

American Renaissance

There is not a truth existing which I fear, or would wish unknown to the whole world.

—Thomas Jefferson

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The Morality of Survival (Part I)

Our current morality dooms the West to destruction. We must adopt a new morality of survival.

by Michael W. Masters

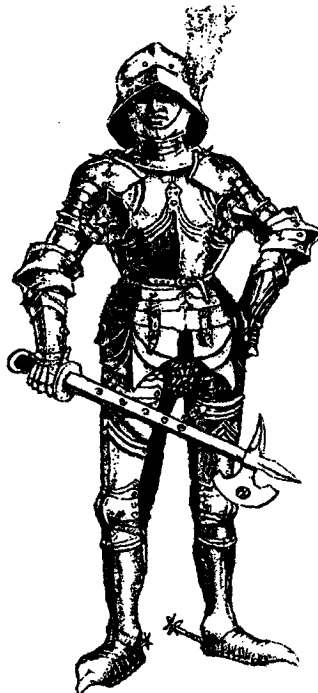
"[The West] has not yet understood that whites, in a world become too small for its inhabitants, are now a minority and that the proliferation of other races dooms our race, my race, irretrievably to extinction in the century to come, if we hold fast to our present moral principles." [emphasis added]

—Jean Raspail, *The Camp Of The Saints*

The loss of racial identity in the Western world is symptomatic of a deeper crisis within the European peoples, whose culture and technology have provided the world with much of what we know today as modern civilization. At its core, the crisis is the inevitable consequence of a profound, and perhaps fatal, misunderstanding of the nature of morality. We have lost sight of ancient and eternal laws of Nature on which our civilization must be based if we are to survive. We no longer have the luxury of indulging in universalist altruistic principles that, no matter how noble they may appear, have driven us to the brink of ruin.

Demographic projections based on American and European immigration policies, as well as the evidence of one's own senses as one walks the streets of any large Western city, point to a bleak future. Within a century or two, perhaps less, the peoples of the West, those whose ancestry derives from the Nordic and Alpine subraces of Europe, will have ceased to exist as

a cohesive entity. How quickly the end will come depends on immigration rates, differential birthrates among



ethnic groups, and mixed-race childbearing rates. But the final outcome is fixed so long as we adhere to our present course.

And yet, frank discussion of the outcome, the submergence of the race that produced the world's first, and

The West no longer has the luxury of indulging in universal altruism.

perhaps only technological civilization, is usually silenced with words like "racist," "bigot," and "xenophobe." Neither the flawed moral system that enforces this silence nor the people who support it will outlive the demise of the West. But when the West is gone, it will be of little consolation that

those responsible will have expired as well. If we are to reverse course, it is vital that we take steps now, before it is too late.

If, today, the West's moral system is flawed, how can it be corrected? The first question we must ask is whether it is moral for ethnic groups as well as individuals to seek survival. And if so, what are the moral actions we may undertake to secure survival? What must be the moral basis of our civilization if it is not to be lost? In his book, *Destiny of Angels*, Richard McCulloch calls these questions a matter of "ultimate ethics."

The Moral Dilemma of the West

The dilemma of our people is the product of a deep misconception about nature and morality. It arises from the mistaken, sentimental belief that altruism can be extended beyond its evolutionary origin—kinship and within-group altruism—to the whole of humanity. It results from failure to accept the role of genetic factors in defining human temperament and potential.

The standards that govern public debate are reminiscent of the Dark Ages in that they have no basis in science or in human experience. Instead, they consist of moralistic assertions derived from a world view rooted in radical egalitarianism. The long term consequence of adherence to these principles is rarely examined, let alone subjected to scientific scrutiny.

Most Western people would agree that an innate sense of right and wrong plays a key role in the Western moral system, a system that values individual worth and reciprocal fairness. The tragedy of this moral view is that it has

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Letters from Readers

Sir — In my earlier letter to *AR* I criticized Michael Levin's article on racial differences in morality in admittedly harsh terms, so I can't complain about his wanting to hit back strongly at me in his second article. However, Prof. Levin also has an obligation to be truthful. Referring to a previous article of mine, he misrepresents my statements in such a way as to suggest that my position on racial matters is essentially the same as his own. The end-result is to portray my criticisms as confused or even two-faced: "It is surprising how many Lawrence Austers there can be," Prof. Levin concludes. This is a serious charge, and requires a careful response.

Prof. Levin says that in my article in the August 1994 issue of *AR*, I "expressed the view that different races have different 'way[s] of being.'" Well, perhaps in many cases they do, but that is not what I said. What I said was: "[N]ot all groups are equally assimilable to each other, in the sense of the ability to come to share a common outlook, identity and way of being." Prof. Levin has thus altered my statement, which concerned differing capacities for cultural assimilation among various racial or cultural groups, so as to make it resemble his own belief in racially (i.e. genetically) determined moral differences.

Nor did I say, as Prof. Levin claims, that "disengagement from nonwhites is, for whites, 'the most reasonable and commonsensical thing in the world.'" What I said was that for whites to "care about the survival of their race vis-a-vis other races" was the most reasonable and commonsensical thing in the world. I mentioned "disengage-

ment" as one of the possible ways such survival might be pursued, and I further spoke of racial separation from blacks only as a *last resort*—all of which has a very different "feel" from saying that racial separation *per se* is the most reasonable thing in the world.

However, these are trifles compared with Prof. Levin's charge that in criticizing him I contradicted myself.

In my August 1994 article I said that blacks as a group lack the *cumulative* level of intellectual ability required to maintain an advanced society, and I added that if blacks continue to insist on their own racial agenda in opposition to the identity and mores of white America then there may be no alternative but separation. I also insisted that the collective or average character of the black race should not reflect on *individual* blacks, many of whom are capable both of functioning in Western society and of getting along, as individuals, "on a basis of equality and mutual recognition" with whites. By contrast, Prof. Levin, writing in what struck me as a chilling and ruthless tone, applied his thesis about a low, average black morality to *each and every black*, in order to prove that whites are justified in their "wish to avoid blacks." The blanket phrase "to avoid blacks" plainly suggests that all whites as individuals are justified in shunning all blacks as individuals. Prof. Levin and I are thus saying entirely different things.

This raises a larger issue. If we are to have any chance of building a successful race-conscious politics, which in my view is the *sine qua non* of national survival, we must be able to show that such a politics is based on moral principle. Millions of white Americans have been paralyzed in the

face of third-world immigration and other racial threats to our survival, because they have absorbed the liberal view that there is no moral distinction between a person who wants to preserve a white-majority America and one who regards nonwhites as inferior or subhuman. By seeking to equate our positions, and accusing me of being hypocritical for attacking his, Prof. Levin inadvertently makes a similar mistake—and contributes to the same paralysis.

In closing, I apologize to Prof. Levin, Mr. Taylor, and *AR*'s readers for the excessively harsh tone of my earlier letter. However (as can be seen by the foregoing) I stand by its substance.

Lawrence Auster, New York City

Sir — In September 1993, I helped found a student organization at Temple Law School called the *Western Heritage Society*. We promote free speech on public policy issues and have invited outspoken conservatives like Samuel Francis, Joseph Sobran, Larry Auster, Linda Gottfredson, and Jared Taylor to speak on campus.

From our very first lecture, Temple has opposed us. University authorities have ordered that our posters be torn down. Dean Robert Reinstein once tried to charge us \$500 to use an empty lecture hall, and gave orders to campus security that prevented people from hearing Joseph Sobran. After I went to Harvard to receive the First Amendment Coalition's student activism award, Dean Reinstein posted a letter denouncing me on Law School bathroom walls.

About two weeks later, someone tried to mug me on the steps of the Law School. I had already been mugged three times since I matriculated, so I sprayed my attacker with pepper gas. Dean Reinstein used this as a pretext to call me a "clear and present danger" to campus safety and suspended me for 2-1/2 years. Incidentally, Temple has admitted as a student someone who served time in jail for murder.

I have been fighting a legal battle to be readmitted to Temple. If you can help or would just like more information about my case, please write:

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been extended to the world at large — seemingly the most noble behavior humanity has ever exhibited — and has become *the* threat to the survival of the West.

As biologist Garrett Hardin demonstrated in his 1982 essay, "Discriminating Altruisms," universalism — a chimerical One World without borders or distinctions — is impossible. Groups that practice unlimited altruism, unfettered by thoughts of self-preservation, will be disadvantaged in life's competition and thus eliminated over time in favor of those that limit their altruistic behavior to a smaller subset of humanity, usually their own genetic kin, from whom they receive reciprocal benefits.

Professor Hardin writes:

"Universalism is altruism practiced *without discrimination* of kinship, acquaintanceship, shared values, or propinquity in time or space To people who accept the idea of biological evolution from amoeba to man, the vision of social evolution from egoism to universalism may seem plausible. In fact, however, *the last step is impossible* Let us see why.

"In imagination, picture a world in which social evolution has gone no further than egoism or individualism. When familialism appears on the scene, what accounts for its persistence? It must be that the costs of the

sacrifices individuals make for their relatives are more than paid for by the gains realized through family solidarity

"The argument that accounts for the step to familialism serves equally well for each succeeding step — except for the last. Why the difference? Because the One World created by universalism has — by definition — no competitive base to support it . . . [Universalism] cannot survive in competition with discrimination." [emphasis in original]

Professor Hardin adds:

"[W]e must not forget that for three billion years, biological evolution has



been powered by discrimination. Even mere survival in the absence of evolutionary change depends on discrimination. If universalists now have their way, discrimination will be abandoned. Even the most modest impulse toward conservatism should cause us to question the wisdom of abandoning a principle that has worked so well for billions of years. It is a tragic irony that discrimination has produced a species (*homo sapiens*) that now proposes to abandon the

principle responsible for its rise to greatness." It is to the advantage of non-Europeans, virtually all of whom retain their cohesion as distinctive, discriminating groups, to exploit the economic wealth and social order of the West, benefits many demonstrably cannot create for themselves. When this cohesive drive is placed in competition with self-sacrificing Western altruism, there can be only one outcome. In the near term, Europeans will be displaced by groups acting in their own self-interest. In the long run, biological destruction awaits us. Since those who displace us do not, by definition, maintain our moral standards — for if they did, they would not be replacing us — our flawed moral system will vanish with us.

The fact that universal, self-sacrificing altruism destroys its practitioners is its most obvious flaw. Any survivable moral order must recognize this.

The Cosmic Race

The dream of a Utopia in which racial harmony prevails, has never come true. Today, racial encroachment is a threat to the very existence of Western peoples. Lawrence Auster, author of *The Path to National Suicide, An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism*, has elsewhere summarized the situation thus:

"Modern liberalism told us that racial differences don't matter, and on the basis of that belief, liberals then set about turning America into a multiracial, integrated, race-blind society. But now that very effort has created so much race consciousness, race conflict and race inequality, that

the same liberals have concluded that the only way to overcome those problems is to merge all the races into one. The same people who have always denounced as an extremist lunatic anyone who warned about 'the racial dilution of white America,' are now proposing, not just the dilution of white America, but its complete elimination. Race-blind ideology has led directly to the most race-conscious — and indeed genocidal — proposal in the history of the world."

This change of strategy was signaled by the cover story of a Fall 1993 special edition of *Time*. The story featured a computer synthesized image of a woman representing the intermixture of all of the ethnic population elements of the United States in their present proportions. The subliminal message conveyed by this computerized android, obviously still of predominantly European ancestry, was: "Don't worry, this is harmless." Or, in the current idiom of multicul-

"The essential characteristic of a tribe is that it should follow a double standard of morality."

turalism, "let us celebrate our diversity." Of course, this image represents the utter destruction of diversity, not its conservation.

This computer-generated android is a lie. The American population base is in a state of rapid change. Whites are now having fewer children, and there are thus fewer whites of child bearing age than *Time* assumes. This is happening worldwide. The question is, what would be the result of this plan being carried forward on a larger scale, carried to its logical conclusion in a world *sans* borders? *Time's* android is but a way station on the road to what some lovingly call the Cosmic Race.

People of European ancestry constitute something over ten percent of the world's population, but since 1980, white births amount to only a little more than five percent of the world's new children. The birth rate in the West has fallen to dangerously low levels, now about 1.8 children per woman. A level of 2.1 is required to balance deaths. Birth rates in the third world remain very high, thanks in large measure to the infusion of Western food, medicine, and "peacekeeping."

Because people are not computer morphs but have discrete ancestors, let us assume that the fraction of people with European ancestry is now one-sixteenth of the child-bearing population. When the *Time* experiment is complete on a world-wide scale, the resulting human will have only one white great-great-

grandparent. He will be visibly Asian since about 60 percent of the world's population is Asian. In round numbers, this amounts to ten of the sixteen great-great-grandparents, including four from China alone. Three would come from India and three more from Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Africa would supply three and non-white Latin America and the Caribbean basin the remaining two.

In this scenario, which is already unfolding on the North American continent and in Europe and Australia, the single European ancestor would leave no discernible residue in *homo cosmicus*. Europeans would be extinct, fulfilling the nightmare vision that Jean Raspail described in *The Camp Of The Saints*. This is not a condemnation of any real human being with such an ancestry. Nevertheless, this process would eradicate the biological diversity that multiculturalists claim to cherish. In its place would be only uniformity, the irreversible submergence of all races.

The passing of any race is an event of great significance. The destruction of an entire population is, in fact, genocide by the definitions of the UN Genocide Convention, which defines genocide as "... the destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial or national group. The acts so defined include... the destruction of the conditions of life necessary for the physical existence of the group..."

The debate about race must be framed in these terms in order to convey its true importance. The battle cannot be won by allowing the other side to limit the terms of debate by declaring certain subjects beyond discussion. The consequences are too important.

The Dual Code of Morality

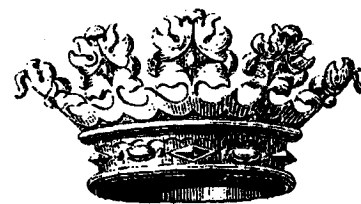
Why, though, does race matter? The answer lies in the biology of genes and in the impact of genetic kinship on altruism. For many decades, altruism was a paradox for theories of evolution. Darwin himself realized that altruism was difficult to explain in terms of individual "survival of the fittest." In his book, *Race, Evolution and Behavior*, Philippe Rushton writes, "If the most altruistic members of a group sacrifice themselves for others, they run the risk of leaving

fewer offspring to pass on the very genes that govern the altruistic behavior. Hence, altruism would be selected against, and selfishness would be selected for."

Prof. Rushton suggests that this paradox is resolved by genetic similarity theory, a field pioneered by biologist W.D. Hamilton and others. Prof Rushton writes:

"By a process known as kin selection, individuals can maximize their inclusive fitness rather than only their individual fitness by increasing the production of successful offspring by both themselves and their genetic relatives.... Genes are what survive and are passed on, and some of the same genes will be found not only in direct offspring but in siblings, cousins, nephews/nieces, and grandchildren.... thus, from an evolutionary perspective, altruism is a means of helping genes to propagate."

Over time, kin selection has resulted in a dual code of morality, an altruistic code for one's genetic kin and a non-altruistic code for everyone else. Anthropologists have suggested that humans evolved through a process of migration and tribal warfare between groups composed of genetically related individuals. In *A New Theory of Human Evolution*, Sir Arthur Keith wrote, "The process which secures the evolution of an isolated group of humanity is a combination of



two principles... namely, cooperation with competition.... I hold that from the very beginning of human evolution the conduct of every local group was regulated by two codes of morality, distinguished by Herbert Spencer as the 'code of amity' and the 'code of enmity'."

Garrett Hardin writes, "The essential characteristic of a tribe is that it should follow a double standard of morality—one kind of behavior for in-group relations, another for out-group." In-group relations are characterized by cooperation while out-group relations are characterized by

conflict. Liberals have tried to discredit the role of tribal conflict, claiming that such distinctions have been lost as groups reached nation size. But in so doing, they miss the vital message of genetic similarity theory. National ethnic groups represent the growth and consolidation of genetically related tribes over time.

Professor Hardin argues that, because of the nature of altruism and competition, the dual code of morality is inescapable and cannot be eliminated from human society:

"In the absence of competition between tribes the survival value of altruism in a crowded world approaches zero because what ego gives up necessarily . . . goes into the commons. What is in the commons cannot favor the survival of the sharing impulses that put it there — unless there are limits placed on sharing. To place limits on sharing is to create a tribe — which means a rejection of One World. . . . A state of One World, if achieved, would soon redissolve into an assemblage of tribes."

The in-group out-group distinction still operates today; it is only the battleground that has shifted. Tribal warfare has been replaced by territorial irredentism and competing birthrates.

The liberal campaign to eliminate feelings of national, cultural, or racial solidarity among Western peoples was undertaken largely in the hope that the abolition of "tribalism" would inaugurate an era of world peace. As Professor Hardin has shown, tribalism cannot be eliminated. Worse still, any idealistic group that unilaterally dis-

That which is built inextricably into the laws of the universe cannot be immoral.

mantles its own tribal sense will be swept away by groups that have retained theirs. Unless the current direction is changed, the West will be destroyed in this new form of biological warfare.

The dual code of morality is therefore the cornerstone on which any enduring moral order must be based. It is also an answer to the question of ultimate ethics posed earlier: "Is it moral for ethnic groups to seek to survive?" Since it is impossible to

eliminate "tribes" from the human race, the answer to this question must be yes. That which is built inextricably into the laws of the universe cannot be immoral.

Universalists might try to caricature the dual code of morality as an invidious double standard, but it is something we practice every day without even thinking about it. Without it, no group, be it a family, club, corporation, political party, nation, or race would exist. It is how groups distinguish between members and non-members. Employees of the same company treat each other differently from the way they treat competitors. Members of the same political party cooperate with each other and run against opponents. Families draw sharp distinctions between members and strangers. It is easy to overlook the dual code of morality precisely because it is so fundamental a part of human nature.

The "code of amity, code of enmity" explains racial loyalties. It is an extension of the biologically necessary fact that parents love their children more than the children of strangers. Such feelings are normal and natural. Yet "racism" has become the curse-word that stops discussion. Those who use the word as a weapon say that racial loyalty is racism when exhibited by whites but is justifiable pride when exhibited by non-whites. The word is simply a means of gaining power over people who have exaggerated moral scruples.

The Biology of Diversity

Feelings of racial loyalty are grounded in biological differences. These are discussed authoritatively in J. Philippe Rushton's *Race, Evolution, and Behavior*, but they do not imply that one race has a right to rule over another. Frank discussion of real differences must not be considered morally repugnant. Scientific truth cannot be racism, at least not in the pejorative sense that the word is now used.

Most forms of behavior (by whites) that are characterized as racism do not involve unprovoked assault on people

of other races, but are simply the natural loyalty of humans for their own group. They are necessary for survival. Unprovoked violence is a moral evil, but by all statistical measures, whites are overwhelmingly the victims of crimes of racial violence, not the perpetrators.

Blacks are twelve percent of the population

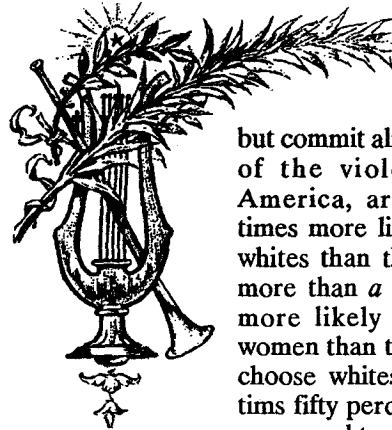
but commit almost two-thirds of the violent crime in America, are over twelve times more likely to murder whites than the reverse, are more than a thousand times more likely to rape white women than the reverse, and choose whites as crime victims fifty percent of the time compared to whites choosing

blacks as victims only two percent of the time.

Interracial crime is just one manifestation of a fundamental biological principle called Gause's Law of Exclusion. In his book, *The Mammals of North America*, University of Kansas biology professor Raymond Hall states the law as follows: "*Two subspecies of the same species do not occur in the same geographic area.*" [emphasis in original] One will inevitably eliminate or displace the other. Prof. Hall specifically includes humans in this rule: "To imagine one subspecies of man living together on equal terms for long with another subspecies is but wishful thinking and leads only to disaster and oblivion for one or the other."

Oblivion need not come in the form of physical destruction. It may simply involve the loss of habitat. Harlem, Watts, East St. Louis, and many other black neighborhoods were once occupied by whites. The arrival of blacks (or other non-whites) in sufficient numbers makes it impossible for whites to survive, whereas the process does not work in reverse. Even without the carnage of inter-racial crime, whites could be eliminated through sheer loss of territory. Viewed in biological terms, ethnic diversity is prelude to destruction. ●

Michael Masters lives in Fredericksburg, Virginia. His article will conclude in the following issue.



Violating the IQ Taboo

A Report from the Field

by Samuel Jared Taylor

Over the past year or so I have spoken to half a dozen student groups about the relationship between race and intelligence. My lectures are not very different from *AR* articles. The audiences are initially hostile, sometimes to the point of rudeness, but I have never thought I might be attacked. In fact, I have begun to notice an interesting pattern in the way students respond during the question-and-answer sessions that follow the lectures. Blacks behave quite differently from whites, but not always in the ways one would expect.

There are always at least a few blacks in the audience, and when the lecture ends they are always the first to raise their hands. Occasionally, they do not even wait to be called on; they just start talking. The first "questions" are likely to be jumbled harangues about slavery, lynching, and racism. They are usually so full of clichés that not even the other blacks really want to listen, and before long there are cries of "Ask your question." As likely as not, the harangue is turned into a "question" with a breathlessly uttered "So what do you think about that?"

The audience may titter at such a limp ending, but these are useful "questions." The student has probably mentioned "the brutal colonization of Africa" or "the proven racial bias in IQ tests," or even "systematic genocide," and I can choose any of these subjects for my reply. The question session may start with several outbursts like this, but never very many. When they see that shouting "racism" just makes them look silly, most blacks are sensible enough to stop.

It is then that the mood begins to change. After all, everyone is fascinated by taboos. Blacks and whites alike begin to realize that I know a lot about race and intelligence, that I do not have cloven hooves, and that I answer questions honestly and factually. Despite years of liberal training, people simply can't help being interested in twin studies, adoption

studies, cross-cultural IQ testing, and physical differences between the races. They start asking real questions and want real answers. Many students



have probably never heard anything but the usual sociological mush about "racism" and "test bias" and, to their credit, they seem open to the clarity and consistency of biological explanations.

The longer the question and answer session goes on, the more candid and even friendly it becomes. After the formal session comes to a close, many students—black and white—cluster around to ask yet more questions. They can't seem to get enough of this forbidden topic. Once, at Northwestern University, I spoke for nearly an hour, conducted a Q&A for a further hour and a half, and then answered questions informally for another twenty minutes.

Once their more militant fellows have left the room, some blacks become downright cordial. "You've opened my mind to a new way of looking at things," one will say with a smile. If I have spoken about the IQ differences between dark-skinned and light-skinned blacks, a light-skinned woman may approach me and say, "I always wondered about those dark, dark brothers." Some blacks are genuinely pleased to meet a white man who is not afraid of straight talk about race.

For the most part, the white students are disappointing. They are never the first to raise their hands, and even after the questions start to flow, they phrase theirs in careful, non-committal terms: "What does the literature you cited have to say about Chinese-American IQ scores?" On my way out the door, one or two whites may approach me and say furtively, "I'm so glad you came and spoke to us. Someone has got to start saying these things." I remind them that they can start saying them, too.

So far, my most disappointing experience has been at Hillsdale College in Michigan. The college invited me to take part in a series of lectures on the future of welfare, and asked me to speak about welfare and race relations. Charles Murray, co-author of *The Bell Curve*, was to speak before I did, and I assumed that the subject of race and IQ would arise. To my surprise, Dr. Murray spoke only about the need to abolish welfare; no one in the audience asked him about *The Bell Curve*. Later that evening, though, he and I and about a dozen Hillsdale faculty had a lengthy, free-wheeling discussion about race and IQ. I assumed the subject was considered fit for public consumption.

The next day, in my talk, I spoke about the relationship between IQ scores and racial differences in poverty rates, welfare rates, illegitimacy rates, and crime rates. The question and answer session, which lasted only about 20 minutes, was mildly hostile but polite. The students—including one black—who surrounded me for another 20 minutes until the auditorium shut down were the usual curious and friendly group.

Afterwards, the woman in charge of the lecture series was *not* friendly. She said that I failed to speak about the subject assigned to me and that I had embarrassed the college. One black had told her I was an obvious racist, and that he was insulted by my presence on campus. She told me she could not abide by a previous agreement to publish my lecture, along with