

“Afterward,” from Sam Francis, editor, *Race and the American Prospect* (Mr. Airy, MD: The Occidental Press, 2006), pp. 425-432.

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The death of Dr. Samuel Francis in February of 2005 was a great loss to all who knew him or read his words. *Race and the American Prospect* was, sadly, Sam’s last book project: he identified the concept, commissioned the contributors and edited what they submitted, and wrote two of the selections included in the collection. Noting that the acknowledgment page was missing from pre-publication copy of the manuscript I had been given, I was informed that Sam had died before he had a chance to write it. That reminded me of how abruptly Sam’s life ended.

Sam was one of America’s leading traditional conservatives, or, as they are called these years, paleoconservatives. He was as bright and literate as they come, and he was an elegant writer, and he had remarkable personal integrity and courage. His life was an inspiration to many people, including me. Among Sam’s many activities, he wrote an essay monthly for *Chronicles* magazine under the general heading of “Principalities and Powers” and a syndicated column. Sam was the one writer I read faithfully. If you haven’t read Sam’s writings I heartily recommend that you do. He was an important figure in American intellectual life. There are his books, which are mentioned in his contributor biography at the end of *Race and the American Prospect*, and at this writing you can find archives of his “Principalities and Powers” essays at *Chronicles* magazine’s web site and columns at VDARE.com. A book containing a collection of Sam’s writings edited by Peter Gemma entitled *Shots Fired: Sam Francis on America’s Culture War* is scheduled for publication in early 2006.

Sam must have been gratified with how *Race and the American Prospect* turned out—he certainly deserved to be. There is a real need for this kind of book, a sober and mature treatment of the issue of race from a white perspective. Sam chose the contributors well. Their writings are informed and their arguments are well presented, and their prose is assessable; I had no trouble staying with this book. Particularly impressive to me, this volume doesn’t dwell on any one topic at the cost of painting an incomplete picture

of the circumstance of white people in our time. And nothing major is left out: there are no “elephants” in the room” that for whatever reason are not acknowledged. The absence of shrill, in-your-face posturing in these writings should increase the chances that readers new to this concern will take in these arguments and not dismiss them out of hand. I believe this collection is going to lead many readers to conclude, “If people of this caliber think whites confront a major crisis, I should give this matter a hard look myself.”

This book deserves to be part of the public discourse in America. However, those in control of the flow of ideas in this country will do what they can to keep it out of the mainstream dialogue and debate. They will give it the silent treatment: if they have their way, this book won’t be reviewed anywhere or be the topic of radio or television shows, it won’t be available on bookstore and library shelves, no politician will ever mention it, and it won’t be assigned as a reading in university courses. If despite their efforts the book manages to get noticed, they will draw on their arsenal of epithets, “racist” being their “big bomb,” to demonize, discredit, and marginalize the book and the people involved with it and discourage potential readers from exposing themselves to this “terrible” book’s contents. But that’s a fallback strategy; they’d prefer that things don’t get to that point, because smearing a book and its authors has, from their point of view, the unfortunate byproduct of calling attention to the book and leads some people to check out what it actually says. That’s not good. Better that only a few people already friendly to the book’s perspective ever hear about it.

The big problem with distribution of *Race and the American Prospect* is that Jonathan Kozol didn’t write it. I bring up Kozol’s name because earlier today I came across his lead article in the current (as I write, September 2005) issue of *Harper’s* magazine.<sup>1</sup> Kozol has been railing against racist white America for forty years in innumerable books and articles that have gotten all sorts of play in the central arena of American life. I’m in the education college of a university and I think it is fair to say that students don’t get through one of our programs without being inoculated with a dose of Kozol. His *Harper’s* article is entitled “Still Separate, Still Unequal” and was adapted from his latest book, *The Shame of the Nation: The Restoration of Apartheid Schooling in America*. If you have better things to do than read, what’s good about Kozol’s writings is that if

you've read one of them you've read them all. And you probably don't even have to read that one. There is nothing in the *Harper's* article that you haven't already heard; it is completely predictable.

The point here is that Kozol and his ilk are for all practical purposes out there in the limelight by themselves virtually unopposed, and especially when they deal with matters related to race. It was clear that Kozol didn't feel the need in the *Harper's* piece to make the case that racial separation is bad and white people ought to be denied the right to live among their own and send their children to school where they choose; he knew that is a given these years and that he could start from that premise. And he also knew he didn't need to deal with the argument that race might have something to do with academic achievement and with the way people conduct their lives. He could go right into his misleading anecdotes and card-stacked statistics, simplistic neo-Marxist preaching about privileged white people and their evil system oppressing minorities, and portraying himself as a saint in a world of sinners.

There is a crying need for the overall perspective and specific arguments contained in *Race and the American Prospect* to be part of the public dialogue, and it just might happen with this book. While the embargo of racially heretical books has been extremely effective, it isn't a perfect system. A decade ago, *The Bell Curve* and its infamous chapter thirteen that seemed to say there are racial differences in cognitive ability slipped through the cracks and received a great deal of media attention and forced the anti-white elite to employ their slur-spewing fall-back strategy. The book's authors, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray, were trashed as racists and bigots and so on. And I remember William Pierce, the white nationalist figure, when I was writing a book about him asking me, "How does Tom Wolfe get away with it? Don't they see what's in his books? How does he get published and get all that favorable attention and everything?" So if you believe Pierce, Wolfe is another example of the system of thought control being less than airtight.

I am also taken by Sam Francis' assertion in *Race and the American Prospect* (pages 16-17) that while white racial consciousness is forbidden and for all practical purposes doesn't exist in our time there is "a powerful racial subconscious" among whites. A book with a strong pro-white message written in judicious, reasoned prose that doesn't force white people to stretch too far

toward what they would consider a radical or fringe position may be able to tap into that racial subconscious. If this book can be gotten into the hands of whites in a position to enter it into the core stream of ideas in America—editors and book reviewers, talk show hosts, popular bloggers and web site operators, politicians, and academics—in all probability some of them will go public with it. And while it has to be assumed that most of those will put a negative spin on the book (which will still bring attention to it and prompt people to read it), there are likely to be a some brave souls who say that whites need to give the claims in this book some serious attention.

Richard McCulloch in his essay in the book (p. 428) asserts that awareness is the first step in the creation of a strong racial preservationist movement in opposition to multiracialism. And he notes (p. 430) that the power of multiracialism depends on the cooperation of its white victims. The challenge, then, is clear for white people: become aware of the diminishment and dispossession and, very possibly, eventual extinction of their race--*Race and the American Prospect* can help with that--and then stop cooperating with it. And at some point, actively oppose what's going on and go to work in service of the wellbeing of their kind on this earth.

Once white people are aware of what is going on and develop some measure of racial consciousness, they can take an important first step by saying quietly, no big fanfare, just to themselves, "I'm white, and I'm not going along with the program that is attacking my race any longer. I'm out. No more for me." That can represent a significant inner shift of being: who they are and where they fit in the scheme of things has changed fundamentally. The next step is to find ways to conduct their lives in a more racially honorable manner. Before they can do that, however, they have to cleanse themselves of the notion they have been conditioned to internalize that multiracialism is right and natural and inevitable and whites have been on the wrong side of history, and that there is nothing that they can or should do individually or collectively to improve the lot of their people. That's a con that's been run on them they have to shrug off.

Sam Francis (pp. 16-17) identifies a number of possible collective actions that whites can take:

. . . if whites cannot expect a total, permanent, and mutually satisfactory resolution of the racial conflict through separation or federalism, they can at least work to achieve results that would protect or guarantee their own survival and that of their civilization. The political, legal, and cultural agenda on which whites should insist includes a permanent moratorium on all legal immigration into the United States, the expulsion of illegal aliens, the rigorous enforcement of laws against illegal immigration, and the removal of incentives to further illegal immigration (e.g., availability of welfare, education, and affirmative action for illegal aliens and of automatic birthright citizenship for their children); the end of all “affirmative action” programs and policies and of all “civil rights” laws that discriminate against whites and circumscribe their constitutional rights of association; the repeal of all “hate crime” laws and “Politically Correct” policies and regulations that penalize the peaceful expression of white racial consciousness and identity; and the abolition of all multiculturalist curricula, “sensitivity training,” and similar experiments in brainwashing in schools, universities, businesses, and government. At the same time whites must seek to rebuild their own institutions—schools, businesses, churches, media, etc.—in which their own heritage and identity as whites can be preserved, honored, and transmitted to their descendants, and they must encourage measures that will help raise their own birth rates to at least replacement levels.

Apart from supporting and participating in collective efforts, what can you and I do as individuals? If you are a white United States Congressman or Senator, you might decide that if Congressman John Lewis, Senator Barack Obama, and the Congressional Black Caucus can speak about the interests of African Americans and support those interests, you can speak about and support the interests of European heritage Americans and be determined to hold your ground against the attacks that will result. If you are a teacher, you can begin to include the white racial perspective in what you teach. If you are a novelist or a film-maker

you can reflect your racial consciousness in what you create. Whatever your position in the world, there are ways to express rather than suppress your racial identity and commitment.

And it doesn't have to be big: perhaps you speak up in some situation where before you remained silent. It's all important: little things add up to big things, and little things pave the way to bigger things, and small acts of integrity and courage can inspire others. So it's fine to start small.

And yes, you have to be savvy about whatever you do: manifesting white racial consciousness can be like sticking your head out of a foxhole and you may not be ready to come under fire just yet, and you have a career to look out for and bills to pay and perhaps a family depending on you, so it may make sense to be circumspect or stay completely underground. But at least you and I can vow to push the envelope as much as we can in the direction of racial integrity.

For many of us, and I'll include myself in this, in order to do anything about race we need to confront a deep-seated nihilistic despair and anxiety that transcends racial concerns: it's the pervasive feeling that nothing matters, that it is all pointless, hopeless, that there is nothing worth doing, and that the whole thing is scary, living and dying both. This past week, I read a couple of novels that reflect this outlook on life. While I wasn't conscious of doing so, I suppose I read them because I suspected they would articulate the fear and fatalism and sense of futility I have experienced in recent years. The first is Bret Easton Ellis', at the time of this writing, new book *Lunar Park*. A passage:

The newspapers kept stoking my fear. New surveys provided awful statistics on just about everything. Evidence suggested we were not doing well. . . . No one knew what normal behavior was anymore, and some argued that this was a form of virtue. And no one argued back. No one challenged anything. Anxiety was soaking up people's days. . . . Most troubling were the fleeting signs that nothing could transform any of this into anything positive. You couldn't help being afraid and fascinated. Reading these articles made you feel that the survival of mankind didn't seem very important

in the long run. We were doomed. We deserved it. I was so tired.<sup>2</sup>

The second novel is *Platform* by the French writer Michel Houellebecq, which was published in this country in 2003. The protagonist, a mid-life French government official is injured and the woman who is the love of his life killed in a hail of bullets from Islamic militants. His response is to “give up on life.” He resigns his position in the French Ministry of Culture and travels to Thailand to live out his remaining years.

I understand death now. I don't think it will do me much harm. I have known hatred, contempt, decay, and other things; I have even known brief moments of love. Nothing of me will survive, and I do not deserve for anything of me to survive. I have been a mediocre individual in every possible sense. . . . A death certificate will be drawn up, a box will be ticked in a registry office, far from here, in France. A few street hawkers, accustomed to seeing me in the area, will shake their heads. My apartment will be rented out to another resident. I'll be forgotten. I'll be forgotten quickly.<sup>3</sup>

I've found in my own life that white racial identity and commitment can be counterweights to living with feelings of meaninglessness and hopelessness. I have learned that white racial consciousness can give someone the sense of being part of something and having a responsibility to something beyond one's self. It can lead to the conclusion that one's life matters and that there are things worth doing while there is still time to do them. I don't feel cut off and alone and adrift now. I am continuous with a racial heritage and connected to racial kinsmen who share the gift of life with me and to the white people yet to be born, and that makes all the difference. All that I do now, even the smallest of things, counts. I'm not as afraid as I was. I don't get so tired now. What I do in this life will have an impact on the future; I will leave a legacy. Something of me will survive, and I won't be forgotten.

#### ENDNOTES

1. Jonathan Kozol, "Still Separate, Still Unequal," Harper's, vol. 311, no. 1864, September 2005, pp. 41-54.
2. Bret Easton Ellis, *Lunar Park* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 2005) p. 55.
3. Michel Houellebecq, *Platform* (New York: Alfred E. Knopf, 2003) pp. 258-259.

Robert S. Griffin's books include *The Fame of a Dead Man's Deeds: An Up-Close Portrait of White Nationalist William Pierce*; *One Sheaf, One Vine: Racially Conscious White Americans Talk About Race*; and, most recently, *Living White: Writings on Race, 2000-2005*.