

most certainly continue to receive proportionately higher benefits relative to amounts paid in. If the influx of predominantly unskilled immigrants continues, privatization of Social Security might be more compatible with the national interest.

The report notes in passing several areas excluded from analysis. Among these are the decision not to “consider the possibility that immigrants impose fiscal costs indirectly, by causing native workers to become unemployed or to drop into poverty due to reduced wages.” Donald Huddle and David Simcox say these costs amount to billions of dollars. The report’s most glaring omission, however, involves immigration’s impact upon the environment. The authors appear to believe that, because these effects are gradual and difficult to quantify, the subject is of negligible importance. But the magnitude and cost of environmental damage caused by population growth are significant and can be apprehended through such phenomena as greenhouse gas emissions.

In November 1997, President Clinton proposed that the United States reduce these emissions by the year 2010 to 1990 levels. But few people—the President included—make the connection between population growth and the production of CO₂ and other gases. In fact, U.S. energy use increased by 25 percent from 1970 to 1990, and 93 percent of that increase is attributable to population growth. Between 1990 and 1996, U.S. carbon emissions produced by burning fossil fuels (part of the greenhouse gas mix) increased 8 percent, and they are predicted to increase by 13 percent for the decade. Fred Meyerson has estimated that “over 70% of carbon emission increases in this decade can . . . be attributed to population growth,” and this figure may be low, since Meyerson uses the upwardly revised population census number for 1990 and therefore may be underestimating subsequent growth.

Using the Census Bureau’s unadjusted count of roughly 249 million people in 1990, the NRC report projects a U.S. population of 277 million by the turn of the century and an increase of 30 million people between 2000 and 2010 (assuming that present immigration trends continue). With 58 million more people in the United States in 2010 than in 1990, and population growth recently accounting for 70 to 90 percent of the growth in carbon emissions, how can Clinton or

Gore—or anyone—expect to reduce greenhouse gas emissions without per capita reductions in energy use so severe as to create an economic calamity?

The United States, by continuing to allow population growth at a rate faster than that experienced by any other industrialized country, is pursuing a suicidal course; population reduction would better suit the circumstances of looming environmental constraints. The NRC report, while falling short of this conclusion, does consider matters of population congestion, the redistribution of wealth, and the fiscal effects of immigration, all of which we must expect to produce growing national unease, perhaps in the near future.

Virginia Deane Abernethy is a professor of psychiatry at the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine and the author of Population Politics: The Choices that Shape Our Future (Insight Books).

Shifting Sands by Wayne Allensworth

A Certain Justice
by P.D. James
New York; Alfred A. Knopf;
364 pp., \$25.00



The grand theme of P.D. James’s work is man and his overwhelming sense of rootlessness, anxiety, and guilt in the knowledge of a crime unknown and a punishment outwardly denied in the post-Christian era, though inwardly anticipated. Especially in the last decade or so, James has moved far beyond Dame Agatha Christie, delving deeply into the psychological and theological realm of Dostoyevsky.

No longer a mystery writer but a novelist who so expertly employs the mystery genre that we hardly notice the intricacies of plot, the procedure of detection, and the uncovering of clues, James has achieved in *A Certain Justice* the rewards of more than 35 years of hard work.

The plot turns on the murder of a criminal lawyer known for her cold-blooded approach to her craft and her reputation for getting obviously guilty criminals off the judicial hook. Venetia

Aldridge is the most fully developed version of a character type James has evolved over the years: a career woman (typically unmarried, in this case divorced) who takes what purpose, passion, and meaning she is capable of feeling from her status as a leading member of the bar. Like Garry Ashe, the murderer she is defending, Aldridge is incapable of love—a recurring theme throughout the novel, underscoring the sense of isolation that many of the novel’s characters feel. Ashe, as Aldridge well knows, is a “psychopath,” a convenient term devised by our therapeutic society to “explain, categorize and define in statute law” the mystery of human evil. As Aldridge’s murder approaches, Ashe, freed by his counsel’s lawyerly skills, takes up with her unloved—and unwanted—daughter, thus precipitating a second murder and the main action of the novel, which is the search for Ashe.

It is evident from *A Certain Justice* that the inhabitants of James’s postmodern world are adrift as the struggle to become a “full human being” becomes increasingly precarious. Some of them grasp for meaning in a career or hobby, while most are lonely and isolated, recoiling in horror from the ugly reality of their society. “What is happening to us, to our world?” gasps one character. Adam Dalgliesh, sometime poet, connoisseur of church architecture, now chief of a Scotland Yard unit entrusted with the responsibility for particularly “sensitive” crimes, once again serves as the novel’s center of gravity. Dalgliesh has come a long way from solving genteel murders in country manors; the thoughtful, introspective son of a country parish priest, no stranger himself to personal tragedy, has steadily evolved through James’s most fully realized mystery novels, *A Taste for Death* (1986), *Devices and Desires* (1990), and *Original Sin* (1995). His able companion is Inspector Kate Miskin, the obverse of James’s career woman and an intelligent admirer of her boss. It is Kate, finally, with help from Father Presteign—the only character in the novel besides Dalgliesh capable of maintaining a position in the shifting postmodern sands—who affirms the possibility of justice and the freedom of the human will. “Even the bad dreams,” Kate assures Octavia, Venetia’s unloved daughter, “fade in time.”

Wayne Allensworth writes from Purcellville, Virginia.

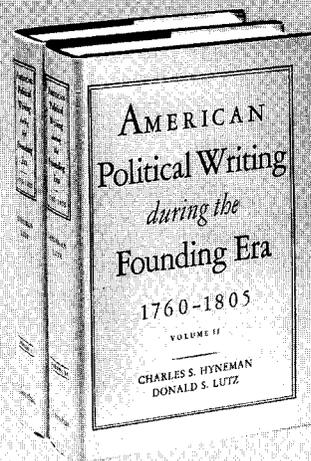
Modern Editions of Classic Works for Today's Readers

AMERICAN POLITICAL WRITING DURING THE FOUNDING ERA: 1760-1805

In Two Volumes

Edited by Charles S. Hyneman and Donald S. Lutz

These volumes provide a selection of seventy-six essays, pamphlets, speeches, and letters to newspapers written between 1760 and 1805 by American political and religious leaders. Many are obscure pieces that were previously available only in larger research libraries. But all illuminate the founding of the American republic and are essential reading for students and teachers of American political thought. The second volume includes an annotated bibliography of five hundred additional items for future reference.



The subjects covered in this rich assortment of primary material range from constitutionalism, representation, and republicanism to freedom of the press, religious liberty, and slavery. Among the more noteworthy items reprinted, all in their entirety, are Stephen Hopkins, "The Rights of the Colonies Examined" (1764); Richard Bland, "An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies" (1766); John Adams, "Thoughts on Government" (1766); Theophilus Parsons, "The Essex Result" (1778); James Madison, "Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" (1785); James Kent, "An Introductory Lecture to a Course of Law Lectures" (1794); Noah Webster, "An Oration on the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence" (1802); and James Wilson, "On Municipal Law" (1804).

Volume I — 704 + xviii pages. Preface and acknowledgments.

Volume II — 713 + xii pages. Annotated bibliography, index for both volumes.

Hardback \$28.50/set

0-86597-083-6

Paperback \$16.00/set

0-86597-041-6

"Conceived in Liberty"

For a nation "conceived in liberty," the study of the ideal of a society of free and responsible individuals is a never-ending obligation. To encourage this deliberation, Liberty Fund—a private educational foundation established in 1960—makes available a wide range of outstanding books. In keeping with the Fund's mission, books are both beautifully produced and priced to ensure their availability to all serious readers. We invite you to request a free copy of our catalogue.

Call 800-955-8335
Fax 317-579-6060
or write:



We pay
UPS shipping on
prepaid orders.

8335 Allison Pointe Trail, Suite 300, Dept. CHR8, Indianapolis, IN 46250

Explore Liberty Fund's catalogue on the World Wide Web
at www.Libertyfund.org

by Samuel Francis

The Other Face of Multiculturalism

“The values of the weak prevail,” wrote Friedrich Nietzsche, “because the strong have taken them over as devices of leadership.” This brief and rather cryptic remark contains virtually all we need to know about why contemporary movements like multiculturalism, feminism, homosexuality, and anti-white racism are such powerful trends in modern American and other Western societies. It is easy enough to say that these movements are merely the revolt of Nietzsche’s *Untermenschen* and the natural consequence of mass democracy and civilizational decline. But what Nietzsche grasped that many modern conservatives, who dislike Nietzsche almost as much as Karl Marx and Hillary Clinton, don’t grasp is that what looks like decline, decadence, and decay to conservatives appears to the champions of such trends as progress and the birth of a new civilization. Because conservatives often fail to understand this, they perceive an apocalyptic collapse into anarchy and disorder where there is only an emerging structure of alternative power. The strong—those who like and want to use power—make use of unfashionable and forbidden ideas to gain power for themselves. Insofar as they are successful, the results do represent the decline of the kind of social and political order that conservatives are disposed to defend, but that does not mean that some sort of order is not at the same moment about to lurch forth from the apparent chaos.

Multiculturalism, for example, is less the result of ignorance and uninformed fantasies than a deliberate device by which the power-hungry can subvert a culture, whose moral codes deny them power, and build an alternative culture whose different moral codes yield power for themselves and none for their rivals. Much of the multiculturalist agenda that today rots the minds of children and students from daycare centers to the post-graduate level of education and research in fact originates in an important but little-known organization that calls itself the National Association for Multicultural Education, or NAME. Every year

NAME holds a convention that is attended by more or less innocent but nonetheless power-hungry educators—not only teachers but also school administrators, superintendents, and education professors—as well as by an inner circle of what can be described only as the professional nucleus from which most of the nutty concepts of applied multiculturalism derive.

This past year the NAME folks convened in Albuquerque, New Mexico—a suitably obscure location for plotting the subversion of civilization—and wove their many-tangled webs. The 600 attendees spent their time in seminars with titles like “Power Consciousness: Understanding Educator Power in the Classroom,” “Building Race Unity,” “Racial Identity, Jungle Fever, and the Politics of Interracial Relations,” “Enhancing Diversity from Self to Others,” “Challenging Cultural and Educational Hegemony,” and “Educating for Equity and Excellence: A Challenge for Black Learners to Use Anger as a Catalyst.” There were at least two keynote addresses, one of which was delivered by Peter McLaren of the University of California at Los Angeles and entitled “Towards a Revolutionary Multiculturalism,” and another, by Ward Churchill of the University of Colorado at Boulder, called “Assimilation or Liberation? Crossroads for Multiculturalist Theory.” Essentially what NAME and similar organizations do is transmit multiculturalist doctrine to the general run of dim-witted school teachers, show them how to apply it in classrooms, defend it against angry parents and skeptical community leaders, and construct a national cadre through which their will to power may blossom.

In a statement of “NAME’s philosophy,” the organization tells us that “Xenophobia, discrimination, racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia are societal phenomena that are inconsistent with the principles of democracy and lead to the counterproductive reasoning that differences are deficiencies.” The premises of that statement, of course, are that the social institutions and identities—the “phobias” and “isms” listed—that define a particular order are (a) pathologies (hence the pseudo-psychiatric nomenclature) and (b)

undemocratic. The implicit meaning of “democracy” in the statement is perhaps not what most Americans understand by the term, nor for that matter are most of the phobias and “isms” mentioned of the truly anti-social variety. The statement also says that NAME “rejects the view that diversity threatens the fabric of a society.”

But in enunciating such disclaimers the organization, like the multiculturalist, wears two faces. One face tells us that American society is imbued with exclusionary and repressive pathologies and calls for the extirpation of the basic mechanisms by which the pathologies and repression are sustained; the means to extirpate them is the enhancement of “diversity” and the challenging of the dominant institutional categories that in effect define the social order. The other face denies any such goal and assures us that diversity is no threat at all. Pointing to this contradiction is important, not so much to expose and refute the muddled thinking of the multiculturalist mafia, but rather to make clear the tactics by which this mafia seeks power.

Multiculturalism is entirely correct in one of its major premises, that American society or any other kind of social order defines itself by the exclusion or subordination of some kinds of beliefs and behaviors, and therefore also the partial exclusion of those groups that are culturally wedded to them. A moment’s reflection shows that this is universally true, that the pagan Roman Empire or Christian medieval monarchies could not have been the kind of societies they were had they not excluded and repressed alternative beliefs and groups that did not share their identity. In the United States, where Americans have historically boasted of their tolerance and openness, the processes of exclusion and repression have generally been lacking in the formal apparatus of the state, and the absence of state action against social deviance has enticed many Americans into believing that those processes don’t exist, that America is a unique and exceptional society that defines itself by its tolerance and “openness.”

The fact is that American society, in part because of the weakness of its national state throughout its history, has re-