don't plan on spending much time on the French Riviera in the years to come. On the other hand, if you are a billionaire who never really helped us out, but did spend your money aiding crippled children, well, we can hardly hold that against you.

It goes without saying that a Majority government will

not allow certain critical sectors to be in untrustworthy private hands. Television, radio, motion pictures, record companies and other means of mass communication should be maintained as private businesses, but the owners will change with very few exceptions.

A complete overhaul of the national banking system, including the Federal Reserve will be in order. This does not mean that we would impose some funny money scheme or pie-in-the-sky, goofy solution to our financial problems. We have no intention of trying to finance our dreams on gold distilled from sea water. Further, we must honor all legal debts contracted by the U.S. government. There will be no further debt, but we will pay what we owe to the last cent. It will be good, very good, for Majority members to learn through bitter experience what dec-

ades of rule by profligate lawyer-politicians has brought them.

There will be bleating and knavery by the rich and their minions who will try to avoid paying for their political shortsightedness and folly. They will try to bribe their way into our ranks, as they manufacture histories of their conduct in the great struggle.

We will smile serenely as we attach all their property, real, personal and otherwise, and send them packing. No more will the power of the purse rule our land. There will still be rich men and poor men, but the rich will be patriots or they will not be rich anymore. The poor will at least live in dignity and with hope for the future.

N.B. FORREST

Unusual Movie

Occasionally a major movie is released that somehow slips by the Political Correctness censors in the land of fruits and nuts. The film I'm talking about is *Just Cause*, starring and produced by Sean Connery, who plays the role of a doggoeder Harvard law professor. (Even his liberal, guilt-ridden wife chides him for his lack of "real world" perspective.) Following a debate on capital punishment, during which he claims the death penalty is a racist tool, the professor, his wife and their young daughter fly to Florida to rescue an innocent black from Death Row. The black, who had been attending col-

lege on an affirmative action scholarship, had been sentenced to death for kidnapping, raping, sodomizing, repeatedly stabbing and murdering an 11-year-old white girl in the "cracker"-dominated Everglades. In the face of harassment and threats by the local "redneck" population, the professor succeeds in producing evidence indicating the girl was actually victimized by a deranged, blue-eyed, blond-haired, religious zealot, already on Death Row for a series of sex murders.

After the black is released, however, the professor learns that he was in fact guilty. On the day of his release he mur-

dered four additional whites. The black then kidnaps the professor's young daughter and wife and drives them to the swamps, where he intends to rape and murder them. Connery, with the help of an obligatory "good" black cop, rescues his family at the last minute and stabs the black to death.

Just Cause, now available on video, is unusual in that it deviates from today's left-liberal Diktat that all blacks accused of victimizing whites are innocent and it is the duty of good white liberals to rescue them from evil Southern justice.

EDWARD KERLING

Child Watches Mother Killed

I recently returned quite depressed from a week-long working trip to Cleveland. The flight wasn't bumpy; my hotel accommodations were adequate, the work was not terribly taxing. True the weather was awful most of the time, but that did not bother me. My somber mood stemmed from a heinous crime which took place in the city on my last night there.

The scenario was all too common. A woman was robbed and shot to death while withdrawing money from a bank automatic teller machine. When these sketchy details were first aired on the local radio news, I said to my co-worker, "I'll bet you \$20 that the victim is white and the perpetrators black." He knew bet-

ter than to take me up on the bet.

Sure enough, as more details became known, the victim was indeed a beautiful young white woman, and her killers (filmed by a video camera outside the bank) were garden-variety Negroes. Worst, the woman's four-year-old daughter, sitting in the car, witnessed the tragedy. Her mother was in the process of withdrawing some money to treat daughter to dinner at McDonald's. For that simple act her life was snuffed out by two sub-humans. The killers were caught the next morning, thanks to details gleaned from the outside video camera, but this was hardly any consolation.

The "ethnic cleansing" of whites by

nonwhites in America continues unabated. The late William Gayley Simpson, in one of his final and prophetic statements on the race issue, said very simply, "Separate or die." Otherwise, he intimated, racial civil war was probably inevitable.

It is doubtful if Negroes will fare well in this conflict. The superior intelligence and firepower possessed by whites may result in blacks being eliminated in industrial quantities. In a perverse sort of way, when the conflict does occur, I hope it will be in my lifetime. I will never forget the fate of that young mother in Cleveland.

800

Trials and Tribulations of an Ethnostate

Introduction

Imagine a country safe enough for little children to play unattended in inner-city parks; a country where a centuries-old folk tradition is still a vibrant living culture; a country where miles of undeveloped sandy beaches meet pine forests inhabited by deer, moose and bear.

Now imagine a country where organized crime and government corruption are endemic; a country where more people are dying than being born; a country where there are constant health warnings against drinking tap water and swimming in the sea.

Imagine Latvia.

Latvia of today is full of contradictions and contrasts as might be expected of a society in rapid transition. Freed by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, most observers would say the country is struggling to reassert itself as a Western nation state in the classic 19th-century mode. In my opinion the Baltic republics may become the 21st-century's first ethnostates.

In August 1993, some 80 years after my grandfather left for America, I arrived in Riga, the capital of Latvia, to teach English in a suburban secondary school. What brought me to Latvia, besides an interest in the land of some of my ancestors (my other three grandparents were born in Sweden), was an acute shortage of English language teachers. During the years of occupation Russian was the second language of Latvians and most of them have a working knowledge of that tongue. The Soviets didn't encourage the study of English and, with few opportunities to study or travel in the West, there was little motivation to learn English. With the reestablishment of independence everything changed. Western government officials, aid workers and businessmen have streamed into the Baltics, and the West has become just a ferry ride or short flight away. Learning English, the lingua franca of the West, has become a mania. The demand for English language teachers has gone up just as the available supply has gone down. Public schoolteachers in Latvia receive about \$150 a month, while a bilingual secretary can make three times that much. So money has lured many Latvian English language teachers out of the classrooms. The departing natives have been replaced to some extent by idealistic or adventuresome foreigners. There are about 40 Peace Corps volunteers teaching in Latvia, as well as many other Westerners who have been sent by private groups or who have come on their own.

Brief History

With the exception of the Balkans, there is no region in Europe where geography, history and ethnicity are of more immediate importance than in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Latvia, with a territory and population equal to West Virginia, is located on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Its generally flat to gently rolling landscape is part of the North European Plain. The East Baltic is the crossroads of Northern Europe, a meeting place of northern peoples. Teutons, Slavs, Norse and Finns have at various times laid claim to what is now Latvia, but it has been the Balts who have occupied the land for the last 3,000 years. The origins of the Balts are rather obscure as is the case with many peoples. They probably came from that great spawning ground of nations, the eastern European steppes. Migrating northwest, they at one time occupied much of what is now Poland, Belarus and western Russia, as well as Lithuania

and Latvia. They absorbed, mingled with or displaced the Finno-Ugrian peoples already settled along the eastern Baltic. Although the Balts never enjoyed political unity, they were able to contain the Slavic expansion which by 500 A.D. had claimed Belarus. Some Latvians consider Belarussians to be Slavized Balts. Later incursions by Danes and Swedes in Courland or Kurzeme (west-ern Latvia) were also repulsed.

Foreign domination came in the 13th century with a crusade by German knights who conquered, Christianized and colonized Prussia and parts of what is now Latvia and Estonia. (The Prussians were originally a Baltic people who were Germanized. Their language became extinct in the 17th century.) For the next 600 years the German nobility and burghers were able to exert political, economic and cultural control, at least on the local level. Latvians were eventually relegated to the level of serfs, their language the dialect of peasants. In the 16th century Latvia became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom. In the 17th century it was conquered by Sweden. In the 18th century Peter the Great conquered most of it for the Russian Empire.

In the second half of the 19th century, as the czars were trying to Russify the Baltic countries, Latvia began a national awakening. The collapse of the Romanov and Hohenzollern Empires at the end of WWI gave Latvia a chance to gain its sovereignty. In 1918-40 it was an independent republic. The country was occupied by the Red Army in 1940, the German army in 1941 and the Red Army again in 1944-45. From 1945-91 it was the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. During and after the war hundreds of thousands of Latvians were killed, deported to the interior of the U.S.S.R. or fled to the West. It is estimated that the country lost 25% of its population between 1940-45. These people were replaced by hundreds of thousands of Russians and other Soviet citizens in a deliberate policy of destroying Latvian identity. By 1989 only 52% of the population was ethnic Latvian. The ideological conflict between communism and nationalism, between left and right, has been and continues to be, to a large extent, an ethnic conflict between Slav and Balt. This is one reason Latvia has not "turned left" as many former Communist countries have done in the last few years.

Current Conditions

The former Soviet republics have been described as the "Wild East" or as lawless frontier societies. There is some truth to this, but we know that the Wild West was a lot more orderly than L.A. or D.C. is today. Crime has increased greatly in Baltic cities in the last several years. Interestingly, they have a different sort of crime than American cities have because they have a different sort of criminal. Although auto theft and petty larceny is common, most Latvian crime is the organized variety—extortion, bribery, smuggling—not the violent street crime that Americans fear.

I wish every urban American could see how public spaces are utilized in Latvia. In nice weather the Vermanes Gardens in the center of Riga is filled with people: young mothers pushing baby carriages, groups of schoolchildren playing, old people sitting and chatting or playing chess. At night couples stroll hand-in-hand or smooch on park benches. Try doing that in Lafayette Park. The bums, beggars and muggers who have taken over Washington's parks are absent. Drunks and beggars are to be

seen on Riga's streets, but there seems to be an unwritten law that keeps them out of the parks. I think Americans are finally realizing how circumscribed by crime their lives have become. No need to study comparative crime statistics, just seeing how people move about freely tells the story. For almost two years I rode the commuter trains from Riga to Jurmala where I taught evening classes at a private school. I would often see ten-year-olds with blonde braids carrying violin cases or tennis rackets to their homes alone at night from music or sports lessons. In four years of riding the Washington metro I never remember seeing a young child riding alone at any hour.

In many ways a Westerner may feel that he has entered a time warp when arriving in Latvia. Contemporary feminism is still largely absent. There are far fewer women drivers on the roads than men, though many physicians are women and they still make house calls. Cashiers still use abacuses. The grass in front of my school was cut with a scythe. Fur is still very much in fashion. Public hygiene is often of 19th-century standards. Many food stores have no refrigeration, with everything displayed in bulk out in the open. When you see ragamuffins begging on the streets (only in Riga), you're reminded of Dickens' London.

Latvians are a nationalistic, conservative peasant people, but there is little of the puritanism characteristic of American conservatism. Latvia might be described as Appalachia with a continental flair. Europeans, Latvians included, tend to have a more relaxed attitude toward nudity. On the more rural public beaches many young children and even some not-so-young children swim naked. On Jurmala beaches topless young women don't raise an eyebrow. The largest newspaper, *Vakara Zinas* (Evening News), a tabloid printed on yellow paper, has a daily *vakara meitene* (evening girl) who poses in various stages of undress. The girls do this for free or "just for fun" as one of my students explained. The readers then vote for their favorite girl of the month and the winner receives a small prize.

Europeans, especially Latvians, also have a more casual attitude towards alcohol. Public drinking is endemic. Beer is sold almost everywhere and to anyone. Beer is the national drink in Latvia and many people don't even consider it an alcoholic beverage, though it is stronger than American brew. I remember waiting for the train in Jurmala one fine spring day along with a few dozen other people when two boys no older than twelve appeared swigging half-liters of beer. My self-righteous, civic-minded American persona yelled silently, "Hey, look at those young boys drinking beer in public. Somebody do something!" The crowd of Latvians and Russians, of all ages and both sexes, were totally oblivious to the sight. My students informed me that, yes, there are laws against drinking in public and selling alcohol to minors, but they are simply not enforced. Even the little store in the school hostel sold beer to anyone with 25 centimes. School dances often featured a cash bar.

Latvians consider themselves Westerners who were kidnapped by the East. They also consider themselves Northern Europeans, sometimes even describing themselves as Nordic. They say they have a Nordic temperament. Physically they are as tall and lean as Nordics and almost as blond. The biggest differences are their round faces and upturned pug noses which, to my mind, only adds to the beauty of the young women and children. Betty Boop facial features are common among the young women, while the children have the round-headed "Peanuts" look. An American girl I met in Riga asked me if I thought Latvian girls were pretty. I said I did. "Yes," she agreed with a touch of envy, "they all have such little noses."

The Zolitude district near where I lived on the outskirts of Riga consists mainly of a huge mid-rise housing project built during the Brezhnev era. Such projects have been rightly criti-

cized for shoddy workmanship, lack of upkeep and poor aesthetics. However, I'd rather be sentenced to ten years in a Brezhnev project than ten minutes in the concrete jungle of an urban American apartment house. In fact, so many attractive young women got on and off the commuter train at the Zolitude station that some of the local English-speakers referred to them as "Zolitude cuties."

Latvia may have the prettiest children in the world, but not enough of them. Abortions have outnumbered live births for the last several years. The fact is, Latvia is in the midst of a demographic and health crisis. More people are dying than being born. Alcoholism and suicides are up; birthrates and life expectancy are down. Life expectancy for males in Latvia is 64 years. On the other side of the Baltic in Sweden the figure is 75 years. One MP claims that Latvia has the lowest procreation rate and the highest divorce rate in the world. Many see the problems of abortion, low fertility and high divorce as related. During the Soviet times abortion became the most common method of birth control and remains so today. Multiple abortions can lead to infertility; 25% of Latvian couples are infertile. The divorce rate is now approaching 50%.

This birth dearth is a problem common to most of Eastern Europe. Only in Albania does the fertility rate exceed replacement level. The new Central Asian republics such as Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan will double their populations within the next generation. Despite the fact that its population is over 99% European, Latvia is in a vulnerable demographic position. It is on the direct smuggling route for illegal aliens heading from Central and South Asia to Northern Europe. At present, low living standards keep most aliens moving farther north or west to Scandinavia. However, with their aging population and low birthrate, an economic turnaround in a few years could produce a real labor shortage in the Baltic states. With market forces of modern capitalism being as they are, what will stop the Asian immigration then?

Latvians and Russians

For centuries during the pre-Christian era, Baltic tribes fought Slavic tribes pushing in from the east. In the 18th century the Russian conquest of what is now Latvia began with Peter's victory over Sweden's Charles XII in the Northern War and was completed with the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. In the second half of the 19th century the czars tried to Russify the Baltic provinces, with limited success, by imposing their language and religion on the inhabitants.

In the 20th century the commissars used much harsher and more pervasive Russification methods. Under Stalin, mass murder and forced displacement of entire peoples became integral components in the Sovietization of non-Russian peoples. Russian imperialism, to the nation's shame and detriment, became the vehicle of communism. As one commentator has observed, "The Russian nation as a whole agreed to surrender its national culture to that of the Soviet Union" in order to insure the continuity of the Russian empire. It's interesting to note that the Germans are required to bear eternal guilt for embracing National Socialism, yet the fact that the Russians permitted themselves to be co-opted by Stalinism is simply historical water over the dam. Unfortunately, Russia and the West will be paying for Russia's mistakes for generations to come. The ecological, cultural and human destruction brought about by communism is incalculable. The Soviet system reinforced the most negative aspects of Russian culture. Communism's "successes" were in destroying bourgeois manners, morality, spirituality and personal responsibility.

The Russians have an unenviable reputation in most of Eastern Europe. The Balts, Poles, Hungarians, Czechs and Finns have all fought against Russian domination just in this century and

they all became alarmed after the electoral success of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. Even the seemingly secure Swedes catch a chill when Russia sneezes.

Today there are approximately 700,000 Russian speakers in Latvia, of which about 500,000 are ethnic Russians. Russian-speakers are in the majority in the six largest cities, while the vast majority of rural folk are Latvian. This is a similar pattern worldwide where minorities are relatively recent arrivals.

I made only one trip to Russia proper, but the Riga neighborhood where I lived was mainly Russian-speaking. One of the games I used to play while riding the commuter train was to guess the nationality of my fellow passengers. I would inconspicuously study the appearance of riders who were not reading or speaking, guess their nationality, then wait for them to pull out a newspaper or start a conversation. Some Latvians claim they can tell a Russian by his or her style of dress (flashier clothes, more makeup on the women) as well as by physical appearance.

scrubbed Germanic look. One day, as she and her father alighted from a trolley, her father tossed their spent ticket stubs on the sidewalk. A policeman immediately stalked up to them and threatened to arrest her father for littering. Her father quickly picked up the tickets and apologized, saying he was just a simple country fellow who didn't know any better. In the 30s one just didn't litter in Riga. Today litter is ubiquitous.

Except for a few radical nationalists, Latvians have resigned themselves to a large Russian minority for the foreseeable future. After all, there has been a Russian minority in Latvia for centuries. Many ethnic Russians are citizens, but postwar immigrants and their descendants must go through a naturalization process which requires passing a Latvian language test.

Most Latvians are glad they are bilingual and many enjoy hearing and speaking Russian at times, but they insist that Latvian Russians repay the compliment by being able to speak Latvian. Most cannot. Many Russian Latvians stubbornly refuse to let



Latvian schoolchildren

I guessed right more times than I was wrong. The fact is, ethnic Russians are a very mixed nationality. To the basic East Slavic strain has been added Finnic, Baltic, Greek, Turkic and Mongol elements. Of course, Russian speakers may not be ethnic Russians at all. In Riga I saw ordinary Russian-speakers (not diplomats or foreign businessmen) who would have looked right at home in Oslo, Ankara or Beijing.

Though warm and generous to friends, Russians are often rude to strangers and coarse in their public behavior. Few Russians have read Amy Vanderbilt. Spitting, shoving and queue-cutting are a matter of course for many. Latvians say Russians attack a line from any direction but the rear. The average Russian seems to have little aesthetic sense. The neat-as-a-pin farms and cities of Western Europe are alien to the Slavic nature which favors more cluttered, lived-in surroundings. Older Latvians blame the Russians for the dirt and dereliction of Riga. One elderly Latvian who grew up in a small village told me of visiting Riga with her father in the early 30s. Back then the capital still had a well-

even a single word of Latvian pass their lips. I got to know one Russian businessman, Yuri, who rented office space in our hostel. He spoke passable English and good German, but absolutely refused to speak any Latvian. I don't speak Russian and at times when Yuri didn't understand my English I would try the little Latvian I know. Sometimes I could see a flicker of comprehension at my simplified Latvian, but he would never acknowledge any understanding of the language himself.

Yuri's attitude is common but far from universal. A majority of school-age Russian Latvians are making an effort to learn the national language. They must do so if they have any hope of being naturalized. Bilingualism will go a long way towards defusing ethnic tensions in the Baltics.

The language situation can become quite variegated in a crossroads region such this. I have in mind a small Jurmala cafe I would stop at for an afternoon pick-me-up between my day and evening jobs. There was nothing very special about this coffee shop except that American pop music was almost always being

played. The menu and signs were in Latvian (by law) and the girl behind the counter spoke only Russian.

In addition to a working knowledge of Latvian, Latvian Russians wishing to become citizens must swear allegiance to the Latvian state. The fact is that many Russian Latvians have never supported an independent Latvia in either elections or public opinion polls. They see the Latvian Republic as a temporary phenomenon to be waited out. Latvians, on the other hand, hope that those non-citizens who refuse to learn the language and accept the legitimacy of the state can be forced or persuaded to leave while the remainder can be integrated, if not assimilated, into Latvian society.

Latvians and the Germans

During the 13th century, German knights conquered most of what is now Latvia. One can still see their stone castles, in various states of repair in most Latvian towns. The Latvian word for town, *pilsate*, means castle site. When one looks at these castles, set on hilltops, constructed on large boulder foundations so far from their homeland, one is impressed by the will-to-power embodied by the German *Drang nach Osten*. When I mentioned this thought to a Latvian friend he replied that building the castles wasn't as difficult for the Germans as it was for the Latvian slaves who lugged the boulders up the hillsides.

Despite centuries of suppression by the Baltic barons, the relationship between the Latvians and Germans has always been more complicated than that of master and servant. The division between the Latvians and Baltic Germans was socioeconomic and linguistic, not racial or religious. Until the 19th century, Germans lived in towns, Latvians in the countryside. Germans were nobles or burghers; Latvians were peasants. From the beginning, upwardly mobile Latvians were assimilated into the German community; downwardly mobile Germans assimilated into the Latvian community. The percentage of "Germans" in Latvia began a rapid decline in the 19th century, as ambitious Latvians were no longer required to assume a German identity to enter the bourgeoisie. At the beginning of the 18th century Riga had a majority German population. By the early 20th century the city was only 20% German.

Since their high-water mark in the 18th century, there has been a massive retreat of Germans from all over Eastern Europe—from the Baltics, the Volga, Bohemia and Transylvania—eastern Germans have disappeared. Our guide for a Prague tour, who looked old enough to speak from personal experience, told us the city was 75% German-speaking before WWI. The long-term withdrawal of the German presence was greatly accelerated by their catastrophic defeat in 1945. Though often heavy-handed, the Germans did play a civilizing role in the East.

While Baltic Germans are all but extinct, their legacy is still seen in the Lutheran religion, Gothic architecture and in elements of the Latvian language. Most Latvians concede that their conquest by the Germans, hardly a best-case scenario, at least assured that they would be part of the West. An alternative would have been the Cyrillic alphabet, the Orthodox religion and Slavization—the fate of their Belarus cousins. Anti-German feeling in Latvia probably peaked during the first two decades of the 20th century. Today, with Latvia fervently embracing Europe, Balts are more favorably disposed to Germans than most other Europeans.

Latvians remember that they had few friends and fewer allies as they tried to steer a middle course between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia during the 1930s. This go-it-alone policy proved untenable and in June 1940 Stalin invaded the Baltics. After a year of mass terror Hitler's troops arrived. The Occupation Museum in Riga displays a letter, dated July, 1941, from a

German officer writing home that states that nowhere in Europe has the Wehrmacht received such a friendly reception as in Riga. After enduring 13 months of Soviet arrests, torture, killings and deportations the Latvians were indeed happy to see the Germans. The Nazi occupiers gave Latvia a measure of autonomy, but their post-war plans were never finalized. Himmler considered the Balts part of the Germanic family and strongly supported the idea of a Latvian Waffen SS division. In early 1943, with manpower shortages bought on by the defeat at Stalingrad, Hitler okayed the establishment of the Latvian Legion. The Latvians, who hadn't fired a shot in 1940 and regretted it ever since, now took advantage of the opportunity to fight against the Bolsheviks; 146,000 Latvian men were mobilized taking 60,000 casualties. Knowing the fate of their nation if the Communists returned, the Legion fought to the bitter end. The "Kurezme kettle," the western quarter of the country, held out against the Red Army until May 10, 1945, two days after the general capitulation of the German army. Even then it took the Russians another nine years to completely pacify the countryside as guerrillas known as the Forest Brothers fought the War of the Woods.

The Latvian Legion is greatly honored today. One whole floor of the War Museum in Riga is devoted to them. In Rezekne one entire room of the tiny town museum is filled with Legion memorabilia. Latvians point out that the Legion fought with the Germans, but for Latvia against communism. Also, while the Germans may have been brutal in their treatment of peoples farther east, many Latvians have different memories. At a free adult language class I taught once a week I had occasion to talk to several elderly Latvians about their wartime experiences. One old fellow, an architecture student and labor service member at the time, related how he eagerly volunteered for duty in Germany, but in the chaos of Riga, October, 1944, he was captured by the Russians before he could board a transport ship to the Reich. Another elderly woman noted that the contrast in behavior between the German army and the Russian army in Riga was as between night and day. The Germans acted like gentlemen, she said, the Russians like barbarians. These and other pro-German sentiments were completely unsolicited by me and run counter to the official Latvian position that the country was qualitatively though not quantitatively as victimized by the Nazis as by the Soviets.

A Westerner visiting the Baltic states may be startled to see swastika and swastika-like symbols in embroidery, jewelry and graphic designs. It is not generally known that the swastika is an ancient Indo-European symbol. In Latvian it is referred to as *uguns krusts* or *Laimas krusts*, Laima being one of the principle goddesses of pre-Christian Baltic religion. While on the subject of things associated with National Socialist Germany, I should point out that the honor guard at the Freedom Monument in central Riga used to wear pre-war "German-style" uniforms: coal-scuttle helmets, jackboots and, in the winter, great coats. Just before President Clinton's July, 1994, trip to Riga and his speech at the Freedom Monument, the guards switched to cloth caps. Apparently someone told the Latvians that Nazi-looking guards gave the wrong impression.

Latvians and the Jews

Latvia has had a significant Jewish minority since the 18th century, though Hebrews were never as numerous as they were in Poland or Lithuania. Traditionally, Jews have been city dwellers engaged in commerce which, along with their race and religion, separated them from the rural Latvian farmers. While peasants have always been skeptical of merchants and city folk, Latvia's small Jewish population kept anti-Semitism to a minimum. Even the right-wing, authoritarian government of Karlis Ulmanis (1934-40) had good relations with the Jewish community.

The situation changed rapidly in 1940. Most Jews welcomed the occupation by Soviet troops since they thought it would save them from German occupation. Many of the Secret Police officers directing the arrests, torture and killings were Russian Jews. The Chosen were also disproportionately represented in the Latvian Communist Party which assisted the Soviet occupiers. For these reasons Jews became associated in Latvians' minds with the Soviet takeover of their country, and anti-Jewish feeling greatly increased. When the Germans took over there was little opposition to the National Socialist policy towards the Jews.

Today Latvia has a tiny (0.5%), but influential and very wealthy Jewish minority. I got a glimpse of their clout when a friend and I went to see the Riga premier of *True Lies* at the Oskars cinema. Arnold Schwarzenegger is not normally my cup of tea, but the other movie theater which showed English language films, was playing *Schindler's List*. When my friend and I arrived at Oskars we were told that the theater was closed to the public for a private showing. The Jewish Society of Riga had rented the place for a private viewing of *Schindler's List*, even though the morning paper and theater marquee listed *True Lies* as opening that night. I never got the full story, but apparently the Riga Jews had enough clout to reserve the theater on very short notice for their private affair.

Despite their wealth and influence, Jews in Latvia are generally dissatisfied with their lot. Most are Russian-speaking non-citizens who sided with the pro-Soviet forces during the struggle for renewed independence. About a third of the Jewish population has left since 1991. There is a Jewish high school in Riga and rumor has it that every year the entire graduating class emigrates, mainly to Germany.

Latvians and Religion

As noted earlier, Latvians were converted by the sword during the 13th century. The Lithuanians did not accept Jesus until the late 14th century, making the Balts the last Europeans to become Christian. In Latvia the German minority controlled the churches until the 19th century and radical nationalists long viewed Christianity as a foreign religion. For half a century the Soviets did their best to suppress the churches. In the late 1980s and early 90s there was a modest religious revival since the church was one fairly safe way to oppose the regime.

Today a majority of Latvians are still nominally Lutheran, but it is often a casual Scandinavian-type Lutheranism. Churches are jammed for Christmas Eve services and half-empty the rest of the year. From what I understand, about 10% of the population are active members of a Lutheran congregation, another 10% are practicing Catholics. There's a small but well established Eastern Orthodox Church and recently evangelic missionaries from the West have made some converts.

The religious situation is in as much a state of flux as the political and economic situation. Christianity has earned a certain prestige from its opposition to discredited communism, but the Balts often use Scandinavians as role models and the church is weak in the northlands. Lutheranism has become a quasi-state religion minus the financial support. The opening-day assembly at my school on September 1, 1993, included a blessing by a Lutheran minister. The assembly a year later didn't include the minister, but on that day President Guntis Ulmanis attended a memorial service at the Lutheran Cathedral in Riga to mark the departure of the last of the Russian troops and the end of WWII in Eastern Europe.

There is a small but respectable neo-pagan movement which dates back to the 19th century. All the students at my school study the pre-Christian Latvian religion as part of their cultural history class. In art class they are taught about the old ethno-

graphic symbols, many of which have religious meaning. Consequently all these students are exposed to a religious alternative to Christianity. As part of an English lesson, I had all my students write a short essay on their religious beliefs. I can remember only one out of 250 essays that expressed a real commitment to practice the old religion.

Despite the apathy of my students towards the pre-Christian religion, I believe a neo-pagan revival is possible in the Baltic states. First, the old beliefs and symbols are widely known. Second, the long-term trend for Christianity in Northern Europe is on the decline. Third and most importantly, the neo-pagans, though a tiny minority, are not considered quacks or freaks, but are often serious-minded members of the intelligentsia. As one Lithuanian scholar notes, in Baltic culture, "The Christian stratum is recent and can be easily detached."

Speculative Thoughts

Unless overwhelmed by the forces of globalization or Russian imperialism, Latvia may set up a 21st-century ethnostate. The country is the right size in both territory and population and has an ethnic consciousness born out of long struggles to survive. Government statutes reflect a determination to preserve a collective existence. The stated purpose of the Naturalization Bill of November 1993 was "to ensure the development of Latvia as a single-nation state," and the Latvian Language Law of March 1992 refers to Latvia as the "ethnic territory of the Latvian nation."

Had the medieval German invaders been more numerous, Latvians might have been Germanized, as were their western cousins, the Prussians. Had the Soviet (read Russian) occupation lasted another decade, the Latvians might have been Slavized, as were their Belarus cousins. Thus, the desire to remain separate and distinct is tempered by the desire, bordering on desperation, for the security of membership in the European Union (EU) and NATO. Opinion is divided as to whether Latvia will be accepted—EU probably; NATO probably not.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, in which the Baltic republics played a large role, has given the West a window of opportunity. The West should reclaim those nations of the former Eastern Bloc whose cultures are Western (Latin alphabet and Western Christianity). Eastern Europe should be defined by the Cyrillic alphabet and the Orthodox religion. The cultural divide is the natural political divide. The EU should devolve into dozens of ethnostates. The Russian-dominated Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) should do the same.

Russia must become a nation rather than an empire. Russians must become nationalists rather than imperialists. Politically, the world is moving in opposite directions simultaneously. The Czechs and Slovaks have separated into what might be called ethnostates, yet both strongly desire membership in the EU. This is where the future lies—sovereign, ethnically based states formed into large confederations which will facilitate peace and prosperity. The EU and the CIS could combine into a Pan European Conference which would unite with a North American Union. Though reduced in importance, even the United Nations would have a role in such a paradigm.

There is a greater basis for Indo-European unity today than ever before. The greatest problems of developed nations are international: fair trade, Third World immigrants, organized crime, environmental degradation. Our alternatives are not narrow nationalism or global internationalism. Instead, a varied mosaic of ethnostates joined together in unions, commonwealths, federations and confederations could preserve distinct peoples and cultures while insuring international cooperation.