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## Book Review

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# John Quincy Adams and Henry Carey refute candidate Pat Buchanan

by Nancy Spannaus

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### **A Republic, Not an Empire: Reclaiming America's Destiny**

by Patrick J. Buchanan

Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 1999  
337 pages, hardbound, \$29.95

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Forget the critics, especially the television “talking heads,” on the subject of Pat Buchanan’s latest book. Most of them have not read the book, and those who have, are simply looking for a way to discredit it. As a matter of fact, the more the media whores attack the book, the more credibility it will gain in many circles.

For Pat Buchanan, you see, is a populist, and his book plays to the prejudices of the populists in America. His standpoint is “America First,” with all the disastrous implications that that phrase has for the abysmally miseducated American of today. Because Buchanan’s book works to reinforce those popular prejudices, in apparent opposition to the media establishment, it should be answered.

Buchanan’s book also purports to provide a history of American foreign policy, going back to the principles laid out by President George Washington, and moving through to the present day. This historical analysis is not unsophisticated, but it is fundamentally flawed. Because, when it comes right down to it, Pat Buchanan either does not understand, or is not being honest about, the real differences between the principles that define an empire and a republic — in particular, the British Empire and the American Republic. Those principles, in the arena of foreign policy, were most clearly established in the 19th century by Secretary of State and President John Quincy Adams, and Abraham Lincoln’s chief economic adviser, Henry Carey. Thus, it is upon these great Americans that we will call in order to refute Buchanan, and hopefully teach thoughtful Americans how they must approach foreign policy today.

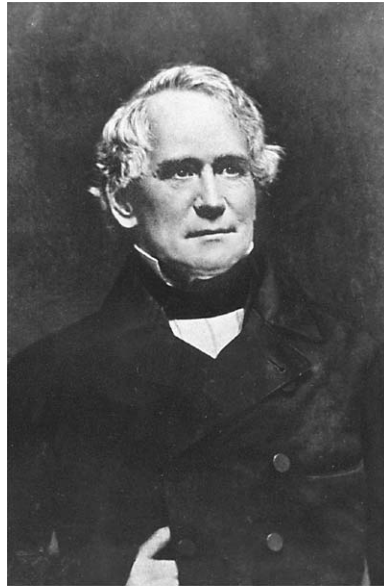
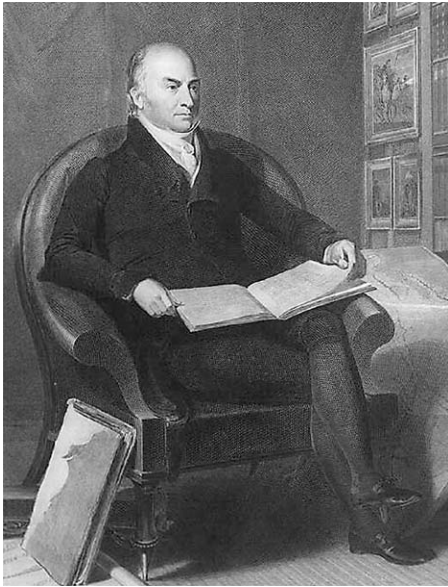
### **What Buchanan gets right**

Before entering upon our main argument, it is useful to note some of the matters which Buchanan got right. In these areas, it would almost seem that the experienced political commentator and candidate has taken advantage of his familiarity with the work of Lyndon LaRouche and this news service.

First, Buchanan is right to say that there is nothing American about the tradition of “free trade.” While he doesn’t deal with this issue in this volume (it was the subject of his previous book, *The Great Betrayal*), his declaration of this truth, including a reference to the “American System” in his preface, indicates that he does know something about American history.

Second, Buchanan both leads and concludes his book with a most appropriate warning against the *imperial* policies of George Bush, including the fact that the adoption of such policies will put the United States directly on the pathway to World War III.

Buchanan begins with the case of none other than Paul Wolfowitz, a member of the Kissinger-trained foreign policy coterie who served in the George Bush administration and is currently an adviser to his son, Republican Presidential candidate George W. Bush. Defense Undersecretary Wolfowitz wrote a 46-page memorandum in 1992, Buchanan reports, which proposed a U.S. strategy which would be based on the decision that “the United States would never permit any nation—Russia, Germany, Japan, China—to rise ever again even to the status of regional superpower” (p. 9). In particular, Wolfowitz’s memo projected a potential war by land, sea, and air against Russia, over the defense of its small neighbor Lithuania. In elaborating the thinking by this crowd, Buchanan notes that this provocative policy of NATO expansion up to Russia’s borders, has been continued under the Clinton administration. Buchanan believes that such a policy could well lead to a nuclear showdown with a nuclear-armed Russia, an unnecessary confrontation which is by no means justified by the national interests of the United States.



Secretary of State and then President John Quincy Adams (left) and economist Henry Carey. Buchanan cites Quincy Adams repeatedly, but does not comprehend his outlook. Carey, who formulated the plans for economic development which must accompany a true “Community of Principle” between nations, is not mentioned at all.

On the policy of the Bush administration, and where it leads, Buchanan’s report is absolutely right.

The policy of imposing so-called “global democracy” also appropriately comes in for attack by Buchanan.

The third major useful observation by Buchanan regards the role of British thinking in subverting the American tradition of anti-imperialism. He points out that the two Presidents who actively embraced imperial policies—Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson—were ardent Anglophiles (Buchanan’s word). He notes that only the British supported the United States in the Spanish-American War, and that the whole policy of aggression in Asia, the Open-Door policy, was a concoction by the British Foreign Office. And, of course, it was to save the British that Wilson broke all his electoral promises, and entered World War I against Germany.

Fourthly, Buchanan correctly notes that the pathway of imperialism, which he identifies as the Bush thrust for a *Pax Americana*, is a pathway to disaster. So far, so good. But Buchanan’s alternative, which he mislabels as nationalism, grossly misrepresents the tradition of American foreign policy by confusing it with “America First.” He genuinely does not seem to understand the key principles of our republic.

### What is the American republic?

Looked at from the standpoint of universal history, the United States of America represents a unique accomplishment, a high point, in human history. The idea of man as a noble creature of thought, as a discoverer and developer of the laws of the universe, which had been advanced by Greek Classical culture, particularly Plato, had established a republi-

can current in European history, which had founded the institution of the nation-state at the time of the 15th century’s Golden Renaissance. It was the nation-state, devoted to uplifting all citizens through education and improvements in their standard of living, and providing the means for citizens to participate in their own governance and development, which the republicans saw as indispensable to the progress of mankind.

The first such nation-state was the France of Louis XI, during 1461-83. But, within decades, the oligarchies of Europe were able to make a successful assault, and during the following centuries, despite brilliant breakthroughs in art and science by individuals and networks, there were no successful political institutions formed to preserve and pass on their breakthroughs to the next generation. The republican elite of Europe determined to outflank the oligarchy, through a colonization of the New World.

Thus began the American experiment, dedicated to forming a true republican form of government, devoted to the General Welfare of all people, free of the oppression of a nobility which insisted upon ruling over an ignorant, toiling mass of peasants. With the support of republicans throughout Europe, and aided by the fact that the oligarchy was not entrenched on their soil, the American colonies eventually won their independence, and established the only constitutional government in the world which enshrined the concept of the General Welfare for the population, and its posterity, as its purpose for existence. That government was far from perfect, as the toleration of slavery and lack of universal education underscore. But the America of the Declaration of Independence and Constitution was conceived by its leading founders and supporters as a step forward to freedom and progress for all mankind. It owed a debt to its European republican supporters then, and throughout its subsequent fight for survival.

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### A true American foreign policy: the ‘Community of Principle’

From this concept of the American republic come the principles of foreign policy.

The republican foreign policy outlook of the United States, although implicit in the work of Founding Fathers Benjamin Franklin and George Washington, was clearly defined in the 19th century, in the work of John Quincy Adams and Henry Carey. While Buchanan cites Quincy Adams repeatedly, he does not comprehend the foundation for his out-

look. As for Carey, who formulated the plans for economic development which must accompany a true “Community of Principle” between nations, Buchanan doesn’t reference him at all.

The first touchstone noted by Buchanan is that of Washington’s Farewell Address, which had been edited substantially by First Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton. From that document comes the admonition to “steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world,” and to pursue “commercial relations” without getting politically involved. This was understood to be directed at avoiding having the United States become ensnared with either France or Great Britain—or the wars of independence being carried out between them and their colonies.

Washington was correct at the time, 1796. Both of the major imperial powers were interested in destroying the very model of republicanism which the fledgling United States represented, and there was no principled basis for U.S. alliances with them.

The second touchstone is the Monroe Doctrine, which was primarily the work of Quincy Adams. But, even before that was declared in 1823, Quincy Adams gave a Fourth of July address in 1821 which took on the issue of U.S. potential involvement in other nations’ wars of independence. Adams put it this way: “America does not go abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion only of her own.” Buchanan quotes this statement approvingly, in the spirit of “no entangling alliances.”

It was in the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine, *against* the British proposal that the United States join with England in keeping other European powers out of the Americas, that Quincy Adams articulated his foreign policy idea more clearly. In that context he enunciated the concept of a “community of principle” between nations. “Britain and America . . . would not be bound by ‘any permanent community of principle,’ ” Adams said in a memorandum to President Monroe, as exemplified by the fact that the United States had recognized the independence of the newly formed Ibero-American republics, where Britain had so far refused to do so. In other words, Adams was saying that a “community of principle” could not exist between the British Empire, with its imperial interests, and the American republic, which had very different commitments. But such a “community of principle” could be forged with the Hispanic, Catholic republics of South America.

What Quincy Adams understood—and Buchanan, as he shows in his treatment of the Monroe Doctrine, most definitely does not—is that that cornerstone of foreign policy was meant to establish a U.S. commitment to defend a community of principle with other *republics*, not just to “keep the foreigners out.” Republics, as Quincy Adams noted at some length and many times during his long political career, are devoted to a political and economic system which de-

fends the concept of man in the image of the God, and which has a government actively involved in improving the conditions of life for all through science, technology, and infrastructure.

Quincy Adams’s collaborators and successors in developing American System principles of economy and foreign policy—particularly father and son Mathew and Henry Carey—were able to put more economic content into the “community of principle” concept. Henry Carey, in particular, was deployed by the American System grouping to work on economic development plans for sister republics, as a means of establishing a lasting basis of collaboration between them, as well as the way of permanently defeating their imperial opponents. A fierce opponent of free trade, Carey attacked “British free-trade despotism,” and promoted collaboration between America, Russia, Japan, Germany, and China on “Great Projects” (railroads, canals, etc.), with the strategic aim of defeating British imperialism, and the human aim of *improving* conditions of life—economic and cultural—for the people.

Quincy Adams and Henry Carey—like Franklin before them—understood that the United States, as the world’s pre-eminent republic, had a *mission*, which went beyond its borders, and called for an active pursuit of alliances based on joint economic development. The very fact that Buchanan jumps past the period after Abraham Lincoln’s assassination, when the Carey networks were fighting tooth and nail to build collaborative relations between the United States and Russia, Germany, Japan, and China, based on such a positive economic development perspective, speaks volumes about his lack of understanding of the American System tradition of foreign policy.

### **The nature of British imperialism**

Don’t expect populists to understand the evil of British imperialism, or any other. Populists react, and they are easily manipulated. Buchanan is constantly showing throughout his historical review, that he does *not* understand the oligarchical principle from which the British Empire is operating, despite his self-professed defense of republicanism versus empire.

The first glaring problem is that Buchanan does not realize that the British Empire still exists! In his view, now that the accoutrements of power have become invisible, the empire has died. Geopolitical manipulation, control of financial flows, raw materials control—all of these levers which the British oligarchy still uses to maintain power over the world economy and politics, he simply ignores.

Buchanan’s errors are devastating to his historical analysis, and are entirely consistent with his lack of understanding of the republican principles of a community of principle among sovereign nation-states committed to economic development. It was to *prevent* such a community of principle, at the end of the 19th century, that Great Britain sponsored the assassination of President William McKinley, and launched

the crises that broke up a nascent U.S.-Russian-German alliance, and ultimately led to World War I. The same kind of thinking led to the *British* — with significant Wall Street aid — crucial role in bringing Adolf Hitler to power in Germany, and maintaining support for him over several years. Their imperial purpose was precisely what Buchanan proposed to do: let Germany and Russia mutually destroy each other. The aim, however, was that the British Empire, with its would-be American satrap, might thrive.

Thus, America-Firsters, even if not sympathetic with Hitler (as many of the “anti-communist” variety were), were manipulated by British intelligence for most of their existence.

It would be even more difficult for Buchanan to understand the conflict between Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill which subsisted during World War II, where FDR insisted that winning the peace entailed the end of empires and in sovereign economic development for all nations, no matter how small, while Churchill insisted that he was not going to fight a war in order to preside over the dismantling of the His Majesty’s “Empire.”

Quincy Adams, in particular, thanks to his immersion in Classical culture, had an acute understanding of the nature of the beast with which he was dealing. He understood what it meant when the British authors of slavery, became “anti-slavery” when it served their geopolitical purposes; he saw the British be pro-free trade one moment, and pro-protection the next; or, pro-republic and pro-monarchy. It all depended upon which “position” would serve the British monarchy’s ability to maintain its power in the long term.

And, on the level of principle, perhaps no one until Lyndon LaRouche has expressed the difference between the British imperial system and the American System more pungently than Henry Carey, from whose 1851 “Harmony of Interest” pamphlet we quote below.

### **‘America First’ is not republican**

The dangers involved in Buchanan’s misunderstanding of the republican principle are made excruciatingly clear in the concluding section of his book, where his proposals for what *should* be done are outlined. His call for abandoning the Bush imperial proposals are fine, of course. But what he would erect in their place as principles of foreign policy are potentially disastrous.

Buchanan calls his preferred foreign policy a “defensive shield.” What a misnomer!

In the first place, Buchanan ignores the greatest threat to our national existence — the cancerous financial bubble which is eating away at the foundations of physical existence for the world, including the U.S., economy. This bubble’s inevitable collapse can be dealt with, but only with the kinds of measures which Franklin Delano Roosevelt took, both domestically, and in conjunction with allies in a community of principle. But on both fronts, Buchanan is bitterly opposed to such measures.

He’s not prepared to defend us from our biggest enemy.

Secondly, Buchanan sees the emerging partnership between Russia and China as a threat to the United States, when in fact, such a partnership, in conjunction with the United States, is precisely what is needed to create a new, thriving world financial system.

Thirdly, Buchanan wants to *contain* China, allegedly because of its trade surplus with the United States, and its “aggression” in Asia. Can he really be so ignorant? China’s trade surplus with the United States is due to the fact that we will not export them the high-technology goods they want and need! And there is no Chinese aggression in Asia at all. Buchanan also wants to “expel” the Chinese from the Western Hemisphere, allegedly due to their commercial port arrangements on the Pacific Coast, using the “Monroe Doctrine” as a justification. This is ludicrous on its face.

Then there are Buchanan’s infamous proposals on immigration, particularly that from Mexico. Refusing to recognize the economic basis for the massive emigration from Mexico to the United States, Buchanan calls for a clampdown, severe limits on immigration, and blames the Mexicans for separatist movements in the country. Such an approach will only serve to exacerbate tensions between nations and neighbors.

What comes across in these proposals is a Hobbesian mind-set, not a republican one. Rather than seek out allies against the British imperial financial system, which is destroying us all, Buchanan calls for hunkering down to defend ourselves, within a universe of each against all.

Buchanan is right to defend the nation-state, but is sorely ignorant of what that republican institution represents historically, and politically, particularly in the United States. This queen of republics was the product of the best of republican thinkers internationally, who came to these shores to create a nation that would help to free all mankind from the scourge of oligarchism which will, if not eradicated, destroy humanity. We must restore that sense of identity in this period of crisis, and take crisis measures, in concert with international allies, in the immediate period ahead. To do that will require the guidance of those who understand foreign policy as John Quincy Adams and Henry Carey did, and more — specifically, Lyndon LaRouche.

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## Documentation

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### From Henry Carey’s ‘Harmony of Interest’

... Two systems are before the world; the one looks to increasing the proportion of persons and of capital engaged

in trade and transportation, and therefore to diminishing the proportion engaged in producing commodities with which to trade, with *necessarily* diminished return to the labour of all; while the other looks to increasing the proportion engaged in the work of production, and diminishing that engaged in trade and transportation, with increased return to all, giving to the labourer good wages, and to the owner of capital good profits. One looks to increasing the quantity of raw materials to be exported, and diminishing the inducements to the import of men, thus impoverishing both farmer and planter by throwing on them the burden of freight; while the other looks to increasing the import of men, and diminishing the export of raw materials, thereby enriching both planter and farmer by relieving them from the payment of freight. One looks to give the *products* of millions of acres of land and of the labour of millions of men for the *service* of hundreds of thousands of distant men; the other to bringing the distant men to consume on the land the products of the land, exchanging day's labour for day's labour. One looks to compelling the farmers and planters of the Union to continue their contributions for the support of the fleets and the armies, the paupers, the nobles, and the sovereigns of Europe; the other to enabling ourselves to apply the same means to the moral and intellectual improvement of the sovereigns of America. One looks to the continuation of the *bastard* freedom of trade which denies the principle of protection, yet doles it out as revenue duties; the other to extending the area of *legitimate* free trade by the establishment of perfect protection, followed by the annexation of individuals and communities, and ultimately by the abolition of custom-houses. One looks to exporting men to occupy desert tracts, the sovereignty of which is obtained by aid of diplomacy or war; importing men by millions for their occupation. One looks to the *centralization* of wealth and power in a great commercial city that shall rival the great cities of modern times, which have been and are being supported by aid of contributions which have exhausted every nation subjected to them; the other to *concentration*, by aid of which a market shall be made upon the land for the products of the land, and the farmer and planter be enriched. One looks to increasing the necessity for commerce; the other to increasing the power to maintain it. One looks to underworking the Hindoo, and sinking the rest of the world to his level; the other to raising the standard of man throughout the world to our level. One looks to pauperism, ignorance, depopulation, and barbarism; the other to increasing wealth, comfort, intelligence, combination of action, and civilization. One looks toward universal war; the other toward universal peace. One is the English system; the other we may be proud to call the American system, for it is the only one ever devised the tendency of which was that of *elevating* while *equalizing* the condition of man throughout the world.

*Such* is the true *mission* of the people of these United States. To them has been granted a privilege never before granted to man, that of the exercise of the right of perfect

self-government; but, as rights and duties are inseparable, with the grant of the former came the obligation to perform the latter. Happily their performance is pleasant and profitable, and involves no sacrifice. To raise the value of labour throughout the world, we need only to raise the value of our own. To raise the value of land throughout the world, it is needed only that we adopt measures that shall raise the value of our own. To diffuse intelligence and to promote the cause of morality throughout the world, we are required only to pursue the course that shall diffuse education throughout our own land, and shall enable every man more readily to acquire property, and with it respect for the rights of property. To improve the political condition of man throughout the world, it is needed that we ourselves should remain at peace, avoid taxation for the maintenance of fleets and armies, and become rich and prosperous. To raise the condition of woman throughout the world, it is required of us only that we pursue that course that enables men to remain at home and marry, that they may surround themselves with happy children and grandchildren. To substitute true Christianity for the detestable system known as the Malthusian, it is needed that we prove to the world that it is population that makes the food come from the rich soils, and that food tends to increase more rapidly than population, thus vindicating the policy of God to man. Doing these things, the addition to our population by immigration will speedily rise to millions, and with each and every year the desire for that perfect freedom of trade which results from incorporation within the Union, will be seen to spread and to increase in its intensity, leading gradually to the establishment of an empire the most extensive and magnificent the world has yet seen, based upon principles of maintaining peace itself, and strong enough to insist upon the maintenance of peace by others, yet carried on without the aid of fleets, or armies, or taxes, the sales of public lands alone sufficing to pay the expenses of government.

To establish such an empire—to prove that among the people of the world, whether agriculturists, manufacturers, or merchants, there is perfect harmony of interests, and that the happiness of individuals, as well as the grandeur of nations, is to be promoted by perfect obedience to that greatest of all commands, “Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you,”—is the object and will be the result of that mission. Whether that result shall be speedily attained, or whether it shall be postponed to a distant period, will depend greatly upon the men who are charged with the performance of the duties of government. If their movements be governed by that enlightened self-interest which induces man to seek his happiness in the promotion of that of his fellow-man, it will come soon. If, on the contrary, they be governed by that ignorant selfishness which leads to the belief that individuals, party, or national interests are to be promoted by measures tending to the deterioration of the condition of others, it will be late.