FEARDOM

HOW POLITICIANS EXPLOIT YOUR EMOTIONS AND WHAT YOU CAN DO TO STOP THEM

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DEDICATION

To all those in my life who helped me find the red pill.

INTRODUCTION

"Timid men... prefer the calm of despotism to the tempestuous sea of liberty."

—Thomas Jefferson

T THE BRINK OF WAR with France, the U.S. Congress passed a collection of laws referred to as the Alien and Sedition Acts. Described by their Federalist proponents as "war measures," the Democrat-Republican opponents saw them as unconstitutional and indefensible. While each of the four laws was claimed to be a response to escalating tensions with France, they were mostly a political weapon to be used against members of the minority (Democrat-Republican) party.

One of the laws, the Naturalization Act, increased the time immigrants had to wait for citizenship and voting rights from 5 to 14 years. As immigrants tended to favor Thomas Jefferson's Democrat-Republican party (commonly referred to simply as Republicans), the Federalist intent of this law was to minimize the growth, and therefore the power, of the opposition. As one Federalist said in congressional debate, "[I do] not wish to invite hordes of... the turbulent and disorderly of all parts of the world, to come here with a view to

disturb our tranquility, after having succeeded in the overthrow of their own governments."2

Two of the four laws, the Alien Enemies Act and the Alien Friends Act, purportedly granted authority to the president to deport an alien who was either deemed dangerous or who was from a country at war with the United States. The worst of the four laws, the Sedition Act, criminalized speech by punishing any person who wrote or printed "false, scandalous and malicious writing" against Congress or the president that meant to "defame... or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them... the hatred of the good people of the United States..."3 (Notably, the Sedition Act did not punish such speech against the Vice President, Thomas Jefferson, who was not a Federalist.) President John Adams signed the Acts into law on June 14, nine years to the day after the French Revolution began.

Understanding the controversy behind these laws requires a bit of context, and helps set the stage for the subject we'll be discussing in this book. Political parties were a new development in American politics, and deep divisions quickly emerged as various factions in the government rallied around the important issues of the day. While domestic differences created contention between the Federalist and Democratic-Republican parties, nothing made their blood boil like foreign affairs. Though citizens of a new, independent nation, Americans remained interested in—and greatly affected by— European politics. The Federalists sided with Britain in its conflict against France, as they were worried about the mob rule they saw rising out of the ashes of France's former monarchical system and the radical ideas that tended to germinate from such political chaos. On the other hand, Republicans favored the French and supported their newfound ideals of liberté, égalité, fraternité. They saw in France echoes of America's own fight for freedom.

With control of Congress and the presidency, the Federalists took advantage of their political power to crack down on their enemies and ensure that France's influence would be minimized in America. But rather than targeting and deporting French immigrants accused of insurrection, Federalists focused on their political rivals, who were perceived to be sympathetic towards—if not outwardly supportive of-France's ideals and methods. Under the assumed authority of the Alien and Sedition Acts, federal officials arrested twenty-five men, most of whom were editors of Republican newspapers. Matthew Lyon, a Republican congressman from Vermont, became the first person to be put on trial under the Sedition Act. Lyon had written a letter published in the paper for which he was an editor, criticizing Adams' "continued grasp for power." A federal grand jury indicted Lyon for intentionally stirring up hatred against the president. He was later sentenced by a Federalist judge to four months in jail and a \$1,000 fine, having been convicted by the jury (assembled from Vermont towns that were Federalist strongholds) for expressing seditious words with "bad intent." Among those arrested was the grandson of Benjamin Franklin, who worked as the editor of the Philadelphia Democrat-Republican Aurora, and who was charged with libeling President Adams and thus encouraging sedition among his readers. Thomas Cooper, editor of the Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette, was likewise indicted for sedition, fined \$400, and made to serve six months in jail. Criticism of the government had become treason against the United States.

Many themes can be observed in the events of 1798: national security in a fledgling nation; partisan rivalry among men who had previously fought side by side in the American Revolution; the destabilizing influence of a heavy influx of immigrants; and the impact of foreign affairs on American politics. However, another (less discernible) theme merits special attention, as it pervaded the political process prior to, during, and after the enactment of the Alien and Sedition Acts: fear.

As David McCullough writes in his biography of John Adams, "There was rampant fear of the enemy within" during this era. For

Federalists, that enemy was French immigrants whose very existence suggested the potential for French Revolution spillover into America. Republicans, on the other hand, considered the Federalists the real "enemy within," fearing increased government power with its corresponding centralization and likely abuse. John Adams feared the existence of enemy spies. In some cases, fear was a natural and reasonable response to chaotic circumstances. But in other ways, fear was manufactured by influential individuals hoping to consolidate power and enact a desired policy.

To be sure, uncertainty permeated the political process in America's early years. The very real threat of attack on the budding nation gave urgency to settling the controversy over national security issues. Interestingly, although the United States of America has emerged from her early days of extreme vulnerability to become a world superpower, the theme of fear seems as ever-present today as it was back then. As John Adams himself once wrote, "Fear is the foundation of most governments." Some things, it seems, never change.

Fear is simply part of the human condition—a motivating influence upon our thoughts and actions. Its emotional irrationality leads otherwise intelligent people to abandon logic and wisdom; as Edmund Burke once said, "No passion so effectually robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning as fear."8 It incapacitates its victim, encouraging him to fecklessly submit to others' proposed solutions. These supposed solutions are often offered by conniving conspirators looking to capitalize on the individual's defenselessness, much like a predator inducing a temporary state of paralysis in its prey. Rather than acting, the fearful person is acted upon.

For this reason, despots and authoritarians have historically studied and utilized this raw emotion to pursue their goals. Political campaigns are built upon fear. Propaganda can't work without it. The centralization of power is a natural extension of it. When Adams referred to fear as the foundation of most governments, it was not merely a rhetorical flourish. Even the primary role of governmentphysical protection of the citizenry—implies the fear of future attack. As the state has grown, and as political power has concentrated, entire groups of people are motivated to action on any given issue, whether at the ballot box or protesting in the streets, using fear.

Rahm Emanuel, then White House Chief of Staff, stated in a 2008 interview, "You don't ever want a crisis to go to waste; it's an opportunity to do important things that you would otherwise avoid." Crises generate fear of the unknown and of the future, and Emanuel's observation highlights the political expediency found in taking advantage of such situations to advance policies that people would likely reject, absent such fear. Conservatives predictably erupted in feigned horror at Emanuel's statement, shocked that the "left" could dare use this tactic to their political advantage. "Who's out there saying [what Emanuel said]?" asked Glenn Beck. "Is it Russia, is it Venezuela, is it the Middle East, is it extremists, is it anarchists here in America, is it the United Nations, is it our own progressives here in America that would like to overturn much of the Constitution, that would like to change America into a socialistic state?"10 To Rush Limbaugh, Emanuel was "talking about agenda items of the Democrat Party... He's talking about himself, his party, the Democrat Party and their agenda. He's not talking about you."11 These and other talking heads and conservative politicians united together in asserting that such an audacious strategy is relegated only to the "Chicago-style" politics of the progressive left. Though uncharacteristically frank, Emanuel's acknowledgment should not come as a shock, nor should it be seen as something belonging only to one political group. As this book will explain, individuals exploiting crises—whether spontaneous or manufactured—is a commonplace occurrence. As the sociologist David Altheide has explained, "Fear does not just happen; it is socially constructed and then manipulated by those who seek to benefit."12

Who stands to gain from manipulating the masses through fear? Many businessmen exploit fear in markets to increase profits and

drive competitors into the ground. Some religious leaders find fear a useful tool to encourage submission and loyalty. War profiteers increase their bottom line when politicians exaggerate threats to security. Even domineering spouses or playground bullies rely upon the fear of their victims to gain control. In short, anybody seeking power over another person finds fear a useful tool, and it is for that very reason that politicians stand to gain through its use.

Because fear is so universal, and because it is so often used by power-seeking individuals in government, those who oppose the state's interference in their lives must recognize, understand, and counteract it. To the extent that people allow their fears to affect their political opinions and corresponding actions, they will increasingly enable the very people who exploit that state of fear to gain control. Freedom shrinks with each new crisis exploited by the ruling class. Any person interested in preserving freedom must rationally study the issues on their merits. More importantly, we must persuade others to recognize the pattern of fear that pervades politics, whether in the policies themselves or in the arguments used to justify them.

Manufactured fear is a societal plague, and there have been widespread casualties. We need an antidote, since few have been properly inoculated against its devastating impact. The intent of this book is to offer the needed immunization—helping you, the reader, to recognize and reject fear so you can become free.

NOTES

- 1. Letter to M. Mazzei, Minerva (New York: 1791).
- 2. Joseph M. Lynch, Negotiating the Constitution: The Earliest Debates Over Original Intent (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1999), 177.
- 3. Edwin Williams, ed., *The Book of the Constitution* (New York: Peter Hill, 1833), 72.
- 4. House of Representatives, *Volume of Speeches Delivered in Congress, 1840* (Washington: Globe Office, 1840).
- 5. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., *Freedom of Speech in War Times* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), 16.
- 6. David McCullough, John Adams (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 505.
- 7. George A. Peek, Jr., ed., *The Political Writings of John Adams:*Representative Selections (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2003), 85.
- 8. James Prior, ed., *The Works of The Right Honorable Edmund Burke, vol. 1* (London: Bell & Sons, 1886), 88.
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- 12. D.L. Altheide, *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter), 24.

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