

FLOYD JAMISON

12/27/13

# FALMOUTH J. (PAT) BUCHANAN

## DAY OF RECKONING

HOW  
OW HUBRIS, IDEOLOGY, AND GREED  
ARE TEARING AMERICA APART

### Introduction

### How Nations Perish

Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;  
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world. . . .

—W. B. YEATS, "THE SECOND COMING"

Nations pay a severe price for lost wars. So the last century taught us.

The Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and German empires went down to defeat in the Great War. The Romanovs were overthrown and murdered and the czarist empire was torn apart at Brest-Litovsk. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismantled and Vienna reduced to the capital of a landlocked nation of 6.5 million. The Hapsburgs were sent packing. Germany lost her colonies and navy and an eighth of her territory. The kaiser fled to Holland. Germans and Hungarians in the millions were put under the rule of Belgians, French, Italians, Serbs, Czechs, Poles, Romanians, and Lithuanians.

The fall of France in 1940 led to the collapse of the Third Republic and the end of the French Empire in Indochina, the Maghreb and Middle East, and sub-Saharan Africa. Britain's exhaustion and bankruptcy after 1945 led to the rout of the Tories, the ouster of Winston Churchill, socialism, and the decline and fall of the empire on which the sun was never to set. Defeat in

Afghanistan brought the collapse of the Soviet Empire, overthrow of the Communist Party, and the death and decomposition of the Soviet Union.

These were epochal events. But soon after these empires passed into history, which progressives celebrated, the cheering stopped. For something unanticipated began to happen. The once-subject peoples, discontented with life in their liberated homelands, began the greatest mass migration in human history. Northward, they came, in the millions, to the First World countries that had held their ancestors in colonial captivity. And the nations of Europe, no longer imperial, no longer great, began to disintegrate.

Ireland had shown the way early in the century, breaking free of the United Kingdom in 1921, as these Catholic Celts considered themselves a persecuted minority of Protestant England. Every Irish child knew of the icy British indifference to the famine of '45 and the execution of the martyrs of the Easter Rising, when, in Yeats's words, all was "changed, changed utterly," and a "terrible beauty" was born. And with the lifting of the nuclear sword of Damocles that had hung over Europe in the Cold War, the disintegration accelerated. The fault lines upon which the states began to break apart were ethnicity, religion, language, and history.

In 1991, the Soviet Union shattered into fifteen nations. Most had never before existed, or existed only in centuries past. Ukrainians knew from their culture of the Ukraine of history. The Baltic republics had not forgotten czarist rule or the horrors of the 1940 annexations by Stalin. The Armenians, Azeris, and Georgians of the Caucasus are not Russian. The Turkomans, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kirgыз, Kazakhs, all of whom now have their own nations, are Muslims and do not cherish memories of rule by Christian czars and Soviet commissars.

In the Velvet Divorce of January 1, 1993, Czechs and Slovaks went their separate ways. Yugoslavia disintegrated into six nations: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro. A seventh, Kosovo, is about to be born. Ethnicity, religion, and history were the reefs on which Yugoslavia was battered and broke apart. Slovenes had belonged to the Hapsburg Empire, not the Ottoman. Muslims are dominant in Bosnia. Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats have horrible memories of mutual slaughter in World War II. Kosovo is to Serbs what Jerusalem is to Jews, but the province is now 90 percent Albanian and Muslim. The Orthodox churches and convents of Kosovo have been vandalized and destroyed.

Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, it is said, were artificial nations created by the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain in 1919. And the Soviet Union was but the Russian Empire reconstituted by the Red Army, the KGB, the Communist Party, and Leninist ideology, not a nation at all. The breakup of the USSR, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia did not come, however, until after they embraced democracy. Communist rule kept them together. Indeed, it seems a truism. To hold together a multiethnic or multilingual state, either an authoritarian regime or a dominant ethnocultural core is essential.

The sudden disintegration of these three nations into twenty-six seemed to substantiate Strobe Talbott's prediction in his 1992 *Time* essay, "The Birth of the Global Nation."

All countries are basically social arrangements, accommodations to changing circumstances. No matter how permanent and even sacred they may seem at any one time, in fact they are all artificial and temporary. . . .

[W]ithin the next hundred years . . . nationhood as we

know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single, global authority. A phrase briefly fashionable in the mid-20th century—"citizen of the world"—will have assumed real meaning by the end of the 21st century.<sup>1</sup>

Is the time of nations over? Is the nation-state passing away? Are the bonds that hold them together so flimsy? Since Talbott's essay, events have not contradicted him.

In 2007, the Scottish National Party, which seeks to dissolve the Acts of Union of 1707 and break free of England, displaced Labour as first party in the Scottish Parliament. Scots whose grandfathers were proud to be the fighting sons of the British Empire are less desirous of being ruled by Little England. Welsh separatists made gains in the same election. Like the Irish, the other Celts wish to be free of the English, who are themselves setting aside the Union Jack of the United Kingdom for the red Cross of St. George.

Londonistan is not the London of Victoria or Edward VII. With the empire gone, people are less proud to be Britons. In America, one sees a trend of British journalists quietly applying for U.S. citizenship for themselves and their children.

Catalans and Basques seek independence from Spain. Corsicans and Bretons want out of France. Belgium, in the fall of 2007, was on the verge of breakup into a Dutch-speaking Flanders in the north and a Francophone Wallonia in the south. The Lega Nord hopes to secede from Italy. Turks and Greeks have divided Cyprus. Only immigrants who prefer rule by Ottawa prevent the Québécois from breaking free of Canada. Russia is bedeviled by new secessionist movements in Dagestan and Chechnya.

Beyond the West, disintegration has not ceased since the old

empires fell. Pakistan broke from India in 1947 over religion, and East Pakistan (Bangladesh) seceded in 1971. A secessionist movement has arisen in the Baluchistan region of Pakistan and Iran. Azeris, Kurds, and Arabs, too, chafe at domination by Persians, who are but half of Iran's population. Iraq is breaking apart into a Kurdish north, a Sunni west, and a Shia south. Two-thirds of all Christians have fled. Eritrea has broken away from Ethiopia. Lebanon is disintegrating.

Wherever Islam rubs up against other civilizations, there is violence—from the Philippines to Indonesia, Thailand, Kashmir, Chechnya, Palestine, Sudan, Nigeria—and the *banlieues* of Paris. Be they Filipino Catholics, Thai Buddhists, Hindu Indians, Israeli Jews, Orthodox Russians, Nigerian Christians, African animists, or French secularists, sons of Islam are at war with them all. And as we see from the election battles in Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Mexico, race and ethnicity are not receding as issues that divide peoples and nations; they are rising again.

In Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Pandaemonium is the capital of Hell, the "high capital of Satan" where the first council of demons was held after the expulsion from Heaven. Sen. Pat Moynihan took *Pandaemonium* as the title of his 1993 book on the ethnic conflict he saw coming. After Los Angeles exploded in racial violence and a Europe liberated from Communism was rudely shaken by a return of ethnic savagery to the Balkans, Moynihan feared a coming dystopia where nations would break apart in tribal hatreds inexplicable to the modern mind. He was not wrong.

What has this to do with us? Everything. For few nations are as multiracial, multiethnic, multilingual, and multicultural as the United States. And as Talbott wrote, "The big question



these days is which political forces will prevail, those stitching nations together or those tearing them apart?"<sup>2</sup> This is the existential question facing America. Will what separates us—race, ethnicity, culture, morality, and faith—prove stronger than what unites us?

On a visit to Japan, after the Los Angeles riot in which whites were dragged from their vehicles in South Central and beaten and stomped, and the Korean community was subjected to a pogrom, Vice President Dan Quayle was politely asked if perhaps America did not suffer from an excess of "ethnic diversity."

"I begged to differ with my hosts," Quayle told the Commonwealth Club of California, "I explained that our diversity is our strength."<sup>3</sup>

But our national motto is "E pluribus unum"—"Out of many, one." It is in our unity that our strength resides.

In 2007, the Harvard political scientist Robert Putnam, author of the bestseller *Bowling Alone*, reported that his five-year study of 30,000 residents in forty-one American cities found that racial and ethnic diversity go hand in hand with Balkanization, a breakdown of community, and a general retreat into social isolation.

When the Irish came to America, they were separated from their new countrymen by their Catholic faith, nationality, brogue, and history of having been despised and persecuted by the English from the time of Cromwell's massacre at Drogheda forward. *The Gangs of New York* depicted the hatreds of nativist Protestants for the immigrant Irish. When the Italians, Jews, and peoples from Eastern Europe came, they, too, were separated from the national majority, and chose, as do today's immigrants, to dwell apart.

Like the fingers of a hand that closes to form the fist, it was when we came together in unity that we became strong, for America was greater than the sum of her parts.

What formed us into one nation and people?

For generations, we worked side by side. Our fathers fought together in the Civil War, Spanish-American War, and the world wars. We went through the Depression together. Though separated by race in the 1950s, there was, as I wrote in *State of Emergency*, a definable American nationality:

In 1960, 18 million black Americans, 10 percent of the nation, were not fully integrated into society, but they had been assimilated into our culture. They worshipped the same God, spoke the same language, had endured the same depression and war, watched the same TV shows on the same four channels, laughed at the same comedians, went to the same movies, ate the same foods, read the same newspapers, and went to schools where, even when segregated, we learned the same history and literature and shared the same holidays: Christmas, New Year's, Washington's Birthday, Easter, Memorial Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Columbus Day. Segregation existed, but black folks were as American as apple pie, having lived in this land longer than almost every other group save the Native Americans.

That cultural unity, that sense we were one people, is gone.<sup>4</sup>

Truly, America faces an existential crisis. Are the racial, political, social, and cultural forces pulling us apart overwhelming the forces holding us together?

It is the belief of the author and premise of this book that

America is indeed coming apart, decomposing, and that the likelihood of her survival as one nation through midcentury is improbable—and impossible if America continues on her current course. For we are on a path to national suicide.

"At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected?" said Lincoln in his rhetorical question to the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield: "I answer, if it ever reach us, it must spring up amongst us. It cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen, we must live through all time, or die by suicide."<sup>5</sup>

How is America committing suicide? Every way a nation can.

The American majority is not reproducing itself. Its birthrate has been below replacement level for decades. Forty-five million of its young have been destroyed in the womb since *Roe v. Wade*, as Asian, African, and Latin American children come to inherit the estate the lost generation of American children never got to see.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, from 2005 to 2006, our minority population rose 2.4 million to exceed 100 million. Hispanics, 1 percent of the U.S. population in 1950, are now 14.4 percent. Since 2000, their numbers have soared 25 percent to 45 million. The U.S. Asian population grew by 24 percent since 2000, as the number of white kids of school age fell 4 percent. Half the children five and younger today are minority children.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1990s, for the first time since the Spanish came to California, whites fled the Golden Land. Two million left. From July 1, 2005, to July 1, 2006, 100,000 more packed and headed back over the mountains, whence their fathers came. The Anglo population of California is down to 43 percent and falling fast.

White folks are now a minority in Texas and New Mexico. In Arizona, Hispanics account for more than half the population under twenty. The American Southwest is returning to Mexico.

Unlike the Ellis Island generations, all of whom came from Europe, those pouring in today come from countries, continents, and cultures whose peoples have never before been assimilated by a First World nation. And they are coming in far greater numbers than any nation has ever absorbed. History has never seen an invasion like this. For there are more illegal aliens in the United States today than all the Irish, Jews, and English who ever came, and the total number of immigrants here now almost equals the total number who came in the 350 years from the birth of Jamestown to the inauguration of JFK.

Yet the great melting pot of yesterday that turned us into one people is cracked and broken—reviled by our elites as an instrument of cultural genocide. Immigrants are encouraged to keep their culture, customs, traditions—and not let their children be immersed in the English language. In Chicago's schools, children are taught in two hundred languages. Five million of the 9 million people in Los Angeles County speak a language other than English in their homes.

This writer stood on the steps of Lincoln Memorial, a few feet away from Dr. King in 1963, when he declared, "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

But segregation did not give way to the color-blind society. Rather, its demise ushered in identity politics and a bewildering array of ethnic and racial entitlements. Talk radio and cable TV now nationalize racial conflicts, as students resegregate themselves in dorms and at graduation ceremonies, while armies of

bureaucrats try to impose diversity in the workplace. America's obsession—for an unattainable equality of all races and ethnic groups—has led to a loss of liberty, which is what America was all about.

In 1915, Theodore Roosevelt warned in a speech to the Knights of Columbus, "The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

But that is the destination for which America is on course. Before us lies the prospect of two, three, many nations, separate and unequal.

Almost as many African-American males are in jail or prison as are in colleges or universities. Half of all African-American and Hispanic students drop out of high school. The other half graduates with the math and reading skills of seventh-, eighth-, and ninth-graders. Yet by 2050 the number of African Americans and Hispanics will have almost doubled from today's 85 million, to 160 million. The future seems more ominous than it did in the hopeful days of civil rights. For these burgeoning scores of millions will not long accept second-class accommodations in the affluent society, where they are the emerging majority. The long hot summers of yesterday may be returning.

As critical, the greatest cohort of immigrants here today, legal and illegal, is from Mexico. One in five Mexicans is already here. But unlike the immigrants of old, Mexicans bear an ancient grudge against us as the country that robbed Mexico of half her land when both nations were young. By one survey, 72 percent of Mexicans look on Americans as "racists."<sup>8</sup> By another, 58 percent of Mexicans believe the American Southwest belongs to them.<sup>9</sup>

At the Guadalajara soccer game where Mexico played the United States for the right to compete in the 2004 Olympics, each Mexican score was greeted with chants of "Osama! Osama!"<sup>10</sup> During the Miss World contest in Mexico City in 2007, Miss USA's every appearance was hooted and jeered.

By 2050, more than 100 million Hispanics will be in the United States, concentrated in a Southwest that borders on Mexico. As the Serbs are losing Kosovo, so we may have lost the Southwest.

Why did America not secure her borders, enforce her laws, repel the invasion, expel the intruders? Because our leaders are terrified of charges of racism and lack moral courage, and because the United States has ceased to be a democratic republic. The will of the majority is no longer reflected in public policy. State and local referenda to deal with the illegal alien crisis are routinely invalidated by federal judges, as immigration laws go unenforced by federal officials.

Perhaps the greatest threat to the survival of this nation as a sovereign and independent republic comes from transnational elites who seek to erase our borders and merge America, Mexico, and Canada into a North American Union—the penultimate step toward a World Federation of Nations and Peoples. There, as Talbott rhapsodized, "nationhood as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single, global authority, and the phrase 'citizen of the world' will have assumed real meaning." This is the nonviolent path to national suicide America is now on.

But for the New World Order to be born, the old republic must die. Loyalty to transnationalism is thus treason to the republic.

There is another force for disunion—the social revolution

#### DAY OF RECKONING

America has passed through since the 1960s. This revolution created a chasm between Americans on those matters—history, heroes, holidays, religion, morality, customs, culture—that once united us. We are no longer one people. And we no longer have a great danger or great cause to unite us, as in the world war or the Cold War. "Without the cold war," asks Harry "Rabbit" Angstrom, in the fourth and final book of John Updike's series of "Rabbit" novels, "what's the point of being an American?"

President George W. Bush declared the "world democratic revolution" to be our great cause, and "ending tyranny in our world" to be America's national goal. But the people yawned and Bush lost the country long ago. Moreover, America may be headed for a disaster in the Middle East that will eclipse Vietnam in its awful consequences. *U.S. 10/10/01*

The defeats in war suffered by the European nations led to the collapse of their empires, falling birthrates, a plunge into self-indulgence, indifference to immigrant invasions, and their unraveling in a return to tribal roots. Are we about to follow Europe on the path to national suicide?

Is our day of reckoning just ahead?