

his courage. Courage, like loyalty, is scarce in our society and age. Samuel Johnson once said, "We have more respect for a man who robs boldly on a highway than for a fellow who jumps out of a ditch and knocks you down behind your back. Courage is a quality so necessary for maintaining virtue that it is always respected, even when it is associated with vice." Johnson's observation that courage is necessary for maintaining virtue sheds light on the pathetic state of American conservatism and on the plight of American whites.

Sam's courage, alas, was not characteristic of the conservative "leadership" of the last three generations. Had courage like Sam's been the rule, our people's situation would be very different. His courage began with the willingness to listen to radical viewpoints, to give a fair hearing to others with whom he initially disagreed. Sam did not pull down the shades and turn off his brain to avoid facing unpleasant truths. He was willing to face them head-on, and such intellectual courage is not common.

Sam was willing to follow where the facts led, and to make the hard decisions the facts required, and he was willing to pay the price in modern, "free" America for those who rap on sacred idols with the hammer of truth. And he paid the price. Sam lost his job as staff columnist and deputy editorial page editor of *The Washington Times* because he spoke at an *American Renaissance* conference. He was not fired because what he said was untrue, but because he dissented from egalitarian dogma, and was guilty of associating with other thought criminals.

Sam was not fired by liberals, Marxists, or fanatic Trotskyites. He was fired by people who tell you they are "conservatives" (but "responsible" ones) and who no doubt convince themselves they are doing something to save the country. These people are the conservative opposition that conserves nothing and opposes nothing. Like Sam, and like the rest of us, they have faced unpleasant truths. Unlike Sam, they crumpled at the test; they turned their faces away from the truth.

John Henry Newman once observed, "Calculation never made a hero." The conservatives who crumple probably think they are cleverer than people like Sam. They calculate the penalties. They tell themselves it is better to live and fight again another day. They calculate,

and that is why they will never be heroes. That would be bad enough, but they don't stop there. In their fear of criticism, their terror at being called names like "racist," they panicked and cut Sam off, just as they did Joe Sobran, Kevin Lamb and others. Liberals know "conservatives" will do this, and can make them jump through hoops like trained dogs. One wonders what they will think when the day of their death comes? What could be more mortifying than to feel that you have missed the plum for want of courage to shake the tree? The burden of their

careful lives must be heavy.

Fired from *The Washington Times*, Sam went on to yeoman labor, year after year, for our race, civilization and nation. He wrote prodigiously and published widely. He spoke at every *American Renaissance* Conference, served on the board of directors of AR's parent organization, was on the board of the Council of Conservative Citizens, and until a month before his death was editor of its newspaper, *The Citizens Informer*.

I never heard one whimper, one re-

Milestones

Samuel Todd Francis was born in Chattanooga, Tennessee, on April 29, 1947. He was educated at Johns Hopkins University (B.A., 1969) and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, from which he received a Ph.D. in modern history in 1979.

From 1977 to 1981, he was a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation in Washington DC, specializing in foreign affairs, terrorism, and intelligence. From 1981 to 1986, he was legislative assistant for national security affairs to Senator John P. East (Republican—North Carolina) and worked closely with the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, of which Senator East was a member.

Dr. Francis joined the editorial staff of *The Washington Times* in 1986 as an editorial writer. He served as Deputy Editorial Page Editor of *The Washington Times* from 1987 to 1991, as Acting Editorial Page Editor from February to May 1991, and was a staff columnist until September 1995.

Dr. Francis received the Distinguished Writing Award for Editorial Writing of the American Society of Newspaper Editors (ASNE) in 1989 and 1990. He was a finalist for the National Journalism Award (Walker Stone Prize) for Editorial Writing of the Scripps Howard Foundation in 1989 and 1990. His twice-weekly column was nationally syndicated through Creators Syndicate.

A prolific writer on issues of public

policy, Dr. Francis wrote for many newspapers and magazines, including *The New York Times*, *USA Today*, *National Review*, *The Occidental Quarterly*, of which he was Associate and Book Editor, and for *Chronicles: A Magazine of American Culture*, to which he was a Contributing Editor, and



for which he wrote a monthly column, "Principalities and Powers." He was on the board of directors of the Council of Conservative Citizens and edited its paper, *The Citizens Informer*.

He wrote often for *American Renaissance*, and was a speaker at every AR conference, beginning in 1994. He was a founding board member of New Century Foundation, the parent organization of *American Renaissance*.

Dr. Francis was the author of *Power and History: The Political Thought of James Burnham* (1984) and *Beautiful Losers: Essays on the Failure of American Conservatism* (1993).

He died on Feb. 15th from complications brought on by heart surgery in late January, and was laid to rest in his home town of Chattanooga, on Feb. 26. The graveside service, dappled in sunlight, was attended by approximately 100 friends and family members.

Dr. Francis, always a proud Southerner, lies in Forest Hills Cemetery, in the shadow of Lookout Mountain. There, on Nov. 23, 1863, outnumbered Confederates were forced back by Joe Hooker's men, thus ending the South's hopes of retaking Chattanooga. 

gret from Sam that he had lost his job, that he was cold-shouldered by former colleagues, that he was badgered and attacked by professional leftist witch-hunters. I don't think Sam ever regretted the path he took. He personified the hero in the terms of the quotation from Amiel I cited above. Sam triumphed over fear of poverty, of suffering, of calumny, of sickness and isolation. He had the last laugh on his enemies and the false colleagues who betrayed him. Despite their efforts, he landed on his feet, and wrote

and spoke more, and more powerfully, than ever.

Sam was admired and loved by a host of friends in a way that none of his detractors will be. He was and is a hero. Sam's life was rich in honor. His life was well spent in dealing with things that matter, that are critical, that mean life or death for our people. Perhaps it is some consolation to reflect that as a well-spent day brings happy sleep, so a life well used like Sam's brings if not a happy death, at least an honorable one.

Alas, Sam was cut off at his prime. We are bereft of his talents just when they are most needed. We honor Sam most by taking up the fallen torch, by rededicating ourselves to the cause for which he sacrificed and to which he dedicated himself. Our people at large may not know the measure of the man they have lost. But we know. And if our people are to survive and have a future, then in that future the name of Sam Francis will always be remembered.

Goodbye, friend. I will miss you. **Ω**

Sam Francis in His Own Words

Why Race Matters

This is an excerpt from the speech Dr. Francis gave at the first AR conference, held in Atlanta in 1994. Although he never received a full explanation of why he was fired from The Washington Times, publicity given to this speech by his detractors was certainly a factor. The original article was published in the September 1994 issue.

A concerted and long-term attack against the civilization of white, European and North American man has been launched, and the attack is not confined to the political, social and cultural institutions that characterize the civilization but extends also to the race that created the civilization and continues to carry and transmit it today. The war against white civilization sometimes (indeed often) invokes liberal ideals as its justification and as its goal, but the likely reality is that the victory of the racial revolution will end merely in the domination or destruction of the white race and its civilization by the non-white peoples—if only for demographic reasons due to non-white immigration and the decline of white birthrates. . . .

In the universalist world-view, there is neither history nor race nor even species, neither specific cultures nor particular peoples nor meaningful boundaries. . . .

In the happyland of universalism, we owe as much to the children of Somalia—indeed, more—than we do to the hapless citizens of Los Angeles. Marines who could not have been sent from Camp Pendleton to Los Angeles during the riots of 1992 and who are not ordered to prevent violation of the Mexi-

can border adjacent to their own installation in southern California are speedily dispatched to Somalia. Even to invoke “our” identity, our interests, our aspirations is to invite accusations of all the “isms” and “phobias” that are deployed to prevent further discussions and to paralyze the formation or the retention of a common consciousness that might at some point swell up into actual resistance to our dispossession. The principal white response to the incipient race war thus far, manifested in neo-conservative critiques of “Political Correctness” and multiculturalism, is merely to regurgitate the formulas of universalism, to invoke the spirit of Martin Luther King, and to repeat the universalist ideals of equality, integration, and assimilation. The characteristic defense of Western civilization by most conservatives today is merely a variation of the liberal universalism that the enemies of the West and whites also invoke. It is to argue that non-whites and non-Westerners ought to value modern Western civilization as in their own best interests. It is to emphasize the liberal “progress” of the modern West through the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of non-whites, the retreat from imperialism, the achievement of higher living standards and political equality, etc. . . .

Instead of invoking a suicidal liberalism and regurgitating the very universalism that has subverted our identity and our sense of solidarity, what we as whites must do is reassert our identity and our solidarity, and we must do so in explicitly racial terms through the articulation of a racial consciousness as whites. The reassertion of our solidarity must be expressed in racial terms for two major reasons. In the first place, the attack upon

us defines itself in racial terms and seeks through the delegitimization of race for whites and the legitimization of race for non-whites the dispersion and destruction of the foundations of our solidarity while at the same time consolidating non-white cohesiveness against whites.

. . .
[A]t a time when the self-declared enemies of the white race define themselves in racial terms, only our own defi-



Race and culture cannot be separated.

nition of ourselves in those terms can meet their challenge. If and when that challenge should triumph and those enemies come to kill us as the Tutsi people have been slaughtered in Rwanda, they will do so not because we are “Westerners” or “Americans” or “Christians” or “conservatives” or “liberals” but because we are white.

Secondly, we need to assert a specifically racial identity because race is real—biological forces, including those