The distinguished origins of racial activism.

by George McDaniel

Perhaps more than any other man, Madison Grant created what we might call the “racialist moment” in American history. This was the period beginning approximately with the administration of Theodore Roosevelt (who wrote that the Negro was a member of “a perfectly stupid race”) and continuing through the administration of Warren Harding, during which the country discarded its remaining, melting-pot sentimentality about blacks and foreign immigration. The period also saw the emergence of a new science, eugenics, which promised to banish inherited evils. This era of explicit, intellectual racialism lasted until approximately the Great Depression, then withered under Franklin Roosevelt’s massive shift to the Left, and finally collapsed during the war with Nazi Germany.

Madison Grant (1865-1937) worked tirelessly for the racialist movement for almost this entire period. He joined, chaired, and often founded its organizations. He counted among his closest associates U.S. Presidents, top industrialists, best-selling writers, and some of the greatest scientists of the time. And he wrote two of the seminal works of American racialism: *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916) and *The Conquest of a Continent* (1933).

Grant was born in New York in 1865, just as the first of the modern white-against-white conflicts was closing. He was descended from Jacobites who came to the colonies from Scotland after the defeat of “Bonnie Prince Charlie” in the Forty-Five uprising (1745), and throughout his life retained the Jacobite brand of conservative fire. He was graduated from Yale in 1887 and received a law degree from Columbia in 1890.

Bronze bust of Madison Grant.

*The Passing of the Great Race* was published in 1916 to immediate popular success. It established Grant as an authority in anthropology, and laid the groundwork for his research in the emerging science of eugenics. It was read by presidents, dictators, scientists, and common people alike, and even today—excoriated as it is—it has much to teach. The impact of the book can be understood only in the cultural milieu in which it appeared.

Immigration just after the War Between the States proceeded at great speed. The decade of the 1880s saw the arrival of 5,246,613 immigrants, and in 1882 alone, 788,992 were admitted. Two hundred twenty thousand Chinese came from 1854 to 1882. Subsidizing a bit in the nineties, the influx rose again after the turn of the century, averaging over 800,000 arrivals each year between 1900 and 1914. Most of these were immigrants from parts of the world unfamiliar to Americans: Russia, Poland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, the Balkans, and Turkey. Many newcomers brought Marxist and anarchist ideas alien to the old American stock.

Just as it does today, the American identity faced a two-pronged threat: a large influx of aliens and the presence of a large Negro element. Negro migration to the Northern industrial cities brought a slow awakening to the entire country of the true nature of the race problem, and Thomas Dixon’s 1905 novel, *The Clansman*, was one of the first works in the new century to focus on it. The book’s sympathetic account of the first Ku Klux Klan encouraged a reappraisal of often-sentimental notions about blacks.

In a sense, this reappraisal came to a head in August, 1908, in Lincoln’s own Springfield, Illinois. A black habitual criminal attacked a white girl in her bedroom and, while being pursued by her father, turned and killed him with a razor. At least one other attack on a white woman was also reported, and the white people responded by killing two blacks and burning down a crime-ridden black neighborhood called the “Badlands.” Thousands of local blacks fled Springfield. It was this event that inspired the creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Springfield in 1909.

In 1915, a new entertainment medium widened the audience for the racialist message when D. W. Griffith...
Letters from Readers

Sir – Kudos to SFC Steven Barry for his October article exposing the real racial situation in the U.S. Army. Though neocons like Bill Bennett hold up the army as a racial model for America, veterans know better.

The army is more than 30 percent black. Because of affirmative action, many blacks hold positions of authority over non-blacks. Like black government officials, black officers use their positions to help their racial comrades. In one mandatory "sensitivity" class, a black Equal Opportunity sergeant told us that no one was allowed to wear clothing with the Confederate flag on it. When asked about Malcolm X attire, he explained that there is a difference between "racism" and "civil-rights."

Several soldiers, including two Hispanics, told me they would not pursue a military career because of blacks and their racist abuse of power.

James Lubinskas, Cromwell, Conn.

Sir – We are in debt to the heroic work of Frank Borzellieri. While most of us lack the means, the right location, or the "fire in the belly" to make a run for local office on the Eurocentric ticket, Mr. Borzellieri has the latter two in great abundance and might have won if he'd had enough money to overcome dishonest election officials and lying newspaper columnists. Hang in there, Mr. Borzellieri; the game is still afoot.

Sir – Frank Borzellieri’s article was excellent. The inside story of a local political campaign was a real eye-opener. I hope he runs again and this time gets the support of the Council of Conservative Citizens, Middle American News, Nationalist Times, and Instauration. Keep fighting.

Robert Briggs, Punta Gorda, Fla.

Sir – My husband is 81 and I am 74 and we're glad we won't be around much longer to see what is happening. We feel sorry for the young people of today. The U.S. was wonderful when it was 90 percent white, but I know it's "racist" to say that.

I used to be a "tolerant" person but I am that no more. I see the crime, the deterioration, and the constant complaining about whites. I hate the government for what it is doing to us.

Name Withheld, Winston, Or.

Sir – I enjoyed the September articles about Christianity. It is common to note that Sunday morning is the most segregated time in America, but whites need a Christianity that positively asserts their racial identity. We don't have that now.

T.R. Kelly, Salt Lake City, Ut.

Sir – We are in debt to the heroic work of Frank Borzellieri. While most of us lack the means, the right location, or the "fire in the belly" to make a run for local office on the Eurocentric ticket, Mr. Borzellieri has the latter two in great abundance and might have won if he'd had enough money to overcome dishonest election officials and lying newspaper columnists. Hang in there, Mr. Borzellieri; the game is still afoot.

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Robert Briggs, Punta Gorda, Fla.

Sir – I am sure most of your readers have heard the news about Nushawn Williams, the charming young blackamoor who has been spreading AIDS in western New York State. There are conflicting reports on how many women he swived after he knew he was infected but the number may be as high as 75. Nine new cases have reportedly been traced to him.

How does this square with your November review of a book that insists AIDS is virtually impossible to transmit through vaginal intercourse? Did young Mr. Williams take these lasses à la grecque? According to some reports, he plied his sweethearts with money, marijuana, and "other drugs."

Did he share dirty needles with them, too?

Your typical west-New York girl does not have sex with shaggy black strangers in exchange for drugs. Whatever these demimondaines are telling us now, they may well have gotten the virus in some way other than ordinary copulation with Mr. Williams.

Another reason to think there is more to the story than so-far reported is that if Nushawn Williams was such a successful AIDS-monger why haven't we heard his story many times before? The crack houses must be full of the likes of him. Why doesn't every inner-city crack-smoker have AIDS?

I float these speculations only on the assumption that the author you reviewed is right about AIDS, but his story and the news story don't add up.

Thomas Judge, Binghamton, N.Y.

Sir – In describing the latest craze among blacks for alligator shoes you mention a Detroit preacher who "stomps and taps his way through a sermon, emphasizing points with his flashy two-tones." I was reminded of this when I read recently that churches in Africa are now sending missionaries to the United States. According to the pastor of one Nigeria-based church, this is because "the church in Africa is on fire, while the church in America is for the most part losing zeal." The article goes on to note that all African churches are characterized by "exuberant worship."

"Exuberant," of course, is the kind way to describe black American worship. (As I recall, that cold-hearted Swede, Gunnar Myrdal, wrote disparagingly of American black churchgoers "rolling in a sawdust pit in a state of ecstasy." ) My question is this: Why do blacks worship "exuberantly"? It seems to me this is a racial difference Michael Levin and Philippe Rushton should look into.

Andrew Harding, Tully, New York
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debuted his film masterpiece, *Birth of a Nation*. Based upon *The Clansman*, and, to some degree, on Dixon’s 1902 novel, *The Leopard’s Spots*, this movie was hailed as a technical triumph even by its harshest critics. Nevertheless, the NAACP, along with other black and some Jewish organizations, picketed the movie and threatened violence in the cities where it opened.

The success of the film was in some doubt when Dixon contacted his old Johns Hopkins classmate, President Woodrow Wilson, and arranged a special showing at the White House. Wilson is said to have leapt to his feet, exclaiming, “It is like writing history with lightning. And my only regret is that it is all so terribly true.”

With the news that the President loved it, audiences flocked to see *Birth of a Nation*. During its opening in Atlanta, William J. Simmons announced the founding of the second Ku Klux Klan, in nearby Stone Mountain, Georgia. This Klan organization went on to sweep the country, becoming especially strong in the midwest.

*The Passing of the Great Race* was published the next year, in 1916. Grant intended it as a call to American whites to counter the dangers both from blacks and non-traditional immigration. Adopting the then-popular racial taxonomy of William Z. Ripley in *The Races of Europe*, Grant describes the three European subraces of Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean. As was common in his day, he unabashedly favored the Nordic and went to great pains to contrast Nordic civilization and traits with that of other races and subraces. For example, he faulted Nordic, altruistic devotion to blacks and other unsuccessful groups, a devotion that always proves self-destructive.

Grant concluded that America should abandon a largely open-door immigration policy. He favored a eugenics program that would promote the Nordic race and discourage the expansion of the colored races in the white world. In particular, he condemned miscegenation.

It is worth noting that one of the reasons Grant and other racialists opposed the new immigration was that it brought alien ideologies. The First World War had seen the triumph of Bolshevism, and continuing immigration from Eastern Europe brought Marxists. Like most racialists, Grant saw socialism as unfit for Nordics. When he was helping found the Galton Society in 1918, he wrote to the other organizers: “My proposal is the organization of an anthropological society . . . confined to native Americans, who are anthropologically, socially, and politically sound, no Bolsheviki need apply.”

*The Passing of the Great Race* became an immediate best-seller, with new editions in 1918, 1920, and 1921, multiple printings, and translations into German, French, and Norwegian.

It was reviewed favorably by *Science*, the journal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and by periodicals as diverse as the *Journal of Heredity* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. The editor of the *Post* commissioned a series of articles on immigration in a similar vein, and in an editorial in the May 7, 1921, issue wrote: “Two books in particular that every American should read if he wishes to understand the full gravity of our present immigration problem: Mr. Madison Grant’s *The Passing of the Great Race* and Dr. Lothrop Stoddard’s *The Rising Tide of Color* . . . These books should do a vast amount of good if they fall into the hands of readers who can face without wincing the impact of new and disturbing ideas.”

*The Passing of the Great Race* did indeed fall into the hands of such readers, turning up in the personal libraries of some of the most important figures of the day. It was typical, for example, that Dr. Rupert Blue, Surgeon General of the United States, gave a copy personally to Sir Henry Wellcome the British pharmaceutical manufacturer.

Grant was not alone in sounding the alarm. Some of the other books published during this period include: *Mankind at the Crossroads* by E.G. Conklin (1914), *America’s Greatest Problem: The Negro* by Major R. W. Shufeldt (1915), *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World Supremacy* by Lothrop Stoddard (1920, Introduction by Grant); *Race and National Solidarity* by Charles Josey (1923) (reviewed in AR, Aug. 1992), *Applied Eugenics* by Paul Popenoe and Roswell Johnson (1923); and *The Fruit of the Family Tree* by Alfred E. Wiggam (1924). These were all intended for a mass audience, but academic textbooks soon joined them, including *Genetics and Eugenics* by W.E. Castle (1916) and *Evolution, Genetics, and Eugenics* by H.H. Newman (1921).

The effect was felt at both the state and federal level. Twenty-four states passed laws encouraging sterilization of those who were retarded, insane, or had criminal records. At the Federal level, in 1921, Albert Johnson, head of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, began a series of hearings on immigration. He appointed Harry Laughlin, who in 1922
would be one of Grant’s co-founders of the American Eugenics Society, as an expert witness on eugenics. In 1922, Laughlin reported extensively on racial differences in IQ as measured by the new army intelligence test. In 1923, Grant’s close friend Henry Fairfield Osborn, the famous paleontologist who named “tyrannosaurus rex,” spoke enthusiastically about intelligence testing: “We have learned once and for all that the Negro is not like us.”

This was precisely the kind of thing Grant and others had been saying for years. These ideas helped pass the Johnson Act of 1924, which established national origin immigration quotas of 2 percent of the number of foreign-born already in America as determined by the census of 1890. This greatly reduced the flow of immigrants from non-traditional sources, a policy that remained essentially unchanged until 1965.

Grant called the act a “new Declaration of Independence,” and his entry in The Dictionary of American Biography credits him with helping it pass. In its 1937 obituary, the New York Times said of Grant’s book: “Besides being a recognized book on anthropology, it has often been called to Congressional attention in the passage of restrictive immigration laws. . . . Mr. Grant . . . helped frame the Johnson Restriction Act of 1924.”

**Eugenics**

Grant was active throughout the 1920s, serving as president of both the Immigration Restriction League and the Eugenics Research Association. He was also treasurer of one of the most important events in the history of eugenics, the Second Eugenics Congress of 1921. This event continued the pattern of the First Eugenics Congress, which had been held in London in 1912, with Winston Churchill as one of the sponsors and at which Prime Minister Arthur Balfour delivered the inaugural address. The second congress was hosted by the American Museum of Natural History in New York. More than 300 delegates came from Europe, Latin America, Asia, Australia and New Zealand. No German scientists were invited because of the policy of ostracism that continued after the war.

Among the notables in attendance were future President Herbert Hoover, Alexander Graham Bell (the Congress’s honorary president), conservationist and future Governor of Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot, and Leonard Darwin, son of Charles Darwin. Henry Fairfield Osborn, director of the museum, was president. Harry Laughlin was in charge of exhibits, and Lothrop Stoddard handled publicity. One hundred eight papers were presented on topics ranging from plant and animal genetics to anthropology and political science. The conference signaled the vitality of a young science that was nevertheless destined to die an early death.

Madison Grant continued to lobby for immigration control even after the passage of the Johnson Act. In 1927, he and other eugenicists signed a “Memorial on Immigration Quotas,” urging the President and Congress to extend “the quota system to all countries of North and South America . . . . in which the population is not predominantly of the white race.”

Grant continued to write. In 1930, along with Lothrop Stoddard, Harry Laughlin, Charles Davenport, Paul Poponoe, and Henry Fairfield Osborn, and others, he contributed to The Alien in Our Midst, subtitled Selling Our Birthright for a Mess of Pottage.

The book was Grant’s idea and—like Conquest a few years later—was written to defend the 1924 immigration act. It included essays on race and immigration from both contemporary writers and from great Americans of the past like Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, James Madison, and George Washington. The book was widely distributed to legislators and editors by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies.

In 1933, Grant’s second major work, The Conquest of a Continent, appeared. In it, he explained why he wrote the book:

“A controversy immediately arose over this new basis [the national origins immigration quotas], as it was to the interest of every national and religious group of aliens now here to exaggerate the importance and size of its contribution to the population of the country, especially in Colonial times . . . . The purpose of this opposition was to warp public opinion in regard to the merits of various national groups and to exaggerate the non-Anglo-Saxon elements in the old Colonial population. This book is an effort to make an estimate of the various elements, national and racial, existing in the present population of the United States and to trace their arrival and subsequent spread.”

He then embarks on what Henry Fairfield Osborn in the introduction calls the “first racial history of . . . any nation.” Especially interesting today is Grant’s analysis of the Negro problem. He writes: “Among the various outland elements now in the United States which threaten in various degrees our national unity, the most important is the Negro.” He discusses several proposed solutions.

First, “slow amalgamation with the Whites,” he rejects immediately, arguing that this would “produce a racial chaos such as ruined the Roman Empire.” He considers repatriation at somewhat greater length, but rejects this as well, for reasons no longer applicable in our time: “Today, [repatriation to Africa] is not possible, because Africa, with the exception of Liberia, is under the control of white states, which certainly would not welcome such an enormous addition to their own color problem . . . .”

The third solution Grant considers is the establishment of a separate black nation within the territory of the United States. This he tends to reject because it would involve the abandonment of large sections of the South, but he admits that something similar had already occurred in some areas, both in America and, especially, in the West Indies:

“This has actually happened in some places along the lower Mississippi River, where the numbers of the Negroes have become so overwhelming that the few remaining Whites
Perhaps because "to them." "Integrity." And, finally, contraception encouraged to respect their own racial ration is paramount, he says, and to that end public opinion "might well stop exalting the Mulatto and thereby putting its stamp of approval on miscegenation. Negroes should be encouraged to respect their own racial integrity." And, finally, contraception should be made "universally available to them."

In the final analysis, Grant has no easy answers to the problem. He urges states to adopt laws prohibiting intermarriage and he castigates Christian churches in the North for "trying to break down the social barriers between Negro and White." Social separation is paramount, he says, and to that end public opinion "might well stop exalting the Mulatto and thereby putting its stamp of approval on miscegenation. Negroes should be encouraged to respect their own racial integrity." And, finally, contraception should be made "universally available to them."

Perhaps because *Passing of the Great Race* had been so influential, *Conquest of a Continent* provoked an immediate storm of opposition. On December 13, 1933, the director of the Anti-Defamation League, Richard E. Gutstadt, sent the following letter to the publishers of a number of Jewish periodicals:

"Gentlemen:

"Scribner & Sons have just published a book by Madison Grant entitled 'The Conquest of a Continent.' It is extremely antagonistic to Jewish interests. Emphasized throughout is the 'Nordic superiority' theory, and the utter negation of any 'melting pot' philosophy with regard to America.

"We are interested in stifling the sale of this book. We believe that this can be best accomplished by refusing to be stampeded into giving it publicity. Every review or public criticism of the book of this character brings it to the attention of many who would otherwise know nothing of it. This results in added sales. The less discussion there is concerning it, the more sales resistance will be created.

"We therefore appeal to you to refrain from comment on this book, which will undoubtedly be brought to your attention sooner or later. It is our conviction that a general compliance with this request will sound the warning to other publishing houses against engaging in this type of venture."

In fact, Grant wrote very little about Jews, noting only his view that they were of Central European, Khazar origin: "It is doubtful whether there is a single drop of the old Palestinian, Semitic-speaking Hebrew blood among these East European Jews."

Nevertheless, by this time, Hitler had begun consolidating power in Germany and his excesses were undermining eugenics and racial theory. The *New York Times*, in its review of *Conquest*, was quick to make the connection: "Substitute Aryan for Nordic and a good deal of Mr. Grant's argument would lend itself without much difficulty to the support of some recent pronouncements in Germany."

Grant actually had occasion to caution others about the National Socialist government. In 1934, he wrote to Laughlin warning that American eugenicists should be careful in their relations with Germany and should "proceed cautiously in endorsing" the actions being taken by the German government.

**Conservationism**

Another aspect of Grant's career that he considered intimately related to his work in racial science was conservationism, and his involvement with nature and wildlife was long and varied. Just as with the racialist movement, he was ever the leader. In 1895, along with Theodore Roosevelt and a handful of others, he co-founded the New York Zoological Society (now the Wildlife Conservation Society), and served as its secretary until 1924. He helped found the American Bison Society in 1905; was president of the Bronx Zoo for many years; was co-founder and president of the Bronx Parkway Commission (which built the road to the Zoo); co-founder of the Save the Redwoods League; and a founding member of the Boone and Crockett Club, which helped establish Yellowstone National Park.

In an excellent essay in the April, 1995 issue of *The Mankind Quarterly*, Roger Pearson writes about the link between conservation and racial thinking:

"The success of the conservationist movement in the United States at this vital period in the nation's history was facilitated by the sympathy of President Theodore Roosevelt, who was deeply concerned about the threat to the quality of both the natural and human stock of America. . . . "With Madison Grant serving as secretary and later as president, the Boone and Crockett Club was largely comprised of eugenicists and eugenics sympathizers. Renowned as one of the more active members of the eugenics movement, and especially for his efforts to preserve the 'Old American' component of the American population, Grant worked just as ardently to preserve the natural heritage for future generations of Americans and should be remembered always with honor as one of the nation's greatest benefactors."

Despite disavowals by American eugenicists, Nazism had already begun to erode support for the eugenics movement by the 1930s. German policies played into the hands of people like the anti-eugenist, Franz Boas of Columbia, a socialist who launched a one-man crusade to destroy eugenics and "undermine the belief in race as a primary factor in cultural behavior." Through his many books and students (including Margaret Mead and Ashley Montagu), Boas' views began to prevail. Even so, Grant's efforts never flagged. In 1932, he again served as treasurer of the third and final Eugenics Congress. This Congress was also held at the Museum of Natural History, and included as sponsors Mrs. E. H. Harriman, Mrs. H. B. DuPont, Dr. J. Harvey Kellogg (of Kellogg's cereals), and Leonard Darwin.

*Conquest* was published in 1933, after which Grant served on the advisory board of *Eugenic News*. He continued to write, to plan, to lobby. But the old days were ending. A schism had developed among eugenicists between those who favored "negative eugenics" and those in the "mainstream" who promoted "positive eugenics." Moreover, Nazism was rapidly discrediting the science. By mid-decade, Osborn had died, and
Grant in his Own Words

From The Passing of the Great Race

“In the democratic forms of government the operation of universal suffrage tends toward the selection of the average man for public office rather than the man qualified by birth, education, and integrity. . . . From a racial point of view, it will inevitably increase the preponderance of the lower types and cause a corresponding loss of efficiency in the community as a whole.”

“The name ‘Aryan race’ must also be frankly discarded as a term of racial significance. It is to-day purely linguistic, although there was at one time, . . . an identity between the original Aryan mother tongue and the race that first spoke and developed it. In short there is not now, and there never was either a Caucasian or an Indo-European race, but there was once, thousands of years ago, an Aryan race now long since vanished into dim memories of the past.”

“The boast of the modern Indian that he is of the same race as his English ruler, is entirely without basis in fact, and the little dark native lives amid the monuments of a departed grandeur, professing the religion and speaking the tongue of his long forgotten Nordic conquerors, without the slightest claim to blood kinship.”

“Race feeling may be called prejudice by those whose careers are cramped by it, but it is a natural antipathy which serves to maintain the purity of type. The unfortunate fact that nearly all species of men interbreed freely leaves us no choice in the matter. Either the races must be kept apart by artificial devices of this sort, or else they ultimately amalgamate, and in the offspring the more generalized or lower type prevails.”

“The continuity of physical traits and the limitation of the effects of environment to the individual only are now so thoroughly recognized by scientists that it is at most a question of time when the social consequences which result from such crossings will be generally understood by the public at large. As soon as the true bearing and import of the facts are appreciated by lawmakers, a complete change in our political structure will inevitably occur, and our present reliance on the influences of education will be superseded by a readjustment based on racial values.”

“This [the Mediterranean] is the race that gave the world the great civilizations of Egypt, of Crete, of Phoenicia including Carthage, of Etruria and of Mycenaean Greece. It gave us, when mixed and invigorated with Nordic elements, the most splendid of all civilizations, that of ancient Hellas, and the most enduring of political organizations, the Roman State.”

“One of its [the First World War’s] most certain results will be the partial destruction of the aristocratic classes everywhere in northern Europe. . . . This will tend to realize the standardization of type so dear to democratic ideals. If equality cannot be obtained by lengthening and uplifting the stunted of body and of mind, it can be at least realized by the destruction of the exalted of stature and of soul.”

From The Conquest of a Continent

“The antipathy of the English settlers to the Indians was far too great to lead to the sort of miscegenation which was encouraged by the French. . . . In the British colonies the half-breed was looked upon as an Indian. . . . It was not until within the lifetime of those now living that an infusion of Indian blood became a subject of pride . . . unless one makes exception for such isolated tales as the somewhat grotesque Pocahontas tradition in Virginia.”

“There is nothing like [Indian cruelty] in history in any part of the world and the result was that the aboriginal Indians were regarded as ravening wolves or worse and deprived of all sympathy, while the Whites stole their lands and killed their game. No one who knew the true nature of the Indian felt any regret that they were driven off their hunting grounds. This attitude was found wherever the Whites came in conflict with them and explains why they were scarcely regarded as human beings.”

“Although the [American] revolution grew out of economic and political causes, it represents primarily one of those costly and unfortunate internece wars in which the Nordics have been prone to indulge at intervals for two or three thousand years, and which have done so much to weaken them as a race.”

“The Mongol is not inferior to the Nordic in intelligence, as is the Negro, but represents such a divergent type that the mixture between Nordics and Chinese or Japanese is not a good one. The overflow of these Asiatics into our Pacific Coast might have Mongolized the States there had not the American laboring man taken alarm

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December 1997

The world-wide struggle for ethnic dominance.

reviewed by Thomas Jackson

The Demographic Struggle for Power is one of the most straightforward and factual accounts now available of how ethnic animosity creates conflict and violence. In a study that focuses on the Balkans but covers all parts of the world, Prof. Bookman takes for granted a central fact of human nature that multi-racial dreamers ignore: Ethnic identity and the desire to preserve it are among the most powerful forces on earth. Perhaps because she is a Slav, Prof. Bookman does not find it necessary to account for group consciousness or to apologize for it. Her purpose is merely to catalogue the policies to which it gives rise.

Prof. Bookman assumes that whenever ethnic groups—or races or nationalities or language groups or any other self-identified tribes—live in the same territory there will be competition. Its usual form is to try to increase the numbers of one’s own group at the expense of others with the eventual goal, stated or not, of displacing them and taking their territory. Each member of one’s ethnic group is a natural ally, and greater numbers mean political, economic, and military power. Demography is destiny, which explains the title of the book.

The author understands that ethnic identity is one of the most powerful forces on earth.

Virtually every group understands this and acts accordingly—sometimes violently. “The war of numbers may precede, accompany or follow the war of militias,” writes Prof. Bookman. Indeed, she quotes a United Nations study to the effect that between 1989 and 1992 there were 82 separate wars (defined as organized violence that caused at least 1,000 deaths). Of these 82, 79—or 96 percent—“took place within borders and among different ethnic or religious groups.”

No doubt the Mexican Indian is well suited to his environment, and his traditional habits are well suited to him. This does not mean, however, that either has any important contribution to make to the United States which would be realized by a northward mass migration of agricultural and industrial serfs. On the contrary, the Mexican immigration to the United States, which is made up overwhelmingly of the poorer Indian element, has brought nothing but disadvantages.”

“We see the Nordics again confronted across the Pacific by their immemorial rivals, the Mongols. This will be the final arena of the struggle between these two major divisions of man for world dominance. . . .”

How to buy the books:

The Passing of the Great Race is available for $18.95 from Ayer Company Publishers, 6 Lower Mill Road, North Stratford, NH 03590 (888) 267-7323. It is on back order, which means the company is waiting for at least 50 orders before it will reprint. For those with Internet access, a reasonably faithful scanned version is available at: http://www.melvig.org/pgc-toc.html

Ayer has The Conquest of a Continent in stock for $34.95.

Blood and Soil


Most of The Demographic Struggle for Power is devoted to descriptions of the different ways governments and ethnic groups engage in what Professor Bookman calls “demographic engineering,” and the great strength of this book is the number of examples it presents from around the world. Ethnic competition is clearly universal.

The first step in demographic engineering is simply to count people, but this can be politically explosive: “Decennial census enumerations have always caused inter-ethnic turmoil as the relative strength of ethnic groups is revealed.” As Prof. Bookman explains, “the census is like an election that ethnic groups attempt to win in order to justify their economic and political power.” Likewise, when there is universal suffrage, elections themselves become ethnic head-counts.

When the census includes figures on minorities there is pressure to rig the results. In Burma, for example, the military sometimes chases undesirable tribes out of an area before censusers come through. In both Macedonia and Kosovo, Albanians have
Macedonians in their country, they do
Likewise, since Bulgarians don't like
be arrested for using their language in
Kurds officially do not exist (and can
undesirables down is simply not to
One way to keep the number of
ruling nationalities are embarrassingly
small.

For years, Yugoslavia tried to get
its citizens to identify themselves as
Yugoslavs, and the number of people
who checked that category peaked in
1981. Ten years later, as the nation
began to break apart, Yugoslavs once
more became Serbs, Croats, Albanians,
etc.

The Nigerian census of 1962-63 is
now seen as one of the causes of the
Biafran war. The 1962 count showed
that northern tribes had lost their ma-
jority. The results were disputed and
there was a recount, which was also
disputed. It was in this inflamed at-
mosphere that Biafra declared inde-
pendence in 1967, starting a war that
lasted until the new nation was finally
crushed in 1970.

Although Prof. Bookman does not
mention the United States in this con-
text, non-whites understand the impor-
tance of the census. Hispanics insist
that illegal aliens be counted along
with citizens, and blacks bitterly op-
pose a “multi-racial” category that
might reduce their numbers.

Of course, nationalists understand
that the best way to get satisfactory
census figures is to have a growing
population. European governments
have paid child allowances for gener-
tions. Jews all around the world urge
each other to have more children. So-
viet women who had six children or
more became Heroines of the Soviet
Union. Communist Romania banned
birth control and made abortions diffi-
cult for everyone but Gypsies. Com-

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Recruits for the struggle.

independent Croatia is doing the same
thing; it promotes “the mother as edu-
cator of children” rather than worker.

Natalist policies are often directly
competitive. One Serbian leader, Zel-


by the Turks, some Armenian women
were spared if they agreed to convert
to Islam and marry Turks.

One of the most brutal expressions
of forcible assimilation is attributed to
Milde Budak, Croatian minister of edu-
cation during the Second World War:
“One third of the Serbs we shall kill,
another we shall deport, and the last
we shall force to embrace the Roman
Catholic religion and thus meld them
into Croats.”

Prof. Bookman explains that as-
similation can work only if peoples
are basically similar: “When race is
the distinguishing feature, assimilation
efforts become irrelevant.”

“Ethnic cleansing” is the new name
for an ancient technique for ridding a
territory of undesirables. At the end of
the Second World War, at least 10
million Germans were expelled from
their homes in Eastern Europe. The
partition of India displaced 10 million
people, as did the creation of Bangla-
desh. Many nations have expelled
Jews. The most extreme form of eth-
ic cleansing is extermination and; as
Prof. Bookman notes, it is as old as
mankind.

She also notes that doing away
with unwanted people has only re-
cently become an offense. During the
19th century, it was the standard way
to deal with American Indians, Aus-
tralian Aborigines and other native
populations, but today in the Balkans
it is considered barbaric.

Prof. Bookman notes, though, that
population transfer is sometimes the
only realistic solution: “If evictions
are complete and permanent, then they
may in fact be the precursors to
peace.” It is worst when people must
move in the midst of war and commu-
nal massacre: “If more inter-ethnic
population transfers were planned, the
damage to people and property would
be significantly lower.” A good ex-
ample of planned, reasonably orderly
transfer took place under the auspices
of the League of Nations after the
Greco-Turkish war of 1922, when
large numbers from both sides crossed
the border. Expulsion is not always a
solution, however, especially when
there is a possibility of return. The
Palestinians have shown that national-
ist sentiment can continue for genera-
tions, even in exile.

Some population movements are
encouraged by authorities but are theoretically voluntary. The French, for example, have paid North Africans to go home, and the Germans have paid Vietnamese (who were working in the former East Germany) to leave. In the Balkans, out-groups are sometimes denied employment or police protection in the expectation that they will leave. Saudi Arabia once forced out one million Yemenis by not renewing their residence permits.

Some of the former Soviet republics have made it obligatory to use the local language at work, which forces some Russians out of their jobs. In Latvia, Russians may not own land.

Discrimination takes many forms. In Croatia, non-Croatians pay higher property taxes. Israelis tightly control the rights and movements of Arabs, and on the island of Fiji, only native Fijians may own land. In Communist Romania, Hungarians were paid substandard wages and many were used as forced labor to build the Black Sea-Danube Canal. In Turkey, the army has simply evacuated more than 800 Kurdish villages since 1990, driving the inhabitants into Iran or Iraq.

Iraq, in turn, has diverted the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers to dry out the marshes inhabited by Shiite Muslims. It is no longer possible to fish or grow rice, and some 200,000 Shiites have fled to Iran.

A common nationalist demand is that borders be redrawn to coincide with ethnic boundaries. Since the end of the Cold War there has been an unprecedented upsurge in the number of nations that are trying to become nation-states, and virtually all secessionist movements are along ethnic lines.

Prof. Bookman notes that the West has been dangerously inconsistent in its treatment of secession movements, approving of independence for Slovenia and Croatia but not for Serbia, and only reluctantly for Macedonia. It supported Eritrean independence but did nothing for Chechnya. Prof. Bookman points out that simply changing borders is often not enough—it would take five times as much land as actually exists in the Balkans to satisfy the demands of every group.

Prof. Bookman has constructed a numerical index to show which nations use the largest number of "demographic engineering" techniques to control the composition of their populations. Among contemporary states, Israel gets highest marks, with 91 out of 100. Other high scorers are Bosnia (73), Sudan (64), China (64), and Sri Lanka (55). South Africa scores a modest 36.

Prof. Bookman notes that national frictions could be resolved if every nation were to become a homogeneous nation-state, but adds that the world community does not approve of such straightforward solutions.

What are other ways to keep peace? Prof. Bookman says that internal administrative boundaries should not coincide with ethnic territories. Nigeria redrew its map after the Biafran war; the four original administrative units were chopped up into 19 smaller ones, thus dividing ethnic groups. This was supposed to encourage regional multi-ethnicism rather than ethnic nationalism.

Prof. Bookman also says it is a bad idea to grant regional autonomy in stages, because this only encourages more demands. She also adds that ethnic conflict is worse during economic downturns, since each group suspects others of robbing it. Ethnic competition is also likely to be at its most intense when the numbers of competing groups are moving towards parity. A large majority can safely ignore minorities and a small minority may have only limited aspirations, but when numbers become comparable the crucial question of who governs may hang in the balance.

Although Prof. Bookman seldom mentions the United States, her book is filled with lessons for those who wish to learn. The most obvious is that American whites, like those in Canada, Australia, and Western Europe, are behaving unlike any other group on earth. Far from engaging in ordinary "demographic engineering," massive non-white immigration and welfare policies that promote high non-white birth rates are a form of demographic self-destruction.

Prof. Bookman explains that the basic law of ethnic consciousness is that it puts the interests of one people before those of others. These interests can be advanced by any number of means, from immigration restrictions to ethnic cleansing. In the United States, whites are the only group without any organized system to defend their interests, and in the demographic struggle for power, unilateral disarmament is the first step toward oblivion.

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**National frictions could be resolved if every nation became a homogeneous nation-state.**

O Tempora, O Mores!

**Miami Vignettes**

Miami police officer Gary Eugene recently got a radio call about a wife beating. When he arrived at the Little Haiti address he found a woman tied to a bed and a man swinging a piece of wood. The Haitian couldn’t understand what the problem was. “I wasn’t beating someone else’s wife,” he explained. “This is my wife.” (Yves Co-

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O Tempora, O Mores!
Bad enough but beginning at about 5:00 a.m. roosters are unbearable. Miamians have learned to bear it. As Robert Ferrera from the Dominican Republic explains, “This is our culture and chickens are part of it.” Except for serious cases—say, if someone converts his entire garage into a chicken coop—the city has given up enforcing the ordinance, and the police ignore complaints about chicken noise. One problem is that many chickens are “undocumented”—running around with no known owner who can be cited. (Manny Garcia, Miami’s Sleepless Are Crying Fowl, Herald (Miami), Sept. 9, 1997, p. 1A.)

In October a group of men burst into a funeral home, tossed out the grieving relatives, and performed a Santeria religious ritual with the corpse. One man used ashes to draw a cross on the forehead, another put a bottle of rum in the corpse’s hand, and one lit candles. After chanting Santeria mumbo-jumbo for a while, the men got into an argument and started shooting each other. “They were involved in a pretty wild gunfire. There was blood on the carpet, shell casings, lots of shell casings on the floor,” explained police Lieutenant Bill Schwartz. Seven men were taken into custody and one was in critical condition with a gun-shot wound in the chest.

The grieving family had never seen the men before. “It was bizarre,” says Lieutenant Schwartz. (Bizarre Religious Ritual Erupts into Wild Gunfight at Miami Funeral Home, Reuters, Oct. 22, 1997.)

Disadvantaged Asians

Unlike most universities, the Small Business Administration still believes in affirmative action for Asians. Re-
The NAACP adopted a new code of ethics in 1995 after several scandals came to light. Former board chairman William Gibson had run up more than $112,000 in phony expenses, and former executive director Benjamin Chavis had run up $32,000. Mr. Chavis also used several hundred thousand dollars in NAACP funds to pay hush money to a woman who accused him of pawing her. Chairwoman Evers-Williams says she does not defend the current crop of directors but notes that none has so far been accused of stealing NAACP money. “It’s a very different situation,” she explains. (Paul Shepard, NAACP to Review Ethics Policy, AP, Nov. 3, 1997.)

More Hands in the Till

A black lady lawyer from Chicago whom Ebony magazine described in 1994 as one of “30 Leaders of the Future” has been disbarred for embezzlement. In 1995 and 1996 she stole $17,589 from the scholarship fund of the Black Women Lawyers Association. When her theft was discovered, Stacey Burnham tried to repay the money but her check bounced. (Patricia Manson, Lawyer Who Took Scholarship Funds Merits Disbarment: Panel, Chicago Daily Law Bulletin, Sept. 22, 1997, p. 3.)

Found the Culprit

The city of Chicago has finally figured out why there are so many vacant and vandalized houses in some neighborhoods. According to a city-commissioned report, mortgage lenders have been “lining their pockets,” making loans to risky borrowers who miss payments and lose their homes. The mortgage companies get away with this because the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) guarantees payment of loans to certain substandard borrowers. A spokesman for the National Training and Information Center, which prepared the study, says federal safeguards are needed to stop the “devastation block-by-block, family-by-family.”

Of the 5,500 FHA loans that have gone sour since 1987, 4,000 were made in black neighborhoods. There has been enormous pressure on both public and private lenders to lend money to blacks to prove they are not “racist.” Now the FHA is accused of “devastation.” (Leon Pitt, FHA Loan Practices Hit, Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 16, 1997, p. 1.)

African Research Breakthrough

We reproduce the following Reuters news item verbatim and in toto:

An academic from Ghana surprised a world population conference in Beijing on Wednesday by presenting research on family planning based partly on interviews with the dead. Using soothsayers, Philip Adongo asked village ancestors for advice on the ideal size of a family in a tribal area of the west African nation.

“If I only heard from the living, I wouldn’t get a very good balance,” he explained. “This study has been the first to be conducted of respondents who are deceased.” The study concluded that small families worked better in a modern society. (African Population Expert Quizzes the Dead, Reuters, Oct. 15, 1997.)

Fighting Back

The University of Michigan has a typically discriminatory admissions policy. A black or Hispanic with a 3.0 grade-point average and a score 22 or 23 on the ACT examination has a 90 percent chance of being admitted while a white or Asian with the same qualifications has a 13 percent chance. The Center for Individual Rights, which took the Cheryl Hopwood case against the University of Texas Law School, has filed a suit against the University and is being enthusiastically supported by several Michigan legislators. The university expects to spend one to three million dollars defending its discriminatory admissions policy—Michigan taxpayers will pick up the tab. (Rusty Hoover, U-M Admission Fight Costly, Detroit News, Oct. 30, 1992.)

Really Fighting Back

A black 17-year-old walked into a diner in Jacksonville, Florida, wearing a mask and carrying a shotgun, and ordered everyone on the floor. When he grabbed a waitress and tried to make her open the cash register, a 69-year-old patron drew a gun and shot the robber. An 81-year-old also drew a gun and started blazing away. Derronne Marquise Moore ran away but was arrested at a hospital when he showed up for treatment. Florida led the way in letting citizens carry concealed weapons. (Masked Robber Shot by Customers in Diner, Arkansas Democrat Gazette, Sept. 26, 1997.)

Sunk Without a Bubble

A 76-page Government Accounting Office review of the United States Commission on Civil Rights found that the agency has “limited awareness of how its resources are being used.” Records are reportedly “lost, misplaced, or non-existent.” The report notes that “management of projects is haphazard or nonexistent.” This is about as close as bureaucrats ever come to saying the place is a mess. Somehow, this report seems to have gotten no publicity. (GAO Report GAO/HEHS-97, July 8, 1997.)

Life in the Big City

A white graduate student who lives in New York City was going home at midnight when she became the victim of a gang-initiation ritual. Three girls from Harlem, aged 12, 13, and 15, surrounded her at Park Avenue and 69th Street. Without a word, one pulled out a 5-inch box cutter and slashed Rahny Bang in the neck. She managed to stagger into her building and call for help. Her attackers were quickly captured. Police note that a slightly different cut would have severed Miss Bang’s carotid artery and she would have bled to death on the sidewalk. According to one officer, the three young assailants “showed
The Los Angeles Board of Education has ordered all schools to eliminate Indian names for sports teams. No more braves, chiefs, warriors or Mohicans. As John Orendorf of the board’s American Indian Education Committee explains, “This is a civil rights issue, and if we leave civil rights to local control, blacks would still be on the back of the bus.”

One school reports that its girls’ volleyball team is particularly attached to the name “warriors,” and another estimates that it will cost $250,000 to buy new uniforms, logos, stationery, etc. One school tried to explain that no one would name a team for a group it did not admire but the board decided that “a mascot is inherently a subordinate role . . . and it is intolerable for us to continue the practice.” (K.L. Billingsly, L.A.’s Decision on Indian Mascots Stirs Much Debate, Los Angeles Times, Sept. 15, 1997, p. A9.)

Somehow, the reasoning seems to work the other way when Southern schools call their teams the Rebels. This is intolerable glorification of the Confederacy.

**Sensible Black Man**

In the rococo world of racial politics, blacks are sometimes the only people who talk sense. Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond had cleared all the obstacles to establishing an undergraduate major in African-American studies, until it ran into a single holdout on the State Council of Higher Education. Ordinarily, the council rubber stamps whatever a university decides, but Jeff Brown, the only black member, doesn’t see the point of African-American studies. He has pored over the syllabus, read some of the texts, and the more he learns about the major the less he likes it. He thinks a degree in black studies does not prepare students for a job and that the program exaggerates racism.

Says Mr. Brown: “If you spend four years at VCU learning that minorities are relatively powerless and subject to unequal treatment, if you don’t hate white folks when you start this major, you sure are going to by the time you graduate.” (Philip Walzer, Black-studies Plan Has Virginia in Uproar, Colorado Daily, Oct. 9, 1997, p. 1.)