

classrooms. Teachers keep the shades drawn and push students' desks away from the windows. The school looks down on a vacant lot that has become an open-air market for drugs and sex. If the children could look out the windows they would see addicts pushing needles into their arms and crack users fornicating. This year, in an attempt to combat the spread of AIDS in the high schools, New York City began distributing free condoms to students.

In the midst of these horrors, race-based politicking goes on as usual. In 1970, increasingly non-white schools run by non-white teachers demanded *and got* an unprecedented degree of autonomy from the "racist" central bureaucracy. The demand for same-race "role models" quickly brought in a flood of inexperienced, ill-prepared teachers and administrators.

By late in 1988, local autonomy had flowered into scandalous mismanagement. One black principal, Matthew Barnwell, was late or absent nearly four out of five school days. When he did show up, he was often drunk, and spent the day watching television. Staff who didn't have connections simply bought their way into jobs. One quarter of Mr. Barnwell's teachers were regularly late or absent. He kept his \$60,000-a-year job for years, and got into the news only when he was arrested for using crack cocaine.

Thanks to local autonomy, charges of incompetence—unlike criminal charges—could be brought against Mr. Barnwell only by his local school

board. At the time he was arrested, Mr. Barnwell's *entire board* was under investigation by the District Attorney for taking drugs, stealing school property, and cooking the books.

At another school, one board member was a heroin addict, who lived on the street in a cardboard box. At her school, classroom aides often got their jobs through patronage, and some were illiterate; they couldn't even fill out a job application form. One acting principal drove a van up to the school and loaded it with stolen school supplies.

Perhaps most pitiful of all were the results of school board elections held in corrupt jurisdictions just a few months after news of the scandals. Only seven percent of eligible voters turned out—an all-time low—and virtually all incumbents were re-elected. By 1990, nearly a third of New York's 32 local boards were under investigation for corruption—to the usual chorus of cries that such investigations were "racist."

A Hideous Misery

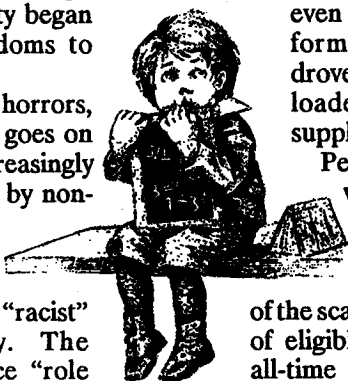
The very texture of life in New York City today would astonish anyone who knew the city 50 years ago. Its cracked sidewalks and unswept public spaces are littered with human wreckage. From the interstices of a once-great city there oozes a hideous misery far more vile than the silent, ancient poverty of Africa or Asia. It is little wonder that 60 percent of the people who live there think the future will be worse than the present and would leave if only they could.

New York, like so much of the country, is a monument to bankrupt policies. It is caught in the vise of a foolish immigration policy that floods it with non-whites, and an equally foolish welfare policy that taxes the responsible to support the irresponsible. It is a city run on white, liberal principles, increasingly inhabited by a non-white population to whom principles of any kind are unknown. It practices welfare of a Scandinavian lavishness, but on a population with no homogeneity and coherence—without which welfare becomes pure confiscation. It is a city that has poured out its wealth upon the alien, the defective, the criminal, and the dissolute.

Libraries must close, but every dim-witted single mother must have a comfortable home for her brood. Street-cleaning is haphazard, but unteachable students must have expensive therapies of every kind. The sidewalks stink of human excrement, but no public toilets may be built unless cripples can use them. Bridges could come crashing down, but crack babies must be saved, at all costs, to become blighted, burdensome children.

It is still possible, in the whiter parts of Manhattan, fleetingly to believe that New York City is still the center of the universe, that it will always bewitch and enchant. But the heartbeat of the city is no longer European. The barbarians are not at the gates; they are within the citadel. Another Detroit is in the making. ●

A fully foot-noted version of this article (both parts, plus side-bars) is available to interested readers. Please send \$8.00 and a self-addressed envelope.



To Each His Own

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Disuniting of America*, W.W. Norton & Co, 160 pp., \$14.95

reviewed by Samuel Taylor

Arthur Schlesinger, is a distinguished historian, best known for *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House*. He is an unabashed liberal, and has seen much of what he

hoped for come to pass: civil rights laws, affirmative action, non-white immigration, and "inclusion" of all kinds. But Professor Schlesinger is a thoughtful liberal, and he is genuinely worried. He sees that non-whites are repudiating the majority culture as

never before, and he fears that if the current ethnic upsurge continues it could tear the nation apart.

The Disuniting of America may be a more important book than Prof. Schlesinger realizes, for it can be read as the first line of an epitaph—an

epitaph to the disastrous policies that destroyed the United States of 40 years ago and that threaten the nation's European character. Prof. Schlesinger still claims to believe in the magical capacity of the United States to transform Guatemalan refugees and Haitian boat people into admirers of Thomas Jefferson, but the scales are beginning to fall from his eyes. "[T]he mixing of peoples [will be] a major problem for the century that lies darkly ahead," he warns. Even liberals are beginning to notice that something has gone seriously wrong with the great American experiment in multi-racialism.

Misuses of History

Since Prof. Schlesinger is a historian, it is natural that his book should be about the ways in which non-whites, especially blacks, are using invented histories as a way to carve out separatist identities. He fully recognizes the extent to which history is the basis of a nation's understanding of itself (see *AR*, Feb. 1992), and quotes the marxist historian Eric Foner: "A new future requires a new past." Every non-white group in the country is peddling its own version of American history and hopes to use it as a weapon against the white man.

Blacks have taken the lead in this game, and Prof. Schlesinger neatly lays bare the lunacies and contradictions in what they say. The ostensible

Will Afro-centric history books keep young blacks from drugging themselves and shooting each other?

reason for Afro-centric history is that "Euro-centric" history is a pack of lies that insults and demeans blacks. Sermons about a glorious African past will transform ghetto punks into noble black men. Prof. Schlesinger despises this attempt to turn history into therapy.

In any case, there is no evidence that America's admiration for ancient Greece ever gave Greek immigrants any intellectual or moral advantages. Jews and Asians have done very well in America without public schools to tell them how wonderful their ances-

tors were. Nor is there any evidence that "Euro-centric" education did any damage to W.E.B. DuBois, Ralph Ellison, or Martin King. Prof. Schlesinger suspects that Afro-centrists are driven as much by hatred of Western Civilization as by any real



hope that new history books will keep young blacks from drugging themselves and shooting each other.

And yet, much as they claim to despise European culture, one of the Afro-centrists' main aims is to prove that their ancestors created it. Black Egyptians are supposed to have invented everything from geometry to airplanes, only to have this wonderful knowledge stolen from them by Greeks. As Prof. Schlesinger points out, knowledge cannot be completely removed from its owner the way an object can; yet the Afro-centrist view requires us to believe that whatever the Greeks learned, the Egyptians thereupon ceased to know.

Ultimately, however, as even many blacks realize, it is folly to think that a knowledge of hieroglyphics or Egyptian cleansing rituals will do an American child the slightest good if he can't read English. This doesn't worry the Afro-centrists; they are educating Africans-in-exile, not Americans.

Another trend that Prof. Schlesinger laments is bilingual education. As he correctly points out, its effect — and perhaps its purpose — is not to teach immigrant children English but to keep them immersed in their mother tongues for as long as possible. The new waves of Hispanics are no more enchanted with the idea of adopting Anglo culture than are blacks. Prof. Schlesinger quotes one Hispanic who puts it this way: "The era that began with the dream of integration ended up with scorn for assimilation."

What Will Hold the Center?

Prof. Schlesinger seems genuinely pained that non-whites are turning up their noses at his culture just when he has been at such pains to make it "inclusive." He also sees it as a betrayal of one of America's most central doctrines: "the unifying vision of individuals from all nations melted into a new race." He concludes with the uncertain hope that by reasserting Western values, an increasingly disparate America can be forged, once more, into a new unity.

Prof. Schlesinger's disappointment and confusion stem from his own version of an invented American past, in which multi-racialism was, somehow, always the ultimate goal. Although it is perfectly clear that the Constitution was written for whites and not for blacks or Indians or anyone else, Prof. Schlesinger shares the near-universal view that multi-racialism was a predestined consequence of American democracy. To point out that this was nothing of the sort is to point out the obvious; racial equality, integration, and non-white immigration were radical departures from everything that Washington, Lincoln and even Wilson believed in. The "tolerance" and "inclusion" that are supposed always to have characterized America are entirely new doctrines.

Prof. Schlesinger sees the present as no different from the past; just as

Prof. Schlesinger seems to believe that America is uniquely exempted from the lessons of history.

European ethnics blended together to become a new people, so will the new non-white immigrants. He concedes that race is a greater barrier to blending than was European nationality, but says he believes that "the historic forces driving toward 'one people' have not lost their power." Of course, there have never been any historic forces driving blacks, whites, Indians, and Hispanics toward "one people." They may have lived within the same national boundaries, but they have always remained distinct.

An obvious first step to counter the ethnic divisiveness that Prof. Schlesinger fears, would be to stop immigration, or to limit it to the European stocks that did become 'one people.' This idea must be rejected, we are told, because it "offends something in the American soul." Even if this were true—repeated polls show that Americans think the country has enough immigrants—Prof. Schlesinger surely understands that the forces of divisiveness could *extinguish* America's soul.

Prof. Schlesinger is still a prisoner of the view that America is uniquely exempted from the lessons of history. Although he writes fearfully of renewed ethnic conflicts abroad, he believes that America can dispense with the ancient ingredients of nationhood: common religion, common

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tongue, common heritage, common ancestry. What, then, makes Americans American?

Democracy to the rescue

Prof. Schlesinger, like so many others, falls back upon a national identity so threadbare, so improbable, that only the most credulous could believe in it. The "American democratic faith," he says, is "what binds all Americans together." Ours is a democracy in which most citizens cannot name their congressmen, in which not one in 500 can name his state legislator, in which Presidents are elected with the votes of less than a quarter of the electorate. Ours is a democracy in which voters despise politicians; one in which men of wisdom and integrity do not even enter, much less win, elections. Democracy will bind us together?

There are European countries in which democracy actually presents voters with real choices, where a far higher number of citizens vote, where men of some stature are voted into office. But no, democracy is America's unique gift and treasure.

And are we to assume that Mexican peasant-women have their babies in American hospitals so that their children will benefit from the Bill of Rights and the separation of powers? Will democracy bind Cambodian tribesmen to the bosom of America any more successfully than it has Hopis and Navajos? Non-whites come to this country because they want jobs, money, and welfare, not because they want to join the PTA and become registered Democrats.

Not even the people who invented American democracy feel about it as Prof. Schlesinger thinks complete strangers will. It was not an appeal to representational government that sent Pickett's men up the rise at Gettysburg, but the cry, "For Virginia; for your wives and sweethearts!" The marines didn't land on the beaches of Guadalcanal, full of devotion to the Constitution, but of hatred for the people who bombed Pearl Harbor.

The unifying power of democracy is nothing compared to that of blood and soil. Non-whites will not give up their racial birthright in exchange for the ballot. For blacks and Hispanics, democracy is a racial head-count, a chance to push out the white man and replace him with one of their own. Increasingly, in America, the very democracy that Prof. Schlesinger thinks will bind us is numerical proof of how divided we are.

On the last page of his book, Prof. Schlesinger writes: "Our task is to combine due appreciation of the splendid diversity of the nation with due emphasis on the great unifying Western ideas of individual freedom, political democracy, and human rights." What does this fine-sounding sentence even mean? It is precisely in the name of freedom and human rights that non-whites insist on going their own ways.

Nor will history save Prof. Schlesinger's "splendidly diverse" America. As he writes on the next-to-last page, "People with a different history will have differing values. But we believe that our own are better for us. They work for us; and for that reason, we live and die by them." This is the very thing an Afro-centrist might say! These are the very words on which Prof. Schlesinger's unity in diversity will founder. ●



Back Issues

We have had many requests from new subscribers about the availability of back issues. *American Renaissance* has been publishing monthly since November, 1990. The following is a complete list of cover stories:

Nov. '90, "Who Speaks For Us?"

Dec. '90, "The Racial Politics of Murder"

Jan. '91, "Why Nations Fight"

Feb. '91, "Racial Preferences Go to College"

Mar. '91, "The Great 'White' North" (Canada)

Apr. '91, "The Rise of College 'Racism'"

May '91, "Abraham Lincoln and the Problem of Slavery"

Jun. '91, "The Late Great American City"

Jul. '91, "What is Racism?"

Aug. '91, "The Late Great City of Detroit"

Sep. '91, "What Makes a Nation: The Case of Japan"

Oct. '91 "The Case of Japan" (Part II)

Nov. '91, "The Nation We Are Becoming" (immigration)

Dec. '91, "The Nation We Are Becoming" (multilingualism)

Jan. '92, "Why Is Africa Poor?"

Feb. '92, "Is a Multiracial Nation Possible?" (history texts)

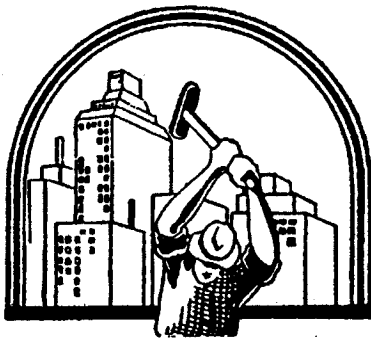
Mar. '92, "The Late Great City of New York" (Part I)

In most cases, only photocopies of back issues are available. The price is \$2.50 per issue, post paid. Please inquire about rates for multiple copies of specific articles. ●

O Tempora, O Mores!

Set-Asides by the Wayside

In 1989, the Supreme Court stopped the widespread practice of setting aside fixed percentages of public contracts for non-white companies. Thousands of such companies, many of which had never competed in the private market, have failed or are foundering. Ralph Thomas, head of the National Association of Minority Contractors



says, "Most of the minority community's business comes from government programs, and when these programs are struck down, they no longer have a place to sell their services."

Philadelphia's recent experience is typical. After set-asides were ended, the percentage of contracts awarded to black businesses shrank in just one year from 25 percent to 3.5 percent. Since set-asides bypassed the usual open bid contract process, they raised the cost of city business. Rather than give thanks for the cost savings, the black city administration has gone to court to try to get the old program reinstated.

AIDS on the March

Although there are probably more than one million people in the United States who carry the AIDS virus, many do not come down with full-blown cases of the disease for ten years or more. During the eight years from 1981 through the end of 1989, 100,000 people developed the disease, but the second 100,000 cases took only two years to appear. By Dec. 31, 1991,

206,392 Americans had gotten the disease, and 133,232 of them had died.

From the outset, AIDS was a disproportionately non-white disease. Among the first 100,000 people who got AIDS, 27 percent were black and 15 percent were Hispanic. This meant that blacks were nearly three times as likely to get AIDS as whites, and Hispanics were 2.4 times as likely. The second 100,000 cases have increased those ratios to 3.6 and 2.9.

The methods by which AIDS is spread are well understood, and blood bank testing has made it nearly impossible to get the virus through a transfusion. In other words, AIDS is now a disease that can be almost entirely avoided through good sense and self control.

AIDS is likely to become an increasingly black and Hispanic disease during the 1990s. It is estimated that it costs about \$85,000, on average, to treat an AIDS patient until he dies.

Head Start, Poor Finish

Of all the social programs left over from the 1960s, Head Start has the best reputation. The theory is that a year or two of intensive help for 3- to 5-year-olds will make up for poverty, illegitimacy, ignorant parents, and all the rest. A recent study shows that Head Start-type programs do some good for a while, but the effects quickly wear off.

J.S. Fuerst of Loyola University has tracked 684 black children who attended specially-funded programs that were so intensive that Mr. Fuerst calls them "Head Start to the fourth power." The children stayed in these programs for two to seven years, and had significantly better test scores than a control group. Ten years later, after the children had returned to regular schools, their performance was practically indistinguishable from that of children who had not gotten the special instruction.

Mr. Fuerst has not, of course, concluded that supplemental training for poor black children doesn't work. He thinks they just aren't getting enough

of it. He suspects that poor black girls can get by with four to six years of intensive help, but poor black boys need seven to nine years to make up for bad beginnings.

Monkey Shines

Dr. Frederick Goodwin, once the head of the government's Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration, has lost his job because of what the Congressional Black Caucus calls an "extremist and appalling view of the problems of the nation's cities."

What was Dr. Goodwin's crime? In a seminar on urban violence, he said this:

"If you look, for example, at male monkeys, especially in the wild, roughly half of them survive to adulthood. The other half die by violence. That is the natural way of it for males, to



knock each other off, and . . . the same hyperaggressive monkeys who kill each other are also hypersexual, so they copulate more and therefore they reproduce more to offset the fact that half of them are dying."

So far, so good, but then Dr. Goodwin stepped over the invisible line:

"Maybe it isn't just the careless use of the word when people call certain areas of certain cities jungles, that we may have gone back to what might be more natural, without all of the social controls that we have imposed upon ourselves as a civilization . . ."

Oh, dear. Although humans are, genetically, 96 percent the same as