

Columnist Patrick J. Buchanan looks across the world situation with its many examples of "the centrifugal forces of nationalism, tribalism and separatism" and comes away with the reminder that America is subject to some disintegrating forces as well. Tribune Media Services has given permission to reprint this article from The Arizona Republic of March 27, 1991.

## BALKANIZATION THREATENS THE U.S.

By Patrick J. Buchanan

WASHINGTON - Even a cursory viewer of today's headlines can see a common thread running through the history of the post-Cold War era:

Czech president Vaclav Havel is rudely treated by independence-minded Slovaks. Croatia purchases arms secretly as it moves away from Serbia-dominated Yugoslavia. Slovenia heads the same way. Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia refuse to vote on Mikhail Gorbachev's all-union treaty. They, too, wish to break free.

We are witnessing the final breakup of the greatest empires of the 19th and 20th centuries--the Russian and British. The labors of the great imperialists are being undone, as is the work of the nation-builders of Versailles who carved out of the Hapsburg, Hohenzollern and Romanov empires the modern states of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Everywhere, nationalism is routing internationalism. Race and religion undermine established regimes. Iraq is coming apart, with the Kurds breaking loose in the north, Shiites in the south. India faces rebellion in Kashmir and Khalistan. In South Africa, the black-on-white struggle is slowly displaced by a black-on-black struggle between the African National Congress and Inkatha, the one based largely in the Xhosa tribe, the other in the Zulu nation.

Welcome to "the new world order."

And how should the United States view all this?

As we have no vital interests in the coming conflicts, as we lack the energy or resources to halt the forces of dissolution, our role should be, by and large, passive.

The lone potential threat to US security lies in disintegration of a Soviet Union that still has the world's largest missile arsenal--with 10,000 nuclear warheads aimed at the United States. But a decommunized Russia, preoccupied with preserving

what it can of the old empire, will not have much spare time to advance imperial designs against a distant United States.

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The breakup of Canada, with Quebec seeking independence, also poses no threat. Indeed, US diplomats should be studying what to do if the Maritime provinces, cut off from Ontario by a "Quebec Corridor," or the Western provinces that bear no love for Ottawa's socialists, seek association with the United States.

Peaceful expansion of the United States to the North Pole in the 21st century, acquisition of Greenland from Denmark making the US land mass--for future generations and coming centuries--equal to greater Russia--is not so wild a dream.

Yet we Americans are not wholly immune to the centrifugal forces of nationalism, tribalism and separatism.

First, there is a danger of our being sucked into wars in which we have no vital interest. Just as Anglophobe Irishmen sought to align the United States against Great Britain in the 19th and early 20th centuries, we are being drawn today into the intractable disputes of the Middle East, central Europe and Southern Africa.

Second, Mr. Bush should take a long second look at his campaign pledge to make Puerto Rico our 51st state. Should that happen, the United States would, like Canada, overnight become a bilingual nation.

This generation will decide whether we preserve a republic, or become an empire. In 1898, we seized the Phillipines, as well as Puerto Rico, and fought a guerilla war to hold them. Anyone think we would be better off if we held them still? In the 19th century, some Southerners wanted to make Cuba a state. Would that have been wise?

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Third, the United States should review its immigration policy. Earlier immigrants came here to shed ties to the old country and the Old World, and become Americans. For most, that is still true, but not for all. Some arrive now not to go to work, but to go on welfare; others come in, recruited by criminal gangs that play on their own ethnic groups; still others come in to prey upon American citizens. In some Southwest prisons, a large slice of the inmate population is illegal immigrants. Having defended the

border of Saudi Arabia, perhaps we should consider defending our own.

Those who argue for "open borders" tell us that immigrants invariably add to a nation's GNP. We were a great country before we were a rich country; and our social crisis is unrelated to a shortage of consumer goods. It is rooted in the fact that we are ceasing to be, and ceasing to see ourselves, as one nation, indivisible, one people.

If we are to remain one nation, we need to maintain a common cultural vocabulary. English and American history should be taught to children from the earliest grades. Before they have left eighth grade, American kids should know the stories and heroes, the myths and legends, of the Revolution and early Republic. Before they leave high school, they ought to have been introduced to English literature and our constitutional form of government.

America has been spared the social divisions of other nations because here there were no group rights, only individual rights. The demand for group entitlements, for quotas, for racial set-asides, is a demand to alter forever the character of our country. The battle against these elements is a battle to preserve the republic.

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*"When we stick a racial or ethnic label on everybody  
and deliver the message, 'Look, only Hispanics can properly  
represent Hispanics, only blacks can properly represent blacks,  
and only whites can properly represent whites,'  
we're delivering a message in this society which  
I think is heading us in the wrong direction."*

- Abigail Thernstrom  
in *Who's Votes Count?*, a book about  
the federal Voting Rights Act published  
in 1987 by Harvard University Press.

Here in North America we sometimes get the false impression that we are the only people with immigration control problems. The following three articles highlight the view from Europe in particular. The essay below is from The American Enterprise of May/June 1990 and is reprinted with permission from New York Times Syndication Sales.

## THE AFRICANIZATION OF EUROPE?

By Jean-Claude Chesnais

A major demographic shift occurred in Europe during the last two decades. Fertility dropped well below replacement levels. This change is not yet considered alarming, because the number of births is still larger than the number of deaths in most European countries. But the long-term implications for European employment and competitiveness are significant, and they have received much attention. Less well appreciated is another demographic transition affecting Europe. The differential between population growth in the more-developed world of Europe and the less-developed world of northern Africa is increasing. Europe faces an Islamization or Africanization as the demographic and economic gap between the two banks of the Mediterranean Sea widens and people move from south to north. This gap is the greatest ever seen in the history of mankind, and it has serious social and political implications.

### SOME POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFTS

The current and expected differential in population growth between more- and less-developed countries will further increase the proportion of people of the less-developed world in the total world population. The rate of growth in the developing countries is twice that experienced by Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century when the continent's population expansion was at its maximum. While Asia and Latin America have reached a peak phase of their population expansions, the major increase in the rate of population growth still lies ahead in sub-Saharan Africa (where the death rate is still relatively high).

Clearly, Africa and the Near East have the greatest potential for population growth. At the end of the 1990s, Turkey, for example, will have more inhabitants than the Federal Republic of Germany or

France but less than a reunited Germany. In the next several decades, the population of Turkey could ultimately reach 100 million persons. A number of African countries that are currently considered small or medium-sized will exceed the present populations of the biggest EEC countries--Federal Republic of Germany, France, and the United Kingdom (55 - 60 million each) by the year 2025. These African countries include the Sudan (projected to be 55 million in 2025), Algeria and Morocco (60 million), and Egypt (95 million).

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The abrupt and massive changes in world population distribution resulting from the demographic trends of the next few decades will lead to a reshaping of world political geography whose general outline can already be foreseen. Young powers will emerge, basing their strength in large part on their population size and the stimulus it creates, and old powers will fade as their populations decline.

### TOWARD PLURI-ETHNIC SOCIETIES

During the 1950s and especially the 1960s, foreign immigration to the countries of Europe assumed sizeable proportions. The need for foreign labor was linked to strong economic growth and, to some extent at least at the beginning of this period, to the dearth of the country's own new entry-level local workers to the labor market. With the economic recession, migration policy changed and immigrant labor stopped arriving (1973-1974). Taking on new