



# THE CALHOUN

## REVIEW

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Barry Lee Clark

# Secession and Devolution in Contemporary Geopolitics

In this inaugural issue of The Calhoun Review we examine the topic of secession, particularly as it applies to contemporary political discussions in the US and internationally. In the standard narrative of US history, particularly as told over the last 30-40 years, Calhoun was the godfather of secession which leads to a war and was proven a flawed and illegitimate concept.

If we accept the common story that Calhoun was the godfather of secession, then his legacy is powerful indeed as numerous successful acts of secession occurred either in his lifetime or after and movements toward devolution continue around the world today. Texas seceded from Mexico, Finland from the USSR, the Balkan states from the USSR followed by several other SSR states, and Sweden from Norway, etc. Currently, there are several secessionist movements, varying in popular support, active across the globe.

Of course as powerful as the philosophy of Calhoun may be, his words are not the genesis of the entire concept; self-determination and self-rule might be traced as far back at 1648 with the idea that sovereignty belonged to the people, not the king (government). Calhoun merely articulated the concept of a right relation to the governed to their government within a representative republic in a Burkean style in his time and place. The fact that others since and still come to many of the same conclusions serves to point out that perhaps there was more validity to his words than what is taught currently in public schools and universities. In this issue we examine opinions by:

Rivka Weill in "Holey Union" points out the disparity between the interpretation of constitutional law and the implementation of the said law. In the United States the implementation of the

law, as applied through legal realist jurisprudence and case law, have made the actual meaning of the Constitution incomprehensible to the ordinary, educated citizen; one cannot simply read the words, as plainly written, and understand what that document currently means.

Igor Calzada in "What Do We Talk About When We Talk About Political Innovation in the Age of Devolution?", discusses devolution, specifically in Europe and more specifically in terms of city-states, in what he calls the "age of devolution".

Edward Stiglitz in "Folk Theories, Dynamic Pluralism, and Democratic Values", examines the relationship between electoral accountability and innovations relating to one such offensive institution -- the legislative veto -- in the context of the American states between 1950-2010.

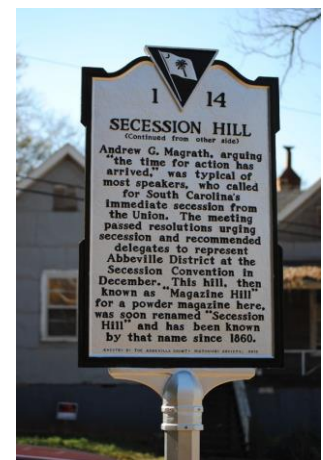
Kalevi Holsti in Introduction on the 'State of the State', discusses the long list of civil wars, wars of secession, genocides, ethnic and religious armed strife, and politicides since 1945 is accounted for primarily by the relations between governments and the socially complex societies over which they rule.

Steven Wheatley in "Recognition and secessionist in the complex environment of world politics" questions whether the incoherence in the doctrine and practice on external self-determination is the result of international lawyers using the wrong conceptual tools.

Aziz Sheikhani in "Secession's Theory (Remedial Right Only Theories)" argues that to ease conflicts and nationalist tensions in the world, it should be taken that people have the right to

have their own state.

Finally, James A. Bayard, a congressman from Delaware, provides explicit examples of what Weill describes in his argument.



# Holey Union: The Constitutional Paradox of Secession



The notion that because a constitution is silent on secession does invalidate the concept. The very ideal of consent of the governed and democratic representation serves as a first principle, higher than constitutions that seek to codify relationships and forms of government.

**Abstract:** "There are secessionist movements in all parts of the world, encompassing both democratic and non-democratic countries. It is typically thought that this important phenomenon is regulated by international law alone. But, this article argues that when looking anew at constitutional law through the lens of secession, democracies' weak spots are revealed. While political actors and scholars traditionally believe that bans on political parties ('militant democracy') and constitutional eternity clauses ('unconstitutional constitutional amendment') are used and justified to protect democratic values alone, they are in fact also used to fight against secession. Democracies have been able to conceal their fight against secessionists, by creating a large gap between "the law on the books" and "the law as practiced." This raises paradoxes so extreme, the democracies

begin to appear to be using the tools of authoritarian regimes. In addition to exposing the facts on the grounds, the article also makes two normative claims: First, it argues that secession reveals the ways in which both doctrines—the ban and eternity clauses—are inextricably intertwined. This assertion is general and goes beyond the secession context. Second, the article argues that secession is helpful in revealing the intricate relationship between constitution-making and constitution-amending powers. Even those who hold that the power to amend the Constitution should be treated as equal to the constitution-making power may find that an exception is needed in the secession context. Secession may be regarded as an annihilation of the Constitution because it redefines the sovereign bodies. As such, secession necessitates extra-constitutional mechanisms. Contrary to the prevailing understanding that it is sufficient to garner the support of the seceding population, secession may require the independent deliberate consent of two new peoples—the seceding as well as the remaining population. Studying the delicate dance of constitutional democracies and secessionist movements not only enables a better understanding of constitutional law but may also shed new scholarly light on assumptions that Constitutions are generally silent about secession and may even implicitly allow it." (Weill 2014)

Weill, Rivka, Holey Union: The Constitutional Paradox of Secession (November 27, 2014). Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2708859>

or  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2708859>

## Quick Fact:

**In Europe, there are currently twenty-one active secession or devolution movements.**

<https://www.theguardian.com/world/ng-interactive/2017/oct/27/beyond-catalonia-pro-independence-movements-in-europe-map>

## What Do we Talk About

Igor Calzada argues that devolution in general may be the only reasonable method to provide democratic representation to scale. This is a very Calhoun-like argument.

### **What Do We Talk About When We Talk About Political Innovation in the Age of Devolution?**

### **Comparing 'Smartness' in Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country**

"Nation-states are facing constant re-scaling and devolution demands from the strongest city-regional economies, whereas welfare policies are weakening due to the austerity policy implemented by national governments. However, nation-states, as international actors, depict difficulties to cope with this uncertain equilibrium between self-determination demands from the nationalists and a clear contestation to the political-economic severe austerity policy. It is in this context where pervasive but disruptive political innovations could be taking place in some city-regional small nations, even beyond their nation-states.

Generally speaking, the nature of the nation-states has been understood so far as a static and presumably homogeneous entity, which requires an updated 'smart' comprehensive

agenda of power relationships, shared sovereignty and policy implementation between nation-states and city-regional small nations. Such 'smartness' now involves being able to proceed with devolution between the two counterparts that play in the international arena.

As a general trend, devolution is being increasingly included in the EU multilevel policy agenda, or at least, in the political debate of many member states, such as the UK, Spain, and Germany, among others.

Nevertheless, there are remarkable differences not only in the way nation-states assume this current geopolitical trend, but also the strategies of city-regions aiming for more autonomy, devolution and independence. These are the cases of the UK and Spain, and also Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country. This paper aims to explore two aspects: 1) the notion of what we mean when we talk about the Age of Devolution in the European context and 2) the evidence-based facts of the Political Innovation in selected cases of smart city-regional governance.

Therefore, this paper will present a comparative analysis of the Political Innovation 'smartness' in the three city-regional small nations of Scotland,

Catalonia and the Basque Country." (Calzada 2015)

Calzada, Igor, What Do We Talk About When We Talk About Political Innovation in the Age of Devolution? Comparing 'Smartness' in Scotland, Catalonia and the Basque Country (June 1, 2015). Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2612860>



*"...devolution is being increasingly included in the EU multilevel policy agenda, or at least, in the political debate of many member states."*

# Folk Theories, Dynamic Pluralism, and Democratic Values

Edward Stiglitz highlights several points that are particularly relevant to and set the stage for the discussion of executive usurpation contained later in this issue.

**Abstract:** "Constitutional values often motivate separation of powers doctrine and doctrines in other areas of law. A jurist favors one doctrinal position over another because, under some implicit positive theory, it promotes a consequential value: for example, abstract liberty, rule of law, or democratic values. Yet this jurisprudential posture falters if theory is incomplete or inept. As an object lesson into the perils of incomplete functionalism, I consider the relationship between the so-called unitary executive and democratic values. I first formalize a theoretical account of the unitary executive along the lines of the one that animates judicial decisions; I then show that viewed in a more complete setting, judicial decisions seemingly promoting a unitary executive may engender pluralism and undermine the value of accountability. I empirically examine the relationship between electoral accountability and innovations relating to one such offensive institution -- the legislative veto -- in the context of the American states between 1950-2010. I find that the

offending institution of the legislative veto is, if anything, associated with stronger, not weaker, executive accountability for administrative actions, questioning the soundness of democratic values as a motivation for pursuing a unitary executive. I conclude with thoughts on the role of courts in managing functionalist constitutional values." (Stiglitz 2016)

Stiglitz, Edward, Folk Theories, Dynamic Pluralism, and Democratic Values (February 25, 2016). Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2737997>



## Introduction to the 'State of the State'

Abstract "My book *The State, War, and the State of War* concluded that the main source of armed conflict in the contemporary international system is not in the relations between states, but problems within states. The long list of civil wars, wars of secession, genocides, ethnic and religious armed strife, and politicides since

1945 is accounted for primarily by the relations between governments and the socially complex societies over which they rule. This section of the book explores these critical relationships and locates some of the sources of state failure." (Holsti 2016)

Holsti, Kalevi. "Introduction on the 'State of the State'."

In Kalevi Holsti: *Major Texts on War, the State, Peace, and International Order*, pp. 89- 90. Springer International Publishing, 2016.  
[http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-28818-5\\_6](http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-319-28818-5_6)

## Why Secession

Not since the crisis of 1861 has a moment more clearly presented itself for the heirs to the birthright of the Republic formed in 1789 to reassert the principles of our founding. The various liberties and inalienable rights enjoyed by the people as a natural result of God's gift to man and the sovereignty of the several States has been gradually eroded over the course of the history of this nation. Those that have stood on the principles of States Rights and individual liberty have always suffered the disadvantage of lacking the moral high ground in their cause. It was thus in the 1860; and it was so in the 1960's. Without the power of legitimate moral issues and principles efforts to assert the Sovereignty of the States has failed. These failures have created a precedence that has allowed the power of the central government to usurp the State on more trivial and mundane matters.

The sum and total result is a current federal government that lives and operates far outside of the bound envisioned by our founders. To the State this means a loss of sovereignty and freedom of action. To the individual this means tyranny imposed by a government that is far removed geographically and indifferent to the needs, values and principles of the individual.

As citizens we find now that we have a choice. We might submit to the lot that we have inherited via generations of central government usurpation and apathy of the populace. To accept and embrace this option is to acquiesce to of life and a future in which the federal government determines what is moral, what is right and what principle we and our children shall live under. On the surface the benefits of living under a socialist system of strong central control might seem palatable to many. The perks of the current system of welfare, managed healthcare, and governmental regulation of nearly every aspect of life appeal to a certain class of people. These are

individuals have determined to surrender their birthright of freedom for a paternalistic system that provides for them what they ought to provide for themselves.



# Theories of Secession

In order to scope the arguments that will follow it is necessary to highlight some of the political theories that justify secession in general.

## Primary Right of Secession

Holds that a group has a basic right to secede regardless of whether injustices have been committed or not. This is also called unilateral right secession.

## Nationalist Variant of Primary Right

Holds that every nation (territorially contiguous ethnic/cultural group) has the right to establish its own state (country) if they choose and may do so unilaterally and without any other justification.

## Liberal Primary Right

Holds that because government's legitimacy derives solely from consent, any group of people may withdraw their territory from an existing state and set up a new state, so long as a majority of the group agrees, and the rights of the minority are respected in the new state.

## Remedial Right Only

Holds that a national group enjoys a unilateral right to secede if and only if its members have suffered serious, fundamental injustices and secession is the only alternative left to remedy those injustices. RRO theories strictly confine the right to secede to a small set of cases.

## Partial Right Variant of Remedial Right

An expansion of the former with conditions. Anthony Birch, in "Another Liberal Theory of Secession", states that one of the following prior conditions must be present for secession to be justified:

- 1.The seceding region was included in the state by force and its people have displayed a continuing refusal to give full consent to the union;
- 2.The national government has failed in a serious way to protect the basic rights and security of the citizens of the region;
- 3.The democratic system has failed to safeguard the legitimate political and economic interests of the

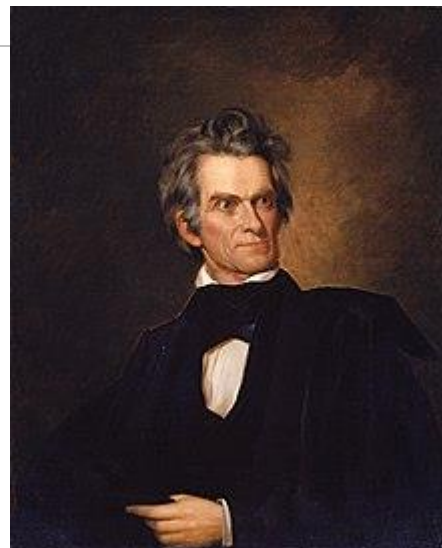
region, either because the representative process is biased against the region or because the executive authorities contrive to ignore the results of that process;

or

4.The national government has ignored or rejected an explicit or implicit bargain between sections that was entered into as a way of preserving the essential interests of a section that might find itself outvoted by a national majority.

## State-Federal Contract Theory

Holds that in the United States a contract (compact) exists between the federal government and the various states. This theory is best articulated by John C. Calhoun (although Calhoun did use the term compact rather than contract) and was the bedrock behind the states of the former Confederacy declaring their independence. This theory is easily combined in application with the above theories in various circumstances.





## Executive Usurpation

Mr. President, during the special session of the Senate in March last, when seven States had withdrawn, by the action of their people, from the Federal Union, disclaimed all allegiance to the Government, and organized a separate common government, I took occasion, before the public mind had become excited, to express fully my views of the structure of our Government, and the unhappy condition of the country; and also to indicate the course of action which I believed most conducive to our happiness and prosperity in the future. I then thought, after the most anxious and gravest consideration, and actuated by no earthly motive but the good of my country, that the only alternative which remained was an assent to the revolution by which the Gulf States had left us, or civil war. That though the secession of a State was an act of revolution, it was an event not provided for by the Constitution and could only be met by war or peace. That the power to coerce a State by the General Government by arms, having been expressly refused by the framers of the Constitution, we had no other resource left but war against them for a breach of the compact upon which the Federal Government is founded, or peace and the recognition of the common government which they had organized.

I did not doubt that the right of judgment as to peace or war rested in Congress; but I was unable to see how any plea of executing the laws or retaking the public property justified the use of the military power as a primary power, for that purpose, within the intent of the Constitution and the powers conferred by it on Congress or the Executive. Believing, also, that the withdrawal of those States did not subvert our Government, but left us a great and powerful nation, I thought a peaceful separation preferable to

what I consider the greatest curse which the providence of God can inflict upon a nation—civil war. I also indulged the hope, and now believe that hope would have been realized, that by conciliation those States might be restored to the Union and expressed the opinion that an attempt at coercion would drive other States out of the Confederacy; and in this, at least, subsequent events have shown that I was not in error. The Executive, as I deem most unfortunately, adopted the policy of coercion, and collision followed. An appeal by proclamation was made to the people for volunteers, which, involved of necessity coercion by arms and war, and four more States withdrew from the Union, and joined the Confederate States. The convention of Virginia had shown by repeated votes that a majority exceeding seventy existed in that body deeply attached to the Union, anxious to retain the State in the Union, and to settle the causes of difficulty which had arisen among us. On the President's proclamation, that convention seceded from the Union, and by an overwhelming majority of the people of Virginia their action has been ratified. Tennessee, which a brief time before had refused by thirty thousand majority to call a contention, immediately, by the action of her Legislature, left the Union, and her people ratified the act by sixty thousand majority. North Carolina withdrew with entire unanimity, though she had voted down a convention a short time before; and Arkansas, which had from her love to the Union postponed any consideration of the question of secession till the fall; in order that so eventful a matter should be fully discussed

before her people, and its effects gravely weighed before determination, also left us, as consequent upon the proclamation.

Much as I deplored the loss of the Gulf States, I was then willing, to use the language of Burke, in 1777, in relation to our Revolution:

"To part with them as a limb, but as a limb to save the body; and I would have parted with more, if more had been necessary; anything rather than a fruitless, hopeless, unnatural civil war."

Sir, I am as deeply attached to the Union as any man who claims a seat in this body. I would have saved it in its integrity by conciliation and compromise; and it is my consolation that, in my past life, no word or act of mine ever encouraged a sectional feeling among my countrymen. Nay, more, if any sacrifice on my part, involving property or even life itself, could now end this unhappy struggle, and restore and preserve the Union, with the fraternal feeling and national sentiment in which it was founded by our forefathers, that sacrifice would be readily and cheerfully made. I could leave no richer or prouder inheritance to my children than the reflection that their father, had sacrificed himself for the prosperity and welfare of his country.

But the passions of the nation have become excited, and the cry now is, "unconditional submission and the crushing out of rebellion," without the first step having been taken for the purpose, of conciliation. States are to be reduced to provinces, and the military power to become the dominant power in a representative republic. Even a servile insurrection is threatened, should it prove necessary, for the purpose of conquest and subjugation.

"Unconditional submission, and the crushing out of rebellion" was the language of the Crown and ministers of Great Britain in the struggle in which our ancestors achieved our liberties. No terms should be offered to armed rebels; the sword and the bayonet were the only admissible arguments. The Government was to be strengthened, and the Colonies to be subdued. The habeas corpus act was suspended in America and on the high seas, and those who sailed under letters of marque issued by the United States Congress were denounced as pirates. Let me read the answer to this course of policy of Mr. Burke, which embodies the general sentiment of the greatest statesmen and truest patriots of England in that day. I read from his letter to the sheriffs of Bristol, in April, 1777, less than a year after our independence had been declared; and for its general truths, as applicable to the present struggle, the whole letter might be read with profit by every well-wisher of his country:

"It is said that, being at war with the colonies, whatever our sentiments might have been before, ail ties between us are now dissolved; and all the policy we have left is to strengthen the hands of the Government to reduce them. On the principle of this argument, the more mischief we suffer from. any administration, the more our trust in it is to be confirmed. Let them but once get us into a war, and then their power fs safe, and an act of oblivion is passed for all their misconduct. But is it true that Government is always to be strengthened with the instruments of war, but never furnished with the means of peace? In former times, ministers, I allow, have been sometimes driven by the popular voice to assert by arms the national honor against foreign powers. But the wisdom of the nation has been far clearer when those ministers have been compelled to consult its interests by treaty." Further:

"This mode of yielding would, it is said, give way to independency without a

war. But if it had this effect, I confess that I should prefer independency without war to independency with it; and I have so much trust in the inclinations and prejudices of mankind, and so little in anything else, that I should expect ten times more benefit to this kingdom." The United States, Mr. President—

"from the affection of America,"—

The South—

"though under a separate establishment, than from her perfect submission to the Crown and parliament"—

The Federal Government—

"accompanied with her terror, disgust, and abhorrence.

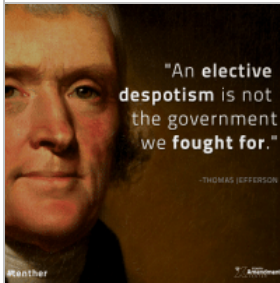
"Bodies tied together by so unnatural a bond of union as mutual hatred, are only connected to their ruin."

Could we, Mr. President, if after a desolating war we succeeded in subjugating the South, bind her to us by any other bonds of union than mutual hatred, and is it not true that such a bond of union would involve the ruin of both the North and the South?

It has been said that if we let these States go in peace we yield to the right of secession at will by a State, and that such a principle will lead to the entire disintegration of the Union. But we do not yield to the right of secession by recognizing revolution. I admit that were a single State to secede—even a large State—restriction and coercion, (not by arms,) coupled with conciliation, might well be used, and would be successful in restoring her. Such was the course of our ancestors in the adoption of

the Constitution to the small State of Rhode Island and the larger State of North Carolina, one of which remained out of the Union after the organization of the Federal Government for one year, and the other a year and a half. I admit, also, that secession is revolution, and that we have the right of war in such a case, if Congress so decides. But the object of the war ought to be the restoration of the State to the Union, and, as against a single State, the menace of war would in all probability, from the superior power of the Federal Government, effect its object without bloodshed.

Sir, on this subject let me show you what are not merely my opinions of the impracticability of a single republic over so extensive a country as ours without the existence of the internal governments of separate independent States, bound together by one common government over communities separate among themselves and constituting us a nation as regards the world at large; but the opinions universally entertained at the time the convention sat which framed the Federal Constitution. No abler man, with rare exceptions, at least, if any, than Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, was found in that convention. His name appeared as an active participator in all its debates. He was one of the framers of the Constitution, peculiarly entitled to our gratitude, and one of its most ardent supporters, both in its original formation and in its adoption by his own State. I read from a speech which he made in favor of the adoption of the Constitution by the people of Pennsylvania, in the convention of that State, and I read it in order to show the danger of consolidation into a single government, which is inevitably incident to the subjugation of the Southern States by the military power:



"Government over the whole extent of the united States would demand a system of the most unqualified and most unremitted despotism."

## Executive Usurpation - Continued

"The united States may adopt any one of four different systems. They may become consolidated into one Government, in which the separate existence of the States shall be entirely absolved. They may reject any plan of union or association, and act as separate and unconnected States. They may form two or more confederacies. They may unite in one federal republic. Which of these systems ought to have been formed by the convention? To support with vigor a single Government over the whole extent of the united

States would demand a system of the most unqualified and most unremitted despotism.

Such a number of separate States, contiguous in situation, unconnected and disunited in government, would be at one time the prey of foreign force, foreign influence, and foreign intrigues, at another the victims of mutual rage, rancor, and revenge. Neither of these systems found advocates in the late convention. I presume they will not find advocates in this." After, discussing the

relative merits of a union of two or more republics, or into one, he speaks of "the remaining system," which was adopted, "as a union of them into one confederate republic."

No man can doubt that the words "confederate" and "federal" are synonymous, and when applied to this republic, or any other, imply, from the force of the words, a common government over separate independent communities.

The speech quoted above from Mr. Wilson was not that of a lone voice, it was in fact the understanding of the **majority** of those involved with the framing of the Constitution and the Federal Republic – not on unitary government but a federal system with only delegated powers relinquished by the sovereign States.

I have read it, sir, to warn gentlemen that the system of government adopted in 1787 is inconsistent with the prosecution of war for the subjection of the South; and yet you cannot execute the laws, as you claim to do, within the Confederate States without their entire conquest and subjugation. You must, if successful, convert, and it has been threatened by many leading papers, and by at least one leading member of the administration, that you will convert this Government into a single Government, and absolve all State lines.

In answer to such a purpose, and as an all-sufficient objection to it, I give you the great general truth enunciated by Mr. Wilson, that a government of that kind, to exist over the extent of this country, must be "a system of the most unqualified and unremitting despotism."

Sir, I would preserve the Union. Why? To preserve the liberties of my country. If the Union is to be made the means of prostrating those liberties, then it is far better that the Union should be abandoned than

that free institutions should be abolished. I value and cherish it, not merely because it gives us a powerful Government, but because its power secures and protects the individual liberty of the citizen, and because the Union, under a Federal Constitution, will perpetuate republican institutions, and preserve self-government by the people.

This paragraph is perhaps Bayard's most prophetic. Who among us can deny the Republic did truly transform, beginning in 1786 into something of an autocracy. In its wake and meddling one could pin most of the wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well as an ever-increasing eradication of freedom from government intrusion at home.

By war you may subjugate and devastate the Southern States; but the large army you must permanently maintain to keep them in subjection will inevitably, in the end, subvert our own institutions and convert a republic into an autocracy. It is easier to organize than to disband a large army; and more difficult still to disband a dictator when you have yielded to him the power of the sword and the purse and subordinated the civil to the military power.

But have Senators reflected on the effects of civil war upon the character and habits of the people, and its demoralizing influences? Let me give you the portraiture of those effects and influences, in the language of the same great statesman; because the truth is general and as applicable to our times as to the day in which he lived. "Civil wars," said Mr. Burke— "Civil wars strike deepest of all into the manners of the people. They vitiate their politics; they corrupt their morals; they pervert even the natural taste and relish of equity and justice. By teaching us to consider our fellow-citizens in a hostile light, the whole body of our nation becomes gradually less dear to us. The very names of affection and kindred which were the bonds of charity whilst we agreed become new incentives to hatred and rage when the communion of our country is dissolved. We may flatter ourselves that we shall not fall into this misfortune; but we

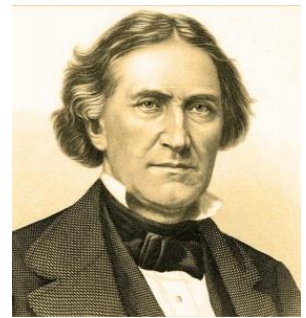
have no charter of exemption that I know of from the ordinary frailties of our nature."

If the language of the statesman will not convince you, take the corroboration in the experience of the soldier:

"It has been my fortune to have seen much of war, more than most, men. I have been constantly engaged in the active duties of the military profession from boyhood until I have grown gray. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and suffering. Circumstances have placed me in countries where the war was internal—between opposite parties in the same nation—and rather than a country I loved should be visited with the calamities which I have seen, with the unutterable horrors of civil war, I would run any risk, I would make any sacrifice, I would freely lay down my life. There is nothing which destroys property and prosperity and demoralizes character to the extent which civil war does. By it the hand of man is raised against his neighbor, against his brother, against his father; the servant betrays his master, and the master ruin his servant."

Such was the experience of the great Duke of Wellington, and I pray God we may profit by that experience before it is too late.

About James A. Bayard  
James A. Bayard (1799-1880) was a United States Senator from Delaware. His father, James A. Bayard, cast the deciding vote in the 1800 presidential election, and his grandfather, Richard Bassett, signed the Constitution. His brother, son, and grandson also served in the United States Senate. Bayard was one of the lone voices of opposition to the Lincoln administration during the War.



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## Opinion: Secession and Actual Democracy

If one takes a moment to observe the present-day size of yesterday's worldly empires, notably Greece, France, Great Britain & Rome it is evident that in the end, "small was beautiful".

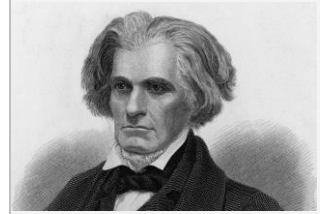
If France today witnessed its government with a 30% or less approval rating, hence it's people would call a general strike and that government would grind to a halt and be headed for ouster rather quickly. But that is an example of "a government controlled by its people". Ironically, the USA who's founding principles set out to do even more than that, has crashed and burned, with its leader now having only a 24% approval and it's Congress at 11%. As for its people, they have no control of the situation, rather the situation keeps gaining more control over them.

American democracy now being dismantled from its citizenry is left with only one alternative; "secession". For a "regional example", eventually the peoples of the States of let's say, "New York" and the "New England States" for instance, will find that their only hopes of securing their borders, reducing their federal budgets, cutting their property taxes and remedying their immigration, medical and social ills, will be to secede from the Union of the United States and to form their own neighboring country. It is America's inevitable fate in the end. All it needs is the first shining example and all its war machinery needs is to be brought under a saner control by "a flight of funds"!

(Try pondering your State for a moment along with some of it's neighbors and

consider what type of "new country" you might come up with.)

**By Paul Casson  
Minnesota, USA**



*"There is no direct and immediate connection between the individual citizens of a state and the general government. The relation between them is through the state. The Union is a union of states as communities and not a union of individuals.."*

*John C. Calhoun*

**The Calhoun Institute**  
Abbeville, SC 29620

**E-mail**  
articles@calhouninstitute.com

## DEDICATED TO THE POLITICAL LEGACY OF JOHN C. CALHOUN AND THE SOUTHERN TRADITION

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## About The Calhoun Institute

The inspiration for The Calhoun Institute comes, in part, from [The Abbeville Institute](#). The founding academics of that organization in 2002 observed:

*"We were concerned that the Southern tradition is no longer taught in colleges and universities except as a function of the ideological needs of others. With few exceptions, the Southern tradition is presented as little more than the story of racism and slavery. Eugene Genovese, a distinguished historian of the South—a Northerner and a man of the left—has been a rare voice in criticizing this effort to purge the Southern tradition and its symbols from the American landscape. In the Massey lectures he gave at Harvard in 1994 he had this to say: 'Rarely these days, even on southern campuses, is it possible to acknowledge the achievements of the white people of the South .... To speak positively about any part of this southern tradition is to invite charges of being a racist and an apologist for slavery and*

*segregation. We are witnessing a cultural and political atrocity—an increasingly successful campaign by the media and an academic elite to strip young white southerners, and arguably black southerners as well, of their heritage, and, therefore, their identity. They are being taught to forget their forbearers or to remember them with shame."*

The situation observed in 2002 has not changed for the better, in fact, it may be getting worse. In academia, professors like Dr. Donald W. Livingston, Dr. Clyde N. Wilson, CAPT (USN R) DR. John Coussins and others have retired and others of their generation will soon follow.

The generation of scholars, writers, and professors that followed these men was shaped in the 1960's and their understanding of history, Constitutional law and political philosophy is very different (and wrong) than the views held by the generations that preceded. This

contemporary view supports a narrative that is contrary to both the historical record and common-sense. This narrative both supports what has become of the role of the central government and silences any voice contrary to the common their version of the story.

The goal of The Calhoun Institute is, therefore, to add another voice in the effort to thwart the revisionist and reconstructionist that would paint the South as a whole and Calhoun in particular as nothing more than bit players in the story of America and history. We hope to help inspire a new generation of scholars, researchers and ordinary people that question the story of our history told in numerous books, lectures and essays over the last forty-five years, and perhaps, raise up a group of thinkers/leaders/teachers to follow giants like Wilson and Livingston.