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Post-Liberalism

by Gwydion M Williams

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“Anything I don’t like, Isn’t Freedom”

by Gwydion M. Williams

I put the article title in quotes, to make it clear that it is not my view. Obviously.

You as a reader are probably certain that you too would think no such thing. Obviously?

Almost certainly not. Most likely you have made a big thing of Freedom, and how precious it is. But will also be definite about things that cannot be justified as ‘freedom’.

The United Kingdom has strict controls on gun ownership. Very few Britons question them. But there is bitter division in the USA, with a militant minority holding that gun ownership is essential to freedom.

For me, a high probability of not being shot is much more important than any right for guns outside of the hands of carefully regulated security forces. The difference is vast:

“The United States’ gun-related murder rate is 25 times higher... Compared to people in the other high-income nations, Americans are seven times more likely to die from violence and six times more likely to be accidentally killed with a gun.”¹

The same applies to traffic safety. Our shared right not to be injured or killed by someone else’s bad driving overrides their right to drive badly in a car or lorry. (One can be more tolerant of cyclists.)

Also remember how much things have changed. Male homosexuality was a criminal offence in England and Wales till 1967.² Men had their lives destroyed: Alan Turing and Oscar Wilde just the most famous. Lesbianism was never illegal, but known lesbians faced all sorts of discrimination.

There were also long arguments about whether homosexual were entitled to social equality, and what this would mean. Some people felt that Civil Partnerships, legal since 2005, made sense because marriage was about producing children. A majority disagreed, with Britain allowing Gay Marriage from 2014. The Irish Republic in 2015 accepted it by a popular vote of almost 2 to 1.

There is now a fight about how far (if at all) people are entitled to claim a gender that contradicts their biology. Also about how you class the smaller number of people whose biology is undeniably ambiguous.

Homosexuality is a particularly clear case of borders of freedom being drawn and re-drawn. But there are many others. Tobacco smoking has been increasingly criminalised. The smoking of marihuana was recently legalised in Canada, and other countries may follow. The Netherlands used to informally tolerate it, but is now moving away from toleration.

In real terms, you will believe ‘*anything I don’t like, isn’t freedom*’. You would probably put it some other

way, if pressed. But would have trouble putting the matter clearly.

Consider the simple matter of censorship. Whenever there is a dispute, you will get people saying they are against all censorship. But I always suspected this only applied to some matters. I therefore imagined a set of books or articles that assuredly would go beyond most people’s idea of the acceptable limits of freedom:

- * You Too Can Be a Suicide Bomber
- * Handy Tips for Muggers and Burglars
- * The Plain Man’s Guide To Committing Rape
- * A Groomer’s Guide to English Schoolgirls
- * How to Poison Your Neighbours Dog
- * How to Drug and Rape Even Big Tough Men
- * Quick Ways to Sabotage Passenger Aircraft
- * Nerve Gases - Their Manufacture and Efficient Deployment
- * How to Assassinate Your Neighbour’s Cat
- * How to Wreck a Marriage While Appearing as a Helpful Friend
- * Carry On Loving When You’ve Got HIV
- * Neat Ways to Sabotage Your Neighbour’s Car
- * 101 Ways to Kill Mockingbirds and Other Noisy Pests

If you are not English, please substitute your own cherished ethnic identity for the *Groomer’s Guide*.

If we believe the official British story, the Russian secret services are badly in need of a nerve-gas guide. Which is why I seriously doubt the official British story.³

I also pondered the idea of ‘acceptable limits of freedom’. I once heard a pompous little story about how someone’s pet rabbit escaped, and they let it chew up their own garden. But had to act when it moved into the garden next-door. They summed this up as not knowing the difference between ‘liberty’ and ‘licence’.

How the rabbit was supposed to know was not explained.

Humans obviously grasp that they have ‘areas of freedom’. You could not live in any sort of human society without being aware of this. Without sometimes making an error and correcting yourself. Or sometimes rejecting a limit that the society tries to put on you – we have had a lot of that since the 1960s.

I am all in favour of sensible challenges to whatever limits that the society tries to put on you. But let it be sensible – a debate on whether the borders between ‘liberty’ and ‘licence’ ought to be drawn. Don’t start ranting about being treated as a slave, just because someone dares to hold a different opinion about where the barriers should be. Don’t start calling it ‘*equivalent to jack-booted Stalins thrusting their way into the privacy of your own bedrooms*’, just because

3 <https://labouraffairsmagazine.com/the-soviet-past/3151-2/>

1 <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/how-u-s-gun-deaths-compare-to-other-countries/>

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT_rights_by_country_or_territory#Western_Europe

some new regulations are considered.

People naturally think of 'liberty' as being the things they themselves want to do, and would allow others to do. But to *analyse* anything, you need to remember that you have to co-exist in a world, a society and a community along with others who may see things differently. Or who may be either more relaxed or more strict about applying rules you do agree with.

I'd not discourage anyone from demanding 'freedom' and protesting about its denial. But when the matter gets debated, it ought to be remembered **we are talking about where the borders should be drawn**. About the difference between Freedom, FREEDOM and 'freedom', if you like.

Language is inherited, and often misleading. We freely speak of '*the sun rising*', although we are aware that what we actually see is the Earth both turning and orbiting, bringing into view the sun.

You do get some half-wise remarks about 'surely it is all relative'. In fact it is not. If you've ever looked at a weather map and wondered why hurricanes and other low-pressure zones turn anti-clockwise, this is down to the Coriolis Force produced by the rotating Earth.⁴ South of the equator, it all reversed and hurricanes spin clockwise.

The orbit and rotation of our planet give us the *appearance* of the sun rising: 23 hours, 56 minutes and four seconds of rotation, with the remainder of our human-defined 24 hours based on our orbit round the sun. The objective reality is not quite what we see.

Oddly enough, philosopher Karl Popper actually uses 'the sun rises' as one of his unquestionable facts. From what I've read of him, he was also less than precise about the limits of the 'Open Society' he makes such a big thing about. For me, he was definitely applying the rule '*anything I don't like, isn't freedom*'. As does George Soros, who claims disciple-status on the grounds of having been in Popper's class as a very ordinary student at the London School of Economics.

In the wider world, at any given moment it will be sunrise somewhere on planet Earth, and sunset somewhere else. Depending on how precisely you define these two on-going processes, there would almost certainly be some human eyes also seeing it – but it would be there anyway. And for part of the year, people in the very far north would have 'midnight sun' or 'arctic night'.⁵ Also equivalent and opposite for the Antarctic, but very few people see that.

So how do we decide? For me, it is useful to explore the double meaning of 'how do we decide?'. Not just 'what decision should we make', but also 'how do humans actually make decision?'. How do animals? Is Free Will even real?

I tried splitting these matters, elaborating my concepts into no less than eight layers:

Level Zero	No decision, or a random choice. Physio-chemical laws apply under fixed rules.
Level One	Living creatures, reacting instinctively but favouring their own preservation. (Or that of the species.)
Level Two	Conscious repetition based on success. We've always done it this way. It works.
Level Three	Selfishness. I personally will benefit, either in terms of goods and services, or with emotional satisfaction.
Level Four	Selfish for my family or community, sometimes at my own expense.
Level Five	We sympathise with strangers, but not if it is seriously at the expense of our own people.
Level Six	We favour one or more defined groups that includes many people we do not know personally. (Your nation, religion, club, corporation, regiment etc.)
Level Seven	Everyone matters. And some things are inherently the right thing to do. It may include being highly religious, or highly committed to some non-religious creed such as Marxism.

Like 24-hour days, this is subjective, but based on objective facts. I had previously done a long study justifying the common-sense belief that what I now call 'Level Zero' is very different from the rest.⁶ This analysis flows from it.

I will add that life shows itself very different from self-propagating entities like fire or crystals. Only living creatures do unlikely things that make the survival of the species more likely. Not always the individual: mating and then laying eggs is risky for many species. Some exhaust themselves. Some neglect their eggs once laid, but others devote a lot of work to caring for those eggs or young individual. And on the whole, it is the more complex organisms that have a lot of parental care. Much of this is seen as instinctive: a programmed action. Humans definitely have a lot of conscious thought about which unlikely things it would be a good idea to do.

As another way to see the distinctiveness of Level Zero, imagine a BBC weather forecaster saying:

"Some vicious thunderstorms are trying to invade our dear island. A valiant little area of high pressure is holding them off."

No one would say that, though Professor Dawkins became famous writing about 'selfish genes'.

Now imagine an historic essay that says:

"In the 1920s and 1930s, Mr Bufton Tufton would always take a winter holiday in Spain. Except during the Spanish Civil War, when he took his holidays in Portugal instead."

The rain in Spain would have taken no notice of the war, one assumes. There *is* a strange claim that rain is more likely after big battles. It has been credited to cannon-fire, but I found exactly the same in Plutarch's *Life* of Roman general Marius. We

4 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coriolis_force#Meteorology
 5 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Midnight_sun

6 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/in-a-hole-in-a-hole-dwelt-a-nothingness/>

might credit God, fate, the din of battle, the release of sweat and blood or just disbelieve the story. We would certainly not give rainclouds a motivation.

Migrating birds that normally crossed Spain might notice the fear and violence and avoid it, or might not. Something to be investigated.

We would expect people in the habit of visiting Spain to be aware of the war. *Obviously* a human who didn't wish to join either side would avoid visiting Spain, and might leave if they were already there. Author and poet Robert Graves did exactly that: he had been living in Majorca and left at once, only returning many years later.⁷ But it is highly plausible that someone who liked Spain would switch to Portugal, which has a similar culture and language.

In answer to questions about Free Will, I'd say it applied to anything above Level Two. But there is a lot more that could be said, and I plan to go much more deeply into the matter in future. Thoughts on the matter received with interest, if they are more than re-stating what is already well known.

What I'll say here is that human society is a compound of all of these levels, and would not be human if it were not.

'Rational' economics leaves out everything

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Graves#Literary_career

except Level Three interactions based on money. Commerce can get to be like that, but few people like it. And it's not very rational.

What it is very good at is undermining all other values. That's why since the 1980s, when 'rational' economics was sanctified and glorified, all of the supposed moral principles of the centre-right have been undermined.

There was also the hopeful notion, inherited from Adam Smith, that people encouraged to stick to Level Three selfishness would somehow still meet Levels Four to Seven, guided 'as by an invisible hand'. It does work, *sometimes*. Much more often it does not. That's why a Mixed Economy system, with the state regulating business according to its own notion of 'the right thing to do', worked better than systems that gave greater scope to selfish desires.

And also was more robust than Marxism, which hoped that everyone could get motivated by Level Seven ideas, or else that the Level Three selfishness of workers would keep them safely attached.

This is worth a whole issue of *Problems*. But for now, I will use these ideas as an introduction to several more specific studies I wrote before I had the ideas fully worked out.

If it *is* broke, *do* fix it

by Gwydion M. Williams

A review of *The People vs. Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It*, by Yascha Mounk

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Americans like to say: *'if it ain't broke, don't fix it'*. Sometimes an excuse not to tackling deep-seated social evils that don't hurt them or those close to them. Yet there *is* truth in it. Any fool can attack an imperfect system with the hope of making it better. Actually making it better needs thought and skill.

Like Yascha Mounk, I agree our present system is in crisis and needs fixing. It could carry on indefinitely, like a man with a broken leg who is also lost in a wilderness. But far better to fix it.

But what needs to be done? What needs fixing?

To Mounk, the West must continue the liberal-left's abject surrender to New Right economics. In their best years, the Keynesian or Mixed-Economy era from the 1940s to 1970s, liberals saw the Soviet Union as a dangerously successful alternative

system. Felt they had to borrow its better features for their freedoms to survive. But with Soviet decline in the 1980s, liberals switched to the New Right Fairy Tale that it was *always* a failure.

It's the Mixed Economy, You Fools

Would Trump be US President, if the Democrats had chosen Bernie Saunders? One of many off-message facts that Yascha Mounk ignores.

Pankaj Mishra, assessing Mounk in the *London Review of Books*, calls him a defender of Tony Blair's failed agenda.¹ He probably is that, but not just that. Mishra is just as confused about what's gone wrong.

Most critics of 'bad capitalism' do not denounce 1980s economic 'reforms' as a massive wrong turning. Do not praise the West's commitment to a Mixed Economy from the 1940s to 1970s. It was under strain in the 1970s, certainly. It had Technocratic arrogance that needed fixing. But it was also vastly the best economic and social system that real humans have ever created.

Bill Clinton famously said that the era of Big Government was over. I disagree. For me, 5000 years of human civilisation show that Big

¹ 27th June issue, page 9

Government works. That if you dislike what it does, you are usually wiser to change the aims rather than deny the need for Big Government.

Improving the Mixed Economy would have needed care and serious thought. Randomly attacking it was depressingly easy, like a man beating up his wife when he's out of work and offended by life. And though the basics of the Mixed Economy survived the abuse, the very notion has dropped out of most public thinking. It is all capitalism: except that when they say *capitalism*, they mean capitalism rather than capitalism.² As clear as mud, even for most of the left.

Mouk himself is often 'as clear as mud'. He says:

"Until recently, liberal democracy reigned triumphant. For all its shortcomings, most citizens seemed deeply committed to their form of government. The economy was growing. Radical parties were insignificant." (*The People vs. Democracy*, p1.)

Baloney. The *economy* was growing, but many suffered and many were unemployed. In the USA, 90% of the population gained nothing from vigorous growth since the 1980s. Almost all the extra wealth was sucked up by a more-than-millionaire class, also known as the 1%. He *does* mention it, but does not treat it as the core issue.

Voting for Trump was foolish, but based on real suffering. Suffering that Hilary Clinton ignored, just as Bill Clinton had.

My title is a variant on '*The economy, stupid*': a 1990s slogan for Bill Clinton's electoral staff. Meant rhetorical, obviously. But ingenious folly is typical of both the New Right and modern liberalism. I'm reminded of a remark made by the author-viewpoint character in a novel by Isaac Asimov:

"Such folly smacks of genius. A lesser mind would be incapable of it."³

Bill Clinton did good on social issues. If I remember rightly, the only visible black man at Ronald Reagan's inauguration was playing the piano: a proper role for him in traditional US racism. But after Clinton, Bush Junior had two African-Americans as Secretary of State: first Colin Powell and then Condoleezza Rice. (Who unfortunately did for World Peace what Torquemada did for religious tolerance.)

After much social pressure and soft-left leaders like Blair, the ranks of the privileged are now much more open to non-whites, to women and to open gays and lesbians. But ***the privileges of the privileged were maintained, and even increased.*** Poor whites saw that they were even less likely to join the elite than before. Instead of being generous and multi-racial, they listened to right-wing populists. Regrettable, but astonishingly predictable.

Understanding is often poor. The populist-left tactic of contrasting the 1% and the 99% overlooks how many people flatter themselves by putting themselves in a higher group:

²See <https://gwydionwilliams.com/48-economics/replacing-capitalism-by-capitalism-the-new-rights-muddled-ideas/>
³ This is in the first-written volume, called just *Foundation*. See the Appendix for more.

"An opinion poll a couple of years ago found that 19% of American taxpayers believed themselves to be in the top 1% of earners. A further 20% thought they would end up there within their lifetimes." (*The Economist*, September 6th, 2003.)

And not all the 99% suffered. There is a 'Next Nine'; people in the richest 10% but not the richest 1%. They have broken even, mostly. But they do also answer the claim that the increasingly-rich elite have earned it. In terms of intelligence, hard work, creativity, diligence or formal qualifications, the Next Nine are in no way inferior to the more-than-millionaire class. A much smaller gap between them and the 'winners' was the norm for the Mixed Economy era. Getting back to that would be a major step forward.

'Fair Inequality' should be the slogan.

I am not, however, saying that it is *all* economics. Though some who voted for Trump would have voted for Jewish progressive Bernie Sanders, Trump also appealed to fury at the fading of a solid US culture that was highly racist. People probably outraged at the American Library Association removing the name of famous US author Laura Ingalls Wilder from a major children's book award:

"The novels are full of phrases that are unacceptable today. Even in her own lifetime Wilder apologised for her thoughtlessness and amended a line in *Little House on the Prairie* that said Kansas had 'no people, only Indians'. It now reads, 'no settlers, only Indians.'" (*The Guardian*, 24 Jun 2018)

Dehumanising non-European peoples was a global norm in the 19th century. There was slow comfortable genocide for those in the way of European settlers. It did not repel most Europeans until Hitler applied it within Europe. Murdered educated and articulate Jews, as well as gypsies, non-Jewish Poles, homosexuals and the incurably sick or disabled of any racial origin.⁴

Racism and prejudice declined when the fruits of economic growth were shared fairly, despite mass immigration. The pain of austerity has means a small revival of overt racism in the West.

More serious is the global decline of Hard Left radicals committed to Universalism. They met a social need. Were replaced by ethnic and religious extremists with an agenda of dehumanisation. Nepal with its part-successful Maoist insurgents was a grand exception, and has multi-party government.

Charles Darwin is correctly praised for his opposition to slavery. But most authors cover up his belief in racial inequality. His comfortable expectation that inferior races would eventually go extinct. (See Leon Zitzer's *A Short but Full Book on Darwin's Racism*.) Slavery was offensive cruelty to inferiors. Degrading to Master-Race males who exploited helpless and unworthy females.

Abraham Lincoln never believed in racial equality. After winning the Civil War, he was keen to find somewhere outside of the USA where Afro-Americans could be shipped. Partly realised in

⁴ <https://labouraffairsmagazine.com/problems-magazine-past-issues/jews-suffering-in-the-fall-of-the-british-empire/>

Liberia, just as the British Empire often dumped freed slaves in Sierra Leone.

Thomas Huxley, inventor of the term 'agnosticism' and Darwin's champion in the public row over *The Origin of the Species*, was worse. His encounters with Australian Aboriginals left him keen to exterminate them:

"[Huxley] had fewer kind thoughts about Australia's 'hopelessly irreclaimable savages'... Australia's nomads were blind to the Victorian ideas of private property, free-trade and Piccadilly fashion. His squatter's morality was evidence; his final solution smugly horrifying. Their 'elimination ... from the earth's surface can be viewed only with satisfaction, as the removal of a great blot from the escutcheon of our common humanity, by all those who know them as they are, and are not to be misled by the maudlin philanthropy of 'aborigines' friends'."⁵

Like Darwin, Huxley was against slavery. It's not such an odd attitude: people also apply it to cats, dogs, horses etc.. Cruelty is deplored, but the beasts may be freely killed by their owners. I documented all this in a detailed study called *Jews Suffering in the Fall of the British Empire*, now available on-line. What was done to Jews by Hitler was part of an older pattern: a point that many Jews recognised, and made further commitments to general human welfare as the best cure.

It must be recognised that Anglo culture had also offended: I noted that racism was an influence in the British decision to let vast numbers of Catholic Irish perish in the Potato Famine, though dogmatic belief in Free Trade also counted.⁶

That's your grand liberal tradition, which Trump etc. are sinning against. **Trump would be a wild leftist and multiracialist by the standards of most 19th century liberals.** The US armed forces who helped defeat Nazism were rigorously segregated. They found 1940s Britain nothing like racist enough, since the small number of blacks then present in Britain were mostly tolerated in pubs, clubs and restaurants.

Socialists and communists demanded the social evils be fixed, sometimes at the expense of individual rights and freedoms. Liberals mostly let things drift, sometime causing disasters.

Insulting Islam

If Mounk is not aware of the massively racist nature of European and European-Setter society up until the 1960s, he is unqualified to write the book he has written. A book which the mainstream media is praising.

More commonly, you find that people know the off-message facts, but manage to avoid thinking about them. Do not mention them out of turn. Mounk does speak of 'a clear racial hierarchy'. Once. On page 15. Nothing like good enough.

Mounk is also ill-informed when he says:

"One reason for liberal democracy's triumph is that there was no coherent alternative to it. Communism had failed. Islamic

⁵ Desmond, Adrian. *Huxley*. Penguin Books 1998. Page 144.

⁶ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/50-new-right-ideas/430-2/>

theocracy had precious little support outside the Middle East. China's unique systems of state capitalism under the banner of communism could hardly be emulated by countries that didn't share its unusual history. The future, it seemed, belonged to liberal democracy." (*The People vs. Democracy*, page 3.)

Hard-line Islam has been growing steadily in Muslim countries outside of the Middle East, notably Indonesia, where popular Islam used to be lax. This included some massacres and mutilations of ethnic Chinese, mostly dedicated capitalists and resented for being rich. Reported in *World On Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability*, by 'Tiger-Mother' Amy Chua.

In the Middle East, the West went to great trouble and expense knocking over the secular semi-socialist dictators who were the main alternative to Islamic theocracy. Sew the wind, reap the whirlwind! The collapse of the government of the pro-Western Shah of Iran might have taught them the danger of destroying secular nationalists who simply wanted a fair share: Britain and the USA had in the 1950s helped overthrow Mohammad Mossadegh. Allowed hard-line Islam to flourish, imagining that they'd be as cowardly and weak as the USA's 'Fundamentalists'. 'Christians' who cringe when confronting the power of the USA's elite.

The Republic of India has for decades nurtured its own Illiberal Democracy, the BJP, currently governing under the charismatic Narendra Modi. Blamed for past ethnic attacks, but surprisingly it now has Muslims voting for it. It has shoved aside the Moderate Socialism of the Congress Party, but could get shoved out again eventually by a coalition of diverse interests.

Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, drifted from Moderate Socialism to a blend of Militant Buddhism combined with Sinhalese Nationalism. Encouraged by the minority Tamils seeking independence, but they have also been hostile to their small Muslim minority.

Something surprisingly similar happened in Myanmar, formerly Burma, even though they mostly follow a different version of Buddhism. This was little noticed until Buddhist Chauvinism surfaced in massive attacks on the Muslim Rohingya.

Thailand has its own very coherent culture, based on its Buddhist majority and its ancient monarchy, currently protected by some very illiberal laws against even mild criticism. Has seen much disorder based on attempts at moderate reformism within this system. Is currently ruled by a military junta. As far as I know, the majority are tolerant for as long as their dominance is accepted.

Cambodia had a nice reputation under Prince Sihanouk, not entirely deserved. Its ancient culture included much inequality and some cruelty. Everyone not of royal blood was expected to say 'we who carry the King's excrement on our heads' when addressing him. He had a large harem, apparently not much used and given to frustrations. One instance: a lad of 15 visiting his sister who was a 'secondary wife' was several times caught by other palace women

who would masturbate and humiliate him. And that little lad grew up to be Pol Pot: at least Philip Short reports the story in his book about the man.⁷

Pol Pot would have stayed obscure, had not the USA organised a coup and created a pro-US Khmer Republic that smashed Cambodia's traditions. That ignored the convention that monarchies can only be abolished by a popular referendum. The US had a fantasy that Cambodia contained a secret Vietnamese Communist headquarters that they could wipe out and win the war. 'COSVN' proved as unreal as the Iraqi 'weapons of mass destruction'. But unlike Iraq, the new 'Khmer Republic' was wildly unpopular. The USA maintained it by massive bombing, the main cause of later Khmer Rouge savagery. They had been marginal; but like other Leninists in an amazing diversity of different societies, they flourished in conditions of warfare.

I'd categorise Leninism as Militarised Socialism. The great error of the Soviet Union was not to adjust when the world changed, as People's China has done.

Capitalism was slow to become democratic. Only in the 1880s did a majority of British men Isles get the vote – probably a minority among Catholic Irish. And in the 1930s, parliamentary government had collapsed in most of Europe even before Hitler. This was a reaction to economic pain, as it is now. But *now*, the pain is mostly due to the elite taking far too much.

Capitalism has yet to become peaceful, despite strange claims that this is in its nature. Countries with a strong commitment to the Mixed Economy have a rather better record.

Western values were never as globalised as Westerners thought. Japan remains a Mixed Economy, but harmed by copying too much of what the New Right recommended. They might also have intentionally chosen not to push for growth in the 1990s, since some in the USA viewed them as the next enemy after the Soviet collapse. Books and films like *Rising Sun* and *Black Rain* targeted them. They were then the world's second biggest economy, and a rival. But Iraq was picked on instead.

From one brief visit, I found Japan very nice, safe, welcoming, and utterly alien.⁸ Visiting an elegant temple that I could appreciate as an art-work, I was told that a group of business people in an inner room going were through a religious ceremony for 'good luck' before starting a new venture. Where else in the world would such things happen?

If Mounk accepts People's China as a success, how can he also say that Communism failed? It was a hopeless mess before the Chinese Communists put it in order. The most coherent element in the mess, the Kuomintang, had been changed from no-hopers to champions during the few years they were in alliance with both the Soviet Union and Chinese Communism. That changed in 1927, when they were

⁷ *Pol Pot: The History of a Nightmare*, page 27 of the 2005 paperback edition.

⁸ Japan – not going to the dogs or daemons, <https://gwydionwilliams.com/politics-various-articles/japan-doing-ok/>

about to take Shanghai and had a choice between confronting global imperialism or cringing before it. Chose to cringe, and were permitted to rule so long as they did nothing radical, but built roads and railways. Further opened up China to the destructive unfair trade terms that had been imposed on them.

Both Marx and Lenin saw Communism as a process of transition. Lenin restored a controlled version of capitalism with the 1920s New Economic Policy. Deng Xiaoping was a more orthodox Marxist than Mao: he never dropped socialism as the long-term goal. President Xi would certainly claim to be continuing the same tradition, and may be correct.

Both Mao and Stalin achieved their stated aim of making the states they ruled industrialised and strong. Most Western books *talk as if* there was no economic progress under Mao. They will never actually say it, suggesting that they are well aware it is not true.

Angus Maddison's *The World Economy: Historical Statistics* is generally accepted as the best source. It accurately shows a dip after the Great Leap Forward but otherwise vast success. China matched global averages despite being boycotted and threatened with invasion by the USA.

Until Nixon made peace, the USA claimed that the Taiwan exiles where the *real* China. Their leader Chiang Kai-shek repeatedly promised to retake and 'liberate' the mainland. Many Westerners took this seriously, until the Cultural Revolution showed that Mao could throw the entire society into chaos without any known organised opposition that wished to be viewed as anti-Communist, or even anti-Mao. But a Taiwanese invasion as a front for a full-scale war by the USA would not have been absurd. They did it successfully in Guatemala 1954, and with military success in Iraq 2003. Considered it for Cuba after the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961. I detail this in *China's Maoist Foundations*⁹ and *China 1949: Fixing a Broken Society*,¹⁰ both available on-line.

The Soviet Union as ruthlessly remade by Stalin was strong enough to break the Nazi invasion. The USA was stronger again, but unlikely to be willing to lose millions defeating the entire German Army. They shared the Western Front with other armies while fighting against just one-third of Nazi power, along with a war with Japan that Japan started. They might not have fought against Hitler at all, given a choice. Many US politicians in the 1930s were friendly towards Hitler.

Roosevelt could not take the USA into a war without approval by Congress. He managed to provoke Japan by strangling their vital overseas trade while they waged war on China. Japan responded unintelligently, attacking the much-stronger USA rather than ending their China war with a compromise that the dominant military fanatics would certainly have called treason. Equally foolishly, Hitler also declared war, giving Congress

⁹ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/mao-and-china/>

¹⁰ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/how-chinese-communism-fixed-a-broken-society/>

no choice but to respond. Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China* shows that without the Communist-inspired Xian Incident, Kuomintang China might not have dared fight Japan.

Mounk is weak on the history of civilisation:

"To make a copy of a long text, a professional copyist or a monk would need to transcribe each word in the original manuscripts..."

"This helps explain what made the invention of the printing press so momentous. When Johannes Guttenberg first found a way to create a master plate for each page ...he radically changed the structural conditions of communication." (The People vs. Democracy, page 137)

Block Printing was developed in China eighteen centuries ago. It drifted slowly across Asia, along with paper. Both were common in Europe by 1300, and didn't disrupt the society. Guttenberg's 1430s innovation was to perfect the tricky matter of printing neatly with movable type. (Tried and abandoned centuries earlier in both China and Korea, in part because of the vast number of ideograms compared to the Latin alphabet.)

Movable type was useful, but I suspect it was hyped because it was a Renaissance European innovation. Something much better to talk up than a mediaeval borrowing that came remotely from China. And Mounk is cockeyed to think everyone was *copying by hand* before Guttenberg liberated them.

Capitalism's Impure Truth

Mounk's long whine about nasty populists replacing nice liberals is too confused and conventional to be worth detailed study. Full of bias, such as classing Russia as a dictatorship. (Page 36). One of many Western liberals irritated that Putin keeps getting elected by large majorities in reasonably fair elections. Elections where the re-founded Russian Communists are the main opposition, while pro-Western parties are increasingly insignificant.

He also fails to mention how the Centre-Right cultivated racism and xenophobia to cover right-wing economics. Pure Capitalism has its supporters, but far too few to win elections.

Adam Smith famously put the case for Pure Capitalism in *The Wealth of Nations*. But if you can step back from 21st-century assumptions and look at what the man actually said, his views are alien. Commerce was best done by a small number of rich Partners: he disliked the diffusion of responsibility involved with corporations and tradeable shares. He did not favour democracy, and had strong links to the three British politicians held most responsible for provoking the American War of Independence.

Smith spoke of Freedom, "the natural effort of every individual to better his own condition", which was supposedly superior to anything a well-meaning government might do. He opposed the "folly of human laws", except those ensuring the individual had "freedom and security".

If I could hold down an ordinary job but no jobs are available, does that help my 'freedom and security'? In practice, the centre-right defend **the freedom and security of the elite**. Best served by full employment when the West feared both defeat in the Cold War and a revival of fascism. Best served by growing unemployment to weaken both trade unions and ordinary non-unionised employees, when the Soviet Union was visibly coming apart in the 1980s.

The liberal version of 'freedom and security' that Mounk

correctly sees as endangered is at risk because both the centre-right and the centre-left saw no need to defend the freedom and security of ordinary people. Or else saw it as not possible. Regardless, they *goofed*.

I see it as goofing rather than cunning plots. Plots undoubtedly existed, some realised and some not. But they cheated themselves in the 1990s by being mean-spirited to the new-born Russian Republic. Gave it incompetent advice about how to transform, ignoring the successful Chinese example. Turned friends into enemies, and made most Chinese much more wary of their advice.

By the 1980s, a revival of fascism was not feared. Docile versions of fascism or things close to fascism had been protected by the West in Spain, Portugal, Latin America and much of non-Communist Asia. Not to mention blatant racists in apartheid South Africa.

Another goofy aspect of the New World Order was an ignorant belief that their own long-evolved systems were *natural* and would spring up spontaneously if existing states were smashed. That was the logic in Iraq, and a complete disaster. Saddam Hussein was as open to slow transition to Western values as Franco etc. had been. But with the Soviet Union withdrawn from Middle-Europe and close to complete collapse, the leaders of the West thought that they could kick around the rest of the world just as they pleased.

Successfully kicked were Ceausescu in Romania, Mobutu in Zaire / Congo, Suharto in Indonesia and the weak squabbling leaders of what was then Federal Yugoslavia. But Saddam Hussein, threatened with ruin because the West would not write off debts he had run up as the West's attack-dog against Islamic Iran, chose to be bold and invade Kuwait. He *correctly* reckoned that the West could not get a Western-orientated Iraq without him. His error was to suppose that Thatcher and Bush Senior were smart enough to know this.

The dominant belief then was that Freedom must triumph. Easy to suppose that when someone says Freedom, it is your sort of Freedom. Confusing for centrists and liberals when the Far Right, Far Left and various religious hard-liners also see themselves as defenders of Freedom.

For me, the key is to realise that when we say Freedom, we mean 'a set of freedoms that we find socially acceptable'. Which was once the standard view among thoughtful people.

So why did we get into the present muddle? One problem was the cultural success of the radicalism of the 1960s. They disliked and feared the state, because they bumped up against it on matters of sex, censorship, drugs and the Vietnam War. Later captured the state machine, but did not properly update their thinking.

You might also ask, why are failed New Right policies continued? But they were *not* continued when the interests of the rich were at risk. Public spending was boosted after the almost-forgotten crisis of 1987, which might have brought the New Right experiment to an abrupt end. But then the Soviet Union collapsed. This was taken to mean that Communism had *always* been a failure, rather than going wrong in the 1960s after some grand successes. So after the 2008 crisis, both Obama and Gordon Brown were persuaded that the banks should be bailed out, but on no account taken into permanent public ownership.

Recently-Invented Traditional Liberalism

Yascha Mounk is appalled that people reject nice

liberal values. He does not recognise that this particular version of liberalism was invented in the 1970s. That it was bound up with a version of Globalisation that has failed to help most people. He talks as if liberalism was a continuous tradition that bad people of the left and right have wickedly gone against.

It was also in the 1970s that the Hard Left got over-ambitious, sabotaging the imperfect Mixed-Economy and Welfare systems created in the 1940s. Then and since, they have mostly forgotten to celebrate the successes of the Mixed Economy. (Which I have detailed with hard facts in an article available at my website.¹¹)

My father Raymond Williams is famous for his book *The Long Revolution*. From teenage Maoism, I came round to his view. Even in the 1970s, I was clear that Incomes Policy and Workers Control would be big steps forward for socialism. And that it was a disaster for socialism that reforms in Czechoslovakia were crushed in 1968. To me, the whole Soviet Bloc had lost its way after that. Its abrupt collapse in 1989-91 was a surprise, but not really a shock. And I saw no reason to sneer at what it had once been.

Born 1950, I knew how much social values in the West have shifted. Including mine: I had to do a lot of re-thinking to accept gays as normal humans and to recognise women as fully equal. So too did almost everyone alive then: but this has been written out of history.

British Liberals from 1906 did many progressive things, including expanding welfare. But they freed White South Africa without protecting non-white rights. Ignored Irish Home Rule until they needed Irish Nationalist votes after a Tory revival.

England in 1914 believed in a hierarchy based on inherent biological and racial differences. English first, obviously. The Scots a little lower than the English. In a third tier of the White Master Race were the Welsh, Irish Protestants, English Catholics, the more long-settled Jews, 'colonials' and US Citizens. In a fourth and decidedly inferior tier were the Catholic Irish, more recent and unfamiliar Jews, Dutch, Germans and Scandinavians. Below those other White Europeans, widely called Frogs, Wops, Dagos etc. They were still higher than Levantines and others seen as 'Mixed Race'. And there were many grades of non-white below that.

All of this was modified by class – the British aristocracy confused matters by accepting some Indian aristocrats as social equals, whereas in British India they ranked below every member of the White Race. Jews might be ranked higher or lower by non-Jews, and most Jews naturally ranked themselves very high.

Only a small minority were universalists. In the 20th century, most who'd fight on the issue were socialists or communists. Liberals *occasionally* did the same, but mostly did not stand up to the racists. Many, including some socialists, saw Imperialism as the benevolent rule of peoples unfit to rule themselves.

This was the world that Global Leninism set itself against. Since its original foes have changed out of all recognition, Mounk has no right to call it a failure.

You'd learn nothing from Mounk about what once existed. He is often ill-informed: e.g. printing that I mentioned earlier. But he must know some of it.

Nixon is mentioned once, in the safe context of his fall. Not his 'Southern Strategy'. This won over Southern Democrats, racists but originally believers in welfare and

11 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/the-mixed-economy-worked-quite-well/>

the rights for the *white* working class, plus inferior but definite rights for 'niggers'. (I insist on using racist words to describe actual racists.)

US Republicans have massaged the prejudices of right-wing voters, while privately regarding them as ignorant trash. While making sure they got nothing. Then along comes Trump, treating propaganda as if it were true.

In 1914, most liberals were racists and imperialists. That world self-destructed in World War One, with fascism and communism as logical responses. Both swastika and hammer-and-sickle weirdly echo the Christian cross that so many young men had been buried under.

My sister Merryn, a noted poet, encapsulated sense of loss in a work called '*Poem for George Dalling*'. My mother's family lived in Devon, but our great-uncle went to Australia. He volunteered for World War One and died at Gallipoli:

"Far from Devon, from Australia;
"why he went - a mystery -
"he took his skeleton, his rifle,
"leaving no posterity."¹²

Puzzled that liberalism fails *now*? Learn at least a little bit about how it failed *then*.

Politics labelled 'liberal' go back to the 18th century. But British liberalism was lukewarm about evolving concepts of liberty in the 19th and 20th centuries. Mostly it was a small radical fringe that favoured the abolition of slavery, racial equality, rights for women and *sometimes* anti-Imperialism. But H G Wells was one of many who dreamt of a World State that was an enlarged and perfected version of the Empire they lived in. His SF novel *The World Set Free*, published in May 1914, was an excellent anticipation of the folly of World War One. Sadly, he was one of many pulled along by war-fervour. In 1916 he published *Mr. Britling Sees It Through*, a dull novelisation of himself as warmonger. It was enormously influential at the time, helping bring the USA into the war. Supporting the notion that Imperial Germany was uniquely wicked and must be smashed.

Germany was no worse than its rivals. From 1915, it saw the war as deadlocked and was ready to revert to pre-war borders. France and Tsarist Russia were reluctant: they had been mauled and an indecisive war would have amounted to defeat. Russia would probably have had a revolution, almost certainly producing a liberal Russia. Bolshevism gained power only after continuing Russian suffering and a ruling liberal government that insisted the war must continue.

The rise of Bolshevism was part of something much wider. From the late 19th century, the small radical fringe within liberalism gained a socialist flavour. Independent socialist groups became more than marginal.

In 1848, when they issued the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels led a movement with less than a thousand members. Other versions of socialism and communism were little larger. All declined when the 1840s wave of revolutions failed. But in the longer run, the more modern types of socialism grew enormously.

Curiously to modern minds, in Britain there were *also* socialists within the Tory Party. There was intense debate within the Fabian League before they threw in their lot with the Liberal Party, and then the new Labour Party. Tories had promoted generous welfare during the Napoleonic Wars. Tories through to the 1850s gave basic protection to workers with various Factory Acts.

12 <http://noglory.org/index.php/multimedia/poetry-and-spoken-word/453-merryn-williams-poem-for-george-dalling-gallipoli-29th-august-1915>

Nor was it a continuous Tory / Liberal division: there were significant shifts and mergers. Gladstone, greatest of British liberals, began as a Tory. Joseph Chamberlain was a radical within Liberalism before splitting over Irish Home Rule. His Liberal Unionists – very different from Ulster Unionists – were eventually absorbed into Toryism.¹³ And this major event in British politics has been massively downplayed in conventional histories of Britain. I'd thought I knew British history quite well, but it was only from Brendan Clifford that I became aware of how important a change it had been.

What was Liberalism? The Whig hegemony established in 1688 was intensely protectionist. Whigs and Tories were factions, with Tories much more favourable to the monarchy. Both would probably have accepted the labels 'liberal' and 'conservative', and denied that these were opposite principles. And this remained broadly true when the two admired qualities were made party labels in the 19th century.

Both Whig and Tory were gradually converted to the Free Trade. Adam Smith was closely associated with the three British ministers held responsible for pushing British North America into rebelling and creating the USA. This is one of many forgotten facts detailed in my book *Adam Smith: Wealth Without Nations*.

My book made no impression at the time, sad to say. It remains mostly ignored despite being the *only* left-wing criticism of Smith available in English.¹⁴

I checked in detail for who else had talked about Smith on the left, and found just one book that had many words but little coherent meaning. I know of nothing in any other language either, but they might exist.

Whatever he intended, Adam Smith has been a cover for greed and selfishness by the rich.

Free Trade dogma encouraged Tory Prime Minister Sir Robert Peel to let the Irish starve during the Potato Famine, rather than let them eat the vast amounts of food they'd grown but had to surrender as rent. (Notions of Catholic Irish inferiority also counted.) Starvation caused by exporting food from a famine zone was used as an excuse to repeal the Corn Laws.¹⁵ That damaged British agriculture and paved the way for hunger in Britain in both World Wars.

Peel's supporters left the Tory Party and helped create a new version of Liberalism. Yet over the decades, Liberalism became the main party of Workers Rights, Welfare and State Regulation. They fought and won a bitter struggle with the House of Lords, reducing the power of the British aristocracy. (Also achieved by corruptly selling honours, making titles much less respected than they had been.)

Another off-message truth is that Russia after the Soviet collapse was keen to be Western, and was hurt by the West. I was slow to see that Boris Yeltsin as President had transformed from Heroic Rebel to Drunken Bungler. I needed Brendan Clifford to push me to a clearer vision: but I have kept that vision. Yeltsin created the authoritarian Presidency that the West complains about. They backed him when he shelled his own parliament after a revolt that could have been talked down.

The economy shrank under Yeltsin. Criminals grabbed much of it. Putin is popular because he stopped the rot. The re-founded Russian Communists are the main opposition. Pro-Western parties are marginal. But Mounk 13 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Unionist_Party
14 Mysteriously listed as unavailable at Amazon. Still available from Athol Books, <http://www.atholbooks.org/>. Parts of it are also on-line, see <https://gwydionwilliams.com/48-economics/>.
15 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/50-new-right-ideas/430-2/>

ignores this. Never mentions Yeltsin, and classes Russia as a dictatorship (page 36).

Then there's the Internet, which Mounk mentions as a lost hope. Myself, before retiring I made a living as a very ordinary Computer Analyst with mainframe computers, which are still the backbone of computing. I knew the skills of the equally ordinary people I worked among, and was certain that any major states would have some very exceptional and smart people working for them. That the web would *not* be a way round, and was appalled that people were being told it was. I felt anguish for foreign dissidents getting caught, even when I saw their dissent as foolish. Published a warning in the year 2000, '*The Web Is Always Insecure*'.¹⁶

I was as usual ignored, but something similar is now the consensus. Whether dissidents exposed via the web were recruited as spies, sent to jail or ignored, I do not know.

By 2000, I did know that mainstream views on freedom were naïve, and often selfish. '*If it ain't broke FOR ME, then inconveniencing me to fix it is A WICKED ASSAULT ON FREEDOM*'.

There are of course a handful of sincere anarchists, who do not want the state protecting them even when they need it. But they don't count.

My generation – now called Baby Boomers, though many of our leading spirits were War Babies, born between 1939 and 1945 – were aggressive radicals who created an expanded notion of freedom for ourselves. A 'Cultural Metamorphosis' that the Centre-Right in Britain and Ireland now like to pretend they always supported.

We were also selfish, more often than not. We took the freedoms we wanted – sex, drugs, less formality, weaker hierarchies. We also demanded and still demand that the state protect us from violence and from discrimination. Which I agree with – but protection of the poor and weak gets neglected.

It has been an issue in several countries whether a cake shop is entitled to refuse to decorate a cake with pro-Gay slogans. To me, it would be discriminatory if they'd refused to sell existing cakes: but no one should be coerced into expressing views they do not share. It makes no more sense than a law compelling disapproving relatives to attend a Gay Wedding. But I share the general belief that state power is needed to end discrimination. See this as part of a much bigger and illiberal picture of what the state should be doing.

In the 1980s, when the status of many Boomers was rising within existing society, many of them scorned the successful Mixed Economy and Welfare State that had raised up most of us. Decided taxes were a horrible burden and that the world would work better without them. That the state could not fix problems and was the main problem, as Ronald Reagan put it.

I was part of the Generous Minority among Baby Boomers. We were always a minority. The generation that fought Hitler saw the need for collective action: somehow this was not passed on. Many ageing Baby Boomers hate what the New Right did, but have swallowed their notion that the state is no answer and is in fact part of the problem. Indeed, you could say they had it first, as Hippies. That they generated the New Right via the short-lived flourishing of former Hippies as Yuppies. Yuppies as such soon evaporated, but their values became part of the mainstream culture.

In the 1990s, liberal-leftists like Britain's Blair and the
¹⁶ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/46-globalisation/the-web-is-always-insecure/>

Clintons in the USA surrendered to New Right economics. Had some success – Bill Clinton *did* get rid of the USA's unhealthy deficit, though Bush Junior soon re-created it with tax giveaways that gave most to a more-than-millionaire elite. They did not tackle the main pain of the Working Mainstream. Their popularity faded. And with the Soviet Union gone, they were part of a global lynch-mob keen to use the West's military muscle.

The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, but the Cold War ended with their loss in 1989 of the Warsaw Pact countries. It re-created the former Mitteleuropa that Germans and Austrians ruled up to 1918. Made a happy peaceful world possible, but the West vastly overplayed its hand.

The pattern of the USA as 'Global Boss-Man' began in 1990, with the decision that Saddam's regime must be smashed after its invasion of Kuwait. Smashed even though Saddam had first floated the idea with the US Ambassador, and had not been warned off. That 'accident' reminds me of Edward Grey as a very experienced British Foreign Secretary failing to warn Imperial Germany that a march through neutral Belgium would mean war. Germany inquired during the long crisis before the actual outbreak of war. They acted in the belief that Britain would not mind much.

For many years before 1914, there had been many in the British establishment who felt that a war with Germany was inevitable. Or that a war should be sought before Germany displaced Britain as the leading power in world trade, as was increasingly happening. One must suspect that Germany was *lured* into the First World War, even though the actual war accelerated the decline of the British Empire.

The probable luring of Saddam fitted nicely with the openly expressed idea that history had ended with centuries of enlightened or liberal Western values vindicated. That no one had any right to be any different. Which I would see as the main cause of the increasing unpopularity of the West all over the world.

I never had any fondness for Saddam's Iraq, Gaddafi's Libya or Assad's Syria. But I was also virtually certain that breaking those regimes would fail to produce something better. A wiser rule would have been: *if you can't fix it, don't break it.*

From my time as a Computer Analyst, I vividly remember a co-worker confidently telling me that the war against Iraq was a clever scheme. Saddam would be replaced by someone just as repressive, but ready to sell oil cheap to the West. Cheaper petrol for his car. As it happened, the man lost his job during the later financial crises. Unemployed last time I saw him.

The removal of Saddam's repressive regime led to the emergence of everything he had been repressing. Most of it far more alien to Western values than he'd been. Only the Kurds running what is functionally a separate state in northern Iraq still had familiar values, including heroic female fighters. But a revival of a Kurdish nationalism with claims on some of the territory of the Turkish Republic must have fed into the rise of Political Islam in Turkey.

I hadn't foreseen that breaking existing Libyan politics and trying to do the same in Syria would produce a flood of refugees. Or that this would in turn produce hysterical anti-immigrant feelings throughout the European Union, even in places where there were very few immigrants. But no one is surprised when an individual put under stress blows up into fury over some minor issue. An unemployed man beating up his wife, even though she is obviously not at fault. It would be logical to expect the same irrationality from whole societies.

Also logical to decide that fixing real grievances would be a general cure: the main problems being high unemployment and too little welfare. But to address *that* would be to admit that the New Right project had failed. For Mounk, *everyone else* has failed. The politics of the 1990s were wonderful apart from mysteriously going wrong.

Mounk does mention the growth in inequality since the 1980s – though not that it has been largely a recovery of the inequality that existed before the 1940s. But he refuses to see this as much of a problem.

Mounk can't see that 'Our Freedom' won't last unless it is also 'Their Freedom'.¹⁷

Appendix – Liberal Science Fiction

Writers like Isaac Asimov and Arthur C. Clarke could sensibly be called liberal writers. What's interesting is how drastically their viewpoints shifted.

The original Foundation 'trilogy' is a collection of twelve connected short stories. It would read more logically as two volumes: first the rise against a declining Galactic Empire and then the disruption caused by a mutant with Mind Control. Several volumes set earlier or later in its timeline were added much later, beginning with the excellent *Foundation's Edge*, which linked the stories to his previously-separate robot stories.. Later volumes I found OK, but not of the same quality apart from *The Robots of Dawn* and *Foundation and Earth*. Likewise the various authorised additions by other writers.

What's very relevant here is how *Foundation's Edge* showed big shifts in Asimov's world-view. The hidden technocratic 'Second Foundation' were originally seen as the correct end-point: in the continuation it is the enigmatic soft-power 'Gaia'.

Likewise *The Robots of Dawn* continues a trend in other late-Asimov robot stories in accepting the robots as people and meriting equality. This was definitely not the case in the original stories.

Asimov's older view as robots properly kept as loyal servants has so far been continued in *Star Wars*, apart from the occasional dissenting note in the mutli-authored 'Extended Universe' writings. I've written elsewhere about its moral weakness: *The Moral Void in Star Wars*.¹⁸

British and US imaginative writings are also significant in the shifting views of Imperialism, Racism, Genocide, Sexual Equality, and acceptable sex. The topic of genocide is covered in 'Vrilism and Fantasy-Genocide', part of a larger study of Anglo genocide.¹⁹

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¹⁷ I originally studied Mounk after being asked to do a review for a mainstream publication. Asked by someone who thought they liked my criticisms of liberalism. This essay is largely a merger of my two attempts to do this, which were both rejected. I'd suppose they found my views insufficiently wishy-washy

¹⁸ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/my-science-fiction/the-moral-void-in-star-wars/>

¹⁹ https://gwydionwilliams.com/44-fascism-and-world-war-2/british-and-us-genocide/#_Toc61184876

Israel As Europe's Last Settler-Colony

by Gwydion M. Williams

This article includes some things I said in my contribution to the Bevin Society pamphlet Corbyn and Anti-Semitism. But most of it is new.

[A Few Questions](#)

[Anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic?](#)

[Jewish Influences](#)

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[Gulf Wars](#)

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[Appendix – Deaths Caused by Hitler](#)

A Few Questions

If someone complained about Ireland's role as a tax haven, would that make them anti-Irish? No sensible person would say that, without checking the complainants' other views on the Irish.

There has always been some anti-Irish feeling in England. It intensified with the long IRA war in Northern Ireland. Reached its peak with the Birmingham pub bombings of 1974, and was eased by the speedy arrest of some IRA sympathisers who were almost certainly not involved in the actual bombing. But the matter of tax is separate: Ireland does prosper by having low taxes on corporations.¹ You could also say this allowed Ireland to catch up with Britain and the rest of Western Europe. But it is long overdue to be fixed.

Also in 1948, France still hoped to hold Algeria for its white settler minority. Britain mostly supported similar people in Kenya, South Africa and what was then Rhodesia. Israel could fairly be regarded as the last outstanding issue: similar to South Africa, where blacks now rule but whites are still fairly privileged.

It is not 'anti-Semitism' to attach equal importance to Israelis and Palestinians. So why is it being presented as such?

Europe as a whole has been tricked into accepting the New Right notion that the rich are the only true creators of wealth. That they should not be burdened with the needs of the rest of the society.

As part of the effort to cover up New Right injustice and failure, fog and darkness are being

shed on all political challenges. And part of the fog and darkness is an enormous fuss about a supposed outbreak of anti-Semitism in the Labour Party.

Labour's leader have been too nice and defensive on the issue. Critics should be tackled on three points:

1. Are you saying that anti-Semitism is worse in the Labour Party than in other British political parties?
2. Are you saying that anti-Semitism has got worse in the Labour Party since Jeremy Corbyn became leader?
3. Are you saying that anti-Semitism is worse in Britain than elsewhere in the world?

These are questions that permit a simple 'yes' or 'no' answer. Critics can be expected to try to dodge them. But they should be continuously harassed until they do give an answer. Or until they are discredited by their failure to do so.

Neither 'yes' nor 'no' would suit what I'd assume to be their real purpose, which is to damage Labour and prevent another Labour government. A loss of support for Israel would be one reason – but British support for Israel is not vital. Most of those protesting *also* want to treat Austerity as a necessity. Defend the privileges of the rich as impossible to interfere with.

Saying 'yes' to any of my three questions would not be believed by most potential Labour voters. Also disbelieved by people unlikely to vote Labour, but believers in the importance of truthfulness.

Saying 'no' would lead on obviously to the question **'so why is it only Labour you make a fuss about?'** And **'is this all a cover for extremist actions by Israel?'**

I made this point previously, but less clearly, in an article entitled "*Tunbridge Wells has a Drugs and Murder Problem*", reprinted below. Tunbridge Wells is famous as the archetype of respectable English identity, and deservedly so. Both drugs and murder can be found there, but below the average for England, itself not high by global standards. So if it were used as a serious newspaper headline, it would clearly be dishonest. Might be exposed as such.

This trick is part of what I've been calling **Bliaring**, based on the politics of Tony Blair, called 'Bliar' on the marches against his disastrous Iraq War. It is cleverer than actual lying – you use true facts, but use them in a way

¹ <https://voxeu.org/article/missing-profits-nations#.W1XwlGe4yjg.twitter>

that creates beliefs that you would *not* defend as true. He scared the public by saying that Saddam could deploy 'weapons of mass destruction' in 15 minutes. Left out the significant detail that this was Battlefield Poison Gas, of the sort that Saddam had been using for years. Of the sort George Galloway wanted condemned, and Blair was one of many who ignored the issue for as long as Saddam was a useful ally of the West.

Blair had to mislead, because it seems unlikely Saddam ever had weapons that could harm the West, or even seriously damage Israel. Iraq's large army had done very little to fight Israel in the various wars waged by Egypt, Syria and Jordan. They also stood by in September 1970 – *Black September* – when King Hussein of Jordan crushed the independent power of Palestinians in his kingdom.²

There is a lot of Community Hatred in Britain. A lot of it due to Tories stirring up ill-feeling without being overtly racist. Jews are not the only target. Not the main target, nor the community most at risk. And Labour has been the main force limiting such hatreds and bringing people together.

Anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic?

I'd flatly deny that *anti-Semitism* in the strict sense even exists within the Labour Party. Or not outside of a few tiny groups that the leadership has officially warned about. I'm taking anti-Semitism to mean notions of a race-war between 'Aryan' and 'Semitic' cultures. Or general notions of a Jewish or mostly-Jewish World Conspiracy.

You also do not find actual anti-Semitism in Britain, outside a Far-Right fringe that is violent because it's heading straight for the dustbin of history. And such people have not so far dared harm anyone who'd be likely to hit back hard.

Anti-Jewish feeling clearly exists among some Britons – normal when one group of people choose to keep themselves distinct. Intensified when that community is better off and includes a greater number of famous and successful people than its neighbours. When they are suspected, rightly or wrongly, of seeing themselves as Superior Persons. That is normal human jealousy, and applies to many other groups, including people of Chinese origin in South-East Asia. But it should not be confused with the genocidal fantasies that most people think of in connection with the term anti-Semitism.

Labour has some members with prejudices against Jews, certainly. Particularly among Labour's Muslim members. Jews as a

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_September#Foreign_interventionn

community are richer than the British average, and quite a lot of them are in highly visible spots in the media. So there is anti-Jewish prejudice, certainly, along with a whole slew of other community hatreds. But the term **Anti-Semitism** should properly be reserved for the dangerous bunch of conspiracy-theorists who blame Jews for most of the troubles of a rapidly changing world.

The whole thing crystallised in Tsarist Russia. In much of Europe, Jews were blamed for the strains created by elements of capitalism invading traditional societies. Also for the threat to existing social values from liberalism and socialism. But most governments discouraged that view, and saw Jewish banks and capitalists as useful. Knew that liberalism and socialism were not Jewish in origin, and that they were mostly spread by non-Jews. But Russia was different.

The modern revival of older anti-Jewish prejudices began with the profoundly foolish assassination of Tsar Alexander 2nd in 1881. It should count as the most unwise and disastrous assassination in history. Alexander 2nd had liberated the serfs and was taking Russia in a progressive direction. His heirs reversed the trend to social liberalism, while allowing destructive capitalist economics to continue.

The assassins had a mix of socialist and anarchist ideas, and favoured agrarian socialism.³ The massive polarisation of Russia after the assassination probably ensured a complete break-down and a remaking of Russia by the Bolsheviks, whose values were very different. Who absorbed or wiped out Russian Anarchism. Who did permanent damage to Russian agriculture.

One lesson from this is that individual acts of terrorism are mostly futile. That they are sometimes enormously damaging to the ideas behind those acts.

The other is that Bolshevik extremism should be understood in the context of a society where you had to be extremist to get anything done. Where the nice-sounding government based on Russia's semi-democratic parliament did very nothing much between the collapse of Tsarism and the Bolshevik take-over. Nothing except insist that the hideously costly war must continue, with a major motive being ambitions for taking Muslim-majority Constantinople for Orthodox Christianity.

As for those who began the process, they were mostly not Jewish, nor much concerned with Jewish welfare. But the eight arrested for the

³ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervomartovtsy> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narodnaya_Volya

plot included a woman of Jewish origin, Gesya Gelfman.⁴ She had broken with her Jewish heritage, perhaps to avoid an arranged marriage. She had practiced Free Love, and at the time of the assassination had a non-Jewish lover. She was not one of the three actual bombers. But she was presented as a major influence. And the successful assassin Ignacy Hryniewiecki, who came from a noble family in Lithuania, was wrongly rumoured to be Jewish.

With immense lack of judgement, the assassinated Tsar's son and heir Alexander 3rd passed anti-Jewish laws and broadly encouraged the wave of pogroms that followed. It was similar to what happened in the US South after they lost the Civil War. Respectable leaders would politely say there was a major problem with a minority. And there would be a deafening silence if louts and men moved by personal spite then acted on the official line. Klu Kluk Klan in the USA. A mix of bigots later organised as the Black Hundreds in Tsarist Russia.

The same idiocy was continued by Nicholas 2nd, officially made a saint by the Russian Orthodox Church. One of many off-message facts ignored by the Western media: they can't admit that Putin is a *moderating* force within a deeply offended Russian nation. Pro-Western elements made a mess of their dominance in the 1990s, and now get maybe 5% of the vote in fairly free elections. Traditional hatreds of Jews have revived.

Back in Late-Tsarist times, someone in Russia mixed a clever condemnation of Napoleon 3rd by a French radical with a mediocre anti-semitic novel from Germany. They created the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. It had little impact at first, re-hashing what was already believed by many of the elite. But the French source was an intelligent and insightful criticism of corrupt liberal power-politics as practiced by Napoleon 3rd. His Second French Empire was pro-rich liberalism that modernised behind a façade of traditional values. That borrowed much from British Liberalism, and was influential on later attempts to be liberal and progressive in a society where only an autocrat was likely to be effective.

The original French critic of Napoleon 3rd had nothing at all to say about Jews. Jews had been emancipated in 1791 by the French Revolution, which also legalised homosexuality. A lot of modern values were invented there, but had to fight on for nearly 200 years to win out. But Jews had very little to do with the matter until the second half of the nineteenth century, when it turned out that Jews could adapt very nicely to

new opportunities opened up by a radical shift in values that had happened within Latin-Christian culture. Values that neighbouring cultures accepted but were uneasy about, with Jews as convenient scapegoats for social strains.

White Russians fleeing the Bolshevik victory brought with them the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. They were widely believed by the Far Right. They were even taken seriously by British centre-right publications like the London *Times*, until the plagiarism of the French work for an anti-Semitic rant was exposed.

To someone ignorant of the original trick – and far too little has been done to make it known – the *Protocols* might sound convincing. Might make sense to the confused and the lost, at least. The plagiarism of a left-wing, non-socialist and anti-liberal French work meant that the stolen words is a fairly good description of liberal power-politics and manipulation of the media. Whereas most Far Right literature is obvious rubbish, they sound plausible. And most critics have neglected to publicise that Napoleon 3rd was the original target and that it has nothing to do with Jews. His Second Empire was broadly Modernist and used a façade of Christianity to keep quiet the authentic conservatives.

All of this I have explained in a previous *Problems*, with detailed sources.⁵

Jewish Influences

As Europe modernised under official Christian politics, many Jews did nicely out of the changes. They did well because they had always valued literacy and education, even if it had often been wasted on elaborate gibberish like the Kabbalah. And Jews understandably concentrated on areas where they were less likely to be discriminated against.

- In finance, you succeed by doing business with whoever you can profitably do business with, regardless of what you think of them.
- If you want a suit or a dress, you go to the best tailor even if you don't like them as a person.
- In journalism and literature, editors normally value the publishable words regardless of the author.
- In entertainment, whatever brings in an audience will be cherished. (But Jews often use names that don't sound Jewish, particularly in the USA.)
- In science and maths, the *ideas* are the

⁵ *The Protocols of Zion – a Plagiarism of 'Joly the Miserable'*, a section of a much larger article that also covers Hitler's rise. See https://gwydionwilliams.com/048-anti-semitism-and-zionism/hitler-the-13th-chancellor/#_Toc515264101

⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gesya_Gelfman

main point. Many of the best of them are difficult and touchy. Some are seriously unpleasant characters.

There were also older connections in finance. Jews had been authorised money-lenders in Latin-Christian Europe, and kept their role. But it was marginal, and the real powers were Italian Christians. Most notably the Medici family, whose power was based on money-lending and whose members included two highly influential popes.⁶ Also two Queens of France, the notorious Catherine de' Medici and also Marie de' Medici, grandmother of both Louis 14th for France and kings Charles 2nd and James 2nd and 7th of Great Britain. And having flourished in the 16th century, the House of Medici lost importance in the 17th. You could however credit them with doing more than most to create modern European culture. Much more so than the Rothschilds, who themselves have long since lost their 19th century importance and become just one of many rich families.

Dealing with real social forces, we see that Jews adapted quickly to new trends in literature and journalism. Were rather slower to take to science – only in the later 19th century did you get huge numbers of people of Jewish origin become prominent in science and maths. Most of these were secular, often abandoning Jewish religion and customs. Many of the famous men excluded themselves from the formal definition of Jewishness by marrying non-Jewish women. Einstein was one example: his first wife and mother of his children was Serbian.

At much the same time, large numbers of Jews started joining the emerging new political creeds of socialism, secular communism and anarchism. All of these had begun within Latin-Christian culture. *Religious* communism in the sense of no personal property is indeed what Christianity had begun as and intermittently tried to practice, mostly as communities of monks and nuns but occasionally as small utopian colonies.

None of these new political movements were Jewish in origin. Mostly the members of Jewish origin abandoned Jewish separatism and sought to merge with the wider non-Jewish population.

Later on, a lot of individuals of Jewish origin did become prominent within the various left-wing movements. Karl Marx was almost the first of these, and came from a family that had converted and been baptised. I could find only one notable Jewish socialist before him: French-Jewish philosopher Moses Hess.⁷ Hess influenced Marx and Engels. but later diverged from them and became a pioneering Zionist.

6 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Medici#Medici_Popes. There were four in all, but the other two did not count for much.

7 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses_Hess

Marx and Engels operated within an existing secular-communist movement that had been growing in various forms for decades. Marx's economic ideas were also a development of older ideas of Ricardian socialism.⁸ Ricardo himself was a convert from Judaism, but not a socialist.

Though socialism is not of Jewish origin, socialist organisations would generally accept Jews on an equal basis. Racist socialism existed up to the 1930, but it was mostly White Racist and accepted Jews as a variety of White. Like finance, tailoring, retail trading, journalism, literature, science and maths, it was an outlet for talented Jews.

The Centre-Right tended to exploit this and fooled those who'd benefit from left-wing politics into thinking it was all a Jewish trick. Outside of Tsarist Russia, most of them didn't actually believe this and would accept rich Jews who were useful. But acceptance was rarely complete. The Centre-Right were much more ambiguous before Hitler polarised everything with World War Two.

Blaming Jews for modernism maiming itself with the First World War was foolish. But folly is part of the human condition. In South-East Asia, Jews are an insignificant minority, but long-settled and distinctive Chinese communities have a major role in business. Are much richer than their neighbours, get blamed and are sometime attacked with mob violence.

These Chinese are just one of the Market Minorities described by Amy Chua's book *World On Fire*.⁹ She herself is best known for her Tiger Mother book. She comes from the Chinese-origin minority of South-East Asia, and has a husband of Jewish origin. Her children would not be eligible for settlement in Israel, supposing they wished for this, because the official definition of the 'Jewish Race' is based on having a Jewish mother.

It's an error to treat prejudice as *irrational*. Mostly it is a drastic misreading of real social problems. Much easier to blame someone you already don't like, than accept that your cherished social values include flaws and must change. That's why I've spent some time showing why prejudices exist, and why they are a wholly false reading of the facts.

Mainstream European politics had generated the self-maiming of the First World War. It had to change itself a great deal and import many ideas from socialism and communism before it got a viable new politics after 1945. And then

8 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ricardian_socialism

9 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/048-anti-semitism-and-zionism/market-minorities-across-the-world/>

pretended never to have done this from the 1980s, when memories had faded. But between the two wars, mainstream European politics were confused. The ideas that separated out as Fascism were part of the mix. Suspicion of Jews grew, from a sadly-normal human belief that *someone* had to be responsible, and preferable someone 'not at all like me'.

When first published in English in 1920, the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were taken very seriously by the mainstream British press. This included the London *Times*, then a vastly more serious and respected newspaper than it is now.¹⁰ It also admitted its error when people discovered that vast chunks of *Dialogue in Hell* by Maurice Joly had been crudely reworked to make the *Protocols*.

Joly had not been concerned about Jews, but was misaligned in a way many on the Far Right are misaligned.

When this previously obscure work was noticed, people wondered why a French liberal republican mocked things close to his own beliefs. I'd suppose it is much the same reason that a once-married couple may go to extremes of hate – you have a close bond and have to feel emotional.

In politics, it is not at all unusual to find intense hatred and rivalry between people who seem very similar to outsiders. Joly had a lot of this, and may also have despaired of the future when he saw Napoleon 3rd's politics flourishing. When he saw people he had once been close to, becoming flourish members of that regime. It got so bad that he finally committed suicide by shooting himself – a sure sign of self-hate. I'd class his work as a work of liberal self-hatred, easily twisted to right-wing beliefs that he would presumably have despised.

The *Protocols* might have been discredited. But the slew of ideas in them were taken up by super-rich car-maker Henry Ford and publicised in a book called *The International Jew*. People who must be ignorant of that little detail still approvingly quote his comment that *history is bunk* – actually an angry reaction to exposure of other errors he had made. His attitude would have been better summarised as 'just because it isn't true is no reason to think it isn't true': quite common among right-wingers. He found all sorts of excuses for a work that *should* have returned to well-deserved obscurity.

Ford himself was a generator of vast disruption in the USA's traditional culture by making the automobile much cheaper and more available.

10 Antisemitism in the London *Times*. https://gwydionwilliams.com/048-anti-semitism-and-zionism/hitler-the-13th-chancellor/#_Toc515264103

He genuinely cherished the values of Small-Town America. He failed to see that it was mostly under threat from a machine that let you aimlessly drift from one place to another, never having a stable social context. That his automobiles opened up small towns to all sorts of alien influence that might have stayed far away and marginal without cheap motoring.

Ford at that time had a vast authority among people with a mix of modernist and right-wing attitudes. Aldous Huxley has him replacing Jesus Christ as 'Our Ford' in his satirical SF novel *Brave New World*. And the Nazis were heavily influenced by him.

Hitler got as far as he did, because the centre-right in Britain and the USA mostly took a friendly attitude to him.¹¹ And even more to Mussolini, whom Churchill had approved of until he joined forces with Hitler.¹²

All of this has been pushed out of mainstream history. The left has done far too little to publicise the well-documented historic links between Nazism and the 'respectable' centre-right. And perhaps those who think it a good idea for Jews to align with the political heirs of those people are genuinely unaware of it.

Centre-Right Guilt

Prejudices of all sorts have been made worse by the New Right. In principle it is a non-racial creed: but those who need to get elected have intentionally stirred up various forms of race hatred. And this was *always* part of Centre-Right politics in Britain and the USA.

It isn't prejudice against Jews that the New Right seek to stir up. But if you stir up the murky depths of human nature, only a fool would fail to realise that almost anything might come to the surface.

There are a lot of fools in Centre-Right politics. Shrewd operators who can work the system, but have a silly and false notion of the deep workings of the system. Boris Johnson is the most blatant case, but just one of many.

The Centre-Right has been more friendly to Jews since the spectacular victory of Israel in the Six-Day War in 1967. It was the only clear military victory by the West in the entire Cold War, unless you count the 1983 United States invasion of the tiny island of Grenada, where a hard-line leftist faction had just murdered the popular left-wing leader Maurice Bishop.

11 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/44-fascism-and-world-war-2/how-the-tory-party-aided-hitlers-rise/>

12 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/44-fascism-and-world-war-2/why-churchill-admired-mussolini/>

The Six-Day War also confirmed Israel's status as part of the West, which had been less clear before. It was and remains a tricky issue. Jordan, the main loser with Israel's capture of the Old City in Jerusalem and the entire West Bank, was and remains pro-Western.

In the 1956 Suez Crisis, the USA had saved Nassar and helped persuade Israel to give up its conquest of the Gaza Strip and parts of Sinai. Whereas after 1967, the USA made sure that the United Nations Resolution 242 did not include a clear requirement on them to withdraw from *all* occupied territories. It might mean that, or might not, but the US blocked attempted to make it unambiguous.

This 1967 victory also encouraged US Jews to assert themselves more, and for more of them to join the Republicans. For some of them to go along with hostility to other minorities if their own position was not questioned.

Or not questions *for now*.

General Centre-Right guilt should not be doubted. It was Tories who in 1964 defeated rising Labour politician Patrick Gordon Walker in his constituency with the slogan '**if you want a nigger neighbour, vote Labour**'.¹³ And who broadly encouraged the racist attitudes that led to the recently-publicised attempts to deprive long-settled old people of West Indian origin of their citizenship for not having all the right paperwork.

Not, indeed, that most leading Tories are sincere racists. Extremely rich people of any origin are welcomed into their inner circles. They go after the poor in general, with absurd complexities added to welfare for supposed fairness and fraud prevention. They ignore vast number of clearly documented case of honest needy people of all racial origins being denied what the law entitles them to. Probably they'd like to change the law to give far less, but they also have to win elections. So they claim to be generous, and persecute the needy on a multiracial basis.

Also not a sincere racist was Richard Nixon. He was a slick Californian trickster who saw the chance to re-shape and polarise US politics by a subtle appeal to Southern Democrats enraged by Kennedy and Johnson finally being serious about racial equality. Southern Democrats always made a *show* of not being racist, while also making it clear to their voters that they were solid racists who would never allow equality or integration. Nixon smoothly took them over, while also avoiding being seen as racist by the

¹³ <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/commentators/yasmin-alibhai-brown/the-truth-is-the-tories-have-always-resented-people-like-me-281216.html>

wider mass of Republican voters.

Southern Democrats were Old Right – they believed in looking after their own people, though not on an equal basis and with a racial hierarchy defended. Nixon's policies were 'Feed-the Rich', but it got much worse under Reagan. He did nothing at all to slow the wider drift towards the USA gaining a non-white majority. And he stripped his White-Racist voters of the job security and welfare that had given them a sense of dignity and purpose. Ignored the massive over-prescription of legal opiates by doctors, which has spread massive addiction. He treated them like idiots, as did the two Bushes and other leading Republicans. And for a long time, they did nothing to show that this was a false view of them.

Nixon began the break-up of the highly successful Mixed Economy system, as I have explained elsewhere.¹⁴ They were helped by the Soviet leadership drawing totally the wrong lessons from Western success. They decided that it was *market forces* that were the key: so they tried a system of pseudo-markets that blighted the crude but highly successful system they had inherited from Stalin. The Chinese were much wiser: they saw that the West was allowing individual initiatives that a state-run system would usually suppress. That is the context in which I'd understand Mao's two grand initiatives beyond the Stalin system: the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. The economy was actually growing well under the very left-wing system that Mao had imposed during the Cultural Revolution, though agriculture was definitely a problem. And Deng was less different from Mao than is generally supposed: he decided that capitalism would be useful, but never that it was automatically a good thing. President Xi isn't really deviating from Deng's policies in deciding that the time has come to ease down the amount of capitalism.

In the West, the Mixed Economy gave good well-paid jobs to most workers. The rich remained rich, but had much less social power than they once had.

When the Soviet Union started losing popularity and economic strength, the rich stopped seeing Social Justice as a necessary evil to avoid either Communism or a return of Fascism. Also saw no need to defend traditional values when it might cost them money.

The Nixon strategy, expanded by Reagan and Thatcher, involved a jolly-sounding politics that would feed more and more money to the rich. That would treat ordinary right-wingers as idiots

¹⁴ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/the-mixed-economy-worked-quite-well/>

who could be cheated of their money while their social values were also trashed.

Under Trump, the idiots have finally revolted. They got themselves someone who sounds as bigoted and prejudiced as they are. His actual beliefs are probably subtler – like Ronald Reagan, he knows that sounding foolish gains you more votes from the unintelligent than you lose from enraged intellectuals.

His foreign policies are also less foolish than the disastrous interventions that continued under Obama and would have been pursued vigorously by Hillary Clinton had she been elected. But within the USA, he has given another gigantic gift to the rich in the form of tax cuts with crumbs tossed to the poor. And he is cruder than previous Republican presidents in securing the White-Racist vote. He seems unlikely to fix anything within the USA.

Israel and White Racism

That a general encouragement of race hatred includes hostility to Jews is only to be expected. But Corbyn's critics within Labour prefer to treat it as something unique and without rational cause. They say that Labour under Corbyn has an alarming problem, presumably not found outside of Labour or in Labour before Corbyn's election. But all that is new is hostility to Israel's extremist policies, and many Jews share this feeling. Even some long-term Zionists feel that things have now gone too far.

There is also a striking lack of interest in race or communal hatreds of other sorts. A determination to hang onto the same pro-rich policies that generated the hatreds. Supposedly we only need to worry about hostility to Jews. We need not show the same concern about hostility to lesser breeds of human.

They don't actually say 'lesser breeds of human'. But if that is not what they are thinking, then just what are they thinking?

A militant minority of Jews do have a splendid record of fighting racism and all other forms of inequality and discrimination. Risking their lives and sometimes losing them. But it was only ever a minority, many of them against Zionism. And sadly, it seems to be a shrinking minority. In the current row, we have *Jewish Voice for Labour* website,¹⁵ doing excellent work. But though they rightly complain that bodies like the Jewish Board of Deputies are largely self-appointing, I fear the balance of numbers is against them. And it has been sad to see how *The Guardian* has been neutral-to-pro during the campaign against Corbyn.

In the history of Israel, the initial sympathy after 1945 was based on the West's failure to protect millions of Jews that Hitler slaughtered. Also a wish to dump the surviving displaced Jewish populations somewhere outside of Europe and the USA. The USA had room for all of them, but no wish to take more than a few highly gifted individuals. They were protecting the dominant White Anglo-Saxon Protestant values, which are now getting what's

15 <https://www.jewishvoiceforlabour.org.uk/articles/>

probably a last revival with President Trump. But in the 1940s and 1950s, 'WASP' values were far more solid.

Those Jews who had arrived with the original WASP settlers in the 18th and early-19th century had similar attitudes to the WASP majority. They were fitted in on much the same basis as the numerous eccentric little Protestant sects that were part of the mix. Likewise a scattering of Roman Catholics. There was a panic over Freemasons – but anyone who got a good look at them would see them as nothing more than a club with standard values despite their eccentric club rules and silly rituals. They also tended to be from upper-middle social circles rather than the true Establishment. Their eccentric club rules were there to add an element of mystery to lives that were otherwise very dull. Also useful for making standardised social contacts for people who would quite often be 'strangers in a strange land'.

In the later 19th century, the arrival of many more Roman Catholics in the USA caused alarm. Initially it was German Catholics, though Irish Catholics were also unwelcome. A similar but sometimes more extreme view was taken of huge numbers of Jews from Middle-Europe and Russia, who also did not take naturally to WASP norms. Jews who were also far more numerous than the older integrated Jews, and formed communities with distinct ideas of who they were.

All this caused a revival of overt White Racism, most notably the Klu Kluk Klan. It happened because covert Establishment racism was no longer working. Establishment attitudes were mostly lukewarm.

The Second World War saw Hitler bungle his way into a war with the two strongest White Racist powers, the British Empire and the United States. Because they also needed the Soviet Union to win that war, the new United Nations was defined with Pan-Human principles. And by degrees, overt racism and other prejudices were suppressed.

But prejudices did not vanish. In the 1960s, there were worries in the USA over the election of Kennedy as their first Roman Catholic president. Kennedy was one of only two non-WASPs to get the nation's highest office: and Obama was a conventional Afro-American Protestant, sharing most of the WASP world-vision. Obama was notable for not fixing the mess in the Middle East, nor closing the Guantanamo Bay detention camp. Bailing out the banks in 2008, when they should have been nationalised and broken up into smaller units.

The existence of Israel was authorised at a time when both racism and imperialism were much more respectable than they now are. Creating Israel on Arab land was the final phase of European seizure of lands outside of Europe. The last gasp before the displacement of dominant 'White Race' settlers in Algeria, Kenya, former Rhodesia and South Africa. And it happened before most of the victims of European Imperialism got a voice at the United Nations – Latin America was then much more definitely dominated by descendants of its own land-grabbers. Even so, the UN authorised a much

smaller Israel than the one which emerged after the war of 1948. Bad behaviour by a few Arabs was used to justify the expulsion of a much larger unwanted Arab populations: people who would otherwise have been a majority in the Israel that actually emerged.

Let's also be clear: Israel was defined on a racial basis. Anyone judged to be 'of the Jewish race' could settle there, regardless of where they lived or whether they might be at risk in the land they were born in. Non-Jews in the Israel of 1948-1967 were citizens, but not *equal* citizens. And though Israel since 1967 has ruled the rest of the British-defined Mandate Territory of Palestine, almost all of its non-Jewish inhabitants have been left in limbo. Definitely not Israeli citizens, but also not citizens of a meaningful Palestinian state.¹⁶

I supported Israel for as long as they seemed to be trying to get back to the borders as they stood in 1967. Maybe I was over-optimistic - but they did hand back Sinai. But no one had ever counted Sinai as part of historic Israel. The West Bank was another matter.

With hindsight, it's a great pity that Israel didn't unilaterally hand back most of the West Bank to Jordan, during the years when Jordan still claimed it. That kingdom began as the British-backed Emirate of Transjordan, controlling land east of the River Jordan that was not included in British Palestine. Transjordan included land that had been Jewish according to the *Book of Joshua*, and had sometimes been ruled by later Israeli kingdoms. A few Zionists complained at the time, but no one important. But within Zionism, there has been a continuous feeling by many of them that the whole of British-defined Palestine belongs to Jews. That it should in the long run have no place for non-Jews. That it was Jewish land, and non-Jews whose ancestors had been there for centuries were unwelcome intruders.

During the 1948 fighting, the British-trained Arab Legion¹⁷ captured the Old City of Jerusalem and held on to a portion of the land that had been defined as Palestinian by the United Nations. It was based on the Emirate of Transjordan, but in 1949 it transformed itself into the Kingdom of Jordan, incorporating what became the West Bank. Kept links after Israel conquered the West Bank in 1967, but renounced its claims in 1988. The hope perhaps was that a real Palestinian state could replace it, but that hope was never realised.

The settlement of Jews on the West Bank began immediately after its 1967 occupation, and is continuing down to the present day. Many Israelis identify the West Bank as Judea and Samaria, and feel it really belongs to people racially defined as Jewish. This despite the probability that many of the Muslim and Christian Palestinians have ancestors who were originally Jewish and were converts to the dominant religions.

16 Having annexed East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights, Israel did offer citizenship to those living there. Most refused it. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_citizens_of_Israel.)

17 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Legion

Other converts would have come from the ancient Samaritans. There were once a population of many millions, significant within the Roman Empire and its Byzantine extension, though they never had their own kingdom.¹⁸ Samaritans claimed to follow a more authentic version of the original Hebrew religion than the one centred around the Jerusalem Temple.

Most of this little-known community of Alternative Israelis vanished centuries ago: some massacred and others converted to Islam and now part of the Palestinian population. Survivors of the original creed sank to a minimum of about 100 in the late 19th century. They have since recovered slightly.

Jews are supposedly refugees whose ancestors fled from the land they are now reclaiming. But it seems likely that many currently defined as Jews are descended from converts made over the centuries. There's a big argument over the Khazars,¹⁹ a large kingdom in what's now European Russia that had Judaism as its state religion. And in his still-very-readable *A Short History of the World*, H G Wells notes that after the destruction of Carthage by Rome, large Carthaginian settlements in Spain etc. suddenly vanished and large settlements of Jews were found in the same places. Carthaginians were Rome's great enemy: Jews were broadly acceptable for as long as the Roman Empire was pagan.

Though Israel has always been defined on a racial basis, those Jews who initially went there had been compelled to be a separate racial group back in Europe, despite most of them wishing to be just a religious minority. And while the older sort of Christian anti-Semitism would accept and assimilate converts, the Nazis refused to do so and used an unalterable ethnic definition.

There were excuses, when Israel was first established, for saying it was a refuge for people who would be allowed nowhere else. But that does not apply to Jewish settlement of 'Judea and Samaria', which is on-going and the big obstacle to peace.

The whole drift in recent years is towards excluding non-Jews. It has been strengthened by the recent Nation-State law, passed by a narrow margin against many protests from Moderate Zionism:

"The Nation-State law establishes that racist and discriminatory practices against Palestinians and non-Jews are legal. The law states that in Israel only Jewish people have the right to self-determination, demotes Arabic from an official language to 'special status,' places national value on the development of 'Jewish settlement' and confirms that the state 'will act to encourage and promote its establishment and consolidation.'"²⁰

Sadly, Moderate Zionism is a dying creed.²¹ Its best hope was taking the Oslo Peace Agreement seriously and letting a real Palestinian state emerge. It has been going downhill since the assassination by an extremist-religious Zionist of Yitzhak Rabin,

18 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samaritans#Iron_Age

19 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khazars#Judaism>

20 <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/jvp-israels-jewish-nation-state-confirms-apartheid/>

21 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/22/world/middleeast/israel-jewish-state-nationality-law.html>

who oversaw Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War. Rabin was the first native-born prime minister of Israel, and the best hope of peace between Israel and the Arabs. His murder may have been the act of an isolated extremist, but it was also part of a trend. Hard-line policies now dominate: the reality of modern Israel has fallen far below what was once hoped for.

Gulf Wars

Hard-line Israelis and their supporters were also involved in the disastrous attempt to create an Arab World subservient to the USA and unwilling to challenge Israel. Their bright idea, based on ignorant New-Right beliefs about European history, was to knock over independent-minded secular authoritarian regimes, beginning with Iraq. For some reason, these characters believed that they could create nice parliamentary capitalist states that would be happy to live in peace and love the Anglosphere.

Instant Democracy – Just Add Firepower!

Reality failed to match this. The only functional parliamentary system, that in Iraq, is pro-Iranian. It has all along been dominated sectarian Shia-Islam parties. Generated corrupt governments that were also sectarian enough to produce a wave of Islamist extremist among Iraq's Sunni-Arab minority. And remains a weak government of ever-shifting coalitions, while ordinary Iraqis suffer.

In Egypt, it was rapidly discovered that pro-Western elements were less than 10% of the voters, while a clear majority were inclined to some version of Islamism. The USA had to authorise a coup and a return to sham elections.

It was never realistic to expect Arab states to copy parliaments that had evolved over centuries in Europe. Which generally accepted the notion of a 'loyal opposition' long before full democracy was attempted.²²

It is a total botch, but the people who did the botching fail to blame themselves. Bitterly resent those who expose them as cheats and bunglers.

And they'd forgotten Iran. Had they properly assessed their earlier failure in Iran, they could have saved many Arab lives. Saved themselves a few thousand lives of their soldiers and a great deal of money. In Iran, Britain and the USA had in the 1950s undermined the elected secular regime of Mohammad Mosaddegh after it dared demand a fair price for oil. Restored the Shah as dictator, and got a docile little right-wing regime in Iran, friendly to Israel. They then loosely favoured protests that might have made it even more Western. And were amazed that it all turned to Islamic extremism.

They were aiming at almost exactly the same thing in Iraq. They were utterly amazed when the same general trend was followed. As I said earlier, they are brilliant at 'working the system', but ignorant little bunglers when dealing with human realities outside of their own experience.

22 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/58-democracy/democracy-and-one-party-states/>

Those characters just don't learn. They are increasingly becoming 'the one fixed point in a changing world'. They remind me strongly of the demented chief character in the 1993 psychological thriller-comedy *Falling Down*. Except that it featured one of the victims of their greedy bungling: I strongly suspect that the politicians involved in the current mess-up will be personally well-looked after if they lose their present positions. It is mostly not as crude as formal corruption: just the rich looking after their friends on an informal network basis. Probably believing the nonsense of the official line: rich business people are mostly pig-ignorant of matters outside their work and the occasional hobby.

The rise of Corbyn and the left within Labour threatens British support for extreme Israeli actions. It also undermines the floundering system of US-dominated Globalisation, which a majority of Jews have signed up to, even though a militant minority are bitter opponents. The majority control bodies like the Jewish Board of Deputies. Hence the smear campaign, claiming that Labour under Corbyn has some particular problem with anti-Semitism.

Many honest people have been confused by massive media campaigns. Stuff typical of the New Right: shedding fog and darkness on truths they don't want to deal with.

The truth is very simple.

- Anti-Semitism is hostility to Jews, wherever they are living and whatever they are doing.
- Anti-Zionism is hostility to the notion of a Jewish homeland on land taken from non-Jews already living there.

I suggested earlier that it would be wise to distinguish between anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish prejudice. Distinguish crazy conspiracy theories centred on Jews from the common human failing of hating rich and successful neighbours. But that's just my view. What we currently know about is the distinction between hostility to Israel and various forms of hostility to Jews as such.

If you split anti-Semitism from anti-Zionism, Labour has less of it than Britain overall. Less than the other major political parties. And nothing much by global standards:

"A survey of anti-Semitic attitudes in Britain, published last September by the respected Institute for Jewish Policy Research — an organization with no ties to any political party — contains several findings that are worth considering amid this uproar. First: Levels of anti-Semitism in Britain are among the lowest in the world. Second: Supporters across the political spectrum manifest anti-Semitic ideas. Third: Far from this being an issue for the left, the prejudice gets worse the farther right you look. And yet, at the same time, British Jews now generally believe anti-Semitism to be a large and growing problem and have come to associate it with Labour in particular."²³

Jews in the USA are unlikely to be shot by the

23 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/06/opinion/anti-semitism-britain-labour-party.html>. The study can be found at http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Antisemitism_in_contemporary_Great_Britain.pdf

police. Jews in Britain are unlikely to have their citizenship questioned after spending most of their lives here.

Jews are one of several minority groups all round the world that have higher average incomes than the society they live in – but since 1945, they have not been one of those at serious risk.²⁴ Other 'Market Minorities' have suffered much worse, but some can move on and do better in a new life, as the East African Asians have done. Poor and ill-educated minorities mostly fare far worse, like the Vietnamese Boat People and the Rohingya being expelled from Myanmar. But we are expected to think that British prejudice against Jews is a unique problem that the Labour Party has been neglecting.

Note also that Labour anti-Semitism suddenly became an urgent problem when Labour dared to ignore the elite and elect Corbyn. It was probably worse in earlier years, with a lot of working-class bigotry. But for as long as the Labour leadership was broadly pro-Israel, as little as possible was said about the matter.

For as long as the Tory leadership are reliably pro-Israel, as little as possible is said about extensive anti-Jewish bigotry among ordinary Tories. Little about other forms of Tory racism, where the nice Tories politely suggest there is a problem and louts who listen will act on the logic of what they are told.

You also hear little about Tory links with the Far Right, most of whom have dropped anti-Jewish talk in order to concentrate on their other hatreds. Dropped it *for now*: the attitudes are still there and might become overt at any time.

The big victims have been Muslims, unfairly lumped with small extremist groups at war with the west. All of which have come out of Wahhabism, a hard-line version of Sunni Islam that has been pushed by Saudi Arabia. Spread globally, with much compliance by the West.

The Saudi dynasty flatly reject democracy and are the most extreme illiberals still surviving in the modern world – but they also have massive business links with the West. So far, they are off-limits. So far, they have been given plenty of weapons with which to kill the unfortunate people of Yemen.

Holocaust Definitions

Labour was for a long time blamed for not accepting the definition of the self-appointed *International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance*. This body shows no interest in injustice to anyone other than Jews. The Nazi death-machine deliberately killed several million who were not Jewish, on top of tens of millions of all origins killed as part of trying to win the war. It was unique in the deliberate killing of helpless members of unwanted populations not accused of any specific crime. But most people only know about the anti-Jewish part of it.

It is entirely true that more Jews were killed than any other group. Six million was the official SS estimate.

²⁴ <https://gwydionwilliams.com/048-anti-semitism-and-zionism/market-minorities-across-the-world/>

It was roughly two-thirds of the Jews living in Europe, but numbers of Jews could be hard to estimate. A full audit is tricky, because the SS did their best to destroy all traces of what they'd done. Some serious scholars have put it as low as 4.5 million: no one knows for certain.

If the SS killed less than the standard estimate, it wasn't for want of trying. Poor little Anne Franke would have survived Auschwitz, as her father did, because the carefully-concealed gas chambers were being dismantled as the Red Army came closer. But she and her sister were shipped to Bergen-Belsen, taking resources from Germany's disintegrating war effort. The camp had a typhoid epidemic that is presumed to have killed them. That's the logic of Race War: potential mothers of future Jews are more dangerous than adult males.

But it often get overlooked that mass extermination for non-military reasons includes several million non-Jews. The *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* has the following:

"Calculating the numbers of individuals who were killed as the result of Nazi policies is a difficult task. There is no single wartime document created by Nazi officials that spells out how many people were killed in the Holocaust or World War II...

"Jews: up to 6 million

"Soviet civilians: around 7 million (including 1.3 Soviet Jewish civilians, who are included in the 6 million figure for Jews)

"Soviet prisoners of war: around 3 million (including about 50,000 Jewish soldiers)

"Non-Jewish Polish civilians: around 1.8 million (including between 50,000 and 100,000 members of the Polish elites)

"Serb civilians (on the territory of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina): 312,000

"People with disabilities living in institutions: up to 250,000

"Roma (Gypsies): 196,000–220,000

"Jehovah's Witnesses: around 1,900

"Repeat criminal offenders and so-called asocials: at least 70,000

"German political opponents and resistance activists in Axis-occupied territory: undetermined

"Homosexuals: hundreds, possibly thousands (possibly also counted in part under the 70,000 repeat criminal offenders and so-called asocials noted above)".²⁵

The machinery of the death-camp prioritised Jews. But it also killed non-Jewish Poles who were educated or who were surplus to Nazi plans for a re-designed Europe. Also gypsies, along with homosexuals and the chronically insane or hereditarily defective of any racial origin.

The Holocaust Memorial Museum's combined total for non-Jewish Soviet civilians and Soviet prisoners of war would be more than eight million. Soviet estimates went as high as 20 million, and the current Russian government goes further with 26 million,

²⁵ <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10008193>

including more than eight million combat deaths.²⁶

A more commonly used total is 11 million, including 6 million Jews. This has been criticised as biased.²⁷ Regardless, it was undoubtedly an immense crime, but definitely not a crime directed only at Jews.

I would also add that Hitler must be held responsible for the deaths of around seven million non-Jewish Germans,²⁸ plus millions more he'd have defined as part of the superior Nordic race. And if you excuse him responsibility for Japan's war on China and the wider Pacific War that followed, he was still guilty of 42 to 52 million deaths out of a total of 70 to 85 million.²⁹ (Japan killed the rest.)

The Nazi death-machine was a logical extension of earlier massacres, with European empires and European settlers the major offenders.

Some such purification, mostly not including Jews as targets, had been widely discussed well beyond the circle of Nazis and their supporters. There was quite a lot of it in British and US Science Fiction.³⁰ One of the worst instances was *The Marching Morons* by Cyril M. Kornbluth, in which an intelligent minority exterminate the rest of the human race. It was published in 1951 and the Science Fiction fan community gave it an award in 1965 as one of the best novellas written up to that date. It even has those organising the extermination of the inferior making use of tricks invented by the Nazis. This despite Kornbluth himself being of Polish-Jewish ancestry. It's as if he thinks that the basic idea was fine, but the Nazis stupidly killed the wrong people.

The whole matter of calling it the Holocaust nicely distances the mass killing of European Jews from massive genocide of populations outside of Europe by European empires. Empires that generally included Jews as part of the white elite: and only a minority of Jews, mostly left-wing, rejected this unfair privilege.

To me, it seemed obvious that Hitler was a particular instance of a much wider crime: I detailed this in an article called *Jews as 'Collateral Damage' in the Fall of the British Empire*.³¹

Britons including Charles Darwin objected to slavery, but were quite happy with the extermination of inconvenient natives in Patagonia, Australia, New Zealand etc. And the Concentration Camp was invented in South Africa. Used to suppress independent-minded Boers who were guilty of sitting on gigantic gold reserves that the British Empire wanted. Racism was *not* the issue: both sides favoured whites dominating and taking the best land.

²⁶ <https://www.jta.org/2017/01/31/news-opinion/united-states/remember-the-11-million-why-an-inflated-victims-tally-irks-holocaust-historians>

²⁷ <https://www.jta.org/2017/01/31/news-opinion/united-states/remember-the-11-million-why-an-inflated-victims-tally-irks-holocaust-historians>

²⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II_casualties#Nazi_Germany

²⁹ See Appendix for detailed figures

³⁰ https://gwydionwilliams.com/44-fascism-and-world-war-2/british-and-us-genocide/#_Toc61184876

³¹ <https://labouraffairsmagazine.com/problems-magazine-past-issues/jews-suffering-in-the-fall-of-the-british-empire/>

Labour was denounced for not accepting the *International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance's* definition of anti-Semitism. Thought-Crimes as defined by them include stuff that most of us are happy to denounce and maybe suppress. But the definition goes well beyond that, including the following:

"Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations..."

"Claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor..."

"Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation..."

"Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis."³²

The 'definition' fails to say whether it outlaws saying that *some* Jewish citizens might favour Israel, or even that *just a few* have done that. If it outlawed someone saying '*all* Jewish citizens', that would be fair enough. But I don't think the vagueness is an accident. And it is a fact that some US citizens have been convicted of putting Israel first – Jonathan Pollard, for instance. Or should the man's confession to major spying be outlawed from the domain of Mentionable Facts on the grounds that it is anti-Semitic?

I detailed earlier how it's not unfair to call Israel racist, and getting worse all the time.

From 1967, it was not a real democracy. It denied a useful vote to most of those it ruled, and has gone on ruling despite promises of self-government.

As for the Nazi comparison, I'd see it as unfair. But no worse than dozens of other false comparisons. Almost any exercise of authority can get called Nazi.

Labour did in the end accept the biased and unworthy definitions, and the row subsided. This may have been connected with large numbers of Jews coming forward and saying that the accusers did not speak for them.

Beyond that, the whole drift is to treat prejudice against Jews as something profoundly different from prejudice against other racial groups, 'lesser breeds of human'. This is not only unjust: it is also not very smart, even from the viewpoint of someone who might not care about minorities other than Jews. Latin-Christian culture still dominates the world, particularly in its Anglo expression. The centre-right who want to keep their culture's hegemony have always had mixed feelings about Jews, and always will. Jews are seen as both useful and dangerous, and might at any time be re-classified as more dangerous than useful. It's an inherent part of politics that does not accept all humans as human and worthy of respect.

It is silly and short-termist for so many influential Jews and Jewish organisations to turn against the left, the main force for actual human equality. And equally foolish not to accept that the collapse of nice liberal-capitalist ideas that dominated from the 1980s is very much caused by their failure to maintain the broad prosperity and security for the West. The

³² <https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/working-definition-antisemitism>

optimum that existed in the 1950s and 1960s.

As I've detailed elsewhere, New Right policies have entirely failed to boost overall economic growth, or even improve on the disorderly 1970s. They have however given most of the benefits to the rich, while encouraging ordinary people to blame immigrants or minorities.³³

White Racism in the USA was saved by Richard Nixon's 'Southern Strategy' of appealing to racist voters who had been Southern Democrats. Republican Party politics was never overtly racist. It was always careful to include some Jews and to be distant from the despised and mostly ineffective Neo-Nazi fringe. Yet it has kept alive prejudices that mostly include suppressed anti-Jewish feelings.

If you nurture a viper, don't be surprised if you get bitten.

Appendix – Deaths Caused by Hitler

The Wikipedia says that World War Two caused 70 to 85 million deaths, only 21 to 25 million of them military.³⁴ But you could excuse him responsibility for Japan's war on China and the wider Pacific War that followed. He did choose to make friends with Japan and to cut Germany's earlier ties to Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang. But Japan had been working towards the conquest of China long before Hitler came to power.

I made the following estimates:

	Low estimate	High estimate
Total Deaths	70,000,000	85,000,000
<i>Chinese</i>	15,000,000	20,000,000
<i>Burmese</i>	252,600	252,600
<i>Dutch East Indies</i>	3,000,000	4,000,000
<i>French Indochina</i>	1,000,000	2,200,000
<i>India</i>	2,100,000	2,200,000
<i>Japanese</i>	2,500,000	3,100,000
<i>Korea</i>	483,000	533,000
<i>Philippines</i>	553,000	553,000
<i>Other Asian</i>	166,000	197,000
<i>Allied Pacific War military deaths</i> https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pacific_War)	3,237,000	3,237,000
Hitler's fault	44,948,000	51,967,000

This is being generous to Hitler. Deaths in India were mostly caused by Churchill refusing to do anything about the Bengal famine. His immediate guilt, but in part caused by a European war that was Hitler's fault.

Since many figures are rounded to the nearest million, I summarise this as Hitler having caused 45 to 52 million deaths in a war he had no need to fight. 34 to 41 million for military ends. Perhaps 11 million killed by a death-machine that drained resources from the war and helped defeat him.

How does that compare to World War One? The Wiki says:

"The total number of military and civilian casualties in World War I was about 40 million: estimates range from 15 to 19 million deaths and about 23 million wounded military personnel, ranking it among the deadliest conflicts in human history.

"The total number of deaths includes from 9 to 11 million military personnel. The civilian death toll was about 8 million, including about 6 million due to war related famine and disease civilians..."³⁵

Detailed figures are:

Civilians killed	Excess Civilian Deaths		Military Deaths	
	Low	High	Low	High
2,250,099	5,411,000	6,100,000	8,573,054	10,824,236

Excess deaths exclude the Flu Pandemic, which killed 20 to 100 million worldwide.³⁶ This was much worse than other pandemics – the previous one had killed one million and the next one to one and a half. If you assume that a normal pandemic would have occurred without the war, then deaths from the 'Great War' were 37 to 117 million, mostly caused by a flu epidemic that became much more deadly while spreading among the men in the trenches.

It was called Spanish Flu, because Spain was neutral and allowed honest reporting of flu deaths.³⁷ It is now believed to have started in the USA in 1917, and to have spread among soldiers. War created ideal conditions for this flu to adapt to spread between healthy young men under extreme stress and living without good hygiene. It killed far more young adults than other flu pandemics.

33 <https://labouraffairsmagazine.com/problems-magazine-past-issues/the-mixed-economy-won-the-cold-war/>
 34 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II_casualties#Human_losses_by_country
 35 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I_casualties#Casualties_in_the_borders_of_1914%E2%80%9318
 36 [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Influenza_pandemic#Spanish_flu_\(1918%E2%80%931920\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Influenza_pandemic#Spanish_flu_(1918%E2%80%931920))
 37 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_flu

“Tunbridge Wells has a Drugs and Murder Problem”

by Gwydion M. Williams

This article first appeared in the May 2018 edition of the magazine Labour Affairs.

Suppose my article title were a newspaper headline? But it turned out that both drug abuse and murder rates were lower in Tunbridge Wells than in the rest of Britain. Wouldn't you call that dishonest?

Exactly the same dishonesty – or perhaps confusion or ignorance – is shown by those who say that Labour has an anti-Semitism problem.

For those not familiar with Britain, Tunbridge Wells is famous as the archetype of respectable English identity:

“This respectable, attractive Kent town is surrounded by beautiful countryside and continues to have an air of exclusivity.”¹

A 1963 BBC show had a comic episode called ‘*Tunbridge Wells Fargo*’:² the joke being that it was as far from the USA's Wild West as you could find among English-speakers.

But English ‘respectability’ is not what it was. It included a silly guilt-ridden view of sex, which needed to be scrapped. Sadly, the tricky task of defining an entire new social morality that accepts homosexuality and sex outside of marriage has been slow and messy. Most people chose the quick-and-dirty option of saying that all morality was false, or at least should not be imposed against individual whims or wishes. This was a bad error. It left society way open to Thatcher's ignorant attack on British basics that she imagined she was rescuing. Britain's seaside towns were among those that slipped, particularly since most of the Working Mainstream can afford foreign holidays.

Being always ready to question my own assumptions, I checked whether inland Tunbridge Wells still merited its old reputation.³ I found it was indeed low-crime compared with Kent as a whole. No separate figures for murder, but well below the Kent average for violent and sexual offences. Slightly below for drugs.

It was also easy enough to find a few shocking crimes if you Google ‘murder’ and ‘Tunbridge Wells’:

* Rough sleeper ‘set on fire and murdered’ in Tunbridge Wells⁴

* A Tunbridge Wells man has been found guilty of murder following ‘batty boy’ argument⁵

1 <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/focus-on-tunbridge-wells-vn8zqvhrq20>

2 <https://laughterlog.com/2009/02/25/radio-beyond-our-ken/>

3 <https://www.police.uk/>

4 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-kent-41309644>

5 <https://www.kentlive.news/news/kent-news/tunbridge-wells-man-been-found-1250315>

But you could get the same or worse, for any city or town you might wish to pick on.

It is just as untrue to say ‘**Labour has an anti-Semitism problem**’. It's an example of a common media trick: create a massively false *impression* by selective use of facts that are not in themselves false. Murders happen in Tunbridge Wells, but it has a mild outbreak of a general British problem. Britain's murder rate is also low globally: 183rd out of 219, 0.92 per 100,000. (Russia is 38th, 12 times the rate in Britain, so it is unreasonable to accuse its government when Russian citizens are murdered.)

Britain also has a steady decline in both murder and crime in general, quite different from the impression the media gives you.⁶

Deception by dishonest selection of facts is a clever method, and needs a special name to nail it. I'd suggest ‘**Bliaring**’, in honour of Tony Blair and his notorious claim that Iraq could launch ‘weapons of mass destruction’ in 15 minutes. He didn't mention that this was battlefield poison gas, which Saddam's Iraq had been using for years, with a deafening silence from Blair and others in the days when Saddam was a useful Cold War ally. George Galloway kept raising it and being ignored. He mended fences with Saddam to try to prevent the various Gulf Wars, from a sensible understanding that Saddam could not be removed without enormous suffering for ordinary Iraqis.

There is anti-Semitism throughout British society: but not high by global standard.

There is less of it on the left and in the Labour Party than on the right.

“A survey of anti-Semitic attitudes in Britain, published last September by the respected Institute for Jewish Policy Research — an organization with no ties to any political party — contains several findings that are worth considering amid this uproar. First: Levels of anti-Semitism in Britain are among the lowest in the world. Second: Supporters across the political spectrum manifest anti-Semitic ideas. Third: Far from this being an issue for the left, the prejudice gets worse the farther right you look. And yet, at the same time, British Jews now generally believe anti-Semitism to be a large and growing problem and have come to associate it with Labour in particular.”⁷

6 <https://ourworldindata.org/homicides> & <http://apps.who.int/violence-info/country/GB/>

7 <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/06/opinion/anti-semitism-britain-labour-party.html>. The study can be found at http://www.jpr.org.uk/documents/JPR.2017.Antisemitism_in_contemporary_Great_Britain.pdf

Labour is of course much more inclined to be anti-Zionist. People intentionally confuse the two. They are easy enough to distinguish:

- Anti-Zionism is a rejection of the creation and expansion of a Jewish state in Palestine, either in principle or as now being carried out.
- Anti-Semitism is hostility to Jews living somewhere other than Palestine. Either not wanting them in your own country, or being suspicious of them wherever they are.

Jews up to 1914 were mostly against Zionism. But World War One led to much more hostility to Jews, as nationalism everywhere got more intense. Britain also boosted it by the ambiguous promises of the Balfour Declaration. This was naturally intensified by the mass killing of Jews by Nazi Germany, a racist aim pursued at the expense of the war effort. But there were always some Jews who doubted it.

Isaac Bashevis Singer was of Polish-Jewish origin but moved to the USA in 1935, correctly fearing the rise of Nazism even though he lived in Poland. But he also noted that Polish Christians were becoming more hostile to Jews. That this was actually getting worse as people got more educated and prosperous. He wrote in Yiddish, but his works have been translated extensively into English. His 1967 work *The Estate* is an historic novel about late 19th Century Polish Jews. A young man wants to settle in Palestine, then part of the Ottoman Empire. His father disagrees.

“The Turks are no better than the Poles or Russians. Don’t be fooled.’

“I know, Papa. But it’s our country, our earth’

“How is it ours? Because Jews lived there two thousand years ago. Do you know how many nations have perished and assimilated since that time? If we changed the map to what it was two thousand years ago, three-quarters of mankind would have to be moved. And how does it follow that we actually come from these Israelites? The ancient Hebrews were all dark...

“Take American, for example, a thousand nationalities. You can become an American too. All you need is boat ticket.’

“All Jews cannot become Americans’.

“Why worry about all Jews?’”

Jews found that in practice they *did* need to worry about all Jews, because rising nationalism caused them to be lumped together. A publicity campaign putting more emphasis on the difference would have been useful, and still is useful. As a man of purely Welsh and West

Country, and also a left-wing thinker, I found a lot of common interests with many Jews, though certainly not *all* Jews. Individual Jews are found in most forms of radicalism: science, art, culture, business and politics. This does not mean they are conspiring, or even particularly agree with each other. Jews in politics are mostly on the left in Continental Europe and the USA. Rather less so in Britain, where the Tory elite early on admitted some rich Jews, while prejudices lingered among the rank-and-file.

Since no one else was doing it, I’ve been writing to emphasize the differences. And how genocide was a 19th century pattern in which the British Empire was the main culprit, before it came home to Europe and Jews became a major target. (See *Britain’s Exterminating Sea Empire*.⁸) I’m now planning a work to be called *Jews Like Boris Pasternak, Isaac Asimov and Ayn Rand*: all three were of Russian-Jewish origin, but had very different outlooks.

The USA could and should have absorbed all displaced Jews. It gained in wealth, science and culture from those Jews it did let in. But it also diluted a US identity that was always an issue. The new USA began in the late 18th century with a population that was mostly of British origin, mostly Protestant and with non-whites largely excluded from citizenship. In the 1850s, there was a strong ‘Know-Nothing’ movement hostile to the arrival of large numbers of Irish and German Catholics. Kennedy as US President was the first and only Roman Catholic to occupy the office, and his religion was an issue.⁹ Jews in the 1850s were not much of an issue: they became so when large numbers of East European and Russian Jews began arriving later in the 19th century. Quite a lot of them were shut out, and after World War Two the US helped create Israel as an alternative. Soviet Jews, whose right to emigrate had been demanded by the USA, were then shunted to Israel, encouraging more land to be taken from Palestinians. It is looking like a massive historic error, and a tragedy.

8 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/jews-suffering-in-the-fall-of-the-british-empire/>

9 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Catholicism_in_the_United_States#1960_election

Being An Aboriginal European

by Gwydion M. Williams

I call myself an 'Aboriginal Europeans', whenever my own origins might be relevant. I avoid racist terms like White or Caucasian when talking about people whose ancestry comes overwhelmingly from people living in Europe in the year 1500. I am one: a pink-faced blue-eyed red-headed man of pure North-West European ancestry, in as far as such things can be traced.¹ Tracing Williamses in Wales is not easy: but my father's heritage was purely Welsh, in as far as such a thing is real. Devonshire English from my mother, though family name Dalling suggests a remote link with the invaders known as Danes. (But many would have come from what's now Norway.)

I did a DNA test, which found my origins to be 46% from the hunter-gatherers who were the first Modern Humans in Western Europe.² 43% from the farmers who spread westward from West Asia, where agriculture was first developed. And 12% from the metal-age invaders who probably came from what's now European Russia. Those people are believed to have brought with them the whole range of Indo-European languages, including the Celtic branch from which Welsh emerged.

My DNA also says that I am 94% from the British Isles and 4% from Asia Minor – how that link could exist, I have no idea. It might not even be real, but a link with that ancient centre of civilisations would be a nice enough connection.

My genes also had a hint, probably misleading, of slight descent from Ashkenazi Jews. An equally obscure hint of Finn, which is weird since my brother married a Finn: but we have no other known connection.

There are also complexities in what it means to be British. One recent DNA study suggests that 90% of the ancestry of Britons was replaced by a wave of migrants who arrived 4,500 years ago.³ These are commonly called the Beaker People, and they *perhaps* spoke an ancestor of the later Celtic, Italic, Germanic and Balto-Slavic languages. They took over an ancient sacred site now called

Stonehenge. They were the first to place stones in what had been a ditch and bank enclosure, perhaps with unknown wooden structure.

The famous Amesbury Archer has teeth with isotopes that show he grew up near modern Switzerland. Other came from further west in Britain:

"Some of the bodies buried at Stonehenge came from hundreds of kilometres away in Wales, a new analysis of their cremated remains has found.

"Fragments of bones from burials at the site in Wiltshire, UK, were first uncovered almost 100 years ago. Until now, it was assumed they were all individuals from the local area.

"Radiocarbon dating of the remains had suggested that they were buried at around the same time as the first standing stones – Welsh bluestones – were erected at the site, around 3000 BC.

"Now, new developments in a technique known as strontium isotopic analysis have allowed Christophe Snoeck and his team from Vrije Universiteit Brussel to study the remains again. Their work suggests the individuals came from the same area as the bluestones.

"Strontium isotopic analysis can tell researchers what foods someone was predominantly eating in the last decade before they died. Plants have different levels of strontium depending on the bedrock of the area they are grown in, and this can be read in the bones of the humans who eat them."⁴

That's my British heritage – something the ignorant might call Pure Caucasian or Pure Aryan. I see it as a convenient accident – it makes me one of those who currently get many unfair advantages in a globalised world. I use that advantage to work for global fairness and equality, in as far as I can.

I see the trend as favourable – the global elite had to be pushed by left-wing pressure into letting in some selected non-whites and women, though still not in proportionate numbers. The danger now is right-wingers among the Aboriginal Europeans reacting stupidly to economic unfairness. As I have detailed elsewhere, the Libertarian creed is non-racist; but electable New Right parties

1 <https://gwydionmadawc.com/about/>

2 <https://gwydionmadawc.com/about/my-dna-results/>

3 <https://www.theguardian.com/science/2018/feb/21/arrival-of-beaker-folk-changed-britain-forever-ancient-dna-study-shows>

4 <https://www.newscientist.com/article/2175833-mystery-of-welsh-bodies-buried-at-stonehenge-as-first-stones-arrived/>

have a long-term pattern of tapping into racist and anti-immigrant feeling.

For me, the real answer is to end the unfair privileges of the more-than-millionaire class that has dominated Britain and the USA from the 1980s, and had a malign influence on Western Europe. Have done nothing to improve overall economic growth or the spread of innovation.

Profit is *not* the best motivator for new technology. The Internet was invented by a number of people working for the US military, who were more sensible than their Soviet counterparts and let good ideas be publicised and taken up for the general social benefit. And the World Wide Web – a system of hyperlinks that *runs on* the Internet and should not be confused with it – was an old idea that was first realised by Tim Berners-Lee, who was not business-minded and did not grow rich from it. He was a scientist working for CERN, the international centre for subatomic research that has no obvious commercial potential. He was allowed to spend time on a project that might not have worked and that CERN made nothing from.

Working to benefit the entire human race remains the best way to create real material wealth.

I refuse to speculate about 'spiritual wealth', in part because of the vast diversity of understanding of what it might be. Many people see the stars as highly spiritual and favour space exploration to learn more about our fascinating universe. Other see it as wasteful: my own mother was one such, though I shared her views on most topics.

I could defend space exploration as attracting people who might otherwise be attracted to war, or often combine both. A world without war would probably also be a world that put a lot of its energies into exploring the wider universe. And both military ambition and Big Science help produce technology that benefits us all. But as well as that, I see it as something that would be worth doing for its own sake, even with no other benefits.

I personally am maybe a shade better off in the current mess than if the Mixed Economy had been preserved. This is due to pure luck: I worked for a company that had an excellent occupational pension scheme, closed to new employees shortly after I joined. Born 1950, I am surprised at the way younger people have allowed themselves to be treated. And irritated that some of them follow media-planted suggestions that their problem is the Baby Boomers, rather than the more-than-millionaire

class that own or dominate most newspapers, magazines and televisions channels. An elite that tries to make others think things that suit only the elite.

On racial matters, I deny that 'races' are even real. Human diversity within Aboriginal Europeans is considerable, especially within Northwest Europe, at least on matters of colour of hair and eyes.

If all of us Aboriginal Northwest Europeans have pinkish low-melanin skin, this is useful with a peasant diet that was low in fresh vegetables and fresh meat, both useful sources of Vitamin C. The oldest hunter-gatherer population was probably a mix of swarthy skin and blue eyes.⁵

The so-called White Race is unreal. Aboriginal Europeans blend in smoothly with people in West Asia and North Africa. Before the rise of Islam, this was a single cultural area that the Roman Empire conquered and which then became Christian. Military accidents meant that Muslims dominated North Africa and West Asia, but never got far into Europe and were mostly pushed out again. Had been wholly pushed out of Spain and Sicily, and meantime Aboriginal Europeans invented the idea of a White Race, which was useful to their global empires. Particularly useful to justify sabotaging the Imperial Chinese government's efforts to fight opium addiction - this was the Yellow Race and needed to be reshaped and Christianised.

The same ideas were useful for exterminating the Native Americans, Maori and Australian Aboriginals. Helped make settlement easier by importing vast numbers of extra workers from Black Africa, and giving them as little as possible. And kept Poor Whites usefully tied to the rich and resentful of the rest.

The idea of a 'Caucasian' race was particularly absurd, deriving from a racist scientist who believed there was some particular purity among the people of an ancient nation and isolate language group called the Georgians, Joseph Stalin's people. The Caucasus Mountains actually contain a great diversity of cultures, languages and physical types, like most mountain regions. Anyone not living within a few hundred miles of those mountains is unlikely to have had any ancestors who ever lived there. Migration out of Africa probably took easier routes.

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⁵ <https://gwydionmadawc.com/70-human-biological-history-nature/dark-skin-blue-eyes-the-original-europeans/>

China's Future: Comrade X and a Man Called Xi

by Gwydion M. Williams

The Western media saw the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China as giving President Xi personal and dictatorial power. This was repeated when the National People's Congress removed the rule limiting the President to two five-year terms.

I disagree.

It is true that his power has gone beyond any leader since Deng. 'Xi Jinping Thought' has been added to the party constitution: 'Thought' having a higher standing than 'Theory'. The official position is:

"The Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era builds on and further enriches Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory, the Theory of Three Represents, and the Scientific Outlook on Development, according to a report delivered by Xi Jinping at the opening of the congress.

"The report listed 14-point fundamental principles of the Thought, ranging from ensuring Party leadership over all work to promoting the building of a community with a shared future for mankind...

"As China enters a new era, the CPC must write a new chapter of 21st century Marxism with a broader vision to achieve the goals set at the milestone congress,' said Chen Shuguang, a professor with the Party School of the CPC Central Committee."¹

But this change blocks a possible return to hard-line Maoism. Or the pretence of a return, as with a once-prominent politician disgraced in 2012:

"The son of Bo Yibo, one of the Eight Elders of the Communist Party of China, Bo Xilai is one of the 'princelings' of Chinese politics. He cultivated a casual and charismatic image in a marked departure from Chinese political convention. In Chongqing, Bo initiated a campaign against organized crime, increased spending on welfare programs, maintained consistent double-digit percentage GDP growth, and campaigned to revive Cultural Revolution-era 'red culture'. Bo's promotion of egalitarian values and the achievements of his 'Chongqing model' made him the champion of the Chinese New Left, composed of both Maoists and social democrats disillusioned with the country's market-based economic reforms and increasing economic inequality. However, the perceived lawlessness of Bo's anti-corruption campaigns, coupled with concerns about the image he cultivated, made him a controversial figure.

"Bo was considered a likely candidate for promotion to the elite Politburo Standing Committee in 18th Party Congress in 2012. His political fortunes came to an abrupt end following the Wang Lijun incident, in which his top lieutenant and police chief sought asylum at the American consulate in Chengdu. Wang claimed to have information about the involvement of Bo Xilai and his wife Gu Kailai in the murder of British businessman Neil Heywood, who allegedly had close financial ties to the two."²

Reflecting on the matter, I found it significant *when* he formally fell from grace³:

1 http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-10/19/c_136689808.htm

2 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bo_Xilai

3 https://gwydionwilliams.com/newsnotes-historic/2012-newsnotes/newsnotes-2012-10/#_Toc419217650

"Bo Xilai's removal comes just a day after the end of the country's annual parliamentary session, the National People's Congress (NPC), where his absence from a meeting sparked speculation about his future."⁴

The 'Wang Lijun incident' occurred on 6th February. Bo Xilai was removed as Communist Party Secretary in the city of Chongqing on 15th March. This was an enormously powerful position: Chongqing is an inland municipal area with a population at the time of nearly 28 million:⁵ now over 30 million. It maybe needed an informal consensus among a wider group of leading figures to removed him.

Before the scandal, he was on the Politburo and might have become a serious rival to Xi Jinping at the party's 18th National Congress later in 2012.

It might have been much harder in a Western-style political system, where expert opinions count for less and some politicians have survived amazing scandals:

"The flamboyant Bo Xilai is the nearest thing China has to a Western-style politician, correspondents say...

"Mr Bo had been expected to join the standing committee of the politburo - a nine-member body - which effectively runs China."⁶

The USA has Trump, one of a wave of Populist leaders. Britain could get Boris Johnson.

Since Mao's death, China has much more genuinely been ruled by Democratic Centralism. This was Lenin's invention: a hierarchy of elected committees with an obligation to shut up and obey when a higher committee decides. Only at Party Congresses is everything theoretically up for grabs, and the Congress elects a Central Committee to be supreme till the next Congress.

In China, at least, the Central Committee then elects the General Secretary, the Politburo and the Politburo Standing Committee. Also the Central Military Commission, which controls in detail the Armed Forces.

Though disputes are hidden from public view, they are genuine. The wishes of the current top leaders are not always respected.

When it comes to the crunch, the Central Committee ought to be able to overrule the Politburo. Often this would happen out of sight. But Khrushchev was able to use it to stay in power when Molotov and others tried to remove him and won an initial majority on the 'Presidium'.

China's National People's Congress is the supreme state authority, but everyone understands that it is subordinate to the Party. Genuine disputes are not settled by votes cast there. Still, it would have been a gathering attended by everyone important in the Party, even if they were not officially a Delegate. I

4 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-17377445>

5 <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Chongqing&oldid=479939925>

6 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-17377445>

suspect that there was a lot of private consultation before it was agreed that someone as important as Bo Xilai should indeed be removed.

It may also have set a precedent for toppling other high-status characters on corruption charges.

Yet the move leftwards continued despite Bo's fall: this too may have been a consensus decision. State-owned companies expand, and critics seeking to import Western political values are less and less tolerated.

Of course 2012 was several years into the West's persistent crisis. They must have noticed the decision by democratically elected governments that the rich speculators must have their fortunes protected while the general public would bear the cost through Austerity. Since growth also stagnated, the Western model as twisted by Thatcher and Reagan in the 1980s must look less and less attractive.

The much earlier stagnation in Japan would also have mattered. In the 1970s, Deng Xiaoping and others were amazed at how Japan had grown during Mao's years. But Japan's major growth was already over by then. Things got worse when the Japanese weakly accepted more and more of the New Right consensus.

China wisely refused to lay itself open to the parasitic money-games of Global Finance. They avoided the damage done to Japan, and to the Asia Tigers in the crisis of 1997.

The fall of Bo Xilai may not have mattered much. I'd originally supposed that he was a genuine leftist. But one of his deputies seeking US protection collapsed that belief for me.

As for Xi, my judgement as of now is influenced by what was said when he first emerged as important, back in 2007. This is how the *Guardian* put it:

"When he was sent to the countryside at 15 and his father was jailed, Xi Jinping learned a lesson in political pragmatism that has helped to carry him to within a step of the pinnacle of power in China.

"Eschewing the turbulent fervour of the Cultural Revolution in favour of stable growth, he has spent the 30 years since working his way up the Communist party hierarchy. The rise has been unspectacular. So much so that until he took pole position on Monday in the race to lead a fifth of humanity, the party boss of Shanghai was less well known in China than his celebrity wife Peng Liyuan, a folk singer in the People's Liberation Army's musical troupe...

"Despite his pedigree as the son of a high official of the revolutionary era, Mr Xi's elevation was a surprise to many politburo watchers, but it signals the growing strength of party 'princelings' and the diffusion of power inside the world's biggest political party...

"Mr Xi was dispatched to the countryside to learn from the peasant masses. It was a bitter experience that helped to shape his views.

"In the past when we talked about beliefs, it was very abstract. I think the youth of my generation will be remembered for the fervour of the Red Guard era. But it was emotional. It was a mood. And when the ideals of the Cultural Revolution could not be realised, it proved an illusion," he told state-run CCTV in 2003.

"He returned to Beijing to complete the first of his two degrees from the elite Tsinghua University. Unlike most recent politburo members he has a doctorate in law and ideological education...

"Officials such as Mr Xi have also come under suspicion because of the advantages they can secure through their family ties, but leading reformers believe they can be a force for change. 'Most corrupt officials come from poor families. But Chinese royals like Xi have a spirit that is not dominated by money,' says Li Datong, a former editor who was fired for refusing to toe the line of the propaganda department.

"In contrast to the autocratic rule of Mao Zedong, Mr Hu has had to balance the interests of rich and poor provinces, powerful families and patronage groups in choosing a successor. The favourite to become the next party leader had been Li Keqiang, the party boss of Liaoning who was a protege of Mr Hu's for more than a decade. But he was too close to the president for the liking of other powerbrokers, such as former president Jiang Zemin, so Xi Jinping became the compromise candidate.

"His rise is slightly unexpected, but he has broad appeal,' said a European diplomat. His succession is not guaranteed. But if recent precedent is a guide, Mr Xi will probably be president from 2012 to 2022. Before then, he will at least start to become as much of a household name as his wife."⁷

Xi's wife Peng Liyuan joined the army as an ordinary soldier, but was most valued for her excellent singing voice. She performed frontline tours to boost troop morale during the Sino-Vietnamese border conflicts. She later gained a wider reputation, but presumably the military still see her as 'one of theirs'. She even sang for the martial-law troops who crushed the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989, though this seems to have been officially dropped into obscurity.⁸ I'd suppose that most of the army view themselves as misunderstood heroes who saved China from chaos – and I'd agree with them on this.

China's leaders have mostly shunted military men out of the leadership (which since Deng's day has had no women at the very top level). But they must be aware that the army is the one force that could end their rule, or step in to give victory to one faction in a party struggle. This happened with Mugabe in Zimbabwe, and much earlier with Ben Bella in Algeria. And many experts believe that the Soviet military were important both in Khrushchev's rise and his fall. Were deeply divided during the Soviet collapse, and since then have done nicely out of corruption.

As for 'princelings', it is unclear how much that mattered. Neither Xi nor Bo Xilai had fathers who were leaders at the top level. The best-connected successor was Li Peng, deputy to Jiang Zemin and adopted son of the childless Zhou Enlai, Mao's ever-present deputy.

The children of talented politicians may have genuine merits and have earned their place. Anyone listing the ten most effective and important British Prime Ministers would certainly include Pitt the Younger, whose father was also an unusually powerful Prime Minister. They could hardly fail to include Winston Churchill, whose father Randolph Churchill was far more important in British Tory politics than the fathers of Xi or Bo in China. And Neville Chamberlain, mostly seen as a disastrously bad influence as Prime Minister, was the son of the highly influential Joseph Chamberlain who reshaped British politics.

Xi's promotion might have been purely on merit. Still, if there was a general wish among the top thousand or so leaders to have a single strong leader to purge corruption, they might want someone who was personally honest, but had friends and relations and respected elders who had been involved in the corruption. *'We need a 'Comrade X' to have unusual powers: Xi Jinping is a highly competent leader with everything we could wish for.'*

(Incidentally, 'Xi' in Standard Chinese might be heard as 'Si' by a Briton, and was written as 'Hsi' in the older Wade-Giles system for Chinese names in English. While 'X' is pronounced by us as 'ex'. The two instances of X in English would be unlikely to seem significant to Chinese, supposing they even put it so.)

However it was done, Xi was chosen. And has steadily

⁷ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2007/oct/26/china.uknews4>

⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peng_Liyuan

gained more and more power.

There are parallels here with the rise of Putin, which the West sees as a baffling rejection of democracy. That Putin has repeatedly won reasonably open elections by huge majorities does not stop them calling him a dictator. They don't understand that in the 1990s, they needed a repeat of the highly successful post-1945 Marshall Plan, whereby the Mild Corporatism of the USA successfully imposed an even better version of Mild Corporatism on its former foes.⁹ West Germany, Italy and Japan remain firm friends, though Mr Trump may end this.

George Soros called for a new Marshall Plan at the time, but this was before he became enormously rich through parasitic speculation. They ignored him. The people who mattered decided that Russia and the rest of the former Soviet bloc should get the purest possible capitalism: something much purer than they had been allowed to do at home. And when this failed, they decided that the Russians were to blame for not being sufficiently obedient.

A major reason for the invasion of Iraq was the New Right's belief that if they could rebuild a society from the bottom up, it would be a shining example for the awkward Arab World. I strongly doubt that the people who mattered ever believed the propaganda about 'weapons of mass destruction'. These never amounted to much. They had been genuinely scrapped by Saddam in the mistaken belief that honesty was the best policy when dealing with the New Right.

Putin was raised up when Russia saw that it had been fooled and needed to make its own destiny. China has never been fooled, though they came close in 1989. China works out its destiny, with Xi currently the top man.

For China, I'd suppose that the broad leadership back in 2007 decided they needed a 'Comrade X' with enough power to root out some corruption and scare the rest into better behaviour. They would also have wanted to keep it limited, which would favour a man whose family had long been part of the leadership. And they would have been aware of the danger of the corrupt getting the army on their side.

Xi had already been a competent leader in two large rich Chinese provinces, Fujian and Zhejiang, each larger than many European countries. He must have 'ticked all the boxes', or at least more of them than the plausible alternatives.

There was also the problem that a Top Leader limited to two five-year terms turned out not to be powerful enough to make decisive changes. There's a widespread view that Hu Jintao, the leader before Xi, never fully established control of the party machine. Deng's immediate successor, Jiang Zemin, was believed to have more actual power despite being formally retired. People opposed to the Top Leader's policies could hope to outlast him. This may have been why the two-term limit for the Presidency has been removed.

Note that Xi is not 'President for Life', even though many Western news sources call him that. Various Republican constitutions have had a President for Life, who could not be constitutionally removed.¹⁰ If the Wiki entry is accurate, there are none left, with Saparmurat Niyazov of Turkmenistan being the last. He was fairly lucky to die in office in 2006: many others have been unconstitutionally removed, resigned or been stripped of office by a constitutional referendum.

9 See <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/the-mixed-economy-worked-quite-well/>

10 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_for_life

Xi himself is dependent on being re-elected, or might decide not to stand for another term. And unless Chinese politics change drastically, the real decision would be whether he gets re-elected by the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, which is scheduled for 2022.

The same Congress would also choose the Chairman of the Central Military Commission of the Communist Party of China, which Mao held continuously from 1936. It has normally been seen as the post that the Top Leader *must* have. Deng held it from 1981 to 1989, and was able to choose and remove General Secretaries from this power-base. That was before the Presidency counted for much: it was only in 1993 that Jiang became President, signalling that the two offices would henceforth go together.

Jiang in 1989 was Deng's third choice for General Secretary and presumed successor. He also chose to hand over the much more important post of Chairman of the Central Military Commission soon afterward. This may have been to ensure that Jiang would have secured solid authority over the military and gained personal loyalty from them when Deng finally died in 1997.

Many Western sources expected Jiang to fail and chaos to break out. You could even say that some *hoped* for it. And it might have happened: but Chinese politics actually stayed stable.

It was also seen as significant that Jiang Zemin stayed on as Chairman of the Central Military Commission for a couple of years after handing over the posts of General Secretary and President to Hu Jintao. Presumably there was some internal struggle to make him hand over the post: but the Party remains good at keeping its secrets.

A possible outcome in 2022 would be Xi keeping this post while handing over the posts of General Secretary and President to someone of his own choosing. Or he might get a third term but signal he would want no 4th term: it remains to be seen.

Xi's power has increased slowly, presumably as more and more senior leaders find it acceptable, or else are removed. Seeing this and seeing the way in which US authority is in fast decline may explain why China has decided to change the rules on Presidential terms. Probably they will not now have a complete change-over of leadership in 2022, when they have their next Party Congress. This is seen in Western media as a power-grab by Xi: I see it more as the Party preparing itself for likely tough times.

Official commentaries stress the importance of concentrating power:

"It has been proved over history that a leadership structure in which the top leader of China simultaneously serves as the President, the head of the Party, and the commander-in-chief of the military is an advantageous and adoptable strategy."¹¹

And other things are being consolidated:

"It has long been a reality that China is led by the CPC. To be more accurate, the new article is written into the Constitution as a historical choice and a summing-up of the Chinese people's experience. There has been a related statement in the preamble to the Constitution, but this has been challenged by some who are supported and instigated by overseas forces. In this sense, stressing the CPC leadership in the Constitutional amendment proposal was essential."¹²

In the Tiananmen Crisis of 1989, the West briefly hoped that China's National Assembly might overturn party rule,

11 <http://en.people.cn/n3/2018/0226/c90000-9430147.html>

12 <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1090568.shtml>, see also <http://www.scmp.com/news/china/policies-politics/article/2134656/chinas-new-super-graft-buster-will-outrank-courts-and>

as did happen in much of Eastern Europe later that same year.¹³ That is no longer mentioned in the Western media—not exactly *denied*, but readers are nudged in an anti-China direction rather than encouraged to think. If you see the crack-down as a fight for survival, it becomes much less shocking.

There clearly is some Chinese fear of a repeat. One reform is a solemn oath that officials are now going to be required to take.¹⁴ This may arise from the antics of opposition legislators elected in Hong Kong, who refused to take their own oath properly. Unlike the West, it seems oaths still have weight for many Chinese.

The existing anti-corruption work done by the 'Supervision Commission' is also being given a solid legal basis:

"China's national supervision commission will be given a constitutional place..."

"Making clear the legal status of the supervision commission as a national organ will significantly promote the full-scale supervision of public officers and press ahead with the strategy of comprehensively deepening reform, implementing the rule of law and strengthening Party discipline."¹⁵

Law and actual power are being brought into harmony, but not in line with Western advice. With Trump in the White House and Britain in Brexit chaos, that is hardly surprising.

Xi's unusual status does not make him comparable to Mao. Mao rose during the Long March, because the Party saw him as the only man who could save them. And he did save them. He then became the public face of Chinese Communism via Edgar Snow's *Red Star Over China*, read by those who knew English and widely available in unauthorised Chinese translations. Perhaps boosted in that role by Sun Yat-sen's widow, who maybe had a better grasp of propaganda, as I've suggested elsewhere.¹⁶ And Mao's essays in the 1930s and 1940s made sense of the world for many who had found China's failures inexplicable.

To most Chinese in 1949, the Communists were Mao's party. This was also the view of the new generation, when he launched his Cultural Revolution in defiance of the party machine.

Xi is also not comparable to Deng, who wholly overturned Mao's system. Many in the post-Mao leadership would have been content with a guarantee that nothing like the Cultural Revolution would ever happen again. Deng at that stage was one leader among many, but become dominant by also encouraging a much wider opening up of the system to foreigners and private enterprise.

No one now has that sort of authority, and retired leaders still count. That Jiang Zemin still matters was signalled by him openly looking at his watch during Xi's rather long speech. (That he also fell asleep may be due to genuine old-age fading.)

Before the 19th Congress, people had wondered Xi might overturn the convention on age limits for members of the Politburo:

"Speculations are mounting that 69-year-old Wang Qishan, the party's top graft-buster and a close ally of Xi, will seek a second term. Wang's fate has been closely watched to predict whether Xi himself

13 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/42-china/42-1-chinese-politics/communist-chinas-1989-fight-for-survival/>

14 <http://www.sangbe.com/article/321620.html>

15 <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/1090568.shtml>

16 <https://gwydionwilliams.com/99-problems-magazine/china-nurturing-red-stars/>

will linger on beyond 2022."¹⁷

In fact, Wang and the other four elderly members of the Politburo Standing Committee did step down. But their five replacements were themselves too old to be plausible Top Leaders from 1922. On past form there should have been two men designated as the next pair of top leaders. Chen Min'er and Hu Chunhua are often mentioned and may be the actual heirs.

What is clear is that Xi has enormous authority: the strongest leader since Deng. But I'd also suppose that this depends mostly on support from the top ranks of the Party. They needed someone to clean up out-of-control corruption, and this has been done. Limits on business and on dissidents are more a return to Deng's values than a repudiation of him.

China also needs a strong leader for the critical period when China is in a position to end US hegemony. Interestingly, President Trump in his much-derided UN speech seemed to be dropping this hegemony, which had been tried and failed by Bush Junior and Obama, with Hilary Clinton expected to seek more of the same. He said:

"Each of us here today is the emissary of a distinct culture, a rich history, and a people bound together by ties of memory, tradition, and the values that make our homelands like nowhere else on Earth.

"That is why America will always choose independence and cooperation over global governance, control, and domination.

"I honor the right of every nation in this room to pursue its own customs, beliefs, and traditions. The United States will not tell you how to live or work or worship.

"We only ask that you honor our sovereignty in return."¹⁸

He combined this with crude threats against Iran, but that might have been a negotiating position. '*Let us take out Iran and we concede the rest*'. On Syria he was lukewarm and could have been preparing the way for a climb-down. He also may still over-estimate US power – he was surprised to be laughed at when he boasted about how nicely the USA was doing economically.

China under Xi has so far refused to be intimidated by the Trade War that Trump has begun. He has also continued what Hu Jintao began – a general rejection of the Neoliberal outlook and an insistence that socialism is still the goal.

It has been largely overlooked that Hu Jintao *did* stop the steady rise in inequality that had begun under Deng:

Under Xi, the better-informed commentators are now conceding that what Deng introduced wasn't exactly capitalism:

"On one side is China's model of authoritarian state capitalism in a Leninist structure with the Communist Party at its heart. On the other, a western model still not fully recovered from the financial crisis, but one based on liberty, individual freedom, and the rule of law."¹⁹

"Both [US] parties and most economists accepted Beijing's 'innovation mercantilism'..."

"These administrations didn't act alone. They were cheered on by the stifling groupthink of the Washington trade and economics establishment, which, almost without exception, refused even to consider the possibility that Chinese economic and trade policies might pose a threat to the United States. The Washington elite-consensus

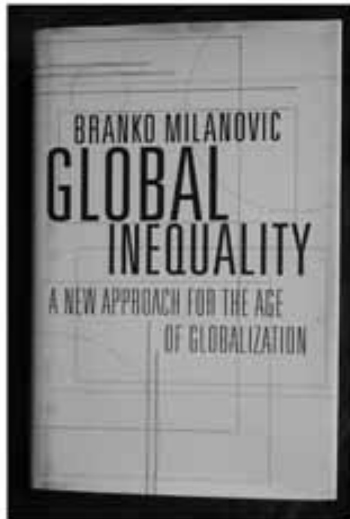
17 <https://qz.com/1030850/>

[all-the-signs-that-chinas-xi-jinping-is-planning-on-a-third-term/](https://www.vox.com/2018/9/25/17901082/trump-un-2018-speech-full-text)

18 <https://www.vox.com/2018/9/25/17901082/trump-un-2018-speech-full-text>

19 <https://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/china-hasnt-won-yet>

view was and is that trade is always good (even one-sided free trade in which the other side is mercantilist); that while trade might hurt individual workers, it can't hurt the overall economy; and that there is no difference between challenging foreign mercantilism and naked protectionism.



“Coupled with this rigid adherence to a strict free-trade ideology came the argument that China simply could not succeed with a state-run economy. Wasn't it obvious? The

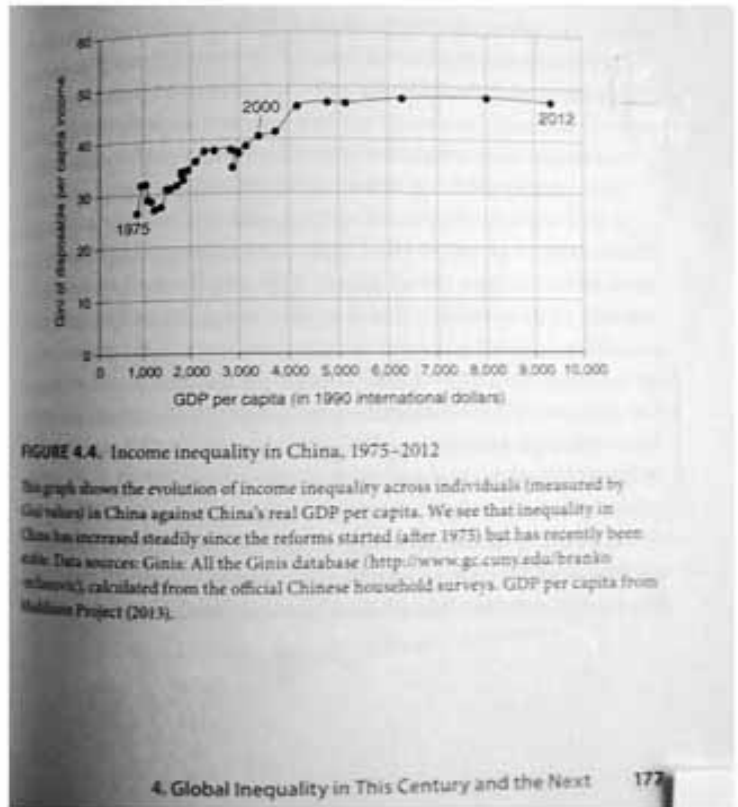
Chinese leadership had clearly never bothered to read Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*.”²⁰

“Warren Buffett, known as the ‘god of stocks’ in China, speaks highly of the country's economic growth and is optimistic about its future.

“‘What they've done in the last 50 or 60 years is a total economic miracle. I never would've thought it could've happened,’ Buffett told Yahoo Finance's Andy Serwer in Omaha earlier this year. ‘What I do know is they have found a secret sauce for themselves, just like we found the secret sauce a couple centuries ago.’

“Buffett says ‘countries will do it differently,’ referring to the fundamental differences between China and the U.S. politically and economically. China's state capitalism

²⁰ <https://www.nationalreview.com/magazine/2018/08/13/us-china-relations-who-lost-them/>



emphasizes economic growth and social stability, with tight control over domestic politics and information. Since the economic reform in 1978, China has grown at a staggering pace of 9.5% per year and has become the world's second largest economy. In the past five years, China's GDP growth has slowed down but still achieved an increase of 6.9% last year, dwarfing America's 2.3% increase.”²¹

Despite the fervent wishes of many Western commentators, the system remains healthy. And for now, President Xi is the right person to lead it.

²¹ <https://finance.yahoo.com/news/warren-buffett-china-found-secret-sauce-183809314.html>. More on this at https://gwydionwilliams.com/newsnotes-historic/2018-newsnotes/news-blog-august-2018/#_Toc522521056

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