

New Horizon

Issue 3

JOURNAL PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL LIBERAL PARTY

Where is Britain's 'Obama' ?



CONTENTS

2 Contents

3 Editorial

4-7 'Where is Britain's Obama?'

8-12 'Nationalism: Sentiment or Ideology'

13-15 'Why are there still many nations without states?'

16 Economic influences on the NLP - Part 3

16-17 *Intro*

18-20 *'Free Market Economics - returning power to the people'*

21-22 Book Review: Sane Trade Unionism

23-24 'Patriotic & Labour - Step Forward'.

If you would like to comment or contribute on this issue please write to NLP, PO Box 4217, Hornchurch, Essex RM12 4PJ or email us on natliberal@aol.com

Research by YouGov in October last year found that 34% of the UK electorate would be uncomfortable with an ethnic minority PM.¹ Assuming that the NIB (Non Indigenous British) element in the poll were less negative voting for an ethnic minority (EM) politician, this suggests well over a third would not vote for an such a politician. Is this because they are intrinsically racist and will thus effectively block indefinitely the prospect of such a political leader emerging?

Whilst there will indeed be those who will never be able to vote for someone of a different race/ethnicity, I don't believe they represent more than around 10% of the population. Most people's only experience of an EM politician is one that has been picked by parties to deliver the EM vote. Their pronouncements and campaigns understandably focus on their own communities' issues, often around disadvantage or discrimination. It is an exclusive message designed for a limited audience.

If however an EM politician campaigned on emotive, as apart from dry, issues that could appeal across community lines, they would, in my opinion, receive general support. The article on page.5 of this issue, entitled '**Where is Britain's Obama?**', looks at this question and concludes that a 2nd/3rd generation member of the countries immigrant/self-determination community is the most likely candidate. Their family's experience of discrimination and denial of national self-determination in their homeland will make them sensitive to similar issues that affect all communities e.g. the EU/the State of the Union etc. We look forward to the emergence of such a political figure.

Talking of self-determination; the article on page.14 '**Why are there still many nations without states?**' is the script of a recent speech given by me to Canary Islanders struggling for greater autonomy or even independence from Spanish rule. There are many such groups around Europe, let alone the world, calling for national recognition.

In order to showcase the self-determinist concept and the specific cause(s) of the UK's SD Diasporas, the National Liberal Party (UK) will be standing a party list in London at this year's European Parliament elections under the slogan 'Self-Determination for All!'. Whatever the result it will surely change the dynamic of British politics in a number of ways. No longer will establishment politicians be able take the SD communities votes for granted, and no longer will they will be able to appoint (and de-select) ethnic minority candidates to do their party bidding i.e. deliver votes based on ethnicity rather than views, without scrutiny. It will also highlight the political potential, including voting strength, of such communities that the establishment will ignore at their peril. How significant and how permanent this might be only time will tell.

We welcome a new writer in Andrew Shackleton, who will be contributing philosophical articles on (inclusive) Nationalism over a number of future issues, loosely based on his University dissertation.

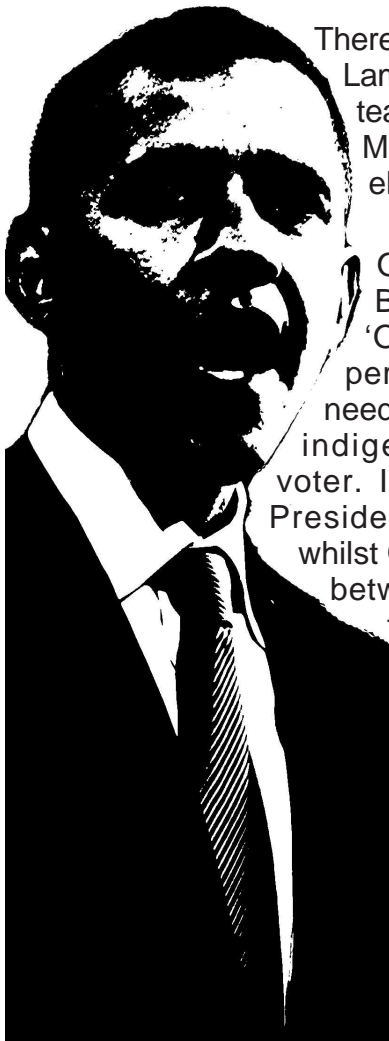
There is a third part of the popular '**Economic Roots and influences of National Liberalism**' on p.16 which looks at one of the architects of Distributism i.e. widespread ownership of property including at work, namely Hilaire Belloc. This is followed by an article from another new writer; Robert Byng on what he sees are the benefits of '**Free Market Economics**'. Finally, there are a number of articles, continuing from the last NH, on examples of non-socialist trade unionism.

1. <http://yougov.co.uk/news/2013/10/03/35-electorate-uncomfortable-with-ethnic-minority-/>

Where is Britain's 'Obama'

i.e. an ethnic minority 'national' leader?

We sometimes hear the phrase "Where is Britain's 'Obama'?"*1. They are referring to the emergence of a political leader (and possibly a future PM?) appealing across communities from within the UK's migrant community, whether 1st, but more likely, 2nd or 3rd generation.



There have been a number of alleged hopes e.g. Dianne Abbott, David Lammy or Chuka Umunna, but they have become part of their party's team rather than leading it. It is not an accident that they are Labour MP's rather than another party, since over 80% of the non-white electorate voters vote for that party.*2

Of course to be Britain's so-called 'Obama' such a person would also need to appeal to the indigenous 'British' voter. In the 2012 US Presidential elections, whilst Obama obtained between 70-90% of the non-WASP (W h i t e Americans) vote, he also obtained 39% of the 'white' vote (any loss of white Democrats on racial grounds being more than made up by the n o n - w h i t e

electorate of 35%+ (if one includes the Hispanic population within that segment)).

Transcend ethnic and racial loyalties

In contrast, the UK electorate of the non-indigenous British (including non-British citizen entitled to vote) is hard to accurately gauge, since it would include some EU citizens and non-EU migrants and offspring. In total it might be around 20% but heavily concentrated in the Capital and some major towns. This concentration of course has been instrumental in encouraging parties to select non-white candidates to fight council and parliamentary seats in those areas with varying success. A British 'Obama' however would have to transcend ethnic and racial loyalties and attract all sections of the public and, realistically, a significant proportion of all non-indigenous British (NIB) just to be a significant leader, let alone the leader of the country.

Labour's limited appeal

As we know, it is the Labour party that has been most successful in selecting and electing NIB's to legislatures, especially amongst the Black and Ethnic Minorities (BME). In turn those elected representatives' influences others to join and become involved and will have a positive impact on the party faithful. However, many are still very rooted in those communities and focus their concerns and campaigns to their electorate, rather than beyond it. Also the Labour party has at times, portrayed itself as the party for the immigrant voter (usually locally rather than nationally!), which undoubtedly comes across as excluding non-BME voters (racist or otherwise). Thus their appeal has been very limited to their area's BME and loyal party support. Nevertheless, it is often thought that Britain's so-called 'Obama' will come from their ranks, given their history and weaker numbers and influence within other parties.

The Conservative vote amongst the NIB's has been growing. It is suggested that some 23% of Indians vote for that party as they begin to shed their 'immigrant/dependency' image and replacing it with an 'Integrated British with socially conservative mores' one. However, traditionally there has been resistance in the ranks for any 'positive discrimination' in selection and some may very well refuse to vote a non NIB candidate.*3 I suspect there is a 'glass ceiling' which the Tory party will soon reach.

The Liberal Democrats have recruited amongst BME's but they don't readily tap into any particular community 'myths' e.g. Protector of immigrants/poor = Labour or Socially conservative = Tory, and their lack of NIB MP's, let alone anyone challenging for leadership (although handicapped by the First-Past-The Post system), is telling.*4

The Respect party or more pertinently, George Galloway, has been successful in capturing significant sections of the Muslim vote which, while highlighting the relative success of appealing to certain 'positions' within the non-NIB electorate, likely alienates all those who don't share or even fear it.

Thus most commentators expect such a figure to emerge, if at all, from the same political

stock as Obama himself i.e. centre-left and socially progressive, hence the focus on the Labour party. But is this really so axiomatic?

Self-determinist coalition

We know that the National Liberal Party is developing the concept of a self-determinist coalition created out of the UK's (or elsewhere) 'national(ist)' Diasporas, not only amongst political groups and individual activists, but stretching to (and encouraging the creation of) a Self-Determinist (SD) electorate.*5 This is not merely wishful thinking.

In 2009 a young Tamil academic, Jan Jananayagam, standing as an independent in the London region, with a short and poorly resourced campaign, managed to obtain 50,000 (2.9%) votes*6 These were almost entirely cast by the Tamil community in protest against the recent genocide of civilians at the end of a long war in Sri Lanka. This will have been around half the total number of registered Tamil voters. It is thought that there are over 500,000 voters from amongst 'national' Diasporas e.g. Sikhs, Tamils, Kurds etc in London, who support to a greater or lesser degree their communities SD struggle.

Of course in isolation, the emergence of leaders from these Diasporas will at best draw support from that constituency or at worst simply their own. It might be viewed as a non-Muslim version of Galloway's strategy, albeit on a larger scale. Could however it be carried over to other communities or voting groups?

Issues of Self-determination becoming popular

The principle of self-determination, whilst commonly associated with calls for autonomy or independence 'overseas', is also beginning to register upon the wider UK community's radar.

The UK's devolutionary process, leading to separate national Parliaments and culminating next year in a referendum on Scottish independence, is essentially forcing us to reexamine the relationship between the UK's 'nations'. The imbalance, due to a lack of recognition let alone a separate Parliament for England, will become an important issue. Ultimately, the choice for nations between a Federal state or outright Independence, is

one of self-determination.

Equally, the UK's relationship within the EU is a matter of self-determination i.e. do we wish the country to be absorbed into an 'ever closer' union, negotiate a different relationship or even break free?

Thus a Tamil or Kurdish self-determinist could easily apply their SD principles to those issues and campaign in favour of greater Devolution and against an 'ever closer EU'.

Cherishing the liberty that others don't enjoy

Many SD activists and supporters, or their parents, have suffered from political suppression, violent attacks and a general denial of liberties 'back home'. Constant surveillance of their movements and monitoring of their communications or political material (even read privately) is the norm. Unlike most of us in the West, they or their families have personal knowledge or even experience of such repression.

Thus they are more aware of that precious commodity known as 'liberty'. A number of migrants will cite the attraction of the liberties that we enjoy here as an important factor in choosing the UK as their new home. The constant threats to our personal liberties, exacerbated by anti-terror laws, through excessive surveillance or politically correct reactions to differing views, may remind them of the ubiquitous Sedition laws 'back home' that make it illegal to even talk about self-determination? Whilst some of us might jealously wish to guard our existing liberties, a Sikh or Baloch might cherish them even more!

Introducing referendums as the norm

Furthermore, in many countries, the public cannot vote or the results are corrupted by fraud. Even if elections are held the mechanisms of a practicing democracy are often missing as the media is tightly controlled, assemblies curtailed, and free speech (both written and oral) restricted.

The idea that a national community could vote on their constitutional future is in most cases a pipe dream (but one to strive for nevertheless). In the UK however, the Scottish nation will be doing exactly that, without fear of imprisonment or worse. Whilst referendums

were frowned upon by the political establishment, we have seen an increasing number in recent times (over 50 major and minor votes since 1973), even a referendum on changing the electoral system (to AV) and a promised one on the UK's EU membership.

It should not be overlooked that one of the most prosperous, peaceful, and democratic states is Switzerland, a country that enshrines referendums (and initiatives) within its constitution. A call to introduce the same to the UK would find an echo amongst both self-determinists and the public at large.

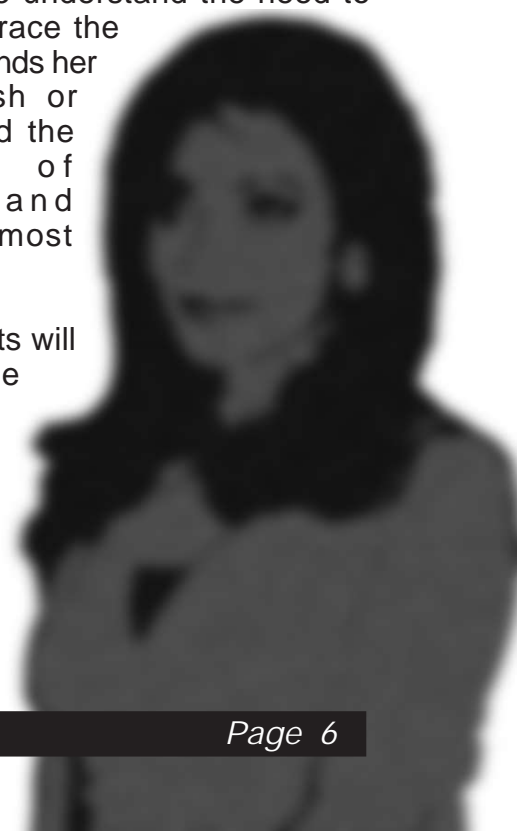
These issues are ones that will increasingly attract interest if not support from amongst all communities rather than be the preserve of one rather than another. Thus I contend, anyone building and leading a movement upon those principles and policies could make a mark for themselves, in spite of their party label rather than because of it i.e. relying upon party loyalty. For those reasons above, therefore a successful ethnic minority leader is more likely to (and should) come from within the UK's 'national' Diasporas.

What will he/she look like?

Hypothetically, she (for sake of argument) might be 3rd generation member of a family that escaped persecution overseas. Her family will support their particular SD cause here by lobbying politicians and the public in support of that struggle, and will personally play a part in that.

She will therefore understand the need to nurture and embrace the culture that surrounds her (whether English or Scottish etc) and the importance of nationality and sovereignty to most people's lives.

Their grandparents will be grateful to the UK for affording them asylum and the right to campaign openly, viciously denied to them 'back home'. She will thus cherish the freedoms we



exercise here and will oppose measures to restrict them.

The knowledge that her grandparents were unable to operate in a democracy and the fact that her family supports a referendum on SD 'back home', encourages her to support principles of Direct Democracy, such as the wholesale use of referendums in decision-making.

She will be very Western in her tastes and have many cross-community friends, whilst maintaining respect for her Diaspora, her local community and fellow citizens. She will wish to protect the country's liberal values such as the equality of opportunity and will resent threats to it from socially conservative elements, especially from new migrants. She will be a patriot, understanding the balanced need to sacrifice for others, and liberal in supporting individual political and social freedoms.

She will thus be espousing national liberal views and unlike Obama will unite rather than divide communities, will deliver on promises and be representative of the ordinary citizen

rather than out of touch 'elites'.

Does this describe you?

*1 We are not looking at the man himself who broke his promise to be a 'Peace President', when in reality he has continued intervention abroad and increased the spying upon his people at home.

*2 See a 2005 Report
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/2005/apr/24/uk.election.20054>

*3 Reference to Black candidate John Taylor
http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/talking_politics/1304393.stm

*4 They also tend to keep their 'safe' seats amongst those who reflect the constituency norm and thus are less likely to experiment with a non-NIB leader see
<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/apr/30/liberal-democrats-black-mps-strategy>

*5 The National Liberal Party is specifically targeting the London-wide 'national' Diasporas i.e. from communities struggling for self-determination back 'home', in their proposed EP election list in 2014 see <http://nationalliberal.org/euro-elections-2014-self-determination-for-all>

*6 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Jananayagam

This article is © copyright to the *New Horizon* magazine but can be reprinted with permission by contacting natliberal@aol.com

A member of the National Liberal Executive is hoping to launch a political Foundation dedicated to researching and promoting the tenets of National Liberalism. In particular it will research the works and lives of leading personalities of the UK's Liberal Nationals (1930-48) and similar world figures up to the present day.



It will also seek to develop ideas and policy whilst promoting and nurturing National Liberalism globally.

We are seeking a serious sponsor(s) for this work which will be launched within two years. Details and funding are open to negotiation. Can you help? If you are interested in promoting an alternative liberalism then contact natliberal@aol.com

Andrew Shackleton recently graduated with a BA Honours in Politics with Philosophy. His Dissertation was entitled 'Nationalism - An attempt to bring nationalism into the 21st century as a constructive political philosophy'. We shall publish extracts over the next few issues.

He promotes an inclusive nationalism that rejects the negative e.g. chauvinism and racism while accentuating the positive e.g. its sentimental and emotional value in encouraging citizens to sacrifice for fellow citizens in their time of need. In this first article he asks whether Nationalism is a sentiment or ideology?

Nationalism: Sentiment or Ideology?

Andrew Shackleton

This article will attempt to determine whether nationalism can exist as a stand-alone political philosophy, or whether it must combined with others such as liberalism, socialism etc, in order to avoid reducing itself to empty rhetoric. Benoist articulates the problem, *"Once the nation emerges, what in nationalism can truly be used as a principle of Government?"* (Benoist:2007:p16).

Nationalism's roots can be traced back to the French revolution and the three basic tenets of liberty, equality and fraternity. The French Revolution began in 1789 as a revolt against the Monarchy in the name of the common people and with the intention of bringing about the end of absolute power (Blanning:1987:p33). The movement was inspired by Enlightenment ideas put forth by writers such as Rousseau, who proposed that, Divine Law i.e. the belief that all moral

and political authority comes from God and is given to the various Christian monarchies who were said to represent Him, was incorrect. The only truly legitimate source of sovereignty being the people (the nation) (Baycroft:1999:p5). Social Contract theory suggests that nations choose rulers from amongst themselves, and that they then enter into a contractual relationship in which the nation agrees to abide by the laws the rulers set, so long as the rulers rule in the interest of the people. French society in the pre-revolutionary period was split into three estates, the first being the nobility, the second the clergy, and the third the common people (Blanning:1987:p2). Revolutionary thinkers at the time such as Rousseau, believed that the third estate made up the nation, and that the nation had the right to self-rule. The first two estates were accused of exploiting the nation for their personal gain. All members of the nation were to be seen as equal, with

each member having one vote as opposed to the previous system in which estates, rather than individuals, voted leading to a gross imbalance in the distribution of power. It was at this time that our modern conception of 'right's emerged. On the 26th/8/1789, the National Constituent Assembly (an assembly of the three estates) wrote a constitution and declared France a Constitutional Monarchy.

ensure that our national goal is the flourishing of our individuals, instead of some abstract concept of glory or purity.

Now that we have established how nationalism occurred as a movement, we must establish what it is about nationalism that people find appealing. Baycroft argues that it was 'struggle' that was the primary unifying factor in a nation. He believes that suffering for something brings emotional attachment alongside it (Baycroft:1999:p7). Therefore, as the European nation-States fought for their independence from their oppressive rulers, a connection was made between these people and that for which they were suffering, and this connection lived on in the nation's culture.



The progenitor of the modern nation-state

Alongside this they produced a document entitled The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen which essentially set the precedent for modern legal systems in which the Nation-State is seen as the legitimate source of political authority (Baycroft:1999pp5-6).

We can see then, that nationalism started out as a revolutionary liberal ideology. France saw itself as a nation made up of free individuals, as opposed to the idea that each individual only exists as a part of the national whole, which is a criticism often levelled at nationalism. Nationalism was only seen as a means of ensuring the security and well-being of the individuals (Benoist:2007:p17). It can be suggested that it was the treatment of nationalism and the nation as an end in itself which led to the suppression of individual rights in the nationalist examples of the 20th century. If we are to accommodate nationalism whilst keeping xenophobia at bay, we must

It is the fact that the appeal to nationalism is an appeal to our emotions that often causes people to view it with suspicion. Evidence of how powerful the manipulation of emotion can be can be found in the worldwide use of propaganda. There seems to

be something inherently anti-rational about propaganda. The very fact that the propagandist is making an appeal to emotion as opposed to an appeal to rationality is perhaps grounds for questioning his motives (Taylor:1998:p9). We must determine then, whether the appeal to emotion found in nationalism is legitimate in the sense that it can be seen to have equal value to an appeal to rationality. In order to do this we must recognise the fact that the nationalist appeal to emotion is an attempt to create a sense of belonging among members of the nation. Margalit writes "*Nationalism, in Herder's view, fulfils a deep need in human beings-the need to belong to a society that provides them with a complete form of life*" (Margalit:1997:p83). We must speculate by what is meant by the word "complete." It could be argued that the nation provides a surrounding and a background for its members to work in, with a nationally agreed standard for its members to work towards. Herder believed that even

language influences the way we think and our aspirations as individuals. This all seems to support the idea that we have the right to live in a society which reflects our nationality, as the nation-state would provide for and cater to the needs of those whose language, values and modes of thought are reflected in the political and social culture of that society. The very existence of nations seems to suggest that the particularistic needs of various nationalities are best catered for in separate states, each having developed their own institutions and ways of being, as opposed to a multinational state struggling to accommodate the various differences between the nations in state policy. This does not mean however, that non-members cannot live fulfilling lives within the nation-state if that is their desire. If for example, an immigrant to Britain enjoyed the lifestyle and culture they would be able to assimilate, whilst keeping parts of their own culture. This does however raise the issue of conflicting cultural values, which will be addressed in a further article.

The promotion of national values by the state does not preclude the possibility of members of other nations living amongst members of the nation in question, nor does it mean that non-members will be second class citizens. If it is beneficial for the nation to accept members of other cultures into the nation and allow them to assimilate or integrate then that is the best course of action. A good example of this would be the way in which various cultures moved to the U.S and contributed to the wider nation, whilst holding on to many of the traditions from the "old country." One interpretation of Berlin's idea of the "completeness" of the environment provided by one's own nation could be used in support of the notion that nationalism is a tendency rather than a stand-alone ideology. Whilst for example, Liberalism might influence the economic policy of the state; nationalism will permeate the educational and cultural politics of the nation state.

Whilst we are discussing the nature of nationalism, it is important to include the debate over whether it is a cultural or political phenomenon. Yael Tamir points to the fact that nationalism seeks to preserve cultural traditions, be they linguistic, religious, etc, as evidence that it is primarily a cultural claim

(Tamir:1993:pxiii). Political power is the means, whilst flourishing culture is the end. Tamir does not however, mean that the cultural essence of nationalism renders political action unimportant. On the contrary she points out that political action has a high instrumental value in a world in which politics influences everything. She then takes the argument a step further by claiming that although nations have the right to national self-determination, this does not necessarily entail state-hood (Tamir:1993:pp68-70). A nation may seek to influence the flow of politics to further accommodate or even reflect their national customs, but that, although national interests may be important, and that nations have a right to a cultural existence, individuals have other interests, which may not be addressed by national self-rule.

Although her assertion that self-rule might not always be in a nation's self-interest makes sense, Tamir's belief that all nations have the right to self determination will likely result in conflict in the multi-national states, implied by the fact that not all nations will be self-ruling. It would result in the state having to perform a balancing act between competing national claims, and priority will always be given to one over the other. The resulting conflict between different national interests seems to contradict the fundament of Tamir's liberal nationalism, the idea that all nations have an equal right to national self determination. The natural implication of democracy is that one group's desires will triumph over the others, and if it is two nations competing within a state then their equality will be undermined. Again, the argument that this conflict will be resolved by the presence of international organisations once again seems to undermine the very idea of the nation-state. What use is national self-determination when their actions are being controlled by outsiders? There is also the fact that these international organisations fail to stop the rights of national minorities being violated. South American states are notorious for persecuting their national indigenous minorities, often displacing their communities in favour of industry, and although the international community complains nothing is ever done (Fellet:2012:p1).

This belief in the primarily cultural essence of nationalism is contended by Calhoun, who

argues that the nation and the modern state are intertwined. He argues that our very conception of the modern state implies a nation-state (Ozkirimli:2005:p20). Modernity has undermined the concept of nations being dominated by empires and caliphates. The states we know today (In the Occident at least), were created by the triumph of national will, and nationhood still constitutes the strongest modern claim to statehood. Nations such as the United States have created their own national myth of the 'land of the free' in order to include the various immigrant communities (Jones:1983:pp156-160). In essence these multinational states have formed nations of their own as a way to unify the various immigrant/ethnic communities. It seems obvious on reflection, that nationalism exists as both a cultural and a political phenomenon, Ozkirimli suggests that nationalism is *"the culturalization of politics and the politicisation of culture,"* implying that the essence of nationalism exists in the fusion of culture and politics (Ozkirimli:2005:p21).

It is the feeling of solidarity with the nation which compels the individual to act in the national interest. Another factor is the way the nation is often seen to look after its members and that it can be seen as a body with the power to ensure that the right of its members are upheld. This point is supported by the fact that when people are alienated from the nation (for example criminals, underclasses etc), they will happily act in ways detrimental e.g. benefit fraud. A counter example might be predatory capitalists who are willing to exploit the less powerful members of the nation for their own personal gain. I would however argue that these kinds of people are the ones which true nationalism opposes. Nationalism places the nation (or the individuals who constitute it) as the ultimate end as opposed to capitalism, where the acquisition of capital is the primary driving force behind society. In order to truly be a nationalist, one must be willing to contribute to the nation in return for the security it provides, and nations today do seem to be faced with a dwindling feeling of attachment from their members. In the original nation-states it was the omnipresent threat of war that encouraged people to stay attached to their nations, though in the post-WW2 period the threat of invasion (at least in Western nation-states) is no longer a concern. One could argue that the idea of the nation-state

is starting to unravel, and that the nation as an institution is losing relevance in the modern world. I however, would attribute the lack of national feeling to the prevalence and influence that capitalism has in Western society, and as previously stated, the fact that the main concern of the average person is more towards becoming richer in a global context than the well being of their fellow members. The predatory nature of capitalism facilitates the creation of an alienated underclass, meaning that neither those at the top or the bottom of the social ladder are concerned with the national interest. The way in which we can jump this hurdle seems

Head n' Heart?
Balancing Liberalism
and National
sentiment



unclear in a liberal context. We must be wary of straying into the realms of the more dangerous and totalitarian forms of nationalism and so legislation enforcing national sentiment is neither desirable nor workable. One suggestion would be a strong emphasis on the education system, in which the students are trained to become productive members of the nation as opposed to individuals pursuing their own interests at each other's expense. G.A. Cohen's work on the implementation of egalitarianism suggests something similar. Whilst he believes in the egalitarian spirit rather than the national, he also suggests that it is a fundamental change in spirit that is required to achieve a just society. He highlights the contradictory nature of ideologically motivated institutions when those who work for them are allowed to have conflicting views and are free to pursue their own agenda outside of the workplace. The emotive nature of humans also suggests that there will be those who manipulate these

institutions according to their own agenda, showing that it is the individual who needs changing (Nagel:2002:p110).

In conclusion, I would argue that nationalism is a sentiment rather than a full ideology and Cohen seems to support this point. The ongoing conceptual debates and the subjective character of different nations suggest that there is no normative political doctrine for a nationalist government to adhere to. Instead, nationalism is the spirit which should inform the motives of the state. Even the most extreme 'nationalist' movements attached an existing ideology to it as recognition of this, and there is no reason why this ideology shouldn't vary from nation to nation. As will be argued in a later article, it is liberalism that I am combining with nationalism due to its fundamental respect for the rights of men to live autonomous lives. This combined with the emotional appeal found in nationalism offers a counterweight to the cold pragmatism offered by liberalism. Whilst I have determined the way in which nationalism might be realised in the modern nation-state, a later article will focus on some of the criticisms of nationalism. I will offer potential counter-arguments to these criticisms

which will help to clarify my conception of nationalism.

Bibliography

Baycroft, T (1999). Nationalism in Europe 1789 - 1945. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Benoist, A. (2007). Nationalism: Phenomenology and Critique. The Occidental Quarterly . 7 (3)

Blanning, T.C.W. (1987). The French Revolution. London: Macmillan.

Fellet, J. (2012). Latin American indigenous groups join forces to fight dams. Available: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-latin-america-17827131>. Last accessed 13th April 2013.

Jones, M (1983). The Limits of Liberty. New York: Oxford University Press.

Margalit, A. (1997). The Moral Psychology of Nationalism. In: McKim, R. and McMahan The Morality of Nationalism. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nagel, T. (2002). Cohen on Equality. In: . Concealment and Exposure. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ozkirimli, U (2005). Contemporary Debates on Nationalism. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rawls, J. (1971). A Theory of Justice. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

T.C.W, B. (1987). The French Revolution. London: Macmillan.

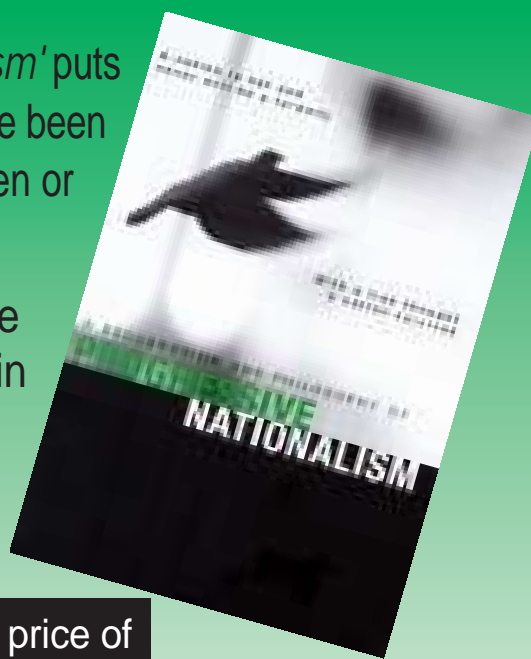
Tamir, Y. (1993). Liberal Nationalism. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Walzer. (1974). Regicide and Revolution.

Read the alternative patriotism that balances a love for nation, its people and the environment.

'A Declaration of Progressive Nationalism' puts into words what many political thinkers have been searching for and lacking in orthodox green or patriotic circles.

Read how Nationalism, Social Justice and Environmentalism can be fused in an holistic ideology. *"You will find yourself drawn to its pages as if they were familar texts".*



Copies of this book are available for the price of £5 (inc P & P) made out to G. Williamson, c/o PO Box 4217, Hornchurch, Essex RM12 4PJ.

New Horizon's editor visited the Canary Island's on behalf of the group *Nations without States* (sponsored by the NLP) and addressed a local self-determinist party 'Vecinos Unidos' (Neighbours United). The party is one of a growing number representing peoples in Europe (Africa?) searching for a distinct identity, recognition, and ultimately some control over their destiny.

The Canary Islands, conquered by Spain over 500 years ago and their indigenous population massacred or emasculated, is treated as a backwater but a valuable source of tax revenue. Despite the Continent's recession and subsequent fall in tourism (the Island's chief source of income) the state still expects it's 'tribute'. Growing unemployment, a large settler population from mainland Spain and to a lesser extent Africa, leaves Canary Islanders wondering about their future. An increasing number own destiny by demanding more government. Reprinted here is the group about self-



however are looking to control their control of their finances and the text of a prepared speech to determination and NwS.

WHY ARE THERE STILL MANY NATIONS WITHOUT STATES?

Fundamentally, national self-determination is founded upon the concept of national identity. For that identity to be meaningful it must be somewhat different then your neighbours; culturally, sometimes religiously and ethnically and often linguistically.

The peoples of that nation will feel that only they can preserve and protect that difference via a state apparatus, in other words a nation state.

In Europe from the 19th century, all states were sooner or later forged out of Empires and multi-national states and based upon single nations. In Asia and Africa new states were also created out of the carcasses of Empire.

Yet most would accept that there are many nations still without a state. Why is this?

The greatest collection of stateless nations has to be in Africa. The European Empires captured as much territory on the Continent as they could without regard to the peoples or existing territorial structures. The borders between them were drawn with an architect's pen and ruler.

Sadly, when the Colonial powers left they

ensured that their territories and administrative boundaries were retained, manned by handpicked civil servants, some run politically by dictators, but all ruthlessly maintained the sanctity of the new state. Since that time there have been attempts to create new nation states some successful e.g. Eritrea but most not e.g. Biafra or Katanga. Why is this?

When the OAU was formed its Constitution guaranteed the existing colonial borders. Although designed to curb inter-country disputes it has been used by Governments as a cover to suppress internal self-determination. Many of these countries are holding down nations within their borders.

You might think that the United Nations might promote Self-determination. Article 1 of its Founding Charter says '*The Purposes of the United Nations are: 2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace.*'

Also 'The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States' approved by the UN General Assembly on Oct 24, 1970 says '*Every State has a duty*

to promote, through joint and separate action, realization of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter,

Also the 'International Covenants on Human Rights' approved by the General Assembly on 16 Dec, 1966, Article 1. *'All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.'*

Then there is the 'Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and people' approved by the General Assembly on 14 Dec 1960 which says in Section 2. of its Declaration *'All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.'*

In reality however, the UN does not follow those declarations and it should really be known as the United States as it acts as a club of states that largely protects existing borders.

This is because; although it talks about self-determination it also talks about territorial integrity. For example, in the above 'The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States' it also says that *'Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States conducting themselves in compliance with the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples as described above and thus possessed of a government*

representing the whole people belonging to the territory without distinction as to race, creed or colour.'

Of course self-determinists would say that their governments do ignore their self-determination but governments will still hide behind this 'get-out' clause by pretending to represent all and deny there is a division/distinction between peoples in their territory.

It is true that the UN talks about self-



determination as a human right (we would agree) but you have to look at the context. The UN, and the League of Nations before it, was created by the victorious powers in both world wars. Their primary aim was to dismantle Empires. The Central European Empires after the 1WW, and those of the Colonial powers after the second (the USA were interested in weakening economic competition and 'Imperial Trade preferences'). Thus, the major power(s) were more concerned with removing the existing rulers and less concerned with what replaced it and, as I have stated earlier, this was frequently not based upon any national consensus.

In my opinion, Territorial integrity is about the protection of borders from the designs of neighbours. It is not, I contend, about keeping the same borders internally. However, most states are loath to surrender territory even for peace and use that principle to defend their actions.

Of course, demographic movement will create anomalies. Gibraltar for example is connected to the Spanish mainland but due to the history of colonial activity the peoples largely originating from that power are by their own choice British and certainly not Spanish. We have a similar situation in the Falklands. The idea of 'turning the clock' back would be anathema in the modern age and would be an example of 'ethnic cleansing' or creating a vulnerable 'national minority'. These are not easy questions to answer. Spain of course is hardly in a position to provide them given their occupation of Ceuta and Melilla and the Canary Islands, which incidentally have far less autonomous powers than have Gibraltar and the Falklands (some form of protected Independence would be the ideal solution for such territories).

The whole issue of shifting populations is a whole issue in itself. It might be deliberate, in order to change the demographics of a territory in order to weaken the local identity, or strengthen support for the state e.g. Stalin deliberately moved peoples, not only to weaken resistance in an area by removing key people and their families but also to place non-nationals into a country. Latvia, for example, had up to 48% of its population of Russian decent. Demographic change might also be as a result of civil strife or economic migration driven by what we call 'globalisation'. National self-determinists must first resist forced migration and then where unsuccessful attempt to integrate and assimilate the new comers into the national psyche. Failure to do so will weaken the struggle as has probably happened in the Canary Islands. How we treat 'newcomers' is undoubtedly a challenge and we don't seem to be particularly good at it in the West.

Despite these challenges however, for us self-determination should always supersede territorial integrity as surely the people, more than the physical land, are the most important part of any nation?

We decided to create *Nations without States* in order to a) encourage the various national Diasporas in the UK to work together (and

replicate it elsewhere), and b) to promote the principle of self-determination via lobbying and campaigning. This is a unique project.

We are adding to our ruling committee, recruiting Representatives of individual national communities in the UK, a website, facebook group and publications (*Freedom, Nation* and the founding *Declaration*). Whilst based in the UK we are looking at replicating our structure/mission elsewhere. I would expect us to remain as the mother group.

Frankly we believe the struggle of specific SD causes has moved from their individual homelands to their respective Diasporas. Despite living in the 21st century many oppressor states have found ways to breach their subject's human rights with impunity. It is difficult for many peoples to organise 'back home'.

However, there are significant SD Diasporas that must lead the fight for SD in general and their individual causes. A number of years ago their numbers and influence in Western society were not so significant but this has changed. They need to mobilise and cooperate to apply pressure upon their adopted countries public and legislatures.

One example of this is our desire to stand in London (either under the National Liberal Party list, or perhaps the NwS if registered) in next year's European Elections. The campaign would allow the SD principle itself and individual causes to raise their profile to the whole of London. For a small investment one can obtain maximum publicity and material throughout the whole of London (of over 7m). The main aim is publicity but given that there are 1/2 million national Diasporas and only 170,000 votes required for an MEP it is not inconceivable that we couldn't get someone elected.

Ultimately, we need to change the visual dynamic from a 'few fanatics attempting to carve out their own state out of established ones', to 'a global choice between a club of states run by political and economic elites and a peaceful and stable world of a thousand flags'.

ECONOMICS Pt 3

The Economic Roots and influences of National Liberalism

IT'S REALLY HARD to put a conventional and simplistic political label on the National Liberal Party. It's not an organisation of the 'left' or the 'right' – neither is it Capitalist or Marxist in orientation. Indeed, the NLP would argue that it seeks a 'third way' that goes way beyond these tired old descriptions and positions.

If it's hard to put a political label on the NLP, it's nearly impossible to put our economic roots, influences and ideas in any orthodox economic 'box'!

In issue 1 of *New Horizon* we noted that our economic influences were extremely wide and varied:

"Some of these influences – and the people who have promoted them – include the liberal national interpretation of classical liberal free trade, the progressive yet pragmatic Liberal National party approach to labour relations and economic affairs e.g. Earnest Brown's tenure as Minister for Labour or even earlier, Lord Rosebery's call for Britain to become (and Britains to be part of) a 'great property-owning democracy'. Then there are 'visionary' ideas such as the Distributism of GK Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc, monetary reform ideas (including elements of Social Credit), even some early socialists such as Kier Hardie and Bob Blatchford and Guild Socialism (as advocated by the likes of William Morris, GDH Cole and Arthur Penty). The ideas of the Co-Operative movement, the Chartists and Levelers and support for small businesses and shopkeepers and some libertarian economists, are also of interest.

Therefore, it could be said that our economic ideological roots represent a synthesis of various radical, free thinking ideas that seek to offer a genuine alternative to orthodox capitalist and socialist (or communist) solutions."

In issue 2 of *New Horizon* we started to look at what is one of National Liberalism's main economic influences – Distributism.

Distributism has been accurately described as the *"widespread private ownership of housing and control of industry through owner-operated small businesses and worker-controlled co-operatives."* (1)

The intellectual roots of Distributism lay in Catholic social teaching. However, in Britain, the foremost Distributist thinkers were Joseph Hilaire Pierre René Belloc (27 July 1870 – 16 July 1953), Gilbert Keith Chesterton (29 May 1874 – 14 June 1936), Arthur Joseph Penty (17 March 1875–1937) and Cecil Edward Chesterton (12 November 1879 – 6 December 1918). As we noted earlier, Penty also advocated Guild Socialism.

In this issue of *New Horizon* we'll look at the huge contribution towards Distributist thought made by Hilaire Belloc. In future issues we'll examine the Chesterton brothers and Arthur Penty.

Joseph Hilaire Pierre René Belloc was born in La Celle-Saint-Cloud (situated about ten miles west from the centre of Paris) in 1870. His father was Louis Belloc, a French barrister (who, in turn, was the son of the noted French painter – and professor of drawing at the *l'École-de-Médecine* - Jean-Hilaire Belloc.) Belloc's mother was Elizabeth Rayner Parkes, a poet, essayist, journalist, political radical and noted feminist and campaigner for women's rights in the Victorian era (2). She was the daughter of Birmingham radical, Joseph Parkes (3), and granddaughter of Joseph Priestley (4) who is credited with the discovery of oxygen.

His father died suddenly when Hilaire was two. After this, his mother – who had only been married for five years - moved back to England bringing her two children with her. (Belloc's sister, Marie Adelaide Elizabeth Rayner Belloc, later became a well-known novelist (5)).

In England, Belloc attended John Henry Newman's Oratory School, in Edgbaston, Birmingham (6, 7). In 1891 he served – as a French citizen – a year's service in the

French Army. Based near Toul, in the North East of France (8, 9) he belonged to an artillery regiment.

He returned to England in 1892 and enrolled at Balliol College, Oxford (10). Here he became a well-known figure within the University, where he became President of the Oxford Union (11), the undergraduate debating society. Belloc was a keen debater and his 'adversaries' included The Rt Hon. Frederick Edwin Smith, 1st Earl of Birkenhead, GCSI, PC, KC (more commonly known as F. E. Smith) and John Buchan, 1st Baron Tweedsmuir (probably best known as the author of the adventure novel, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*.)

Although he graduated in 1895 with a first class honours degree in history he was not offered a Fellowship at All Souls College (12). Belloc was bitterly disappointed and became convinced that he was rejected because of his Catholic religion. According to **Wikipedia**, this *"failure may have been caused in part by his producing a small statue of the Virgin" Mary "and placing it before him on the table during the interview for the fellowship."* (13)

Despite this rejection, he never lost his love for Balliol, as is illustrated by his verse, *"Balliol made me, Balliol fed me/ Whatever I had she gave me again/And the best of Balliol loved and led me/God be with you, Balliol men."* (14)

After Balliol he embarked on a lecture tour of the United States. During this period he had two books of verse published: **A Bad Child's Book of Beasts** (published in 1896 by Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd, London, England) (15) and **Verses and Sonnets** (published in 1896 by Gerald Duckworth & Co Ltd, London, England) (16).

Whilst in America, Belloc met his future wife, Elodie Hogan, in 1890. They later married in 1896 and went on to have five children. (It has been said that Belloc, a powerful man with great stamina, walked much of the way from the midwest of the United States to her home in northern California. According to this story, he paid for his lodgings at remote farm houses and ranches by sketching the owners and reciting poetry. Belloc had already walked extensively in Britain and Europe, so

there may be some truth in this!) Hilaire Belloc returned to England and in 1902 became a naturalised British subject. This signaled the start of his political and economic radicalism – which we'll examine in the next issue of *New Horizon*.

- (1) *Distributism as a means of achieving third way economics*. Richard Howard.
<http://www.hsns.wa.au/Distributism.html>
- (2) <http://janus.lib.cam.ac.uk/db/node.xsp?id=EAD%2FGBR%2F0271%2FGC%2FParkes>
- (3) [http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Parkes,_Joseph_\(DNB00\)](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Parkes,_Joseph_(DNB00))
- (4) <http://www.priestleysociety.net/>
- (5) <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0523269/>
- (6) <http://www.birmingham.gov.uk/cs/Satellite?c=Page&childpagename=Lib-Central-Archives-and-Heritage%2FPageLayout&cid=1223259942743&pagename=BCC%2FCommon%2FWrapper%2FWrapper>
- (7) <http://www.oratory.co.uk/index.cfm?fuseaction=intro.story&newsid=282>
- (8) <http://www.francethisway.com/places/a/toul-meurthe-et-moselle.php>
- (9) <http://www.mairie-toul.fr/>
- (10) <http://www.balliol.ox.ac.uk/>
- (11) <http://www.oxford-union.org/>
- (12) <http://www.all-souls.ox.ac.uk/>
- (13) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hilaire_Belloc
- (14) <http://www.inspirationalstories.com/poems/to-the-balliol-men-still-in-africa-hilaire-belloc-poems/>
- (15) <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/27175/27175-h/27175-h.htm>
- (16) <http://www.goodreads.com/book/show/4729643-sonnets-and-verse>

ONE OF BRITAIN'S main political 'battle grounds' revolves around the economy. Indeed, it seems that hardly a day goes by without seeing, hearing or reading about politicians arguing about which economic system is best for us.

Despite the best efforts of the politicians to convince them otherwise, *New Horizon* (NH) believes that many people instinctively feel that neither capitalism nor socialism can completely solve all of Britain's economic problems. For instance, both systems constantly feature revolving cycles of 'boom and bust' – and both systems have never effectively tackled the problem of poverty amidst plenty.

It's one of the jobs of NH – the ideological publication of the National Liberal Party – to focus on this instinct (or gut feeling) that many of our people have concerning the economy and direct them towards another – and far saner – system. That's why it places so much emphasis on the roots of National Liberalism's economic ideas.

National Liberalism is, at heart, a Distributist movement. Here we favour the widest possible spread of ownership of land, property, or workplace. However, we're also influenced by other economic ideas. In this issue (and previous ones) we've listed these influences

as the “*protectionist ideas of the Liberal Nationals*” as well as the:

“monetary reform ideas (with particular reference to the Social Credit ideas of Major CH Douglas) the principles of Islamic Banking (sometimes called ‘participant banking’ and which forbids usury), National Syndicalism, Guild Socialism (as advocated by the likes of William Morris, GDH Cole and Arthur Penty) and the early patriotic socialism of people like Keir Hardie, Henry Hyndman and Bob Blatchford. The ideas of the Co-Operative movement, the Chartists and Levelers are also of interest to us.”

But is this an exhaustive list? Are there any other economic ideas which are broadly in line with, or compliment the Distributism of GK Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc?

In this article, Robert Byng believes that free-market economics would return power to the people (an essential element of Distributism). Rejecting both traditional capitalist and socialist versions of the free-market he also debunks some common myths about this economic idea. He concludes that a ‘third way’ variant of the free market can “*embrace the power of people over business.*”

When there are no regulation bodies to refer to, business can no longer fall back onto the coined phrase of ‘please refer complaints to X organisation’. You, the citizen, the consumer are in control of regulation, even if it is not written into law. Removing regulation removes the reliance on government to police business.

Free-market economics – returning power to the people.

Robert Byng

Free-market economics is the removal of restriction and regulation by government entities relating to mainstream enterprise and business. In free-market economics, the distribution of goods and service is based almost entirely on demand – that is to say that the higher demand, the greater production and thus lower prices, whereas current economics allows business to charge infinite fold in comparison to the actual production cost.

Free-market economics may fall in to two political ideologies in the United Kingdom: Socialist or right winged Conservative. In general, each ideology will view free-market economics as either good or bad, depending on the then political climate, and economic stability. Both sides will also have separate base-line philosophies over the principle purpose

of free-markets.

For example, many socialists view free-market economics as the removal of large, multinational corporations in favour of diverse, small business. In free-market economics, employees are not property of their employers, and are given wages which directly reflect the wealth generation of the business or enterprise they are employed by. It is currently used in companies such as John Lewis, where employees are given shares and have bonuses calculated at a percentage of the total wealth.

Socialists would view this as prosperous for employees; however Conservative principles would see it in favour of business owners, or those wishing to set up business. In free-market economics, there

are no regulations preventing businesses from buying out competition, nor are there often strict regulations on the sourcing of materials to make a project (although, often is the case in traditional capitalism). Such a lack of competition laws not only allows successful companies to increase in value from the amalgamation of failing or small business, but also motivates business to be more successful and sensible with the output of fiscal – when sharks surround a vessel, not often will divers jump into the jaws.

My argument for free-market economics extends to private consumed goods; regulation of items which are not essential to life would be removed, with items indispensable to survival remaining regulated on the basis of public safety – basic water, food and health care supplies/medication; goods created for the military or police services, and items used by emergency services.

Capitalism has been incredibly successful for three hundred years, particularly to this Island which used currency as a method of encouraging innovation; greed is an extremely powerful motivational tool.

The fundamental dilemma with capitalism is that where wealth should be in continuous motion, business and individuals have reached the point where their income has reached stagnation. They cannot possibly enter their profits back into society or their business quick enough. Some of the top earners are simply greedy, with no care for the needs of society.

If the top 100 earners on Earth invested their stagnated earnings back into the world, then world poverty would have been ended several times over; we'd have enough finance to end cancer and much disease, and we'd be having arguments over politics on Mars!

I see free-market economics as a way of preventing this from occurring. When customers and employees have so much power of business, it is fair to say that business will do the right thing, even if it is for the wrong reason. Starbucks is the prime example; the people of Britain simply stopped buying over-priced coffee from their shops. What happened? Did they leave the country? Did they close down? No, they got to their knees and begged forgiveness despite fears that taxation would drive business away. In reality, Britain is a consumer nation – our currency is a paradise to multinational business for being ahead of both the Euro and the Dollar. We need to take advantage of this more.

Regulation frightens many businesses and increases their costs – many lawyers and legal experts are employed by the largest of companies just to avoid regulation; avoiding tax and escaping through loopholes.

We shouldn't make it harder to trade in this country than it already is, and so long the citizens have true

power of the markets (not the government, but the people) then regulations aren't required.

Under socialistic free-market economies, all the wealth, all the money, all the resources of individuals who allow them to sit in bank accounts for tens of years, with no intentions of investment, are forced to share the profits of their fruit.

Common myths debunked

1.

A common argument is that markets would not provide high quality goods or services to consumers.

Why is this false?

Imagine you are a customer, and you buy, for example, a laptop computer from company A. That computer breaks within a week; your partner has also bought a mobile phone from company A; the mobile phone lasts for 2 weeks, to the despair of the family. John Smith, your next door neighbour has also bought from company A; his items have malfunctioned within a week also. You all complain to company A, but no help is offered.

You, your neighbours, and fellow dissatisfied customers join to spread the word that company A produces poor quality items. Company B offers the same range of product for a smaller introductory price; these items are of far higher standard and soon company A is out of business due to poor business ethics.

In free-market economics, the consumer is forced to be as active in the process of transaction as the manufacturer. This is nothing new to any society – for hundreds of years, this is the essential workings of business. If a craftsman produced poor items, his local community would apply pressure to him until improvements were made. In modern consumerism, very rarely do customers take the time to actively make their dissatisfaction known. It was 'too impolite'; the people of the nation have often had attempts to brainwash and indoctrinate via 'politeness', though happily this has failed, especially in Scotland where we still use curse words to greet our best friends. Free-market economics hands power directly back to the consumer; business is submissive to their clients for the very sake of survival.

2.

Free-Markets create slave culture by removing set-wage regulations.

Prior to national minimum wage, the standard of pay was significantly higher; the problematic nature of national minimum wage is not the morality of the idea behind the system, rather the inability of the system to cope with variations In the economic climate. A system of pay forced by law gives excuse

to business to pay no higher than they are legally obliged to. In older days, wages were negotiated by unions and the workers directly, and would often be increased with inflation.

Free-market economics in a socialist sense treats the employee as having a share in the company, as an alternative to being a drone to production.

3.

Free-market economics leads to the destruction of unions and workers' rights.

Historically this myth is unfounded. The majority of trade unions were introduced, created and succeeded in free-market Britain prior to the 1970s and the Thatcher genocide of working class dignity. For example, the Labour Party has its roots in Glasgow, Newcastle, Manchester and other Industrial towns where workers were abused. In the 1800s, the first organised strikes occurred against owners – despite the lack of any regulation to simply fire employees, the owners were forced to listen to demand as the workers had blockaded the factories and brought production – therefore profit – to a complete stop.

The essential basis of this myth forms from Thatcherite economics, masquerading as free-market economics. Free-market economics could be closely related to Marxism socialism, which I am most certain Margaret Thatcher would not have approved of. Thatcher too away the power of the working man; socialist free-markets return them in extensive amounts.

4.

Last but not least – free-market economics allows business to skip tax and sell apple juice as flu medicine.

No! No! No!

Our tax system is broke, regulation and legislation opens up more loop holes than it closes. Count the number of companies that have avoided tax. Go on. When you return, I doubt very much you will a) find less than a handful b) not have used the services of at least one.

When there are no regulation bodies to refer to, business can no longer fall back onto the coined phrase of 'please refer complaints to X organisation'. You, the citizen, the consumer are in control of regulation, even if it is not written into law. Removing regulation removes the reliance on government to police business.

I do agree that several industries require regulation, pharmaceutical being one. I'll touch on this below. Briefly, pharmaceutical industry use the same business model as any other industry – they require their product to be received well by consumes (the sick) therefore it's in their best interest that people

don't drop dead from flu drops, and that their product actually heals.

Industries that need regulation

There are some industries that do require regulation over production, I will list them and allow you to make your own mind up:

Pharmaceutics and medical production – regulation to protect the consumer and NHS interests; prevention of placebo drugs and faulty equipment

Transport (public) – nationalisation, transport is essential to life and the movement of people is paramount to employability and civil freedoms

Mainstream media – regulation to prevent articles without foundation being broadcasted or displayed; media should no longer have such significant power of voters with scare tactics funded by private individuals

Power, gas, essential foods and water – nationalisation; these are all essential to life, and a country such as ours rich in all four commodities should not be allowed to starve

Vehicles – minimum regulation to prevent public health hazards, and to assist in environmental reform

Arms industry for both military and civil security – regulations to ensure quality of equipment for armed services, police and fire services; only government or local authority workers/agents should be charged with the duty of protecting the people, no private firms

Electronics – bare minimum regulation for safety standards

So, in closing, I'd ask you forget everything you have been taught about free-markets, they are often lies created by those too afraid to embrace the power of people over business; governments bow to business, the people do not.

Robert Byng is a political advocate, Ambassador to the Voluntary Arts for East Renfrewshire, a treasurer and Community Councillor for his home town. He began his political journey in the Conservative Party of Scotland before moving to the Scottish National Party at the age of 16 due to the disappointment of attacks on students by the Conservative Coalition; in 2013 he official resigned from the Scottish National Party due to conflicts of interest relating to NATO and the Monarchy. Since then, he has believed that local politics should be outside the realm of the party political system, and has fought against cuts and austerity. He has worked as a Research Assistant for the Third Sector Interface, and returned to college to study Business with intentions of moving on to study Economics in University. Catch his regular, radical blog @ theyoungpoliticalradical.blogspot.com

Many people today assume that the Trade Union movement and its officials are, and always were, socialist or even Marxist. This is understandable since many middle-aged or older citizens will remember the strong tie-up between the Labour party and the TUC, the wildcat strikes of the '70's, and that the Miners Strike (however just) of the '80's was led by an avowed Marxist, Arthur Scargill. However, it was not always so.

Walter Osborne was an Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) Branch official in Walthamstow (London) at the turn of the 20th century. He was an active trade unionist and, like the majority of branch members, a supporter of the Liberal party. His opposition to the increasing ties between the trade union movement and, the then new, Labour party led to a legal intervention which, initially, banned trade union collection of political levy's (known as the **Osborne Judgement** (1909)).

That particular judgement was overturned by the **Trade Union Act** (1913), although the dispute over 'contracting in/out' of the levy rumbled on with the **Trades Disputes and Trade Unions Acts** (1927 and 1946) and even today with the **Kelly Report** (see later). The TU Act was not however in place when Osborne wrote his book; a potted history of trade union activity & organisation and the difference between what he called 'new' and traditional trade unionism, entitled 'Sane Trade Unionism'.

For Osborne, early trade unionism represented its 'golden' period; struggle and self-sacrifice in a hostile atmosphere that brought out the best in men and ultimately brought legal privileges and powerful influence to the unions and improved working conditions and pay for working men. He refers to the phrase '*Defence and not Defiance*' being the key-note of Trade Union action i.e. Defence

of working conditions rather than the blocking (defiance) of the management function.

He explained that, despite the fact the majority of union leaders were Liberal by conviction, the growing number of socialists, after originally attacking unions, decided to promote their ideas from within. By infiltrating and organising within unions they were able to gain influence and positions and begin to subvert their purpose from industrial to political objects. Ultimately, a new class of union came into existence, **Industrial**, rather than **Trade** Unions, that '*... taught the workman to look to Parliament for the regulation of the conditions of employment rather than rely upon his Union...*'.*1 He described the fight between the old and new Unions. His main concern however was that the '*political adventurers....sought to batten on the funds of the unions and to use them for their own purpose*'.*2

He refers to the Taff Vale dispute (1901) as an example of political posturing interfering with and subverting collective bargaining. The ASRS General Secretary at the time was the highly respected Richard Bell (1859-1930), a Labour Representation Committee (prior to the formation of the Labour Party), and later a Liberal, MP.

Bell focused on Parliamentary lobbying to produce specific regulations that benefited union negotiations and improved working conditions. However, a militant socialist organiser, James Holmes, despite the best efforts of Bell, led a series of unofficial strikes in the Taff Vale Railway Company (South Wales), which ultimately, were deemed illegal. This resulted in the union being fined huge damages and made all unions vulnerable to litigation in the future (until overturned by a Liberal Government in 1906). Despite Holmes faux-pa he was regarded as a hero to local union activists and this form of direct action increased as socialists grew in number.

Independent or Liberal minded LRA MPs like Richard Bell refused to sign a pledge to accept a Labour (and later Party) whip and were ultimately frozen out.

Liberal supporters like Osborn were fighting a losing battle and came to represent a declining minority of active union members (inevitably the majority of union members were passive). For example, only 46% ASRS members voted on a ballot on the compulsory levy and whilst it was not specifically clear how fees would be spent, Liberal supporters fearing the worst only constituted 16% of actual voters rejecting a compulsory levy.

As with the changing voting habits of a growing working class electorate, liberal support inside and outside the unions, declined alarmingly.

Osborne gives a clue to the way the wind was blowing in his book, in a chapter entitled 'Liberty' where he castigates the union's attitude towards union and non union members alike. He says *'The whole trend of Trade Unionism in latter years has been towards the abolition of private rights and personal liberty. The widening of their objects in order to bring political and religious matters within their scope without regard to the conscience or opinion of large sections of their members....all strongly mitigate against personal freedom'*.³

Whilst calling upon TU's to reform themselves by rejecting political questions (which divided members) and refocus towards *'the primary purpose of Trade Unionism - collective bargaining'*⁴, which he called 'Sane Trade Unionism'. He was clearly not confident

(correctly) that this would occur as he himself had left the union (in 1910) before publishing the book and becoming the Chief Clerk of the British Constitution Association to concentrate on issues of personal liberty vis a vis the state.

Today however, unions are weaker and less committed to the Labour Party. The latter, under Ed Milliband, is attempting to wean the party off union funding, an ambitious and risky strategy. Nevertheless that will mean a weakening of party political discourse within unions as Osborne desired.

The 'Kelly Report' was commissioned to by Parliament to look into political party finance.

It presented that to the then Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, in November 2011. In order to remove 'big money' (and presumably influence) it recommended that individual donations be capped at £10,000. To allow unions to continue to give larger donations it would be necessary to change any political levy back to being an opt-in arrangement (as still is the case in Northern Ireland).⁵ Controversy over increasing taxpayer funding (as recommended) has presently meant the report has been kicked into the long grass. Nevertheless, should the Report eventually be adopted, Osborne, who was only against a compulsory levy, might after 100 years, be vindicated after all.

1. Sane Trade Unionism, p.72

2. " , p.78

3. " , p.233

4. 2, p.259-60

5. Party Political Finance, Committee on Standards in Public Life (2011), Chapter 8, Trade Union donations, p.53-54



The National Liberal Party is Britain's 'Swiss' Party!

- The NLP Supports Referendums & Citizens' Initiatives
- The NLP Supports Armed Neutrality
- The NLP Supports A Federal Britain

National Liberal Party
www.nationalliberal.org

Find us on  

NATIONS WITHOUT STATES

Nations without States is a pressure group that campaigns to unite self-determinists to lobby for the freedom of stateless nations. If you wish to highlight and debate your national cause join us on facebook. If you want to be active join our activities and contact us via nationswstates@aol.co.uk.

NwS is supporting the 'NLP-Self-determination for All!' party list in the London Region for the European Parliament on May 22nd - SD (self-determination) Day!

A member of the National Liberal Trade Union group describes on an earlier 'patriotic' labour party, supported by trade unionists, that ran in opposition to the existing socialist *Labour Party*.

Patriotic and Labour – Step Forward

Today, many ordinary people hold beliefs that are both social in concept and patriotic. They have a deep felt belief that is supportive of social justice, but is also patriotic, supportive for example of the troops, but not the present war(s); proud of their country, but not the politicians who decide for them; actions that show our country in the worst light possible.

This is however nothing new. Back in the early 1900's, a number of patriots within the then British Socialist Party, who sought to support the troops in the First World War, left the BSP.

Seeking to support "the eternal idea of nationality" and aimed at promoting "socialist measures in the war effort". This group, including such figures as H. G. Wells and Robert Blatchford, formed the Socialist National Defence Committee.

In 1916, this Committee worked with Alexander M. Thompson to form the British Workers League. No longer supportive of the changing face of Socialism, which was leaving the ordinary worker behind with its international perspective, the BWL moved forward to develop a "patriotic labour" group, which focused on supporting the troops and the war effort.

Activists at the time included both workers and such people as the Rev. A. W. Gough, Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral, who was Chairman of the British Workers League for

London and the Home counties.

In 1918 the British Workers League re-constituted itself as the National Democratic and Labour Party with the support of George Barnes, ex-Labour party leader & Member of Parliament for Glasgow Blackfriars and Hutchesontown, after expulsion from the Labour Party.

The NDLP gained the support of the Musicians' Union and parts of other unions, including some sections of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (who had been strong supporters of the earlier Liberal-Labour MP grouping). Primarily funded by Lloyd George Coalition Liberals, it was dedicated to supporting Lloyd George in fighting the First World War.



George Barnes

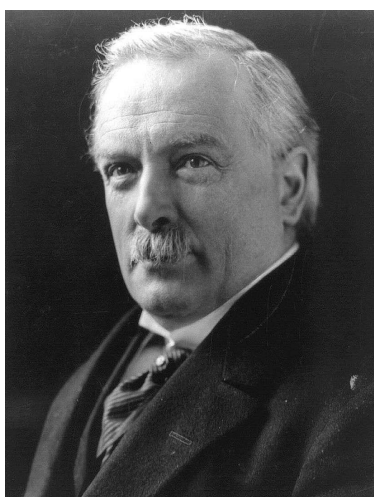
In the 1918 general election, the NDLP stood in eighteen seats on a Coalition Coupon (endorsement) ticket, winning nine seats, including Barnes in the Glasgow Gorbals seat. All the elected MPs had held a coupon, although nine candidates stood against official Coalition candidates, none of who secured a seat. Barnes took a seat in the coalition government's cabinet until 1920.

In 1922, Barnes retired from Parliament, and the group's remaining MPs joined the National Liberal Party. The NDLP was then officially wound up in 1923.

Then as now, ordinary people who feel betrayed by blue labour and detest the

government and their cuts to frontline services need a voice, a party that supports the people and its needs and one that protects individual liberties. A party that is patriotic, inclusive and progressive.

Today, as in 1923, supporters of this noble vision, a combination of compassion for the people and love for ones country, should step forward and join the only party that best represents these views, the National Liberal Party. The NLP is a party which promotes national liberalism and is rooted in the culture and traditions of the British Isles. Based on the principles of Liberty,



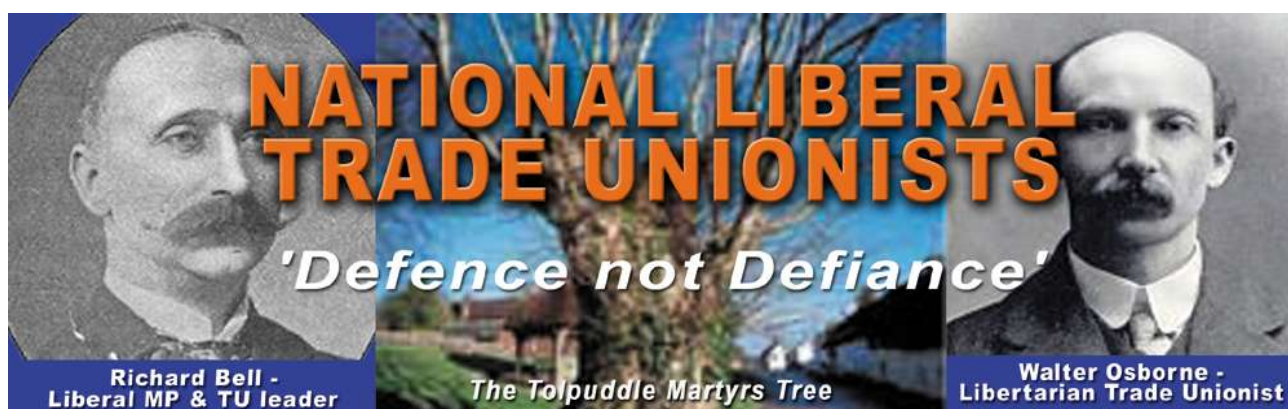
Lloyd George

Independence, Democracy and Ecology, the NLP in my opinion builds on the patriotic and progressive ideals of the old NDLP and today is the only voice supporters of a patriotic labour vision can realistically support.

United now as then, together we can develop a radical voice that will deliver to the people what is needed and a country that is free!

Mark Walsh

Anyone seeking further information should please view the NLP main website or NLTU Facebook group.



The NLTU union banner displays a number of liberal figures and symbols drawn from the liberal trade unionist history.

Richard Bell was a General Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants (ASRS) - Railwaymen's Union, TUC President, and Liberal MP. Ironically, he was one of the first, with Kier Hardie, Labour Representation MP's. He viewed the LRA as a vehicle for the working man to lobby for industrial legislation rather than act as separate political party vying for government and preferred to work with Liberals rather than socialists.

Tolpuddle Martyrs Tree was used by a number of agricultural labourers to swear an oath to their friendly society/union. They were deported to Australia for their troubles. Their leader, George Loveless, identified the main issue at stake when he wrote "*We raise the watch-word liberty; We will, we will, we will be free!*"

Walter Osborn was an ASRS Branch official that opposed the use of the trade unions by socialists for party political ends. Libertarian by nature and a Liberal supporter by choice he became famous for the Osborne Judgement (1909) which temporarily prevented unions raising political levys (although Osborne was only against the party political aspect and its compulsory nature). After 100 years it looks as if he will be vindicated (via the Kelly Report and Ed Milliband's stand).

Defence not Defiance was an old trade union slogan, especially amongst skilled workers, and popular amongst liberals focusing on their role as protecting their members rather than fighting the government.

If interested in becoming involved in the National Liberal Trade Union group join us on facebook.

If you liked this issue of *New Horizon* please forward this on to those who might be interested! If you would like to comment or even contribute to the next issue please write to natliberal@aol.com or NH, c/o PO Box 4217, Hornchurch, Essex RM12 4PJ