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Impact of Our Campaign

TELEVISION, RADIO

■ Our speakers and writers have been interviewed on such national TV networks as **Fox News Channel**, **MSNBC** and **PBS** **25 times in the last year.**

■ In the last seven months ARI speakers have garnered about **10,500 minutes of radio and TV airtime** in interviews. Our commentary has been heard on radio stations in **33 states throughout America**, as well as in Japan and Australia.

NEWSPAPERS

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Multiculturalism: An Assault on the Individual

By embracing “diversity,” multiculturalism claims to extinguish racism. Far from being a cure for racism, multiculturalism is racism in a new, self-righteous guise. The purpose of this ad hoc newsletter is to describe the efforts of the Ayn Rand Institute to oppose multiculturalism and to defend the superiority of Western Civilization.

Multiculturalism holds that an individual’s identity and personal worth are determined by ethnic/racial membership—not by his own choices and actions. One cannot urge people to believe that their identity is determined by skin color and expect them to become colorblind. Observe, for instance, how college students have become racial separatists, choosing their friends based on ethnicity—and banding together to form self-segregated dormitories.

Or consider how the clamor for “slave reparations” in fact engenders racism. Whites today, who never owned slaves and bear no personal responsibility for slavery, are asked to accept collective responsibility—simply because they belong to the same race as the slave-owners of the Old South. People are seen not as individuals, but as fragments of a tribal collective.

The premise lurking in the shadows of multiculturalism’s ostensible goals is that the individual’s life has no value or importance apart from the tribal group. He is unworthy of living—because, according to multiculturalism, he is incapable: at root multiculturalism is an assault on the human mind.

continued on last page

Ayn Rand On Racism

“Racism is the lowest, most crudely primitive form of collectivism. It is the notion of ascribing moral, social or political significance to a man’s genetic lineage—the notion that a man’s intellectual and characterological traits are produced and transmitted by his internal body chemistry. Which means, in practice, that a man is to be judged, not by his own character and actions, but by the character and actions of a collective of ancestors.

“Racism claims that the content of man’s mind (not his cognitive apparatus, but its *content*) is inherited; that a man’s convictions, values and character are determined before he is born, by physical factors beyond his control. This is the caveman’s version of the doctrine of innate ideas—or of inherited knowledge—which has been thoroughly refuted by philosophy and science. Racism is a doctrine of, by and for brutes. It is a barnyard or stock-farm version of collectivism, appropriate to a mentality that differentiates between various breeds of animals, but not between animals and men.

“Like every form of determinism, racism invalidates the specific attribute which distinguishes man from all other living species: his rational faculty. Racism negates two aspects of man’s life: reason and choice, or mind and morality, replacing them with chemical predestination.” —from “Racism” in *The Virtue of Selfishness*, by Ayn Rand.



Top: Dr. Yaron Brook, executive director of ARI, on *Tony Brown’s Journal*, a nationally syndicated PBS show, discussing “slave reparations.”

Bottom: Dr. Edwin Locke, a senior writer for ARI, on Fox News Channel.

“On Columbus Day, Celebrate Western Civilization, Not Multiculturalism”

By Michael S. Berliner

Columbus Day approaches and this year has a special meaning. Christopher Columbus is a carrier of Western Civilization and the very values attacked by terrorists on September 11. To the “politically correct,” Columbus Day is an occasion to be mourned. They have mourned, they have attacked, and they have intimidated schools across the country into replacing Columbus Day celebrations with “ethnic diversity” days.

The politically correct view is that Columbus did not discover America, because people had lived here for thousands of years. Worse yet, it’s claimed, the main legacy of Columbus is death and destruction. Columbus is routinely vilified as a symbol of slavery and genocide, and the celebration of his arrival likened to a celebration of Hitler and the Holocaust. The attacks on Columbus are ominous, because the actual target is Western Civilization.

Did Columbus “discover” America? Yes—in every important respect. This does not mean that no human eye had been cast on America before Columbus arrived. It does mean that Columbus brought America to the attention of the civilized world, i.e., to the growing, scientific civilizations of Western Europe. The result, ultimately, was the United States of America. It was Columbus’ discovery for Western Europe that led to the influx of ideas and people on which this nation was founded—and on which it still rests. The opening of America brought the ideas and achievements of Aristotle, Galileo, Newton, and the thousands of thinkers, writers, and inventors who followed.

Prior to 1492 what is now the United States was sparsely inhabited, unused, and undeveloped. The inhabitants were primarily hunter-gatherers, wandering across the land, living from hand to mouth and from day to day. There was virtually no change, no growth for thousands of years. With rare exception, life was nasty, brutish, and short: there was no wheel, no written language, no division of labor, little agriculture and scant permanent settlement; but there were endless, bloody wars. Whatever the problems it brought, the vilified Western culture also brought enormous, undreamed-of benefits, without which most of today’s Indians would be infinitely poorer or not even alive.

Columbus should be honored, for in so doing, we honor Western Civilization. But the critics do not want to bestow such honor, because their real goal is to denigrate the values of Western Civilization and to glorify the primitivism, mysticism, and collectivism embodied in the tribal cultures of American Indians. They decry the glorification of the West as “cultural imperialism” and “Eurocentrism.” We should, they claim, replace our reverence for Western Civilization with multiculturalism, which regards all cultures (including vicious tyrannies) as morally equal. In fact, they aren’t. Some cultures are better than others: a free society is better than slavery; reason is better than brute force as a way to deal with other men; productivity is better than stagnation. In fact, Western Civilization stands for man at his best. It stands for the values that make human life possible: reason, science, self-reliance, individualism, ambition, productive achievement. The values of Western Civilization are values for all men; they cut across gender, ethnicity, and geography. We should honor Western Civilization not for the ethnocentric reason that some of us happen to have European ancestors but because it is the objectively superior culture.

Underlying the political collectivism of the anti-Columbus crowd is a racist view of human nature. They claim that one’s identity is pri-

marily ethnic: if one thinks his ancestors were good, he will supposedly feel good about himself; if he thinks his ancestors were bad, he will supposedly feel self-loathing. But it doesn’t work; the achievements or failures of one’s ancestors are monumentally irrelevant to one’s actual worth as a person. Only the lack of a sense of self leads one to look to others to provide what passes for a sense of identity. Neither the deeds nor misdeeds of others are his own; he can take neither credit nor blame for what someone else chose to do. There are no racial achievements or racial failures, only individual achievements and individual failures. One cannot inherit moral worth or moral vice. “Self-esteem through others” is a self-contradiction.

Thus the sham of “preserving one’s heritage” as a rational life goal. Thus the cruel hoax of “multicultural education” as an antidote to racism: it will continue to create more racism. Individualism is the only alternative to the racism of political correctness. We must recognize that everyone is a sovereign entity, with the power of choice and independent judgment. That is the ultimate value of Western Civilization, and it should be proudly proclaimed.

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Back to the Dark Ages?:

Today's Attacks on Reason, Individualism and Progress

By Peter Schwartz

Some of the material that appears here is taken from Mr. Schwartz's essay "Multicultural Nihilism," which is published in Ayn Rand's book *Return of the Primitive: The Anti-Industrial Revolution* (published by Meridian in 1999, edited with an introduction and additional essays by Peter Schwartz).

The same intellectual forces that transformed the advanced civilization of Greece into the primitive society of medievalism are at work today. If allowed to succeed, they will drag us back, not just to the Dark Ages, but even further—to the wretched, primordial existence of the caveman.

What are these forces? There are three versions of them in today's culture—three manifestations of the view that the individual is incapable and unworthy of living, and that man should not rely upon reason as his sole means of knowledge. Religion is one obvious proponent of this view. But the ones I want to examine extensively are the other two: multiculturalism and environmentalism.

Now, religion does not really belong in this grouping, because it is far broader and more fundamental than the other two. Religion encompasses an entire, explicit philosophy of life. It has an explicit view of the nature of the universe, of man's means of knowledge, of a systematic code of ethics. Whereas multiculturalism and environmentalism are, overtly, just political ideologies.

Nonetheless, I want to explain crucial similarities among them. I want to explain how religion's explicit mysticism is mirrored by an *implicit* mysticism—a secular mysticism—on the part of both multiculturalism and environmentalism. I want to show how religion's avowed opposition to individualism and to science is embraced by these other two viewpoints. And, most important, I want to demonstrate how the primitivism that results when religion comes to dominate a culture will occur in our own age if the doctrines of multiculturalism and environmentalism are allowed to prevail. . . .

So let us examine each of these doctrines closely, beginning with multiculturalism.

Every step man took in rising from the cave required the knowledge, not only of how to take that step, but of why it was a value—why it was a step *forward*. It was not enough for men to learn, for example, how to hunt with knives or spears; they had to evaluate this knowledge and conclude that hunting with weapons is *better* than hunting with bare hands. Across the entire span of history, man had to comprehend such truths—the truth that planting crops is better than foraging off the land, that indoor plumbing is better than outhouses, that electricity is better than candlelight, that science is better than superstition. Not just "different," but better—*objectively* better.

The history of mankind is the history of the creation of values. Mankind advanced only because some individuals originated better ways of doing things (and because the rest of society came to see the validity of those innovations). When some exceptional prehistoric man conceived the use of fire, he understood the advantage of cooked meat over raw meat. His achievement was not dismissed as the biased product of someone insensitive to those who may prefer their woolly mammoths uncooked. In order to advance, men had to discern that certain products had *value*—i.e., that they were worth creating, worth using and worth defending.

The recognition that some things further human life and are therefore good, while other things do not and are therefore bad, is what made civilization possible. It is this premise which enabled man

to progress from numerology to mathematics, from alchemy to chemistry—and from the cave to the skyscraper.

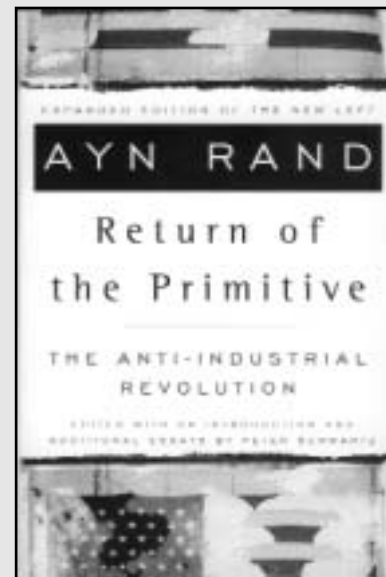
It is this progression that today's multiculturalists wish to undo.

Nothing is objectively better than anything else, they assert. Anyone who elevates Western civilization above primitive, voodoo-worshipping tribes—anyone who admires the skyscraper and scorns the cave—is a "Euro-centrist" looking at life through a distorting lens. All cultures are equal, they argue; every culture is "different"—but none is superior.

What multiculturalism wants is not to "broaden" our knowledge of different cultures, but rather to nullify our *evaluations* of them. Multiculturalism seeks to destroy our awareness of the objective value of a Western, or rational, way of life, and the disvalue of its opposite. . . .

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Ayn Rand's book *Return of the Primitive: The Anti-Industrial Revolution* (published by Meridian in 1999, edited with an introduction and additional essays by Peter Schwartz).

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The Greatness of Western Civilization

By Edwin A. Locke

In this age of diversity-worship, it is considered virtually axiomatic that all cultures are equal. Western culture, claim the intellectuals, is in no way superior to that of African tribalists or Eskimo seal hunters. There are no objective standards, they say, that can be used to evaluate the moral stature of different groups. They assert that to deny the equality of all cultures is to be guilty of the most heinous of intellectual sins: “ethnocentrism.” This is to flout the sacred principle of cultural relativism. I disagree with the relativists—absolutely.

There are three fundamental respects in which Western culture is objectively the best. These are the core values or core achievements of Western civilization, and what made America great.

Reason. The Greeks were the first to identify philosophically that knowledge is gained through reason and logic as opposed to mysticism (faith, revelation, dogma). It would take two millennia, including a Dark Ages and a Renaissance, before the full implications of Greek thought would be realized. The rule of reason reached its zenith in the West in the 18th century — the Age of Enlightenment. “For the first time in modern history,” writes one philosopher, “an authentic respect for reason became the mark of an entire culture.” America is a product of the Enlightenment.

Individual Rights. An indispensable achievement leading to the Enlightenment was the recognition of the concept of individual rights. John Locke demonstrated that individuals do not exist to serve governments, but rather that governments exist to protect individuals. The individual, said Locke, has an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of his own happiness. The result was the United States of America. (Disastrous errors were made in the West—for example, slavery, which originated elsewhere, and Nazism—but these were too incongruent with Western values to last and were corrected, by the West, in the name of its core principles of reason and rights.)

Science and Technology. The triumph of reason and rights made possible the full development and application of science and technology and ultimately modern industrial society. Reason and rights freed man’s mind from the tyranny of religious dogma and freed man’s productive capacity from the tyranny of state control. Scientific and technological progress followed in several interdependent steps. Men began to understand the laws of nature. They invented an endless succession of new products. And they engaged in large-scale production, that is, the creation of wealth, which in turn financed and motivated further invention and production. As a result, horse-and-buggies were replaced by automobiles, wagon tracks by steel rails, candles by electricity. At last, after millennia of struggle, man became the master of his environment.

The result of the core achievements of Western civilization has been an increase in freedom, wealth, health, comfort, and life expectancy unprecedented in the history of the world. The achievements were greatest in the country where the principles of reason and rights were implemented most consistently—the United States of America. In contrast, it was precisely in those Eastern and African countries which did not embrace reason, rights, and technology where people suffered (and still suffer) most from both natural and man-made disasters (famine, poverty, illness, dictatorship) and where life-expectancy was (and is) lowest. It is said that primitives live “in harmony with nature,” but in reality they are simply victims of the vicissitudes of nature—if some dictator does not kill them first.

The greatness of the West is not an “ethnocentric” prejudice; it is

an objective fact. This assessment is based on the only proper standard for judging a government or a society: the degree to which its core values are pro- or anti-life. Pro-life cultures acknowledge and respect man’s nature as a rational being who must discover and create the conditions which his survival and happiness require—which means that they advocate reason, rights, freedom, and technological progress.

Despite its undeniable triumphs, Western civilization is by no means secure. Its core principles are under attack from every direction—by religious fanatics, by dictators and, most disgracefully, by Western intellectuals, who are denouncing reason in the name of skepticism, rights in the name of special entitlements, and progress in the name of environmentalism. We are heading rapidly toward the dead end of nihilism.

The core values and achievements of the West and America must be asserted proudly and defended to the death. Our lives depend on them.

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The Assault on Ability

Jesse Jackson's Campaign for Racial "Right to Capital" Favors Race Over Ability

By Robert Tracinski

As Jesse Jackson makes news by traveling to a cauldron of ethnic hatred—the Balkans—too little attention is being paid to his own campaign for creating racial conflict. He has been urging America to enter what he calls the “next frontier of the civil rights movement.” He wants us to recognize a “right to capital.”

Jackson has targeted Wall Street and Silicon Valley, claiming that investors aren't lending “enough” money to black-owned businesses, that companies are not putting “enough” blacks on their boards of directors, and that technology firms aren't hiring “enough” black engineers and computer programmers.

“Enough”—by what standard? Both Wall Street and Silicon Valley demand the highest levels of ability. To write millions of lines of software code, or to design the next generation of computer chips, or to direct a billion-dollar corporation—these are jobs requiring an unusual amount of education, experience, judgment, and intelligence. Yet these are not the criteria by which Jackson believes such individuals should be hired. He demands, instead, that they be selected by a method about as sophisticated as drawing names at random from a phone book.

Take his Silicon Valley crusade. Jackson points to the fact that blacks make up only 4 percent of the employees in the region's high-technology firms, while they constitute 8 percent of the area's population. But software companies do not pull their employees off the street at whim. They hire from a pool of educated, technically knowledgeable people. Yet according to the Department of Education, blacks make up only 5.3 percent of those who receive college degrees in engineering and computer science.

Given these statistics, it would be more rational to attribute low numbers of black computer programmers to the abysmal failure of our public schools, which have failed to prepare inner-city children for college. There may even be more innocuous explanations: Cypress Semiconductor CEO T. J. Rogers points to statistics showing that far more blacks pursue advanced degrees in medicine and education than in engineering, and asks: “If top African-American students choose to be doctors or educators instead of engineers, why blame Silicon Valley?”

But Jackson regards such considerations as irrelevant. He does not bother to ask how many blacks have the qualifications or interest to acquire these jobs. Instead, he insists that they be granted jobs in proportion to their numbers in the general population—and condemns anything less as a violation of “civil rights.”

His approach to Wall Street is similar. Is he seriously suggesting that investment bankers are not greedy enough to want to make lots of money from the talents of black economic geniuses? And if there indeed are, as Jackson implies, black Warren Buffets and Bill Gateses who are being denied capital for no reason other than their skin color—why doesn't *he* organize an investment fund to profit from this enormous financial opportunity?

The answer is that Jackson does not care about business acumen or any other form of intellectual merit. It is precisely such qualities that he wants to override in favor of the meaningless, brute physical fact of race. Jackson's demands constitute, not a fight for civil rights, but an assault on the concept of human ability.

Notice that Jackson has not attempted to provide any proof of

racial discrimination in these fields. There are no stories of talented black programmers or financiers being turned away from potential employers. All that Jackson cites is these companies' failure to meet an arbitrarily devised racial quota. This is a particularly insidious form of the injustice inherent in “affirmative action”—under which hiring and promotion are based, not on an individual's competence, but on racial quotas. It is bad enough to put race above merit when it comes to employing people to pull levers on assembly lines. But can one imagine hiring on the basis of quotas when the job is to direct a billion-dollar conglomerate?

In the computer industry, Bill Gates talks about looking for “supersmart” programmers and has been known to purchase small software companies just to acquire their talented employees. On Wall Street, the genius of one money manager or CEO can make the difference between bankruptcy and billions. These are arenas in which human ability is paramount—and it is precisely for this reason that computer executives or Wall Street investors cannot afford to make business decisions based on any standard other than individual ability. They cannot afford to engage in the traditional racial hatred being practiced in the Balkans—nor can they afford the new “reverse racism” being promoted by Jesse Jackson.

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Pied Pipers of Tribalism

The “Million Woman March” Should Have Promoted Individualism Not Tribalism

By Gary Hull

In nineteenth century Africa, blacks were sold into slavery by their community leaders. The leaders of the Million Woman March are trying to repeat history.

The 500,000 attendees at the October 25 march in Philadelphia listened to speakers extolling the theme “Sisters Healing Sisters.” The mission statement says: “Great-grandmother taught grandmother. Grandmother taught mother. Mother taught me. I will teach you.” What ideas did the organizers teach? They pushed unity among “racial sisters,” and a return to the primitive tribalism of “African values.”

Because the individual’s identity is determined by the ethnic group, they said, one should devote oneself to supporting the needs of the tribe. Organizer Barbara Smith explained what this means: “In Africa, we shared everything. If I [had] milk, you had milk. If I had a house built, you had a house built. And when we started to learn that we were actually kings, queens, physicians, musicians, builders of pyramids, the stimulation of that [was] incredibly powerful. We can’t find that in American history. We have to find that in African history.”

Barbara Smith got the facts right—but not the evaluation. The sacrifice of the individual to the ethnic collective is indeed to be found in African, not American, history. America’s unique heritage is individualism. America has historically treasured self-reliance and independent thinking. But those values have created the freest and wealthiest country ever.

What, by contrast, has Africa’s philosophical heritage of collectivism produced? Its worship of ethnic groups has caused centuries of misery and tribal slaughter. For example, an estimated 80–115 million young girls have been forced to submit to the ancient horror of genital mutilation. Life expectancy on the continent is some 25 years lower than in the U.S. The infant mortality rate is about fifteen times higher. There is unspeakable disease and mass starvation caused by a variety of collectivist dictatorships.

This is the tribalism that the march’s organizers accepted—and flaunted.

Do the march’s leaders want increased economic opportunities? Then let them endorse, not more government programs, but individual rights and capitalism. Do they want racial harmony? Let them grant moral supremacy, not to the collective tribe, but to the independent individual. Do they want better education? Let them fight, not for black-only schools, but for schools that teach the value of the individual, rational mind.

Lurking behind the rally’s love of all things African was the insidious message to every listener: Ditch your brain; subordinate your will; accept the notion that your life has no reality except as an appendage of the tribal organism.

These ideas are not originated by the leaders of the march. They come from the humanities departments at our colleges and universities. The organizers merely spread in the culture what college professors now teach in class. For instance, one avant-garde concept in academia is “critical race theory”—which argues that there is no reality independent of a person’s ethnicity, no objective facts and no universal rules of logic. Every person thus interprets events according to the emotions of his racial group. Said Professor Anthony Cook, a law professor at Georgetown University and a defender of the theory: “Critical

race theory wants to bring race to the very center of the analysis of most situations. Its assumption is that race has affected our perception of reality and our understanding of the world—in almost every way.”

Assaults on human reason create a herd mentality—a mentality that mindlessly follows those who declare themselves the leaders. Travelers on the Million Woman March will find that this tribalist road leads only to poverty, dictatorship and slavery. Ideologically there is no difference between “Aryan only” and “black only” schools. And there is no difference between a Nazi intellectual who said: “The voice of the blood speaks a louder language than that of the intellect,” and a Million Woman March attendee who said: “I wanted to meet other strong black women who had the same agenda and be united.”

Leaders of the minority communities will not find economic progress or racial harmony by turning to Africa. They will find positive values only by discovering the ideas that created the freest, wealthiest country in history—the one that fought a war to eradicate slavery: America. Minorities, as do all Americans, need a crusade against tribalism and for the supremacy of reason and individualism.

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Pride vs. Prejudice

“Black Pride,” “Hispanic Pride,” “Native American Pride” Are All Illegitimate Concepts Which Destroy Genuine Pride in an Individual.

By Andrew Bernstein

Today we often hear pronouncements about “ethnic pride.” Numerous events—such as the “Black Pride Day” to be held in Washington, D.C., over Memorial Day weekend—seek to celebrate people’s racial or geographic origins as a source of pride. In keeping with this trend, there are even neo-Nazi organizations calling for “white pride.”

All such claims promote the same false view of the nature of pride.

Pride is the result of only one thing: achievement. And it can be earned by only one type of entity: an individual human being. An individual is entitled to be proud, for example, of graduating with honors as a result of hard study—or of exercising the conscientious effort that gains him a promotion at work—or of engaging in the endless hours of practice that enable him to lead his athletic team to a championship. It is the person of accomplishment who experiences genuine pride.

Pride is a result of working hard and reaching positive goals. For it to have any significance, it must represent a reward, an emotional payment for one’s attainments. As such, pride belongs properly only to the individual achiever. It does not redound to others who merely happen to be members of the same ethnic group.

“White pride,” no less than “black pride,” is an illegitimate concept. It is true that many human beings who happen to be white have reached exalted goals. From Aristotle, who formulated the laws of logic, to Shakespeare, whose poetry is filled with the most beautiful language, to Newton, whose genius made possible many of the scientific advances of the modern world, there have been many white men proud of their glorious triumphs. But I, who happen to be white, have no basis for pride in what they have done. I—like all human beings—do benefit from them, but I am in no way responsible for them and therefore deserve none of the credit. Pride rests not on racial membership, but on individual accomplishment.

Real pride is based on a philosophy of individualism—on the idea that only individuals choose, act, achieve and create values. The group as such—i.e. apart from the work of the individuals it comprises—does nothing. The bogus claims of ethnic pride are based on collectivism, on the view that the group is primary, that an individual is merely a splintered fragment whose essential identity comes from being part of the whole, and that the individual—like some worker ant in a colony—lives solely to enhance the existence of the collective and to bask in its reflected glory. This is the same collectivist view that underlies all forms of racism—white or black—by judging the individual prejudiciously, not by his objective value, but by the “value” of his tribe. This view, by attributing any individual achievements to the collective, makes the experience of true pride impossible.

Concomitantly, it deliberately fosters false pride. There are countless blacks, for example, who are great achievers and who should be admired (by people of any race). But their successes should not give an Al Sharpton or a Louis Farrakhan reason to feel proud. A corrupt person gains no credit merely because he belongs to a racial group that includes illustrious individuals. Pride requires the acknowledgment that an individual’s achievements are his alone, not communal property.

It also requires the recognition that it must be earned. Since pride is a consequence and a reward, it does not apply to something outside one’s volitional control. One can feel pride in one’s thoughts and actions; one cannot feel pride in such non-volitional attributes as skin color. Yet it is this false view that is typically taught to our young.

It is true that members of a persecuted minority can draw inspiration from the achievements of another member of that group. An achiever shows how much is possible—he demonstrates the human potential. Others can then find motivation to seek their own successes—but they have no justification for experiencing actual pride in another man’s deeds.

We should stress the link, particularly to our schoolchildren, between pride and individual accomplishment. Everyone should be encouraged to strive to be the best he or she can be—in education, in career, in moral character. We must make sure that our young understand that they should feel proud—not for being born into a certain ethnic group, but for exerting individual effort and attaining individual goals.

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Apology for Slavery Will Perpetuate Racism

By Robert W. Tracinski

Consider the following scenario. You are suddenly arrested by the police one morning and charged with a crime. The crime, you are told, was committed by another man of the same color of skin—and so you will be punished for it in his place. A judge sentences you to pay a fine, perform community service, and make a public apology for the crime. Would you regard this as a gross injustice, as a form of racist persecution? In fact, a similar approach is now being promoted in the name of “racial healing.”

President Clinton has indicated his support for a Congressional proposal to apologize, on behalf of the nation and the U.S. government, to “African-Americans whose ancestors suffered as slaves.” This apology has been promoted as an attempt to bring “closure” to the racial divisions created by slavery. Rather than healing racism, however, this proposal would help to perpetuate it.

An apology for slavery on behalf of the nation presumes that whites today, who predominantly oppose racism, and never owned slaves, and who bear no personal responsibility for slavery, still bear a collective responsibility—a guilt they bear simply by belonging to the same race as the slave-holders of the Old South. Such an apology promotes the very idea at the root of slavery: racial collectivism.

Those who owned slaves were certainly guilty of a grave injustice. But by what standard can other whites (many of whom are not even descendants of the slave-holders) be held responsible for their ideas and actions? By what standard can today’s Americans be obliged—or even authorized—to apologize on the slave-holders’ behalf? The only justification for such an approach is the idea that each member of the race can be blamed for the actions of every other member, that we are all just interchangeable cells of the racial collective.

Critics of the proposed apology oppose it, not because it embraces this racist premise, but because it does not go far enough. They want to apply the notion of racial collectivism in a more “substantial” form, by increasing welfare and affirmative-action programs designed to compensate for the wrongs of slavery. Such compensation consists of punishing random whites, by taxing them and denying them jobs and promotions, in order to reward random blacks. Because individual whites persecuted individual blacks 150 years ago, this argument goes, reparations must be paid by all whites collectively to all blacks collectively.

The ultimate result of this approach is not racial harmony or a color-blind society, but racial warfare. Under the premise of racial collectivism, an injustice committed against any member of your racial group entitles you to retaliate against any member of the perpetrator’s racial group. The concept of individual justice is thrown out and replaced by racial vendettas. It is precisely this kind of mentality that has devastated the Balkans, with each ethnic tribe continually exacting revenge on the other in retaliation for centuries-old grievances.

The idea of a national apology for slavery merely reinforces this same kind of racial enmity in America. By treating all whites as the stand-ins or representatives for slave-holders, it encourages the view of blacks and whites as a collective of victims pitted against an opposing and hostile collective of oppressors, with no possibility for integration or peaceful coexistence.

The only alternative to this kind of racial balkanization is to reject the notion of racial collectivism altogether and embrace the opposite principle: individualism. People should be judged based on their

choices, ideas, and actions as individuals, not as “representatives” of a racial group. They should be rewarded based on their own merits—and they must not be forced to pay, or to apologize, for crimes committed by others, merely because those others have the same skin color.

Americans, both black and white, should reject the notion of a collective guilt for slavery. They should uphold the ideal of a color-blind society, based on individualism, as the real answer to racism.

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Diversity and Multiculturalism: The New Racism

By Michael S. Berliner and Gary Hull

Is ethnic diversity an “absolute essential” of a college education? UCLA’s Chancellor Charles Young thinks so. Ethnic diversity is clearly the purpose of affirmative action, which Young is defending against a long-overdue assault. But far from being essential to a college education, such diversity is a sure road to its destruction. “Ethnic diversity” is merely racism in a politically correct disguise.

Many people have a very superficial view of racism. They see it as merely the belief that one race is superior to another. It is much more than that. It is a fundamental (and fundamentally wrong) view of human nature. Racism is the notion that one’s race determines one’s identity. It is the belief that one’s convictions, values and character are determined not by the judgment of one’s mind but by one’s anatomy or “blood.”

This view causes people to be condemned (or praised) based on their racial membership. In turn, it leads them to condemn or praise others on the same basis. In fact, one can gain an authentic sense of pride only from one’s own achievements, not from inherited characteristics.

The spread of racism requires the destruction of an individual’s confidence in his own mind. Such an individual then anxiously seeks a sense of identity by clinging to some group, abandoning his autonomy and his rights, allowing his ethnic group to tell him what to believe. Because he thinks of himself as a racial entity, he feels “himself” only among others of the same race. He becomes a separatist, choosing his friends—and enemies—based on ethnicity. This separatism has resulted in the spectacle of student-segregated dormitories and segregated graduations.

The diversity movement claims that its goal is to extinguish racism and build tolerance of differences. This is a complete sham. One cannot teach students that their identity is determined by skin color and expect them to become colorblind. One cannot espouse multiculturalism and expect students to see each other as individual human beings. One cannot preach the need for self-esteem while destroying the faculty which makes it possible: reason. One cannot teach collective identity and expect students to have self-esteem.

Advocates of “diversity” are true racists in the basic meaning of that term: they see the world through colored lenses, colored by race and gender. To the multiculturalist, race is what counts—for values, for thinking, for human identity in general. No wonder racism is increasing: colorblindness is now considered evil, if not impossible. No wonder people don’t treat each other as individuals: to the multiculturalist, they aren’t.

Advocates of “diversity” claim it will teach students to tolerate and celebrate their differences. But the “differences” they have in mind are racial differences, which means we’re being urged to glorify race, which means we’re being asked to institutionalize separatism. “Racial identity” erects an unbridgeable gulf between people, as though they were different species, with nothing fundamental in common. If that were true—if “racial identity” determined one’s values and thinking methods—there would be no possibility for understanding or cooperation among people of different races.

Advocates of “diversity” claim that because the real world is diverse, the campus should reflect that fact. But why should a campus population “reflect” the general population (particularly the ethnic population)? No answer. In fact, the purpose of a university is to

impart knowledge and develop reasoning, not to be a demographic mirror of society.

Racism, not any meaningful sense of diversity, guides today’s intellectuals. The educationally significant diversity that exists in “the real world” is intellectual diversity, i.e., the diversity of ideas. But such diversity—far from being sought after—is virtually forbidden on campus. The existence of “political correctness” blasts the academics’ pretense at valuing real diversity. What they want is abject conformity.

The only way to eradicate racism on campus is to scrap racist programs and the philosophic ideas that feed racism. Racism will become an ugly memory only when universities teach a valid concept of human nature: one based on the tenets that the individual’s mind is competent, that the human intellect is efficacious, that we possess free will, that individuals are to be judged as individuals—and that deriving one’s identity from one’s race is a corruption—a corruption appropriate to Nazi Germany, not to a nation based on freedom and independence.

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Gary Hull is director of the Program on Values and Ethics in the Marketplace at Duke University. His op-eds have been published in numerous newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Orange County Register*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, and *Chicago Tribune*. He has made numerous television and radio appearances to discuss Ayn Rand’s philosophy, multiculturalism, affirmative action, the Elian Gonzalez affair, sex, ethics, politics. He has lectured on Ayn Rand’s philosophy at conferences around the world and, as a member of the Ayn Rand Institute’s Speakers Bureau, has spoken at universities across the country, including Harvard, Michigan at Ann Arbor, Wisconsin at Madison, Texas at Austin. Dr. Hull is the author of *A Study Guide to Objectivism: the Philosophy of Ayn Rand* by Leonard Peikoff, and is co-editor of *The Ayn Rand Reader* (Penguin/Plume, 1999), a collection of fiction and non-fiction writings by Ayn Rand.

Web Site on Multiculturalism

On a special Web site (see illustration below: <http://multiculturalism.aynrand.org>), we have collected all of the Institute's editorials, press releases and essays on the insidious movement called multiculturalism. We encourage you to visit the site and to tell your friends, associates, family and coworkers about it. The site is continually updated and offers visitors an easy way to forward articles by e-mail.



Suggested Readings

- *Return of the Primitive: The Anti-Industrial Revolution* by Ayn Rand (edited with an introduction and additional essays by Peter Schwartz). See especially the chapter "Multicultural Nihilism."
- *The Voice of Reason* by Ayn Rand. See especially the chapter on "Global Balkanization."
- *The Virtue of Selfishness* by Ayn Rand. See especially the chapter "Racism."
- Additional editorials and commentaries from ARI are available online: <http://multiculturalism.aynrand.org>

Multiculturalism: An Assault on the Individual, *continued from page 1*

Multiculturalism claims that all cultures are of equal worth, regardless of their life-enhancing achievements. But, while claiming to fight racism, multiculturalism in fact perpetuates it; so, instead of elevating impoverished cultures, it seeks to attack Western Civilization. To equate the U.S., whose citizens enjoy political and economic freedom and unprecedented life-expectancy, with the cultures of third-world dictatorship, is to denigrate the good.

Read the editorials in this newsletter to discover the pernicious motives behind multiculturalism.

Impact of Campaign, *continued from page 1*

■ Scores of Web sites around the world—from Tulsa to Taiwan to Tel Aviv—have published our editorials.

ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

■ In the last year, the Ayn Rand Institute has sponsored **more than 50 college campus lectures**.

■ More than **2,550 students, professors and members of the general public** attended ARI's campus lectures, which were held at **Harvard, Stanford, Columbia, University of Chicago, University of Michigan, UC Berkeley, Penn State and Carnegie Mellon** (among many others).

About the Ayn Rand Institute

The Ayn Rand Institute (ARI) was founded in 1985 to promote the ideas of philosopher-novelist Ayn Rand (1905–1982). Miss Rand, best known for her novels *The Fountainhead* and *Atlas Shrugged*, was a tireless advocate of reason, individual liberties, and the free enterprise system.

In recent years, we have been pleased to see something of an "Ayn Rand Renaissance"—as evidenced in part by the following:

- Sales of Ayn Rand's books rose to more than 400,000 copies annually—twenty years after her death.
- A 1991 survey of readers by the Library of Congress and Book of the Month Club revealed that Rand's *Atlas Shrugged* ranked second only to the Bible as the most influential book among readers polled.
- A recent documentary on Ayn Rand was nominated for an Academy Award, and the U.S. Postal Service issued a commemorative postage stamp in her honor.
- Earlier this year, C-SPAN broadcast a weekend of programming focusing on Ayn Rand's life and work. The broadcast was voted by C-SPAN viewers as the most popular of the network's recent *American Writers* series.

ARI works to bring Ayn Rand's ideas to the widest possible audience. In classrooms, on campuses, and in the media, we defend America against the threat of terrorists and their supporting states; we oppose the pernicious doctrines of relativism, multiculturalism, and environmentalism; and we uphold and defend the free-market system—as the essays in this newsletter demonstrate.

You can learn more about all of ARI's programs and activities, and receive regular updates, by visiting our Web site: www.aynrand.org.

What Your Donation Can Support

By supporting ARI, you can help finance more editorials (like those reprinted here) and live campus lectures in defense of the ideals on which America was founded. A tax-deductible donation of \$1,500 will help pay for one campus lecture (this includes travel and security for our speakers). In the last academic year ARI speakers presented more than 50 campus talks, reaching more than 2,550 students, professors and members of the public. Untold millions have listened to our speakers on radio and national television.

\$2,000 dollars can finance the research, writing and distribution of one editorial. But whatever you can donate will be put to good use defending the values we all cherish. Our editorials have been published in newspapers and on the Internet.

By supporting ARI, you will be helping us give America the intellectual ammunition it so urgently needs. Through us, your efforts will be amplified throughout the culture.

To make a contribution, send a check or money order (or your credit card information) payable to:

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