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THE NEW NATIONALISM

For What Does America Stand?

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I find it amusing that the social democratic Establishment which dominates public opinion in America and most of Europe has re-discovered - 'horrors' and lower your voice - Nationalism. The Great Satan of the Left is not dead, never was dead; it was lurking out there - among the people. In an ultimate sense, the people are the enemy of the Left. Like Rousseau and the Jacobins, who represented the false version of nationalism, the Left sees the people and their culture as an evil mass which must be purified and transformed.

Rousseau and the Jacobins were the first exponents of false nationalism - state nationalism. The Jacobins undertook to transform twenty million people with a variety of Romance tongues, cultural patterns and styles, into a single 'national' language. The resistance to the Jacobin policy was most intense in the Vendée in Brittany and Loire Valley. The Vendée opposed the idea of the state church and of state military conscription. They supported the national church - the Catholic Church - against the state church. They supported their national customs of the Vendée and not the state imposed customs of the bureaucracy in Paris.

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The state bureaucracy's conception of nationalism - the false nationalism - requires a state language for indoctrination of state ideology; this requires a state school system to educate in the language of the state and in the ideology of the state. Previous to the French Revolution, education was conducted by thousands of educational institutions owned by a large variety of religious entities, parishes and orders of priests, brothers and nuns. Most of these offered some instruction in standard French, since that is what the parents wished. There is a cost to a child in ^{its} effort to learn a standard language, and usually parents insist that their children attend schools where that is a requirement. The separation of school and state permits the natural forces to encourage the addition of a standard language to a local language. The union of state and school creates any number of crazy problems in education, not to mention poorer and poorer education in the basics.

The Jacobins undertook to manage the currency and money of France by introducing paper money, originally backed by the property that had been confiscated from the religious educational, charitable and liturgical institutions. The Jacobins printed money and created inflation. They introduced the economic terror to counter the peoples' natural use of the market and its prices rather than the state's dictated price controls; natural users of the market violated the law of the maximum and suffered the maximum penalty for obeying the natural law of the market rather than the unnatural legislation of the state.

The Jacobin armies moved through the French country-side raiding the harvests of the French peasants (who were equally criminals for siding ^{with} the Catholic Church against the state religion. The Jacobins attempted to force merchants to not export their products in order to keep the prices of food lower than the market price. The Jacobins abrogated the Eden-Dupont Treaty of 1786 which introduced Free Trade in order to support inefficient industries rather than to allow them to modernize and to gain the economic advantages of specialization.

The Jacobins engaged in war not only in their economic interferences and anti-Catholic crusades in France, but in their 'liberations' of the peoples of other countries. Instead of belonging to estates of the Holy Roman Empire, etc., the neighboring peoples were subjected to the looting of taxes by the Jacobins, the attacks on the Catholic Church, and the whole range of economic controls on their natural market activities. The peoples' responses was a nationalist opposition to the oppression of the false nationalism of the Jacobins. This nationalism of the subjected peoples against Jacobin nationalism often was associated with the emerging economic liberalism as the defining character of nineteenth century Europe in the history text-books. Anti-state nationalism and economic liberalism were the common reactions to the imposition of cultural and economic controls of the natural choices of individuals and localities in their daily activities. Anti-Jacobinism was negation of the state's intervention in the private choices of people in their language, their religion, and their market activities.

To repeat, I find it most amusing to see the re-focus on the fact of nationalism. I did most of undergraduate and graduate study around the topic of nationalism. At Georgetown College, I studied European nationalism with Tibor Kerekes, the military aide-de-camp of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and tutor of the Archduke Otto von Habsburg; I was associated with his project on Nationalism and the Captive Nations under Communism for the House Sub-committee on Captive Nations. Also, I studied with Charles C. Tansill on Woodrow Wilson's misuse of nationalism in the First World War and the Versailles Conference. I continued that study at Fordham University with Oskar Halecki who was secretary of the Polish Delegation at the Versailles Conference, as well as Ross J. S. Hoffman and A. Paul Levack, who were the editors of Burke's Politics (Knopf).

Edmund Burke had been the pre-eminent opponent of Jacobinism and proponent of true nationalism. Burke's opposition to the emerging State Bureaucracy in his life time made him a supporter of the rights of Irishmen, Englishmen, Americans, Hindus, French Catholics, Bavarians, Franconians, Rhinelanders, Lombards, Abruzzians, Sicilians, Poles. Burke saw the voluntary, traditional, familial nationalisms as part of the great legacy of mankind's progress, and he saw the state as the great enemy of familial nationalism. My professors at Georgetown College and Fordham Graduate School had the same view of the great opposition between State and Nation.

Edmund Burke saw the developing Jacobinism of the French Revolution as the full emergence of the Bureaucratic State. Burke had seen on the European Continent the same application by bureaucrats of economic arguments for state purposes as he had seen in the debate leading to the Declaration of Independence. Burke was a close friend and reader of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations. Burke had experienced the same government policies which had caused Smith to write his master-piece: the attempt of the English government to re-impose trade restrictions on the American colonists. The Tariff System or Mercantilism had been developed as the economic organization of the Total War State. The American colonists had always resisted the Tariff System. The colonial records are full of beautiful stories by governors and officials denouncing the Americans for being Americans - that is, free traders. The Dutch were the heroes of free trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they carried cheaper goods from where-ever to where-ever. The Americans were always trading with the Dutch in violation of whatever tariffs the special interests had gotten through parliament. John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, was only one of the many American merchants whose speciality was free trade with the Dutch against the tariff legislation. Free Trading was the definition of the American during one hundred and fifty years before Hancock signed the Declaration of Independence.

Sir Robert Walpole and William Gladstone are two of the greatest statesmen in World History - they are models for any politician running any of the one hundred and seventy odd countries in the United Nations. All those politicians are living still on the

capital accumulations and investments started by the policies of Walpole and Gladstone, Jefferson and Jackson.

Sir Robert Walpole introduced the policy of 'Salutary Neglect,' although it took the mind of Edmund Burke, when the policy was being overturned by the English government and defended by the American colonists, to actually give it a name. Burke defended 'Salutary Neglect' which was the policy which Adam Smith was showing brought wealth and prosperity to England and the colonies. Walpole neglected to enforce the Tariff System, and England and America experienced an explosion of wealth and prosperity. 'Salutary Neglect' meant the importation into England and America of all taxed goods by untaxed means. The availability of cheap goods in large quantities created a Consumer Revolution; the demand led to increased demand which could only be satisfied by the Industrial Revolution increasing production of cheaper goods. America benefited by the availability of cheaper manufactured goods and Asian products, paid for by the massive involvement in international trade of American agricultural products. The Walpole system led to a massive immigration to America in the eighteenth century attracted by cheap, untaxed imports and export of products rooted in private property. Of course, there were complaints about the immigrants - Benjamin Franklin hated the sight of so many Reddish Germanic peoples flooding into Pennsylvania, but he liked the increase to the value of his property which their industry encouraged.

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Edmund Burke emphasized the importance of 'Salutary Neglect', paralleling Smith's Wealth of Nations, for the success of the American economy, and the necessary role of the American opposition and the revolution to protect the economy from the Tariff State. The Jacoban repudiation of free trade was one of the reasons that Burke found their economic policies to be odious.

The attempts to impose the Tariff State in America was one of the major dividing issues in American politics. Every advocacy of a government intervention introduces another element of civil war in our society. When there is a number of civil wars occu^ring in politics, the action can move from politics to actual conflict. The attempt to introduce again the Tariff State will be a major weight on the scale of civil war in America. Starting in the nineteenth century, the most easily applied mechanical manufacturing - textile manufacturing - has been a central lobby to rob the people through the Tariff State. Textile manufacturing is a great bon^ous to mankind and all manufactures who can continue the heroic tradition of cheap textiles should be praised. Those who produce more beautiful, more costly textiles should be applauded for catering to that market, which is likely to be small.

American politics was characterized by the civil war over tariffs and some historians have considered the desire of northern manufactuers to impose tariffs an important cause of the civil war, Somehow the economic motivation in the northern interference with succession was neglected in the recent Public Broadcasting series on the civil war.

In the absence of senators and representatives from the states of the Confederacy, the Lincoln Republicans created their Revolution against the 'Salutary Neglect' for which the American Revolution had been fought. The Lincoln Republicans had imposed the Tariff State - a major objective of their war against the Confederacy. In place of the ideal of the frugal government, the Lincoln Republicans opened up the public's pocket book to their special interest supporters.

The first Democrat elected after the war against the Confederacy, Grover Cleveland, highlighted the looting of the public in the Tariff State. In Cleveland's Third Annual Message, December 6, 1887. he emphasized that tariffs raise the price to the consuming public of imported goods reducing their standard of living. Tariffs were a transfer from the ordinary citizen to the pockets of the privileged manufacturers who gained government protection from competition. In those days, the workers in protected industries did not benefit for as consumers the increased costs on them and decreased buying power of the rest of the consumers did not lead to a net gain.

Due to the lack of competition from the special privilege of protection, industrial entities larger than would be the case in the free market were able to form. Tariffs created the unfounded accusation that largeness as such in free competition was a danger. The tariff-created unnatural entities were confused with the natural industrial entities.

In his Fourth Annual Message, December 3, 1888, Cleveland declared:

Communism is a hateful thing and a menace to peace and organized government.

But, Cleveland said that the workers developed their idea of communism from the Communism of the special business interests which used government to distribute the workers wealth to ^{selves} them. For Cleveland, Communism already existed due to the tariffs which redistributed the workers wages to special business interests. The idea that government should give privileges and transfer money had been introduced by the legislation favoring the tariff protected industries; it was understandable that other groups would follow in the steps of the tariff protected business interests.

Protective tariffs encouraged the growth of coercive unionism. Uncompetitive industries can provide the dark recesses in which coercive unionism arises. The rise of unionism added another special interest along side the tariff protected businesses influencing the legislatures. Protective tariffs provided an economic cover for unions to gain restrictive legislation.

In the late nineteenth century, the Freedmen made great strides in a generally free market. However, protective tariffs led unions supporting tariffs in the legislature to gain employer agreements to pay the protected wages only to white workers. The competitive advantage of black workers was excluded due to the privileged legislation. In the twentieth century, monopoly unions could gain minimum wage legislation which has closed out employment

opportunities for Blacks. In exchange, the unions through legislative power have 'compensated' Blacks by taxing the general population to pay welfare to those unemployed due to the minimum wage legislation. The crisis of the Black family stemming from this special interest union legislation will engulf our society.

The immigration restrictive legislation of the early 1920s created a shortage of labor in the industrial north and the movement of Blacks from rural south to the northern cities. But, the increase of monopoly unionism and minimum wage legislation created a welfare system which attracted rural Blacks to northern cities.

Each state intervention in the market creates a crisis. Often the crisis takes a long period to make itself felt. Legislators who created the crisis try to avoid responsibility, and instead of abolition of the intervention, they legislate a new one, which makes the situation worse. There are many sad cases caused by government intervention, but any attempts to rectify the situation with new government privileges will make the general situation worse. It is crucial to understand the destructive effects on the market of any government interventions.

Government intervention is a lack of recognition of human nature. Human nature is fixed, it cannot be changed by legislation. Legislation can only encourage the aspect of human nature formed by Original Sin. The New Deal, the Great Society, Industrial Policy all are based on a denial of human nature. Our country is beset by the consequences of this refusal to recognize the reality of human nature. The cost of ignoring human nature will be increasingly high.

Two of the most significant, permanent parts of human nature are culture and economics. Both are areas in which state action is always negative. State policies in culture or in education lead to ~~the~~ bad results. Indeed, they create crises, confusion, and often misdirected responses. We have seen politicians benefiting and increasing their roles as the crises they create become more burdensome. They then step forward to claim to be the source of new political solutions to the problems created by politics. Robert Nisbet has given us plenty of warning on this score. We cannot do better than to try to reach opinion-makers with the analyses which Nisbet has provided us.

I believe that America is in the midst of both a cultural and economic disaster. Both are of the government's making. Further government interventions will bring us to a collapse. We are at a cross-roads because there remains sufficient strenghts among the ordinary citizens to challenge what has been imposed and what is being proposed. As a patriot I believe that the American people remain strong enough to defeat the government. The State is always the enemy of the Nation. I believe that our Nation will prevail against the State.