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FINE ART PAINTING

"RACE/CULTURE"

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1996.

**With out the assistance of Marek Kohn,
Professor Richard Lynn and the patience and
much appreciated help of Dr. Paul O' Brien
this thesis would not have been possible.**

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INTRODUCTION

"The diagnosis of 'High-grade' or 'Border-line' deficiency in I.Q's is very common among Spanish-Indian and Mexican families in the south-west and also among Negroes. Their dullness seems to be racial, or at least inherent in the family stocks from which they come...Children of this group should be segregated in special classes...They cannot master abstractions, but they can be efficient workers... There is no possibility at present of convincing society that they should not be allowed to reproduce, although from a eugenic point of view they constitute a grave problem because of their usually prolific breeding."

(Leon J. Kamin, *The Science and Politics of I.Q.* 1977, p. 21)

It is evident that this kind of problematic discourse has not been deleted from science and still characterises some of the beliefs expressed by today's race-scientists. Humanity at this stage of the century should be conceived not as a range of types, but as a network of interconnected breeding populations. Instead of separating different races and types within a population, like Britain for example, it should be understood as a dynamic system containing a range and variation that extends beyond skin colour or I.Q. test results. The detailed ordering of humanity belongs to the past which should have ended with the Nazi regime. But it did not.

In the face of what seems to be a revived far-right politic, contemporary society has again been presented with terms that were employed forty years ago by the National Socialist regime: intellectually/genetically inferiors, Nazism, Fascism, racial hygiene, racist, white-supremacist, anti-Semitism were all part of the political landscape years earlier, but now with this apparent resurgence, this rhetoric has resurfaced, and is being used in different ways, some more problematic than others. A political discussion on the issues of this resurfaced language will form the basis of the initial chapter, of specific interest here will be the studies of race. The atrocities of World War Two, one would have thought, should have been of sufficient evidence to dampen any further racial analysis.

The "academics" will be discussed and in particular those who deal specifically with the promotion of race-science. The social and political ramifications of I.Q. testing will be discussed as will the question of whether research carried out years ago, should still be of use for today's race-scientists. There are, as will be noted later, psychologists who still believe that blacks are inherently less intelligent than whites, and most of their evidence is based on outdated research, done in the mid to late 1930's.

CHAPTER 1

The first part of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject. It discusses the scope and objectives of the study, and the methods used. The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the various aspects of the subject. It is divided into several chapters, each dealing with a different aspect of the subject. The third part of the book is devoted to a summary of the findings of the study, and a discussion of their implications. The fourth part of the book is devoted to a bibliography of the works consulted in the course of the study.

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Introduced in 1905 by Alfred Binet, the I.Q. test found a new translation in the U.S.A. around 1930, after his death. The newly-adapted I.Q. test posed serious problems for some people, in particular those who were unable to pass the immigration test, due basically to their lack of knowledge of the English language.

The latter part of the chapter will be directed toward a discussion of publications such as *Mankind Quarterly* and *Spearhead* (publication of the National Front). Both these publications, although dedicated to separate and specific audiences, still conform to old racist stereotypes. Richard Lynn, associate editor of *Mankind Quarterly* (which according to its projected image is neither racist nor anti-Semitic), supports abortion on demand, "as a way of reducing the fertility of less competent and less intelligent people". He also endorses the idea that "the Jews have been subjected to intermittent persecutions which a more intelligent race may have been able to foresee and escape" (Richard Lynn, "Race Differences in Intelligence", *Mankind Quarterly* 31 1991 p.254-296).

The second chapter will adopt a more cultural/physical approach to this new representation concerning the rhetoric of the right, and in particular with reference to the development of neo-Nazi groups in Europe and the repercussions of their racist ideologies. The argument will also propose that these organisations have definite political motives and are not simply groups of angry, frustrated skin-heads as they are so often portrayed. Of interest here is the unification of the two Germanys and the development, in terms of groups and organizations, that took place during its unification. The subjects and country in discussion will change from hardliner German neo-Nazi groups to the practices of professional medical doctors in areas of Czechoslovakia. The reason behind this geographical and social change may, initially, seem rash but the discussion will draw both these parties together in terms of their ideologies. The results of this should be sufficient to prove that one does not have to be an angry skin-head to practice "racial hygiene" and posit fascist dogma.

Post World War II Europe employed a kind of "national amnesia" toward all representations of the fascist past, a kind of suppression of the immediate past. It was not as though people were unwilling to recall what happened during the reign of the Third Reich, but it was more that the ideology, the substance of the past, had entirely been taken away from them. Instead of the ideology being purged, it was repressed. The final chapter will argue this concept from a visual point of view. The re-presentation of fascist imagery by an artist, unless of course he/she is condemning it out-right, causes serious uneasiness for certain members of society, in particular those who want to forget about the fascist past. So it is indeed understandable that when an ideology is repressed for over a number of years the recollection of it in the work of artists, becomes problematic. The artists chosen

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The text also mentions the need for regular audits and the role of independent auditors in ensuring the reliability of financial statements.

The second part of the document focuses on the role of the accounting profession. It highlights the need for accountants to adhere to high standards of ethical conduct and to maintain their professional competence through continuous education. The text also discusses the importance of transparency and the need for accountants to provide clear and concise information to their clients and the public.

The third part of the document addresses the challenges facing the financial system. It identifies several key areas of concern, including the need for stronger regulatory oversight, the importance of risk management, and the need for greater collaboration between regulators and industry participants. The text also discusses the impact of technological advancements on the financial system and the need for ongoing innovation and adaptation.

The fourth part of the document discusses the role of the government in the financial system. It emphasizes the need for a strong and independent regulatory framework to ensure the stability and integrity of the financial system. The text also discusses the importance of public confidence and the need for the government to take decisive action in the event of a financial crisis.

The fifth part of the document discusses the role of the private sector in the financial system. It highlights the importance of strong corporate governance and the need for companies to be transparent and accountable to their shareholders and the public. The text also discusses the importance of risk management and the need for companies to have robust internal controls in place.

The sixth part of the document discusses the role of the international community in the financial system. It emphasizes the need for global cooperation and the importance of international standards and best practices. The text also discusses the impact of global financial markets and the need for ongoing dialogue and collaboration between countries.

The seventh part of the document discusses the role of the financial system in the economy. It highlights the importance of the financial system in providing capital to businesses and individuals and in facilitating the flow of funds between savers and borrowers. The text also discusses the impact of the financial system on economic growth and the need for a well-regulated and efficient financial system.

The eighth part of the document discusses the role of the financial system in the future. It identifies several key areas of focus, including the need for continued innovation and adaptation to technological advancements, the importance of risk management and the need for greater transparency and accountability. The text also discusses the need for ongoing dialogue and collaboration between regulators and industry participants to ensure the stability and integrity of the financial system.

for the argument do not condemn the fascist past at every opportunity, but instead manipulate, satirise, juxtapose and generally use it as a means of artistic expression. The argument will be that fascist discourse has been repressed in Western culture, although it seems to have had time to flourish in some marginal discourses of academia and politics. Thus the question: why then should a representation of fascist imagery in art prove so problematic? The problem of aestheticizing the politics of fascism, and the idea of using this political aestheticization as an allegorical language, will be argued in relation to the work of Anselm Kiefer and Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK, an arts collective from Slovenia).

The discussion will present a number of ways in which racism/fascism had affected contemporary society, and will be highlighting these issues rather than prescribing particular political remedies. Thus the thesis will have a more reflective view and a less conclusive and remedied approach to the problems that seem **again** to be facing society.

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"For nearly three quarters of a century, research on human intelligence has been dominated by men of statistical flair; and as a field of inquiry, it has been somewhat dominated cut off from the rough and tumble in the rest of social and behavioural science - it has been a territory you wandered into at your own peril if you were not yourself a statistician."

(Liam Hudson, *Foreword : The Science and Politics of I.Q.* 1976).

For many that part of the world is a
mountainous region. The mountains are
a natural barrier between the north and south
regions of the continent. The mountains are
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MANKINDS HEAD FOR I.Q.

Alfred Binet, in France, 1905, was one of the pioneers of the I.Q. test. His research into this test lasted a mere six years. He died in 1911. After his death the test found a new translation in the United States. Louis Therman at Stanford, Henry Goddard at Vineland Training School in New Jersey and Robert Yerkes at Harvard, were to be the major figures in its new translation and adoption. They exploited Binet's test and proposed it could be used for detection of the "genetically inferior", whose reproduction could prove only a menace to the future of the state. Therman in his book "The Measurement of Intelligence" made clear from the start how he would use the I. Q. test:

"...in the near future intelligence tests will bring tens of thousands of these high-grade defectives under the surveillance and protection of society. This will ultimately result in curtailing the reproduction of feeble mindedness and the elimination of an enormous amount of crime, pauperism and industrial inefficiency. It is hardly necessary to emphasize that the high-grade cases, of the type so frequently overlooked, are precisely the ones whose guardianship is most important for the state to assume." (L.M. Therman, 1916, p.7).

Henry Goddard, in 1912, was asked by the United States Public Health Service to come to Ellis Island and test the immigrant population who were seeking access to the USA. He established from the results of his test that: "83% of Jews, 80% of Hungarians, 79% of Italians and 87% of Russians were 'feeble-minded'", (Kamin, 1977, p.31). Goddard believed that these "feeble minded" individuals should be kept in institutions, which would prevent them from reproducing and passing on the gene he supposed was responsible for their condition. "Outside institutional confines, they formed the back-bone of the delinquent classes; because of their lack of intelligence, they lacked the moral sense to avoid lives of crime and prostitution." (Kohn, 1995, p.90). Goddard's test continued and by 1917 he reported successfully in the *Journal of Delinquency* that "the number of aliens deported because of feeble-mindedness...increased approximately 350% in 1913 and 570% in 1914...This was due to untiring effort of physicians who were inspired by the belief that mental tests could be used for the detection of feeble-minded aliens". (Leon J. Kamin 1977).

There exist three popular beliefs about the I.Q. tests: (1) that the score one receives accurately reflects one's general intelligence capacity; (2) the score is largely determined by one's genes; (3) that if one's score is determined by one's genes, it cannot be modified by one's environment. These were views employed by

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the war. It is followed by a detailed account of the military operations in the various theaters of war.

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The third part of the report deals with the political situation of the country and the progress of the war. It is followed by a detailed account of the military operations in the various theaters of war.

The fourth part of the report deals with the social situation of the country and the progress of the war. It is followed by a detailed account of the military operations in the various theaters of war.

The fifth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country and the progress of the war. It is followed by a detailed account of the military operations in the various theaters of war.

Professor Arthur R. Jensen, Professor of Educational Psychology at the University of California, when he published an article in the *Harvard Review* (1969), entitled "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" This article supplied food for the appetite of the political far-Right but also put the study of race-science under the microscope again.

Jensen paid particular attention to racial differences in I.Q. results and proposed that, on average, blacks did not possess as high a standard of intellectual quality as whites. "What is more it is unproductive to lavish time and money on attempts to educate intellectual inferiors beyond their station." (Billig, 1979, p.9). Jensen's work was to find favour in the work of H. J. Eysenck, Professor of Psychology in London, who published a book defending Jensen's viewpoint, "Race Intelligence and Education." Both Eysenck and Jensen's research has been adopted as usable literature for the rhetoric of fascist groups and their publications eg. *Spearhead*, *The Northlander* and *Britain First*. The issue of racism in academic discourse is indeed very problematic. It is problematic in a number of ways. One is the political influence it has, eg. the rise in deportation percentages in the early 1900s that were established by a government body. There is also the influence that can be exerted by their racist rhetoric, published in the journals they produce.

"Nationalists believe that intelligence is mainly genetically determined, and so the differences in intelligence and other mental abilities between the races are inborn and hereditary. Therefore we believe that the World intellectual leadership shown by the White race is due to our unique genetic heritage, whose dilution by mixing with alien stock would be an irreversible catastrophe to all mankind." (*Britain First*, January, 1977).

H.J. Eysenck regularly contributes to *Mankind Quarterly*, a journal that Michael Billig referred to in "Psychology Racism & Fascism", as "an explicitly racist publication, whose tendencies take it toward the race science of the Northern League" (Billig, 1979).

Marek Kohn, in his book *The Race Gallery* (1995), explores how science deals with race and how during the past fifty years it has tried to distance itself from its former racial traditions. But surprisingly, from results provided by some race-scientists, this distance seems to have lessened rather than increased. What has been suggested is that any return to a specific racial science should be disapproved by the medical board, considering the repercussions of what happened fifty years ago, when the study of racial differentiation resulted in mass genocide. The nearest thing to an "official line" on race was given in a series of statements by UNESCO in the early 1950's. These concluded that there was no *convincing evidence* of inborn differences in ability between different races; but in the statement there was no verification that differences positively did not exist. These inborn differences are the issues faced by doctors in areas of Czechoslovakia, when they make the

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice to ensure transparency and accountability. This section also outlines the procedures for handling discrepancies and the role of the audit committee in reviewing the financial statements.

The second part of the document details the internal control system implemented by the organization. It describes the segregation of duties, the authorization process for transactions, and the regular reconciliation of accounts. The document highlights the effectiveness of these controls in preventing errors and fraud, and the ongoing monitoring and improvement of the system.

The third part of the document provides a comprehensive overview of the organization's financial performance over the reporting period. It includes a detailed analysis of the income statement, balance sheet, and cash flow statement. The document also discusses the impact of market conditions and the organization's strategic initiatives on its financial results.

The fourth part of the document outlines the organization's future financial outlook and the key risks that could impact its performance. It discusses the management's strategies to mitigate these risks and the potential opportunities for growth. The document concludes with a statement of confidence in the organization's financial health and its commitment to transparency.

The fifth part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the organization's capital structure and debt obligations. It includes information on the terms and conditions of the loans, the interest rates, and the maturity dates. The document also discusses the organization's liquidity position and its ability to meet its financial obligations.

The final part of the document summarizes the key findings of the audit and provides recommendations for improvement. It highlights the strengths of the organization's financial reporting and internal control systems, and identifies areas where further attention is needed. The document concludes with a statement of appreciation for the cooperation and assistance provided by the organization's management and staff.

decision of whether a child from a particular ethnic group, has the correct genetic build up worthy of life.

Many psychologists will still argue that evolution made people of African decent less intelligent than Europeans, more prone to crime and more sexually active. J. Philipee Rushton,¹ author of "*Race, Evolution and Behaviour*" (1994), is one of many who affirm that there is a biological basis for all the old racist stereotypes. In a rather revealing article by Adam Miller, entitled "Professors of Hate" in *Rolling Stone*, Rushton admits to distributing questionnaires to blacks, whites and East Asians in a mall, enquiring about their penis size and how far they could ejaculate. Understandably, one could be forgiven for thinking this was the script from a "*Beavis and Butthead*" cartoon and not the work of a "race-scientist." He continues by stating directly:

"Even if you take something like athletic ability or sexuality - not to reinforce stereotypes or some such thing - but, you know, it's a trade off: more brains or more penis. You can't have everything", (J.P. Rushton, 1994).

In the University of Western Ontario, where Rushton taught, the promulgation of his views was limited to the use of TV and video. David Peterson, Ontario's premier proposed that he be permitted to teach only through the medium of video tape and referred to his work as "highly questionable, destructive and offensive to the way Ontario thinks." *Nature* magazine released an article "The Case of P. Rushton" (1990). Barry Gross, author of the article writes about a police investigation that took place in Ontario concerning the work Rushton did. He was placed under the statute "everyone who...wilfully promotes hatred against any identifiable group", and after consultation with academics and the public, the police concluded in the words of Attorney General Ian Scott, "Rushton's theories were loony but not criminal."

Lunacy seems to be a title that could be applied to a number of these race-scientists' work, in particular the work of Revilo Oliver. Oliver was one of the initial founders of the apparently neither racist nor anti-semitic "John Birch Society". In 1966 he was rebuked by the society after presenting a speech that identified the Jews as the agents behind world conspiracy. He claimed that the conspiracy had been in progress from the fifth century B.C. and that the world's troubles would be ended "...if all the Jews were vaporized at dawn tomorrow." Oliver was forced to resign from the John Birch Society because of what he said, but his career was not over, as he was offered a number of positions to write in the National Front's "*Spearhead*" magazine.² A.K. Chesterton, chairman of the

1. Rushton in the "Bulletin of the British psychological society" 1977, lists Eysenck as by far the most influential single psychologist in Britain. Also Rushton refers to Eysenck's department at the institute of Psychology as the most prolific department in Britain today.

2. For more work by Oliver see "*Spearhead*" editions: 46, 52, 96, 105, 108).

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National Front, spoke of Oliver as America's "...clearest headed and most muscular minded champion of the right-wing cause" (Michael Billig, 1978, p.154). *Spearhead* proved to be a suitable medium for writers, like Oliver, to vent their racism and anti-Semitism. *Spearhead* No.1 vol.1, stated that the social philosophy of National Socialism is to be found in *Mein Kampf*, and that, "we in this movement emphatically subscribe to the social principles of our ideological forerunners" (p.5). *Spearhead* No.4 gives a selection of quotations from Hitler, principally taken from *Mein Kampf*. Thus the ideology of the early *Spearheads* is uncontrolled anti-Semitism, "...accusing the Jews of seeking to dominate the world, of creating communism, of killing Christ and subverting Christianity, of being enemies of all *British Nationalists*", in short of all crimes the writer could conceive. (Billig, 1978, p.128). *Spearhead* No.2, refers to the Jewish race as "a race of unheroic, greasy, shifty-eyed, slickly money lenders, rent racketeers, pornographers and big business wide-boys" (p. 5-6), thus affirming that old racist stereotypes are being used in contemporary society.

Understandably, this blatant use of anti-Semitism was certainly disadvantageous if "political respectability" was to be their goal. When internal political pressure dictated that a change from overt Nazism and rabid anti-Semitism was necessary, a tactical rather than ideological change took place. Chesterton made clear at the first Annual General Meeting of the National Front, that crude racialism was not to be the tactic of the new party.

"We are fighting a clever and immensely powerful enemy, and while we cannot match his resources we must try and match his brains. The man who thinks this war can be won by mouthing slogans about 'dirty Jews' and 'filthy niggers' is a maniac whose place should not be in the National Front but in a mental hospital...We have to oppose evils with all our might, but if in the act of doing so we label ourselves 'Jew-haters' or 'nigger-haters', we should lose the battle for survival in which we are engaged."
(*Spearhead*, no. 17, p. 6-7).

What is notable from the above statement is that the speaker does not imply that "Jew hatred" or "nigger hatred" is wrong *per se*, but simply tactically stupid. Although Chesterton is able to use rhetoric similar to that above, blatant physical insult is not beyond his range: "To go to a swimming pool anywhere near London is as infectious as baptism in Jordan; one becomes positively anointed with Semitic grease."(Billig, 1978, p. 135).

Of course magazines like *Spearhead* have a particular audience that demands blatant far-Right dogma and all use of subtle understatement is left by the way-side. However subtlety is one of the qualities that *Mankind Quarterly* has in abundance. It seems to occupy a middle ground between overt political racism and conventional academic study. On its cover it claims to be "An International

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. The second part outlines the procedures for handling discrepancies and errors, including the steps to be taken when a mistake is identified. The third part provides a detailed explanation of the accounting cycle, from identifying transactions to preparing financial statements. The final part discusses the role of the accountant in providing financial information to management and other stakeholders.

The following section describes the various methods used to allocate costs to different departments or products. It covers both direct and indirect costs, and explains how overheads are distributed. The text also discusses the importance of cost control and how it can be achieved through careful monitoring and analysis. The next part of the document focuses on budgeting and variance analysis, detailing how budgets are prepared and how variances are identified and investigated. The final part of this section discusses the use of cost accounting information in decision-making and performance evaluation.

The document concludes with a summary of the key points discussed throughout the text. It reiterates the importance of accuracy, transparency, and thoroughness in all accounting activities. The final paragraph offers some advice on how to approach the study of accounting and how to apply the concepts learned in practice. The document is intended to serve as a comprehensive guide for students and professionals alike.

quarterly journal dealing with Race and Inheritance in the fields of Ethnology, Ethno and Human Genetics, Ethno-Psychology, Racial History, Demography and Anthro-Geography." It sports an impressive list of academics: Professor R. Gayre, M.A. D.Phil., Pol.D.Sc, D.Sc., (previous editor), Roger Pearson 1 (present editor), Professor Richard Lynn (Professor of Psychology at the University of Ulster), Professor Frank Mc Gurk, Professor Carrdo Gini, and Professor Henry E. Garrett, to name just a few.

"Just as the National Front contains Nazi coteries, *Mankind Quarterly* embraces academics, keeping alive the tradition of Nordic race-science."

(Michael Billig, *Fascist: A Psychology of the N.F.* 1979, p. 148).

Current Anthropology, an apolitical journal published an article by Juna Comas entitled, "Scientific Racism Again". This article attacked the racist views of *Mankind Quarterly's* first publication. Coma's article was distributed by *Current Anthropology* to fifty leading academics for comment. The result from the investigation was a general consensus of hostility towards the racism *Mankind Quarterly* endorsed, thus confirming that from its initiation, *Mankind Quarterly* was dealing specifically with a racist discourse. Although *Mankind Quarterly* survived the attack from *Current Anthropology*, it found itself, under the direction of Gayre, confined to the margins of the political right. In a mid 1970's edition Gayre found space to claim that the existence of the Yeti had been proved. This put the magazine and its editorial staff into a very awkward position. Roger Pearson took over from Gayre in 1978, and with this move Professor Richard Lynn conveniently held his position as Associate Editor. Under Pearson and with advise from Lynn, the magazine conformed more closely to academic conventions, but still found itself excluded from the mainstream because of its racial disposition.

Mankind Quarterly, in 1972, acquired a German cousin, "*Neue Anthropologie*", under the editorialship of Jurgen Riger. It was published by the Gesellschaft fur Biologische Anthropologie, Eugenik, und Verhaltensforschung (Society for Biological Anthropology, Eugenics and Behavioural Research). Fritz Lenz, formal racial hygienist was paid tribute to in its first issue. Riger also paid tribute to Hans Gunther, not only in the magazine, but also during meetings of the Northern League. In 1977, Riger organised a meeting called "Eternal Penitence of Hitler". In attendance was Gerhard Fray, Chairman of the ultra-right "Deutschen Volksunion" and Arnold Butz, who suggests that the extermination of the Jews was a twentieth century lie. The Board of Advisors consisted of several neo-Nazis, and also present on the board was the formidable Professor Arthur R. Jensen.

1. Roger Pearson was the founder of the Northern League and chairman of the World Anti-communist League (WACL), this being an organisation that links the activities of anti-Semitic and racist groups throughout the world.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data. The second part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the financial data for the quarter. It includes a table showing the revenue generated from various sources, as well as the associated costs and expenses. The final part of the document concludes with a summary of the overall financial performance and offers recommendations for future improvements. It suggests that by implementing more rigorous controls and streamlining processes, the organization can achieve better financial results in the coming year.

The world of hard-line race-science has always been perceived as a tightly-knit one. This was underscored when a minor scandal erupted within the German delegation of the World Population Conference, in Cairo, 1994. The director of the Federal Institute for Population Research, Charlotte Hohn, gave an interview to the left-leaning German newspaper *Die Tageszeitung*, which caused uneasiness within the ranks. In the course of the interview she remarked that the average intelligence of Africans was lower than others, namely whites, and questioned whether sick people should be allowed to have children. It may indeed be problematic to allow people with genetically transmissible diseases to propagate but if this "ordering of humanity" is applied, essentially how different is it to the ordering carried out by the Nazis during the National Socialist regime? If sick people are not allowed to propagate, then it is predictable that the remaining arguments would be so that questions such as, "Should mentally handicapped people be allowed to have children? Should less intelligent members of the community be allowed to propagate? Are the very poor socially and financially capable of bearing children?", would be asked. These questions were similar to those asked by the Nazi regime, and the results were catastrophic. This argument undoubtedly provokes problems and tensions that are unavoidable, but during the interview with the German news-paper, Charlotte Hohn did not consider the cultural ramifications of what she was saying. Basically her statement stereotypes what the investigations of hard-line race-scientists are about; what it is about is using its political and academic power to reinforce the idea of a cultural and biological basis for the re-formation of old racist stereotypes. Charlotte Hohn was forced to resign because of her statements, but as was noticed earlier with *Mankind Quarterly*, conservative race-science adjusts to criticism very well.

Charlotte Hohn and Richard Lynn are just two examples of patrons who are willing to allow the old race-science of Hans Gunter to reproduce itself, they are second generation race-scientists trying to consolidate an institutional base. "But the air of intrigue and lurking swastika should not be allowed to define racial science at the end of the century as a mere cult activity", (Kohn, 1995, p.55).

It is often thought that race-science, confined as it is to a small coterie with dubious motives, is not part of science at all. In her book "Primate Visions", Donna Haraway suggests that "pseudo-science" is "...always designed so as to show how current science escapes any such taint" (Haraway ,1992, p.42). It should not be sufficient for the body of science simply to palm off the work done by race-scientists as a kind of pseudo-activity. Racism exists in science at many levels, and as do the hard-line race-scientists themselves. Thus a prime area for an inquiry into racial questions would be the entire body of science itself because it promotes, financially and politically, the research carried out by the race-science community.

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Kohn: "Do you consider yourself to be a racist, in the sociopolitical sense of the word?"

Lynn: "I think the primary meaning of a racist is one who believes there are race differences in various characteristics, practical things like intelligence and crime. In that sense I am yes.... A second sense is that we should therefore persecute races, which I don't subscribe to."

Kohn: "Do you differentiate between the terms racist and racist?"

Lynn: "No not really, no."

Kohn: "So you are a racist in the sense you just described?"

Lynn: "Sometimes it's called a scientific racist, isn't it? In that sense I am yes."

(Marek Kohn, *The Race Gallery*, 1995, p.300).

"SOCIALY UNADAPTABLE"

What is a Racist or a Fascist? This is a question that needs answering before continuing into this chapter. Of course one can be racist without necessarily being a Fascist, eg. the pre-civil war American south. But what is of interest as a basis for the following discussion is the fascism and racism that are directly synonymous with the Nazi party of World War II, (unless otherwise stated), and the recent development of neo-Nazi organisations over Europe and America. Fascism is widely encompassing, not only incorporating the views and ideologies of those who endorse genetic hierarchies, greater national states, authoritarian regimes or blatant ethnic cleansing (similar to that of Bosnian Muslims from areas controlled by Serbs and Croats); but inclusive in its stronghold is the racist violence of skin-head gangs, National Populist Parties, some fundamentalist religious organisations, fascist exile groups, armed militia, and intellectual circles (similar to those identified in chapter one). All of the above mentioned, in one way or another, whether it be through scientific investigation, political discourse, or blatant violence, endorse and participate in a racist ideology not dissimilar to that of fifty years ago.

With the unprecedented success of National Right organisations in countries such as France, Czechoslovakia, Russia, Britain and others, violent racist attacks are again occurring in Germany. During the period of Germany's unification, racism and racist attacks increased tenfold. With the combination of the West's affluence, political knowledge and far-right rhetoric, and the East's hard-line active neo-Nazi movements, racial attacks became a common occurrence on the streets. The numbers rose rapidly in comparison to previous years. Included in this were 338 arson attacks. Although most of the assaults were perpetrated against people with darker skin hues, the aggression was by no means restricted to non-Germans, or persons of colour. The mentally handicapped, homosexuals, Roma gypsies, Jews, Leftists (all by coincidence victims of Nazi violence and persecution) found themselves again the focus of popularised hatred, within a united Germany.

Paul Hockenos, in his book *Free to Hate*, sums up with disturbing accuracy what was happening around the time of these attacks: "Along with the national pageantry some of the now free-press flaunted anti-Semitism and ethnic chauvinism in a way that rivalled the tone of the inter-war years. The darkest names of that period also reemerged after their decades-long banishment - Triso in Slovakia, Antonesav in Romania, Pavelic in Croatia and even Hitler in Germany. On the streets racist violence erupted against foreigners, native Roma gypsies, and third world students. With their arms outstretched in the Nazi salute, young neo-Nazis in a newly united Germany, fire bombed the hostels of political asylum

seekers. Most chilling were the wars in former Yugoslavia which illustrated the consequence of national extremism when turned into a political program. Half a decade after Auschwitz and Treblinka a fascist politics was possible again on European soil." (Hockenos, *Free to Hate*, 1993). The issue of a revived fascist ideology will be used in this discussion to show that racism is infecting contemporary culture, not only in academic practice (chapter one), but also in cultural/political practice.

Before any cultural or critical analysis of the new fascist organisations that span across Europe can be attempted, one must consider them as a historically-rooted sociopolitical phenomena. This new fascism is not simply the skin-heads and frustrated kids that Western European establishments lead us to believe they are, but rather followers of genuine, organised and interconnected political movements, steeped in bigotry and racial prejudices that can penetrate to the heart of society. The new fascist ideology furnishes these groups with a means of escapism from postmodern anomie - violence represents their protest against the system's injustice. They are often portrayed as being victims, hard-done-by citizens of a multi-culturalist and multi-ethnic state, with a loss of voice, but I propose that their protests are not simply empty expressions of frustration or boredom; they endorse racial prejudices and often act upon them with violence.

With the increase in racial violence and the popularity of white supremacists, neo-Nazi and Fascist groups, Kohn recommends in "The Race Gallery", that "...it is not necessary to devise a plausible scenario for a fourth Reich" (Kohn, 1995, p.11). Although the development of a Fourth Reich seems improbable, the violence of these groups must be taken as seriously as if they *were* trying to devise a grounding for a Fourth Reich. At one stage Nazism displayed its anti-Semitism and hatred of multi-culturalism as prominently as its swastikas, but public revulsion at the Holocaust, and military defeat, has severely muted the tone. In a contemporary political situation a crudely anti-Semitic or anti-multi-cultural propaganda campaign would attract few recruits and much hostility. Totalitarianism within a democratic European state today would seem difficult to imagine. The rhetoric of the Right clearly has an appeal for a number of people, but when placed in the untested political waters of the East, for example, a popular neo-Nazi movement is unlikely to attract any more than a fraction of the population's votes. East and West Germans are aware that it doesn't matter how angry or racist they may get, their welfare is ultimately tied to Germany's stability in Europe and to democracy.

"However far it may be from power, the resurgence of a potent ultra-right has enormous implications for the nature of a united Germany, for the state, for society and for democracy. As any victim will testify, the ultra-right poses a great threat to those unfortunate enough to be on its hate list." (Hockenos, 1993).

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data. The text also mentions that regular audits are necessary to identify any discrepancies or errors in the accounting process.

Furthermore, the document highlights the role of technology in modern accounting. It suggests that using accounting software can significantly reduce the risk of human error and streamline the workflow. The text notes that such software often includes built-in controls and checks to ensure the integrity of the financial data. Additionally, it mentions that digital records are easier to store and retrieve, which is particularly useful for long-term record keeping.

The document also addresses the issue of data security. It stresses that financial information is highly sensitive and must be protected from unauthorized access. This can be achieved through various measures, such as using secure networks, implementing strong password policies, and regularly updating security software. The text also advises on the importance of backing up data to prevent loss in the event of a system failure or disaster.

In conclusion, the document provides a comprehensive overview of the key principles and practices of effective accounting. It covers the importance of accurate record-keeping, the use of technology, and the need for robust security measures. By following these guidelines, businesses can ensure the reliability and accuracy of their financial statements, which is essential for informed decision-making and long-term success.

It seems that the only areas these ultra-right organisations are capable of wresting hegemony are confined to the politically marginal and the imaginations of parties such as the British National Party, the Italian National Front and G.R.E.C.E.¹

Their intense campaigning on issues such as immigration and "race mixing" plus the small but significant percentages of electoral support they receive, proves them a force that ought to be reckoned with.

The political debate surrounding the development of neo-fascist organisations is extensive but there is a more cultural and physical aspect of this development that does not seem to receive as much consideration. Hockenos suggests above that any victim will tell of the great threat the new ultra-right possess. A group of people who have been on the physical end of this threat, for over sixty years, have been the Roma gypsies. They are an ethnic group who have witnessed racist violence and the blunt edge of fascist ideology for ages, but they still remain relatively unspoken and unwritten-about victims of these atrocities.

Popular right-wing bands like "Cigany Pasitito Garda" (Gypsy Destroyers Guard Regiment), pose a real threat to the Roma. From Hungary, they openly display Hungary's world war two fascist emblem and play to packed houses, with sophisticated lyrical compositions such as:

*"The flamethrower is the only weapon
With which I can triumph,
Exterminate the Gypsies,
Whether child, woman or man."*

(Song: "Gypsy Free Zone", *Print*, Jan/Feb 1994, p.43).

When speaking of attacks inflicted on the Roma, whether verbal or physical, one has only to look back to the second World War, and the name Dr. Robert Ritter is remembered as one of the initiators of this now sixty--year-old hatred. Dr. Ritter, Head of the Racial Hygiene and Population Biology Research Unit of the German Ministry of Health, during the National Socialist reign, reported:

"The results of our investigations have allowed us to characterise the Gypsy as being a people of entirely primitive ethological origins, whose mental backwardness makes them incapable of real social adaption."

(Benno Miller Hill, "Murderous Science", Oxford, 1988).

Ritter proposed a decisive plan which would rid society of these "socially unadaptable" people. The consequences of his plan, only a few years later, resulted in heinous public revulsion and serious political repercussions. "The Gypsy question can only be solved when the main body of this social and worthless body of Gypsy individuals, of mixed blood is collected together in large labour camps and kept working there, until the further breeding of this population of mixed blood is

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*Groupement de Recherche et d'Etude pour une Civilisation Europeenne, is a French organisation that is a regrouping of a number of racist, ultra-nationalist and neo-fascist activists. Its principal journals are *Nouvelle Echole* and *Elements*.

permanently stopped." (Miller Hill, quoting Ritter, 1988). The initial part of Ritter's plan was, in due course, put into action and mass sterilisation was to be used for the second part of his proposal. As we know, sterilisation was replaced by the Nazis' mass genocide policy, which proved more effective in the ethnic cleansing that took place:

"With Nazism, the conflict between inner and outer ideological demands can be seen most importantly, and dramatically, in relation to genocide.

The demands of mass support ensured that genocide was never publicly proclaimed as the ultimate goal of the Nazi program." (Billig, 1978).

The genocide inflicted on the Roma was *never* really publicly proclaimed and today remains relatively unspoken about. "Porrajmos" (or Gypsy Holocaust), took the lives of a million to a million and a half gypsies. This accounted for between half and three quarters of the entire Roamani population.

In an effort to expose the contempt shown for these people, *Europe* magazine in 1991 conducted a survey, in several European countries, concerning the public's thoughts toward the Roma population. The results illustrate the problem, again, that the attitudes of racism are being put to use in contemporary culture, and that the atrocities of fifty years ago have little or no bearing on the decisions of some people. An overwhelming 91 per cent of Czechoslovaks said they disliked the Roma, compared to 79 per cent of Hungarians, 71 per cent of Bulgarian and 59 per cent of Germans, who also felt they were not a necessary part of a functional society. (*Europe* Sept. 1991, p.29). With the resurgence of racist attacks against the Roma over the next three years a Czechoslovakian paper *Prognosis* reported a poll indicating that 77 per cent of Czechoslovakians had a negative view toward the Roma, while 30 per cent thought they should be deported or isolated in ghettos. (*Prognosis* Feb.5th 1994, p.12-14). The results of these polls have given fascists sufficient ammunition to intensify their political program of violence and arson attacks.

"In ethnically mixed nation-states nationalism diminishes minorities, setting the shape for conflicts immeasurably easier to ignite than to extinguish." (Hockenos, 1993, p.5).

The Roma are falling foul of the vented anger of Nazi groups all over Europe. Rostock-Lichenhagen was the place where 200 Roma were evacuated by local authorities, due to a series of racist attacks on their tower block. After their evacuation the racist skin-heads with more anger to vent, besieged the shelter of some 130 Vietnamese workers living next door. They threw Mobtov cocktails at the building, stormed the block and chased the residents onto the street.

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Fortunately, this time, no one was killed. Ironically, a response from Dierter Heckjelmann, Federal Interior Minister and Chief of Police said:

"This incident was not right-wing extremism, anti-foreigner sentiment or racism, but rather justified unhappiness over the abuse of the right to asylum."(Hockenos, 1993, p.30).

What, by coincidence, the chief of police seemed to have forgotten in his speech, was that the crowd of demonstrators consisted of over 120 Nazis, waving Third Reich Flags, shouting "Sieg Heil" and thrusting their arms upward in the Nazi salute.

Rostock suffered, like many, from this new wave of neo-Nazi violence. Stendal, Oscherleben, Lubbenam, Potsdam, Babelsberg, Quedlinburg, Eisenhüttenstadt, Lautenberg and Holzhausen were all places to be affected by neo-Nazi violence. Kohn notes:

"As in the West, a radical Rightist does not need to mobilize a very large proportion of the electorate in order to be politically influential. The discontents of capitalism that encourage Populism and fascism will be felt more accurately in Eastern Europe than in the West for at least a generation" (Kohn, 1995, p.188).

Political parties that propagate nationalist and racist rhetoric in Europe have a firm grounding within the mainstream of parliamentary politics. Thus with the fall of the Berlin wall and the joining of East and West, the "new right" had its perfect chance to develop and penetrate the existing parliament. With this new development a new image had to be achieved; one that would appeal to a broad mainstream following. "Aryan Supremacy" and "Blut und Boden" were replaced by a rather more plausible terminology like "European Unity" and "Environmental Protection". The language was decisively less threatening, but the content no less reactionary. "In exchange for the Nazis' overtly racial theories, the new Rightists reimbursed cosmetic theories of 'national identity' and 'ethnic specificity', which distinguished a similar hierarchy of peoples. The product was slogans such as 'Germans be proud to be Germans, Turks be proud to be Turks, united against Communism and Racial Mixing.'"(Hockenos, 1993, p.49).

In 1970 a controversial conference was held in Bratislava, the capital of Slovakia, which dealt with the question of birth weight among Roma babies. One of the scientists presented a paper underlining the reasons that Roma babies were 100g lighter than non-Roma:

"...because they belong to a different ethnic group and because Roma women have lower I.Q. levels and take worse care of their children. Afterwards, a gynaecologist from Eastern Slovakia told a Prague scientist that Gypsies in the Czech lands were more civilized than their Slovak counterparts. He added that he routinely cut the Fallopian tubes when

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The second part of the document focuses on the practical aspects of bookkeeping. It describes the various methods used to record transactions, such as the double-entry system. It also discusses the importance of regular reconciliation and the use of journals and ledgers. The third part covers the preparation of trial balances and the identification of errors. The fourth part discusses the use of accounting software and the benefits it offers in terms of efficiency and accuracy. The final part discusses the importance of maintaining up-to-date records for tax purposes and the role of the accountant in ensuring compliance with tax laws.

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performing Caesarean sections on Roma women:, (Kohn, 1995, p.201-202).

An international Human Rights group called "Helsinki Watch" went to an Eastern Slovakian town to investigate allegations that the head gynaecologist Dr. Pavlini was preventing the births of Roma children. "Helsinki Watch" interviewed a former patient of Dr. Pavlini's, *AD*, a Romani woman who went to him for an abortion. The doctor told her that after the operation she might be temporarily infertile. She was given a piece of paper to sign. When *AD* came around she was horrified to be told by a number of women present that she had been sterilised. According to *AD's* account, Dr. Pavlini's reaction to her distress was like a slap across the face. "Be glad you cunt, that you won't have any more children", he told her. "How many Gypsies do you want to bring to this republic? Hitler was a prick because he didn't kill you all. What do you want; to overwhelm the entire republic?" (Helsinki Watch, New York 1992). Before Helsinki Watch interviewed *AD*, Dr. Pavlini told them about "...the noble aim of regulating the birth rate...the highest disease among these children, also the highest premature birth rate is among these people".

Jiri Bielek, a paediatrician from Most, in northern Bohemia, told Helsinki Watch that often a "socially weak" woman would be sterilized without her content, due to the six children she already bore. "On the one hand there are human rights" he admitted "...but on the other hand, when you see how these Gypsies multiply and you see it is a population of inferior quality, and when you look at the huge sums that have to be paid for the care of these children, it's understandable" (Helsinki Watch, 1992). The astonishing thing is that these incidents took place under a post- communist regime, proving that a totalitarian state is not necessary for the practice of racial hygiene.

The atrocities that took place during the period of 6th April-15th July 1994, in Rawanda bear a frightening resemblance to the genocidal slaughter that took place during World War II. When the United Nations General Assembly on War Atrocities provided information on this situation it concluded that article III of the Convention and Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide Act adopted by the U.N. 9th December 1948 states:

The commission of experts was determined that there are ample grounds to conclude that every provision laid out in article III of the Genocide convention has been violated in Rawanda in the period 6th April-15th July, 1994 in respect to a significant ethnic group.

This is yet another example that for mass genocide to flourish it does not need the rhetoric of totalitarianism or indeed fascism, but simply a racist ideology strong enough to incite hatred in people. Not only did the report discuss what went on in Rawanda, but also gave an extensive list of what could be termed genocidal events.

The first part of the report deals with the general situation in the country. It is noted that the economy is in a state of depression, and that the government is unable to meet its obligations. The report also mentions the need for a new constitution and the importance of maintaining law and order.

The second part of the report discusses the financial situation. It is stated that the government's revenue is insufficient to cover its expenses, and that it is necessary to find new sources of income. The report also mentions the need for a new tax system and the importance of reducing government expenditure.

The third part of the report deals with the social situation. It is noted that the population is suffering from poverty and unemployment, and that there is a need for social reforms. The report also mentions the importance of education and the need for a new social system.

The fourth part of the report discusses the political situation. It is stated that the government is unable to carry out its policies, and that there is a need for a new government. The report also mentions the importance of a new constitution and the need for a new political system.

The fifth part of the report deals with the military situation. It is noted that the army is in a state of disarray, and that there is a need for a new military system. The report also mentions the importance of a new military constitution and the need for a new military system.

The list showed that what was being inflicted upon the Roma women during pregnancy fell within the criteria of genocide. The preliminary report of the United Nations Commission of Experts established pursuant to Security Council resolution 935, dated 1994 provided relevant reading. Section D, paragraph 121, titled "GENOCIDE", reads as follows:

121. Article two:

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic (sic), racial or religious group such as:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

123. Article four:

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article three shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

After reading this report I made contact with Marek Kohn, author of *The Race Gallery*, who spent some time researching the plight of the Roma. He agreed that what took place in Czechoslovakia could very well be genocidal. There are still people who feel that they have the right to decide, because of someone's genetic make up, whether they or their children are worthy of life. The evidence from what is going on with the Roma population proves that ethnic cleansing is still part of society. But most importantly it shows that racism and the ideology of fascism exists at many levels in contemporary society.

None of the doctors who carried out these operations were criminally convicted and, may very well still practice medical science.

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"The art of the Third Reich, for some 20 years a taboo, now found itself in a paradoxical position. In illustrations and exhibitions it was represented as in a clinical examination, in which the presence of the patient is necessary to study the case, while at the same time the danger of infection makes a certain distance advisable."

(Brandon Taylor, *The Nazification of Art*, 1990, p.236).

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work done during the year. It also contains a list of the names of the members of the committee and a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to various positions.

The second part of the report deals with the financial statement of the committee for the year.

-REPERCUSSIONS OF RE-PRESENTING REPRESSION-

As was noted in the previous two chapters the discussion of race/racism, identity (whether cultural, national, or political), Fascism, Nazism and other "taboo" subjects have been raised on the margins of academia and politics. What I intend to argue in this final chapter is that this discourse has been largely repressed in Western culture, and to consider how the re-presentation of it, through the medium of art, has made it, though in a problematic way, accessible to cultural contemplation and critique.

Contemporary society has been affected by the reassurance of racism/fascism, academically, politically and culturally. This discussion will argue how a re-presentation of fascism, by artists, should be taken seriously and not instantly criticised because of the iconography it uses. The work of Anselm Kiefer and Neue Slowenische Kunst (NSK, an arts collective from Slovenia), will be used as an example of the problems inflicted on art when a repressed memory is surfaced and re-presented as an aesthetic. There will be a number of questions asked, one of which is: What, essentially is the difference in NSK and Kiefer using this material as opposed to, e.g. the National Front using it? A superficial answer to this problem would be that both use it in completely opposite ways. One uses it as a means of promoting and advertising a racist and violent rhetoric. The other adopts it, represents it and places it, not on a pedestal, but on the ground, and on the ground it is stripped of all power, satirised and ridiculed.

In 1984 NSK began operating as a large collective, which consisted of a union of various groups brought together by their shared ideologies and similar ways of expression through different media. These groups are as follows: Laibach, IRWIN, Noordung, New Collectivism, Studio and Department of Applied Philosophy. There are a number of other sections but Laibach and IRWIN are the two groups of interest in the discussion.

It seems that any discussion concerning Eastern European art demands consideration of the recently developed "democratic" tendencies in the area. No matter how often they are analysed, problems such as the disappearance of socialism from the Eastern bloc countries, the decay and eschatology of Communism, the disintegration of Yugoslavia, the fall of the Berlin wall etc. cannot be avoided, so that the situation of post-totalitarianism, with its disillusionment, disorientation (and in a sense, "catastrophe"), figures heavily in any theoretical enterprise. In this changed situation art has itself to define the scope of its own activity and identity.

Laibach, the music section and Laibach Kunst one of the artistic groups of the NSK, claim to be the forerunners of the "NSK Utopian Collective". Laibach was formed in 1980 and originated in a small revolutionary mining town called Trbovlje, in Slovenia. The use of Laibach as a name for the band was typical of the ironic underlining that was to follow in their music and art. The German translation for Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia, Laibach is fraught with uneasy associations. From the beginning this uneasiness, which they thrived on, played a large part in their promotion. Laibach's philosophy is said to be "understandable which of course means that it is translatable by those who wish to understand it" (NSK Internet Page 1). They directed most of their concern to popular music at the start and their poster campaign played off elements of National Socialist and Social Realist propaganda. Slovenes who were confronted with these images could not avoid the reminders of their wartime past under Italian and Nazi occupation. Their music is always played live, the group in uniform black, performing ferocious noise assaults before a backdrop of totalitarian regalia and wartime slides. Laibach is the section of NSK that caused the most trouble and their ideologies are the most problematic.

One of NSK's projects was in Moscow (1992), where they participated in an event entitled *IRWIN NSK Embassy*. It consisted of NSK documents and artifacts which were representative of the "New NSK State". Included also were a number of lectures and discussions that brought the ex-Yugoslavia and the ex-Soviet Union into artistic confrontation. This project was formally defined as the "Moscow Declaration". What the NSK were doing in the "Moscow Declaration" was drawing a relationship between the art of Russia and that of Slovenia, but understandably the difference between the art of these two countries is enormous and this proved to be a troublesome point during the lectures and discussions.

Unlike the Slovenian artists, Russian artists were more repressed and lived directly in the centre of a totalitarian empire. The socialist mechanisms were not felt so deeply in Slovenian art as in the rest of the Eastern bloc. Thus Socialist-Realism is something that Slovenian art cannot be entirely and simply located within. Western art and Western modernism was something that Slovenian art was always more concerned with. Unlike the former Soviet Union, it never really created its own authentic socialist art.

"The ironical transformation of totalitarian signifiers was adapted in Soviet art as a means of transcending their ideological background". (*Art and Design* p. 11)

In the work of both the NSK and Kiefer feelings of both despair and fascination are felt when one is presented with such repressed images. The aestheticization of fascism, or as Susan Sontag called it in her discussion on Leni Riefenstahl

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The final section of the document discusses the importance of budgeting and financial forecasting. It explains how a well-defined budget can help the organization allocate resources effectively and track its performance against financial goals. The text also mentions the need for regular reviews and adjustments to the budget as circumstances change. Furthermore, it highlights the role of financial forecasting in identifying potential risks and opportunities, allowing management to make informed decisions about the future of the organization. The document ends by stating that a strong financial foundation is essential for achieving long-term success.

"Fascinating Fascism" has been a part of the cultural landscape since the 1970s. An inherent tendency to instantly condemn the work because of its uncomfortable visual project, is soon banished as further analysis of the work provides one with a multitude of ironies and contradictions that place it not simply on a representational level, but also on a more cultural and politically progressive level.

Both NSK and Kiefer use fascist imagery as an integral part of their artistic discourse. Their re-presentation of this repressed material is where the crux of the problem lies. The inherent problem is that in using the problematic icons of fascist terror, they have somehow violated a taboo. They have transgressed a boundary that had been carefully guarded by the postwar cultural consensus in West Germany and elsewhere. A complete absence and abstention from the image-world of fascism, and condemnation of any cultural iconography that bore a resemblance to those barbaric years, was employed. At the heart of Germany's postwar reemergence as a relatively stable democratic culture was the self-imposed repression and abstention. NSK and Kiefer, as part of their main project, have similar ideologies but they also differ greatly, geographically and intellectually. In Kiefer's "Besetzungen" (Occupations) he appropriates the Nazis' Sieg Heil salute in a similar manner to the NSK's appropriation of it. (see plate 1) But whereas the NSK adopt it as a means of re-presenting it in an almost anecdotal fashion (thus a kind of shock tactic), Kiefer does not identify with it, and instead ridicules and satirises it. He interpretes this icon as a metaphor for the political and aesthetic reevaluation of the National Socialists' past ideologies of fascism, and not simply as a means of "opening old wounds", or being controversial.

Andreas Huyssen asks the questions: Are irony and satire really the appropriate modes for dealing with fascist terror? Doesn't this series of photographs belittle the terror which the Sieg Heil gesture conjures up for a historically-informed memory? The answer to both these questions is Yes. Yes - irony, satire, sarcasm and even wit are appropriate measures for dealing with fascist terror. They are, evidently, more appropriate than repression and abstention. But this is a language that has been adopted by contemporary culture, and the option of either not raising the issue or approaching it with sensitivity, sincerity and a conservative attitude, are politically reasonable, but never really as effective as the language adopted by Kiefer. The answer to question two is Yes also, because what Kiefer does is not only, as Huyssen suggests "belittle the terror of fascism" but also in Kiefers' belittling of the fascist terror he blatantly belittles the executors and the supporters of the fascist terror. The initial reaction to this series of photographs, like his later paintings is shock and dismay, and the work anticipates that. This is another situation when the taboo, spoken of earlier, has again been violated. At this stage the fear is that because of the re-presentation, and (initial) glorification of the subject, the art may re-empower what it attempts to examine. There is a case here

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The third part of the document discusses the company's human resources and organizational structure. It describes the company's commitment to providing a safe and healthy work environment for all employees, as well as its focus on employee development and training. The text also mentions the company's efforts to attract and retain top talent, and its plans for future hiring and organizational changes. Finally, the document concludes with a statement of appreciation for the support and cooperation of all stakeholders, and a look forward to a successful future for the company.

that, like Hamlet's feigned madness, Kiefer's feigned fascism will work on many levels, not least of which could be to invoke nascent fascist urges in his audience, and because of the problem facing contemporary society with the racism being inflicted on ethnic groups like the Roma and the fascist rhetoric posited by publications such as *Spearhead* and *Mankind Quarterly*, this is where the work becomes problematic. But anticipating these kind of interpretations, Kiefer's work blossoms and if one takes another look at the photographs a number of ironies begin to appear. The Sieg Heil figure in most of the compositions is minuscule - with the shots taken from afar he is dwarfed by his surroundings. There are in the compositions no marching soldiers, no jubilant masses, nor any other emblems of power and imperialism that are usually associated with footage from the Nazi era. Indeed the initial feeling of a re-presented glorification of the Nazi salute is replaced by ridicule. "He is properly critical". (Huysen p. 31). In defence of Kiefer's ironic appropriation of such a controversial body of icons, I do not mean that irony, wit and satire are the only qualities the work possesses. On the contrary, the work has also a strident cultural and political message, that challenges the repressions and self-imposed abstentions by people who wish to forget the terror of a fascist past, and opted for a kind of post-war "national amnesia" that infected society.

"The issue, in other words, is not whether to forget or to remember, but rather how to remember and how to handle representations of the remembered past at a time when most of us, over forty years after the war only know the past through images, films, photographs and representations. (October 48, Spring 1989, p. 31).

The NSK, and also to an extent Kiefer's work, functions not only on an aesthetical/cultural level, but also operates on a political level. The NSK represents its project by means of adopting and manipulating the use of political rhetoric, eg. totalitarian ideologies of National Socialism. Re-presentation of repressed images has a very direct political function, eg. in the controversy it causes. Any time the NSK attempts to exhibit, whether it be through Art, Music, Literature or Debating/Lectures, there is usually some type of political protest. But what the NSK does not do is use controversy merely for the sake of publicity, but instead they attempt to present people with a body of images, music, literature that deals with "identity", whether it be national, political, cultural or sexual. All their work is ultimately rooted in the acknowledgment that the fascist past and the now postwar democratic present are inescapably politically linked together and the implications of this, for groups like NSK, is that any reference to fascism, unless blatantly condemning it, will be unavoidably controversial.

The international success of the new German cinema with the work of for example, Herzog, Kluge, von Trotta, Wenders and others, like the work of Kiefer, is driven

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In addition, the document outlines the specific procedures for handling cash payments and receipts. It requires that all cash transactions be recorded immediately and accurately. The text also specifies that all receipts must be properly filed and indexed for easy retrieval. Moreover, it stresses the importance of maintaining a clear and concise audit trail for all financial activities.

The document further details the requirements for the preparation and review of financial statements. It states that all statements must be prepared in accordance with the applicable accounting standards and regulations. The text also mentions that the financial statements should be reviewed and approved by the appropriate authority before being presented to the board of directors. Additionally, it notes that the accounting department should provide a detailed explanation of any significant changes or adjustments to the financial data.

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by the question of German identity. And if as Andreas Huyssen suggests, "Pride in national identity is in" (p.25), then this is the climate for a re-presentation of such images; because if "national identity" is itself to blossom, the representational discomforts with the fascist past should be purged, instead of being repressed. The result is that in working through the problem of representing and re-presenting the past, from a cultural and political standpoint, the NSK and artists like Kiefer get their strength. However this is a strength that will simultaneously and unavoidably make their work controversial and deeply problematic.

The resurfacing of this repressed material, although it may not be to the liking of some, is nevertheless progressive. Even at its most simplistic level it reminds people about the terrors of the past, and in reminding them educates them to the political and social ramifications of such powers. Of course those who want to forget will do so with or without Kiefer or the NSK. Those who do remember, but repress the memories, are the audience to whom Kiefer wishes to communicate.

"Kiefer's haunted images, burnt and violated as they are, do not challenge the repressions of those who refuse to face the terror of the past; rather they challenge the repressions of those who do remember and who do accept the burden of fascism on German national identity."

Although it may not seem so, but in challenging the repressions of those who do remember, but repress the memories, Kiefer is identifying with the repression and in identifying with it he gives it a chance to be purged instead of being repressed. As has been established, Kiefer is associated with the notion of "German identity", and NSK with the notion of a "new NSK Nation" which can be formulated as a kind of "National Identity". But this is the language of the "far-Right". In nationalist discourse in general the notion of "we" which constructs "the nation" does not necessarily cue racial identity. However, as shown from the rhetoric of the far-Right, such links can be shown to function in the slippage between race and culture. Enoch Powell, in a speech entitled "The Spectre of a Britain that has lost its Claim to be a Nation", has already rehearsed the main arguments:

"The presence of a common status where there was no common nationhood had produced in the cities of England a concentration of other nationals who asserted the contradictory claim to belong - and yet not to belong - to this nation...So far our response has been to attempt to force upon ourselves a non-identity and to assert that we have no unique distinguishing characteristics, the formula is 'a multiracial, multicultural society'. A nation which thus deliberately denies its continuity with the past and its rootedness in its homeland is on the way to repudiate its existence."
(E. Powell, *The Guardian* 9th Nov., 1981, p.14).

Although this quotation may not be directly connected with the main body of the discussion in this chapter, it is nevertheless important to access how work as visually potent as the work of Kiefer and the NSK could find its way into the

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"slippage" of the rhetoric of the right. NSK have been accused, by their local press, of attempting to instill ideologies of a neo-Fascist organisation, and have often been accused of being racist and even anti-Semitic. Their project works on an entirely different strategy. These accusations are usually presented either by far-Right organisations who want to adopt the work of artists, like the NSK, as a cultural wing of their neo-Fascist groups, or by persons still not willing to accept the re-presentations of the fascist past and who subscribe to the crass belief that any reference to fascism or Nazism (unless one is condemning it outright), necessarily implies sympathy with it. Ian Hamilton Finlay, a Scottish poet/sculptor, felt the full powers of the second type of criticism, when in 1987 he had an exhibition closed because of the use of a Nazi SS lightning flash in one of his marble poems (see plate 2). Finely, neither fascist nor Nazi, was the victim of a campaign of vilification in the French art-press, and this resulted in his being tagged "neo-Nazi" and "anti-Semitic", by the papers.

These are simply some of the situations that can occur when a language as politically charged as this, is misused or misinterpreted. But there is another similarity here between the work of Kiefer and NSK, in that their work anticipates it will be misread. In order to understand the work fully, one has to overcome the initial shock and often fascination and take a second look. Then the ironies, ambiguities, juxtapositions, contradictions and allegorical language begin to take form. "Kiefer does not and cannot offer a perfect solution, but can point to its relevance and necessity." (Doreet Le Vitte Harten, "Anselm Kiefer", *Nike* No. 29, p.19).

It has been established that the NSK and Kiefer's use of re-presenting fascist iconography is problematic in a number of ways, not only culturally but also politically. Kiefer revives the symbols of the tree and forest mythology that were so dear to the heart of German militarism; he venerates gestures towards Hitler's most influential cultural hero, Richard Wagner; he reenacts versions of Nazi book burnings; he uses Albert Speers' megalomaniac architectural structures and paints them as ruins and allegories of power; he reproduces historical spaces loaded with the history of fascist chauvinism and German-Prussian nationalism; and allegorizes some of Hitler's major military ventures. If the work of NSK and Kiefer had not questioned, ironised, and basically re-presented the problem of the repressed fascist image in a unique language and simply, like most other re-presentations of it, explicitly condemned and abused it at every possible opportunity; there would have been little in the way of controversy. John Hutchinson in reference to Kiefer says that although - and because - his iconography is refracted by irony and fragmentation, his images have always seemed "equivocal" and at times "elegiac". Because of Kiefer's appropriation of fascism, and the manner in which his icons seem to go from satire and irony in the

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is followed by a detailed account of the events of the past few days, and a summary of the results of the operations. The report concludes with a number of recommendations for the future.

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1970's to melancholy devoid of serious irony in the early 1980's (see plate 3 and 4), many critics have consequently questioned the wisdom of his strategy. In defence of his strategy Kusbit states: "Kiefer eliminates (the German psyche's) arrogant structures by decomposing them, turning them against themselves, so that a fresh start can be made toward the creation of a new human self....[Kiefer] is in the true psychoanalytic sense, 'working through' the nightmare of being German toward the daylight of being human." (D. Kusbit, "Transmuting externalisation in A. Kiefer", *Arts Magazine* Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 54). But there are many who believe that Kiefer's re-presentation does not have a politically/culturally progressive role. Benjamin Buchloh, a long time antagonist of Kiefer's ideals states that Kiefer is the most prominent of German artists who have moulded themselves on concepts that Habermas has described as "traditional identity". He writes:

"In the course of their restoration of these concepts, these artists have produced a type of work that can be best described as politi-kitsch. Its attraction seems not only to be in its reconstitution of traditional identity for the generation of West Germans who wish to abandon the long and difficult process of reflection under a post-traditional identity. The attraction of politi-kitsch also appears to be -and herein lies its international appeal- its reconstruction of the artistic privileged association with the traditional identity, i.e. the claim to have privileged access to 'seeing' and 'representing' history." (Benjamin Bulchloh, *October* 48, p. 100, 199?).

The question of whether Kiefer is really attempting to recover "traditional identity" must be asked or is this simply a title, like "Anselm Angst", to place on him because of his re-presentation and questioning of the past "national identity". If one is willing to take even a superficial reading of this work, it reveals that Kiefer represents history allegorically: his work is based on historical narrative only in so far as he alludes to the necessity of its transformation. In agreement with this, Andreas Huyssen states, "Neither is Kiefer simply into resurrecting the German past, as some of his German critics complain. But in a country like Germany where definitions of national and cultural identity all too often lead to the temptation of re-legitimising the Third Reich, any attempt by an artist to deal blatantly with the icons of fascism will understandably cause public worries. Fortunately so" (Huyssen p. 29).

Kiefer and the NSK have undoubtedly adopted a very problematic and controversial language to work within. The resurfacing of repressed material is indeed in principle more progressive than the repression of it. Even as a basic psychoanalytical diagnosis, it is better to face up to something rather than repress it. But there are ramifications for this type of re-presentation. What is important is that NSK and Kiefer do not resurface this material purposely in order to antagonise or irritate people, unlike its adoption by the "far-Right". They present it as something to be ridiculed and not feared, something to be remembered without

anxiety and not repressed. Their work is solidly grounded in the idea of not forgetting. Kiefer's paintings in particular are emphatically about memory. Flight is one of his organised political metaphors. But it is not the flight of the Phoenix but rather the doomed flight of Icarus and the melancholy flight of the mutilated and mercilessly vengeful Wayland. Icarus will not fly unless the repressions of the fascist terror are freed. Only then will the re-presentations of it be accepted. There is only so much that artists like Kiefer and the NSK can do, because after all their wings, like the wings of Icarus's in Kiefers painting, are too made of lead.

CONCLUSION

This discussion has taken the issues of "Racism" and "Fascism" and shown how they infect/affect contemporary society, and the progressive/regressive, critical/affirmative, aesthetical/political dialectics involved. It has shown that the eugenic project, which should have died with the fascist regime, is still part of contemporary society. Although what did die with the fascist regime was people's willingness to remember. Contemporary culture often reinforces the belief that problems can be "made better" if we turn our backs on them and try to forget - destroying buildings by Speer and Troost, condemning the past relentlessly at every opportunity, are therapeutic ways to forget the fascist past. But with the activities of far-Right academic circles, neo-Nazi organisations, and the politically marginal fascist groups, forgetting can be difficult.

Research on the I.Qs of ethnic groups and the heritability of I.Q. is largely dependent on the work of a few writers. Most of what is "known" comes from these sources. The question that is being asked by writers such as Leon J. Kamin, Marek Kohn and more recently Daniel Goleman is whether this information is reliably impartial, and more specifically, if biases are found throughout, should the research be considered valid? Impartiality is something that seems to be lacking in the research by the academics examined in this thesis. The study of "race" is usually confronted by this immediate and fundamental problem: can the demands of academic scholarship be reconciled with a political perspective on race? A simple answer to this would be that all personal views and tendencies of the academic should be left at home. He/she should approach the topic with a mind as clear and unbiased as possible. According to this criterium, commonplace reaction, bigotry, and indeed racism should have no place in academic study. But on the contrary, from what has been noted in this thesis, many of these "academics", who investigate this problematic topic of "race", posit their far-Right, fascist and racist ideologies with frequency.

Racist and fascist discourse is now part of contemporary society's cultural landscape, and most of the parties in this discussion employ the ideology of fascism, in one way or another. Some employ it more problematically than others, but the fact that it has such currency should be sufficient evidence for society to question its existence and possible problems that could and can result from it. If situations similar to those inflicted against the Roma, in Czechoslovakia, are let

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The final part of the report concludes with a summary of the findings and a recommendation for further action. It suggests that the government should take steps to stabilize the economy and improve the financial situation. The report ends with a date and a signature.

slide, this only fuels the fire, spoken of by Hockenos, that is easier to ignite than extinguish, (Hockenos, 1993, p.65).

The third chapter dealt with the issue of fascism, but examined it under a different criterium. After the war Germany reacted strongly against almost everything that had been associated with their fascist past. Students were no longer allowed to study mythology and folklore, and all memories of World War Two were duly repressed. This repression is what both Kiefer and the NSK direct most of their interest toward.

It seems that while the argument of a racist/fascist discourse has been repressed in Western culture, it has flourished in areas of "academia" and "politics". Kiefer and the NSK adopt the icons of fascism, not to promote racist/fascist ideologies but instead to manipulate, ridicule and abolish them. This is a justification for the use of such a controversial body of icons. These artists represent those repressions, and make the repressions and fascist past more accessible for cultural contemplation and critique. If the work of NSK promotes a critical evaluation of this re-presented fascist past, the racist rhetoric published by far-Right organisations, the violence of neo-Nazi groups, and the plight of the Roma, among others, the work then has an important cultural role.

Put schematically, it can be said that these artists, through their work, attempt to lead us through the vestibule of recent history by means of re-presenting the past. Their allegories are always open-ended. Both literal and elusive, their cultural references do not discourage contradictory readings. They are neither fascists nor racists, and the language employed by them states that the fascist saga is *there*, demanding to be confronted and re-presented.

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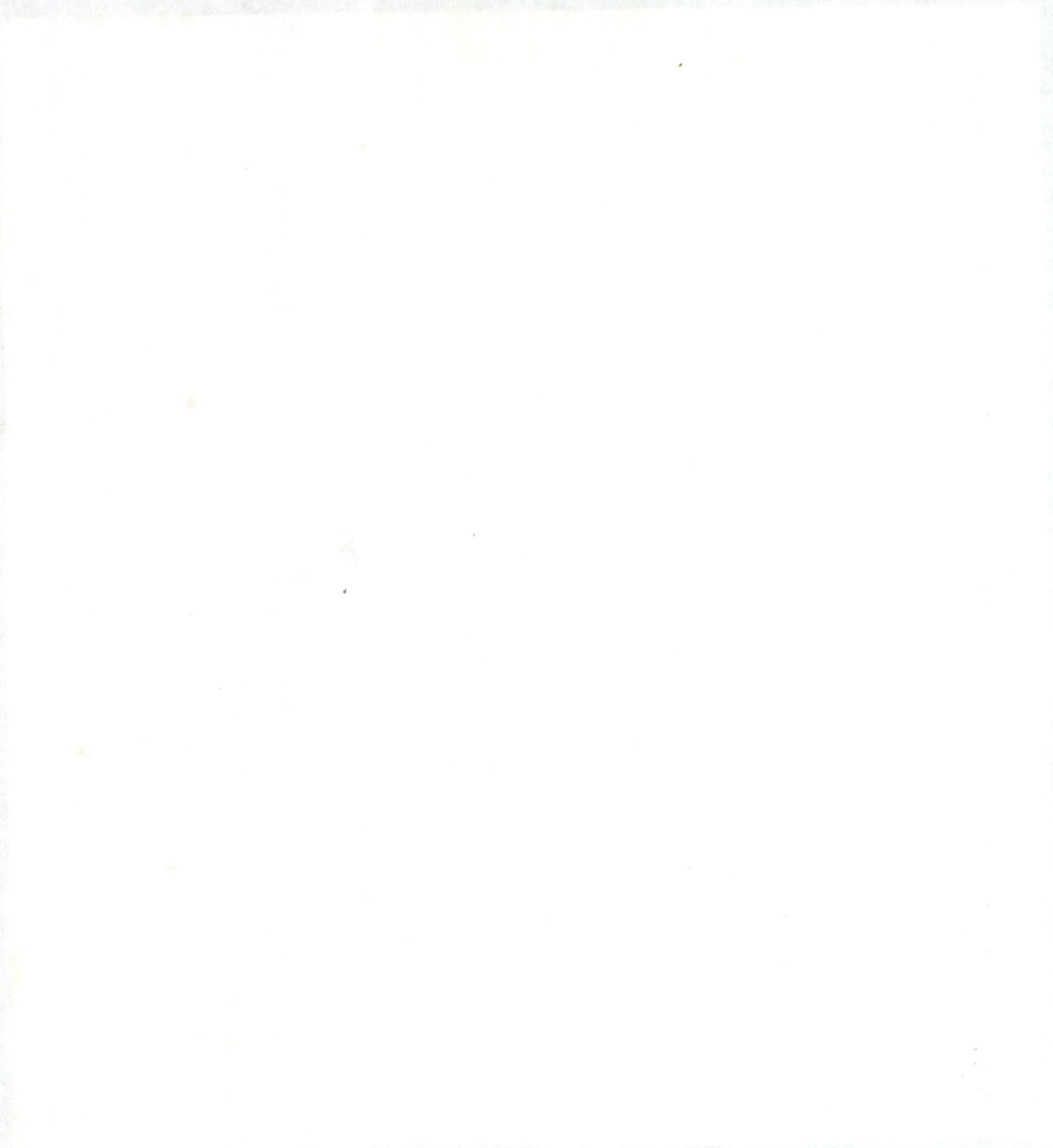
2. It is essential to ensure that all entries are supported by proper documentation and are entered in a timely manner.

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4. The final part of the document provides a summary of the findings and offers recommendations for future research and practice.



IAN HAMILTON FINLAY- "OSSO" 1987

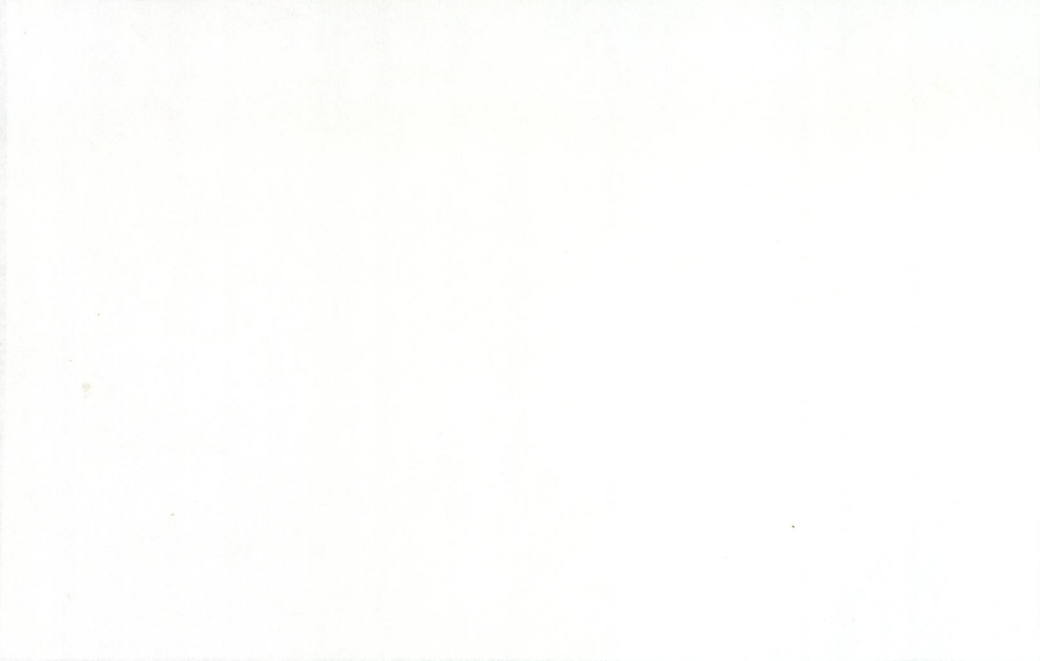




IAN HAMILTON FINALY "Propaganda for the wood elves" 1987



ANSLEM KIEFER- "Heroic symbols" (Detail) 1969



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