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## Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn: The Intelligent American's Guide to Europe (1979) Study Guide

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# ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN: THE INTELLIGENT AMERICAN'S GUIDE TO EUROPE (1979) STUDY GUIDE, 2002-2014 Steven Alan Samson

## INTRODUCTION

### Outline and Study Questions

1. What is the great "**crease**" that divides western civilization, and why? [Other major creases include the great divide between the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox parts of Europe and the northernmost frontiers of the ancient Roman Empire]. Why is it so difficult for the average American to know and understand the outside world? *Lingua franca* means "free tongue," implying a common language. Why do geography and history suffer neglect in Anglo-American **higher education**? (9-10)
2. What are some sources and some consequences of the typical misunderstanding between Anglo-Saxons and Continentals? Why did the seeds of American and British foreign policy (toward Mexico and others) nearly always bear evil fruit? (10-13)
3. Why did the author write this book? What does he reveal about his own character? What was so significant about 1917 (when the author was eight years of age)? (13)

### Review

what converted the First World War into an ideological struggle

## PART I: EUROPE IN THE ROUND

### CHAPTER 1: GEOGRAPHY

#### Outline and Study Questions

1. Western Peninsula of Eurasia: A **diversity** of peninsulas, inland seas, variegated cultures; only the Sarmatian Plain (roughly between the Vistula and Volga rivers) is a natural setting for a huge land empire.
2. Size: Fifth-largest of six continents excluding Antarctica, which is larger. It is much smaller than Russia and only slightly larger than China.
3. **Disunity**: Russia, Caucasus. But the growing European Union promises to be one of the big stories of the 21st century, along with the growing power of East Asia.
4. Europe's **Northernness**: Calgary, Alberta is further south than London; Portland, Oregon is at the same latitude as Milan and Venice; Lynchburg is farther south than Athens, Greece, or any other European capital, but Anchorage, Alaska is further north than any.
5. Atmospheric Coloring: Darker blue in the southern latitudes.

6. **Gulf Stream** and the **Sirocco Winds** from the Sahara.
7. Coastal vs. Continental Climate: Palm trees grow in Ireland.
8. United States Climate: East of the Cascades and the Sierras, it is similar to East Asia (east of the Rockies, Canada is similar to Siberia).
9. Duration of Dawn and Twilight: White nights of the summer solstice.
10. Flora and Fauna: The **Great Biological Exchange** that began with Columbus became even more marked in the nineteenth century with the development of global markets for exotic products. Potatoes are not Irish but American, like tobacco. But citrus fruits were introduced to Florida ultimately from Asia. It would have been impossible for an Italian to enjoy "Neapolitan" ice cream before this exchange began. Similarly but earlier, cotton, coffee, and sugar cane were introduced into Europe from Arabia and other parts of Asia.
11. **Nature**: Tamer in Europe, grander in North America.

### Review

geographical diversity

Sarmatian Plain

Gulf Stream

## CHAPTER 2: RACES, ETHNIC UNITS, NATIONS

### Outline and Study Questions

1. **Race**: Illustrate how differences of classes and estates often coincide with successive waves of conquerors.
2. Mental Implications of Racial and Cultural Differences.
3. Intelligence: Role of maternal love and contacts with adults in child development.
4. **Nationality** (Ethnicity): Dual allegiances and divided consciences. Prior to the French Revolution, to whom or what was allegiance owed? Why does **democracy** militate against national differences?
5. Nationalism: The archconservative Austrian **Prince Metternich** persecuted German as well as Italian nationalists (as opposed to patriots). What do nationalists typically seek to do with their ethnic rivals?
6. The Multinational State Harmonizes Very Badly with Parliamentary Democracy: What was the advantage to the traditional monarch of Christian Europe to be of mixed if not foreign ancestry? He was also regarded as **pater patriae** (father of his country), making him something like a founder. [Even as a young Illinois politician, Abraham Lincoln's Lyceum Address shows that he understood that powerful leaders would seek to carve out their own place alongside that of the founding generation. This appears to be the prerogative of great presidents as well as kings]. Thought questions: Does the great diversity of this country harmonize with democracy? And does democracy harmonize with liberty? Alexis de Tocqueville raised these questions in the 1830s.
7. Sometimes Nationality Is Identified with Religion or Class: How have these differences been modified?

- a. Examples: In Slovakia the nobility was almost wholly Magyar (or magyarized); in Slovenia it was German-Austrian.
8. **Citizenship:** Wars and treaties have changed citizenships overnight (as with the Alsatians). The typical pattern of citizenship is *ius sanguinis* (law of blood) rather than the *ius soli* (law of territoriality or soil) that is the basis of American citizenship. What was significant about the *Lex Primo de Rivera*?

### Review

nationality  
*pater patriae*  
dual citizenship

democracy  
*ius sanguinis*  
*Lex Primo de Rivera*

Prince Metternich  
*ius soli*

## CHAPTER 3: CLASSES AND ESTATES

### Outline and Study Questions

1. Differences Between Class and Estate: The traditional estates of France were the clergy, the nobility, and the bourgeois, but class differences are more hazy today. [An important subplot of the movie "Chariots of Fire" depicted social expectations and class differences in very revealing ways, especially with respect to the two outsiders (neither one a member of the gentry or the established faith), but also how insignificant these distinctions are in the context of eternity].
2. Differences Between High and Low Culture Are Attributable to Human Factors
3. Europe's **Demotic** (Common People) Societies: Social mobility is greater in Europe than in America [the author considers the founding generation to have been aristocratic]; ennoblement was a means of fostering mobility.
4. **Aristocrats** prefer a republic or a weak monarchy, but in the absence of social mobility, they are in danger of becoming a caste based on money.
5. Comparisons (26-28)
  - a. American high society is more exclusive than European; social status, not money, is the driving force in American life.
  - b. In Britain, an aristocrat need not be a member of the titled nobility.
  - c. In Imperial Russia, princes, teachers, noblemen, and small employees formed a totally mixed society.
  - d. Polish and Hungarian society were the most aristocratic; Poland and Hungary never had feudalism. Poland's downfall was its **elective monarchy** (following the end of the Jagellon dynasty in 1572), which strengthened the powers of the nobility but diminished central authority (each member of the Diet held a veto).
  - e. Spain and Portugal never knew serfdom; every peasant aspired to be taken for an *hidalgo* (a nobleman).
  - f. [Like England's Magna Carta (1215), Hungary's Golden Bull (1222) established constitutional government; similarly, Alphonse IX, king of León, granted the Carta Magna Leonesa (1188) and later founded the University of Salamanca, a great center of learning].
  - g. **Constitutional government** began with the resistance of the nobility against royal prerogatives; volunteers who served in the American War for Independence included many members of the European nobility, such as Tadeusz Kościuszko, Kazimierz Pulaski, the Baron von Steuben, the Comte de Rochambeau, the

- Marquis de Lafayette, and “Colonel Armand,” the Marquis de la Rouërie, who was a tragic victim of the French Revolution.
- h. The nobility is also well-represented in radical leftism, socialism, and Communism.
6. **Burgher Class:** Urban aristocracy without titles.
  7. **Social Distances:** A paternal-patriarchal attitude takes the rough edges off social differences. (28-29)
    - a. **France:** During the French Revolution, the titles *Monsieur* and *Madame* were replaced by Citoyen (Citizen) in an effort to root out the manners and social distances of the Old Regime.
    - b. **Imperial Russia:** Like members of the family servants called their masters by their first name and patronymic.
    - c. **Spain:** An aristocratic egalitarianism is displayed in addressing others as Don or Doña (a Caballero is a gentleman or knight).
  8. **Distinct Hierarchies:** Wherever European bureaucracy is apolitical and enjoys tenure it is usually characterized by an aristocratic flexibility. In Sweden, the old aristocracy was converted into a civil service, according to Roland Huntford's *The New Totalitarians*.
  9. **Upward Mobility:** European history abounds in tales of men of lowly birth who rose to exalted positions.
  10. **Envy:** Internal politics and, up to a point, even foreign relations in Europe can be largely explained as the clever mobilization of the envy of the many against the few (envy, which is one of the seven deadly sins, is a form of mimetic desire).

### Review

ennoblement                              social status in America                      role of envy in revolution  
 political contributions of the European nobility      origin of constitutional government

## CHAPTER 4: EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION

### Outline and Study Questions

1. Education (reserved to parents and private boarding schools) vs. Instruction
2. Curriculum: Elementary school, three types of “middle schools” for university-bound students (classic, semi-classic, and scientific).
3. Regimen: the eight or nine years in the intermediary school (*Gymnasium* or *lycée*) are often a daily battle for survival.
4. Universities: These are graduate schools; they are also generally located in the big cities, unlike American universities which are usually not located in the largest city or the state capital. Polytechnic schools are engineering schools with university status; France's **les écoles** are super-graduate schools that prepare the intellectual and administration elites.
5. School Life: European universities are not highly subsidized and can afford few frills.
6. University System of Studies: Seminars, public examinations, academic freedom, lectures.

7. Academic Rankings: Universities are **autonomous** bodies, often with **extraterritorial** powers; academic legion; rector. [Traditionally, British professors were enfranchised both where they resided at school and in their home district].
8. Democratization of the University: Students revolt; intellectuals are not as uniformly leftist as they are in America.
9. Elitism vs. the Relaxation of Standards
10. Late Vocations
11. Studies and Social Life: Poverty is not a bar to university attendance; alumni associations are nonexistent; students' associations, some of which engage in group dueling.
12. British System: Grammar schools (public) and **public schools** (private); *in loco parentis* (in the place of parents) and dress codes. (35-37)
  - a. Public Schools: private boarding schools, originally established for the poor nobility and gentry; Dr. Thomas Arnold of Rugby (the headmaster in the 1857 classic *Tom Brown's School Days* by Thomas Hughes); public schools were a decisive element in building the empire.
13. American System: Follows the British pattern with graduate school modeled after the German universities.
14. Oxbridge (Oxford/Cambridge): Professors lecture; tutors (dons) teach and test the students.
15. Higher Education for Women: Effects of coeducation.
16. Prestige of the Teaching Profession: In Europe it is still largely a profession for men and is highly respected; the greatest prestige is attached to university professorships.
17. Hierarchy and Rank: **Polymaths** like Gen. Charles de Gaulle, Gen. Helmut von Moltke, Gabriel Marcel, Eugene Delacroix, Johann von Goethe, Pope Leo XIII, and Richard Wagner were once the glory of European capitals; the **salon** (the Lyceum movement in nineteenth century America sought to fill that niche).

### Review

*les écoles*  
polytechnic schools

*lycées*  
European universities

*baccalauréat*  
*salon*

## CHAPTER 5: WOMEN IN EUROPE

### Outline and Study Questions

1. Women's Liberation Movement: Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*.
2. **Common Qualities** of Women: Maternal instinct, intuition; *le dolorisme* (suffering, aching, doleful); cruelty, eagerness to please; deceitfulness; and a strong sense for details.

3. Northwest Europe and Scandinavia: A psychological entity where the position of women resembles that in the United States (where religion is marked by puritanical influences).
4. Intermediate Zone (predominantly Catholic) and Deep South (where Islamic influences are felt): Religion is strongly **mother-oriented**.
5. Switzerland and France: Women's suffrage obtained only after the Second World War.
6. Whether Men Love Women in General: **Friendships** between men and women are most frequent in the intermediate (largely Catholic) zone; the *salon* can only be brought to life by a woman. (41-43)
  - a. Examples of friendships and Platonic loves
  - b. In the Islamic world, as well as in antiquity, any intimate nonsexual relation between the sexes is (or was) unthinkable. As a result, the danger of homoerotic and homosexual ties was always present.
7. Position of Women on the Continent: The extraordinary position of French women declined with the full flowering of the bourgeois age (likewise to some degree in America where the influence of an Abigail Adams or a Mercy Otis Warren was evident in the founding era: see Ann Douglas's *The Feminization of American Culture* on the mid- to late-nineteenth century).
8. Effects of Equality
9. **Middle-Class Atmosphere** vs. the Higher Social Circles: Middle class women were financially indentured to their husbands; but at the higher circles, ruling queens and empresses were accepted without difficulty (although this fact astonished Muslim rulers).
10. Social Courtesies
11. Dating
12. Dances
13. Engagement: The **dowry** plays an important role was a means to safeguard the material security of women.

### Review

Platonic loves and friendships    role of women in French intellectual life

## CHAPTER 6: RELIGION

### Outline and Study Questions

1. **Christianity:** Battered, ridiculed, persecuted in places, diluted, or denied, it is still a constituent element of Europe; Rousseau, Kant, and Marx could be called Christian **heretics**.
2. **Psychological and Intellectual Elements:** Missing in non-Christian civilizations are such notions as the transcendence of man, his unique personality and independent destiny, his dominion over nature, the concept of free will, and man's responsibility for his fate on earth and in the hereafter.

3. Challenge of **Islam** (46)
  - a. Civilization broke down throughout Europe (except in the Byzantine Empire) following the fall of the Roman Empire to the Germanic hordes. Ibn Fadlhan's account of the Vikings is merged with the Beowulf legend in Michael Crichton's *Eaters of the Dead*, which was made into a film called *The Thirteenth Warrior*. Dynasties like the Merovingians (the seventh and eighth century Frankish kings) were brutal autocracies that took many generations of Christian leavening to change.
  - b. The Arabs of that same period rapidly assimilated much of the culture of antiquity and learned much from the eastern civilizations. The author attributes the later Arab decline in part to discrimination against women.
4. Survival of Christianized Greek Culture and Civilization in the Byzantine Empire: **Schism** with Western Christendom came to a head in 867 under Photis and was finalized in 1054. Nearly a thousand years later the Pope has been prevented by the Orthodox hierarchy from visiting Russia.
5. **Manichean Tendency of Eastern Church:** Body and intellect are undervalued; wisdom is prized over knowledge (as with Platonists); iconoclasm flourished (icon painting follows certain strictures); the **filioque clause** (that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* the Son) of the creeds has been rejected; Eastern asceticism often goes beyond the taming of the flesh to killing it (the prevalent idea of **kenosis** is that Christ emptied himself of all divine powers and that the Christian life should be characterized by self-abasement, poverty, and non-resistance).
6. **Antimaterialism** (47-48)
  - a. It has tainted a large part of Eastern Christianity and is evident in severe sexual segregation of some monasteries (cf. Islam)
  - b. **Bolshevism** is typical of an antinomian (anti-law) reaction of a grossly materialist character.
  - c. Comparison of the mentality of Eastern Church nations with that of Catholics.
7. Persistence of Psychological Patterns Associated with Religious Traditions: An atheistic Catalonian anarchist will still be a psychological Catholic.
8. Schisms: First between West and East, then within these two main communions.
9. **Martin Luther** and the **Protestant Reformation:** Luther was not a revolutionary or a forerunner of the French Revolution; instead, he revolted against Humanism and the Renaissance. (48-51)
  - a. Luther's visit to Rome, 1510-11
  - b. The medieval tradition has been better preserved in the Protestant world than in Roman Catholicism; survival of the Gothic style [a South American intellectual, Claudio Véliz, contrasts the "Baroque hedgehog" of Latin America with the "Gothic fox" of the United States].
  - c. Once the new faith established itself, a great shift of hearts and minds took place (as in Knox's Scotland and Calvin's Geneva).
  - d. Irish Catholicism is still medieval in character because it never experienced the Renaissance or the Baroque.
  - e. Origin of the term "Protestant" (properly Evangelical).
10. Direction of the Protestant Churches (51-53)
  - a. Lutheranism did not spread much outside the Teutonic orbit (Finland, Estonia, and Latvia are exceptions).
  - b. **John Calvin** was the arch-Reformer.



- c. Reformed (Calvinist) churches retained their intellectual vigor for well over two centuries but faltered in the face of the rationalism and skepticism of the **Enlightenment** [eighteenth-century European secular intellectual movement] to which the Catholic Church was nearly impervious because of its **magisterium** [its authoritative church hierarchy].
  - d. America has divorced itself increasingly from one John of Geneva, Calvin, only to fall into the arms of the other John of Geneva, **Rousseau**, partly because of the inroads of democracy.
11. Comparing the Catholic and Evangelical Minds (53-54)
- a. **Protestants:** More progressive, have a greater civic sense, better equipped to establish an industrial civilization, place more emphasis on general education, more team spirited, emphasize good works.
  - b. Catholics: Strongly personalist.
  - c. Anarchism is more prevalent in Catholic lands.
12. **Clericalism:** It developed in the absence of aristocracies, as in French Canada, Ireland, Slovenia, and Slovakia, combining the functions of the first two estates; it is more apt to develop in a democratic state or where the Church is very powerful.
13. Clergy: It is an Irish, not a Catholic, custom to call ordinary priests “father;” only members of religious orders, such as monasteries, are so designated; the Reformation was a socialization of the monastery; Evangelicals are far more disciplined than Catholics.
14. Differences of **Theological Anthropology** (55-56)
- a. For Catholics, man has not become entirely wretched through original sin; the glory of man is an indispensable part of Catholic theology and is crowned by the glory of the saints.
  - b. Four elements that embellish life on earth: Religion, love, art, and nature
  - c. The fine arts suffered a severe setback with the Reformation.
  - d. Symbolism of Catholic liberty.
15. The Evangelical Nations Visibly Eclipsed the Catholic Ones in the Areas of Industry and Commerce, the Science and Military Proficiency (56-57)
- a. Capitalism was born in northern Italy (contrary to Max Weber) but it took off through Calvinist influence; Puritanism favored the accumulation of wealth; abolition of Catholic holidays left more time for industry; emphasis on the work ethic.
  - b. Free enterprise, a game with definite rules, does not appeal to the Catholic temperament; notions of “fair play” and dispassionate sportsmanship fare badly in an atmosphere of “absolutism.”
16. **Secularism:** It initiated a second stage of development in the Protestant world that sparked a new dynamism that eventually sealed the Protestant ascendancy over the Catholic world.
17. **Moslems:** Since the publication of this book in 1979, Islam has become a rapidly growing religion in France, England, and other parts of Europe; with the end of the Stalinist state in Albania, Islam is once again openly practiced there. In Yugoslavia, the Muslims were descendants of Bogomils, Gnostics who adhered to Manichaeism and Adoptionism. Islam is now spreading through widespread immigration from North Africa, Turkey, and the Middle East. The first new mosque in more than half a millennium was dedicated in Spain in the summer of 2003.
18. **Jews:** In European history they played a disproportionate role in commerce, intellectual life, politics, and the arts (58-62).

- a. The synagogue was considered the Mother of the Church.
  - b. **Diaspora** (dispersion) expanded over most of what used to be the Roman Empire.
  - c. The **Khazars** were a large Turco-tartar tribe that converted at the beginning of the Middle Ages.
  - d. They developed two distinct local dialects: Yiddish (a form of German) and Ladino (a modified older form of Spanish). These two communities, the **Ashkenazim** (North European Jews) and the **Sephardim** (Spanish Jews), formed separate cultural entities with different traditions.
  - e. **Anti-Judaism** (anti-Semitism): Religious factors include a misinterpretation of the New Testament; a discussion of historical, sociological, and economic factors; exodus from Spain; conversions.
  - f. Medieval **Ghetto**: The condition of Jews worsened in the late Middle Ages; cultural, religious, and legal autonomy; enforcement of court decisions.
  - g. **Enlightenment**: Discussion of the contributions of Jewish birth; some like Henri Bergson (French philosopher of the *élan vital*), Franz Werfel (German novelist, author of *The Song of Bernadette*), and Simone Weil (French philosopher) did receive baptism.
  - h. Social Segregation vs. Integration
  - i. Nazi Persecution: Resulted from the mobilization of the German masses against their elites; Jews were becoming an aristocracy of merit (highly successful minorities have suffered persecution by the envious throughout the world and down through history – note Thomas Sowell's series of studies on minorities).
  - j. Any alien minority will be profoundly critical of its environment: the author notes that this is frequently true of Christian thinkers.
  - k. **Leftism**: Jewish individualism does not harmonize well with collectivism; much of the migration to Israel after the Second World War came from the East; "anti-Semitism" was always rife in socialist parties; Karl Marx's attitudes toward Jews.
  - l. Geographical Distribution of Jews Today: Poland, Russia, Germany, Austria, Spain.
19. Organization of Religion: observance and non-observance, church taxes, salaries of clergy, civil functions of clergy.
20. **Church-State Relations**: Cooperation is the norm; a radical separation exists only in France and Portugal (but does not go as far as does the United States); even so, these countries have diplomatic ties with the Vatican.
21. **Established Churches**: The head of state is the head of the Church in the case of Protestant churches; this gives rise to numerous anomalies, particularly in the area of education.
22. Religious Outlook (64-65)
- a. The top is primarily to blame for the upheaval in the Catholic Church, resulting in a new kind of anticlericalism.
  - b. The crisis is more apparent in countries where the Catholic Church, as a minority, exercised greater discipline
  - c. Present-day period of prosperous practical materialism will come to an end, with a return to spiritual values anticipated.

## Review

Influence of Christian thought patterns and emotional traits  
 anti-materialism's influence  
 relativist liberalism  
 Sephardim

Gothic style  
 Enlightenment  
 Ashkenazim

Arabic cultural influence  
 Baroque and Rococo styles  
 Khazars

## CHAPTER 7: POLITICAL STRUCTURES

### Outline and Study Questions

1. **Regimen Mixtum** (mixed regime): Standard form of European government draws upon the influence of Plato, Aristotle, and Aquinas.
2. **Democracy**: One of the oldest and most primitive forms of government; representative democracy is a form of oligarchy, with a time limit.
3. Representation: Parliamentary institutions; Britain's Magna Carta (1215) and Hungary's Golden Bull (1222) were the fountainheads of the only two aristocratic regimes without a written constitution in Europe; U. S. Senate is the most powerful "aristocratic" body.
4. Power of the Aristocracy and the Patricians (67)
  - a. During the Middle Ages royal power was severely restricted; the king was **under law**; a period of royal absolutism followed the Reformation, but mediating structures (what Tocqueville called the **corps intermédiaires**) continued to act as buffers between the crown and the people (principle of reciprocity) through the church, local institutions (such as the **cortes, parlements, and Landtage**), city councils and guilds, etc. The Spanish grandees showed a spirit of resistance against royal orders.
  - b. On the whole, aristocratic periods combined political freedom with a certain amount of anarchy; royalty in alliance with the bourgeoisie was eager to maintain order and discipline.
  - c. These two elements fostered the rise of bureaucracy.
5. Human Side of the Monarchs: Spain's Philip II
6. Monarch as **Patris Patriae** (Father of the Country): He is the "private property" of his subjects; the nation is conceived as one big family [cf. Don Corleone].
7. Professional Training and Regimen of the Monarch: Franz Joseph; modern monarchs were habitually the protector of the people and unpopular minorities; when the Austrian throne was vacated after the First World War, the fate of German Jews was sealed.
8. Monarchy as an International Institution (69-70)
  - a. **Intermarriage** among the Catholic royal families, on the one hand, and the Anglican, Reformed, Lutheran, and Eastern Orthodox ones, on the other [Britain's Prince Philip is Greek as is Sofia, the queen of Spain; Czar Nicholas II, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and King George V were all grandsons of Queen Victoria].
  - b. **Dynasties**: International and interracial
  - c. Cabinet wars were fought with non-doctrinated, very expensive armies of mercenary soldiers; not until the French Revolution were huge conscript armies dragooned into service and taught to hate the enemy, leading to total war.
  - d. **Conscription** was gradually adopted by monarchies throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century [as late as 1913, the U.S. attorney general argued that conscription could not constitutionally be used to raise an army to send into foreign combat]. Conscription was reintroduced in America in 1917 despite this.
9. Intellectual and Moral Superiority of Monarchs: They compare favorably with many of the leaders who followed them in the transition to republicanism.

10. **Early Republics:** Italian city-states, Hanseatic cities, imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Republic of Novgorod, United Provinces of the Netherlands, the Polish republic-commonwealth; the Allies insisted on republican governments, considered weak because of factional quarrels, for their former enemies in 1918-1919.
11. **Constitutional Monarchies:** By 1860 mixed governments (constitutional monarchies) were in power practically everywhere in Europe (including imperial France) with parliaments taking the place of the estates of old; in 1910 there were only three republics worth noting (France, Switzerland, and Portugal). (71-72)
  - a. Prisons: in the old patriarchal order, jail and punishment often had a “familistic” character; punishment of Gavrilo Principes.
12. Postwar Republics and Monarchies: Only Greece and Albania switched from republic to monarchy (the Greek military overthrew to monarch in the 1960s); there are only eight notable monarchies today: Spain, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, Sweden (Monaco and Liechtenstein are microstates), but the current (2003) prime minister of Bulgaria, Simeon Borisov Saksoburgotski (Simeon, son of Boris Saxe-Coburg), is its former king, **Simeon II** (1943-46). (72-73)
  - a. Constitutional monarchies (e.g., Spain) vs. parliamentary monarchies (The British House of Lords has now lost its veto and the number of hereditary peers has been greatly reduced).
  - b. Psychological monarchies
13. Majority of Republics Came into Being as a Legacy of Defeat
  - a. Downfall of a monarchy frequently has an erotic aspect: The case of Leopold III of Belgium, who married a Fleming following the death of Queen Astrid.
14. Democratic Republics (73-74)
  - a. The earliest parliaments were forums for discussion; only at a later stage did they become legislative bodies.
  - b. **Harold Laski** believed a two-party system and a common public philosophy are necessary for a successful representative government.
  - c. Most governments on the Continent are coalitions of several parties.
15. Ubiquity of Democracies: The nineteenth-century historian **François Guizot** noted that the idea of democracy is so popular that virtually every system claims it as its own, but the idea of the *Rechtstaat* or *stato di diritto* is better expressed in English as “rule of law.”
16. What Is Democracy? (74-75)
  - a. Definition: “A majority of politically equal citizens, either in person or through their representatives.”
  - b. Two principles: Political **equality** and **majority** rule.
  - c. The Founders opposed democracy; Andrew Jackson introduced it to the White House along with the spoils system.
17. Liberalism: The political use of the term “liberal” began in Spain in 1812 and is both misunderstood and misused in America today.
18. Democracy and Liberalism: The predominant form of government in Western Europe is **liberal democracy**. It took the introduction of parliaments for a variety of coercive measures, such as Prohibition, conscription, and the 1040 Form, to be introduced.
19. Equality
  - a. **Alexis de Tocqueville** noted that it invites totalitarianism, which requires statism.

- b. The successful **mobilization of envy** of the many against the privileged few has become the key to success within the framework of our present-day democracies. [René Girard's concept of "mimetic desire" suggests why].
20. Rule of Majorities (76-77)
    - a. Democracy is not self-rule but merely the rule of majorities over minorities
    - b. Political amateurism is built into democracy. The abyss between the **scita** [factual knowledge of voters and their representatives] and the **scienda** [background necessary to pass rational judgments] is ever increasing.
    - c. Voters are guided partly by party promises and partly by the erotic appeal of party leaders.
    - d. Knowledge and wisdom play an ever lessening role in this game; **technocracy**, (rule by the experts), not necessarily liberal, looms on the horizon.
  21. French Revolution: Its progeny always adopt "**identitarian**" (group identity) formulas.
  22. Restoration of Liberal Democracy: Artificial restorations rarely last
  23. Effects of Democracy (78)
    - a. It provides a well-lit stage for ideologically determined parties to operate.
    - b. It can lend an air of legitimacy to the *peaceful* transformation of a free country into a totalitarian tyranny.
  24. Democracy's Essence Is Faith
  25. Eduard von Hartmann's Critique: Europe suffers from a profound crisis of the imagination

### Review

Intermediary bodies (mediating structures)  
 Harold Laski on representative government  
 François Guizot on democracy

international character of royal dynasties  
 Alexis de Tocqueville on equality  
 Eduard von Hartmann on parliamentarism

## CHAPTER 8: EUROPEAN POLITICAL PARTIES

### Outline and Study Questions

1. Political Spectrum (79-80)
  - a. **Leftism** is the very negative "identitarian" tendency toward collectivism and centralism, the omnipotent state, totalitarianism, materialism.
  - b. **Rightism** is pluralistic and "diversitarian," spiritual, freedom-loving, and hostile to what Friedrich Hayek calls the "constructivist rationalism" of the Left.
2. Extremes Never Meet: Communism and National Socialism might be described as birds of the same feather; both are left-wing.
3. There has been some mingling of Left and Right in Franco's Falangism and the Frankfurt School associated with Adorno and Horkheimer.
4. The crystallization of parties in Europe followed the earlier British political pattern: Whigs (gentry) vs. Tories (court-centered aristocracy). **Primus inter pares** = first among equals.
5. Continental **conservatives** (agrarian background, paternalistic, socially conscious) vs.

- liberals** (bourgeois intellectuals, industrialists, and bankers).
6. Extension of suffrage to poorest layer of the laboring classes hurt middle class liberals.
  7. Nineteenth-Century Liberal Adaptations: **Anticlericalism** (e.g., Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* (culture struggle against Roman Catholic influence) and **nationalism** (e.g., Italy's *Risorgimento*).
  8. Four Kinds of Liberalism (82-83)
    - a. Pre-Liberals (Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, Robert Southey)
    - b. Early Liberals (Alexis de Tocqueville, Frederic Bastiat, Lord Acton)
    - c. Old Liberals (early J. S. Mill, Richard Cobden, Ludwig von Mises, Friedrich Hayek)
    - d. New Liberals or Neo-Liberals (Wilhelm Roepke)
  9. Dangerous Forms of Liberalism: Including what today passes for liberalism in America.
  10. Continental liberal parties have survived chiefly in the north; avowedly conservative parties survive only in Scandinavia and Britain.
  11. Christian Parties (84-86)
    - a. **Origin:** They arose in response to the challenge from the "old liberalism," anticlericalism, and socialism.
    - b. Risks for the Church: effort to be non-partisan yet engaged with the issues.
    - c. Specifically Catholic parties appeal to all social classes.
    - d. Inherent problems of Christian Democratic parties: Legacy of the French Revolution, anticlericalism, majoritarian rule.
    - e. Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union in Germany are ecumenical.
  12. **Socialism** (Marxist in origin) and **Anarchism** (Russia and Spain) (86-87)
    - a. **Karl Marx:** a frustrated artist and poet who held real workers in contempt.
    - b. Socialist parties: revisionists rejected Marx's dictatorship of the proletariat.
  13. Marxism as an Ideology: Contradictions in its theory of **historical inevitability** (87-89)
    - a. Bolsheviks called themselves Communists after the Revolution of 1917.
    - b. The enmity between Socialists and Communists is that of rivals who lay claim to the "true faith."
    - c. There is a radical leftward trend among the younger generation of Socialists and Social Democrats.
    - d. Both Socialists and Social Democrats have right and left wings.
    - e. Both the Communists and the Social Democrats are a threat to freedom.
  14. **Fascism** (89-90)
    - a. Benito Mussolini was the son of an intellectual anarchist; he was influenced by Czech national socialists inspired by the medieval Taborites.
    - b. Spanish Falangists and the Romanian Iron Guard bore only limited resemblance.
  15. **National Socialism** (90-92)
    - a. National Socialism was a virus carried by the masses, a "horizontal" mass movement far more consistently totalitarian than "vertical" Italian Fascism.
    - b. Origins: Taborites and the Czech national socialists; Moravians founded what evolved into the German National Socialist Workers' Party in 1918.
    - c. Its program was nationalist and racist from the start; it became territorially divided as a result of the breakup of the Habsburg monarchy; Hitler took over one splinter group.

- d. What made the triumph of National Socialism possible was simply the democratic process; it represented a synthesis of two “identitarian” forces, one deriving from ancient tribalism and the other representing a modern “herdist” heresy.

### Review

origin of Christian parties      important anarchist parties      Socialist and Communist goals  
totalitarian character of National Socialism

## CHAPTER 9: THE ECONOMIC SCENE

### Outline and Study Questions

1. Economics Is Not Decisive
  - a. Sidney Fay and Giuseppe Mazzini denied that economic problems are root causes of either war or revolution.
2. History and Meaning: History of every man is the history of a failure (Sartre)
3. Modernity and Progress: The European North burst ahead at the dawn of the modern age; but England’s industrial revolution also produced a discontented urban proletariat.
4. Declining Living Standards: Medieval living standards were fairly high in Europe.
5. Costs of Industrialization: It can not be accomplished without an initial period of belt-tightening.
6. Early manufacturers: Early factory owners usually led frugal lives; their profits were largely reinvested.
7. Parsimony: Generations of **frugal living** made the prosperity of the present working class possible.
8. Perspective of Preceding Centuries: What we call “living standards compatible with human dignity” have even recently existed only in isolated areas.
9. Science and Industry: All of this was made possible only by their combination.
10. Role of **Trade Unions**: Their pressures have forced the entrepreneurs to rationalize and economize more and more, but on the negative side they can unmake an economy.
11. Raw Materials: Living standards and industrial growth rarely depend on these; overseas colonies were primarily a drag on the economy of the mother country.
12. Crime of **Decolonization**: The frivolous manner in which the Europeans gave up their expensive colonies was an evasion of responsibilities; dispossessed European farmers and entrepreneurs in these colonies are not well disposed toward the United States.
13. America’s Anti-Colonial Complex (98-99)
  - a. It is based on a fatal misunderstanding of the term “colony,” which takes many forms; ancient Greek colonies, like the Thirteen in America, were ethnic, cultural, even religious and legal extensions of the **metropolis** [mother city].

- b. "Colonialism" is a newly coined term with negative political connotations; modern European colonization filled a power vacuum and sprang from a mixture of secular, religious, patriotic, military, and economic motives.
  - c. On the whole, despite its seamy side (*e.g.*, the Belgian Congo), the European colonial record was not shameful; natives were generally less humane in dealing with other natives. [On the other hand, René Girard maintains that the West has set a much higher standard of behavior, due to the influence of the Bible, which may intensify both the harm done by its shortcomings and its resulting guilt].
14. State Interference in Economics
- a. The **provider state** rests on the conviction that people can become politically but not economically mature, with some reason due to worldwide governmental manipulation of the currency.
  - b. A socialist state concentrates the means of production in "public" hands.
15. Socialization as a One-Way Street (99-100)
- a. Once an industry is nationalized, a succeeding non-socialist government will have the greatest difficulties in auctioning it off. [In the 1980s, Margaret Thatcher promoted greater privatization in England and François Mitterand reversed his policy of nationalizing French industry in 1984].
16. Co-Management
17. Speculation and Spending Habits
18. European Unification: The European Economic Community [now the European Union] has expanded beyond the ten members at the time of writing (1979). **The Pan-European Union**, founded by Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, was at the time of writing headed by Otto von Habsburg (who also has served in the European Parliament), with whom the author was closely associated.
19. All-European Organizations: They include the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); NATO; and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which is now down to four members (Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, and Switzerland) that are not members of the European Union (EU).

### Review

origin of colonies

costs of industrialization

## CHAPTER 10: NATIONALITIES AND LANGUAGES

### Outline and Study Questions

1. Ethnic Nationality: For the sake of simplicity, the author equates it with language.
2. **Indo-European** Languages and Their Branches: The chief western branches are the Germanic (Teutonic), Celtic, Romance (Italic), Slavic (Slavonic), Baltic, Hellenic (Greek), and Thracio-Illyrian (Albanian is the last remnant). The eastern branches include Armenian, Persian, and Indic (derived from Sanskrit).
3. Variations (104-05)



- a. Considered an ethnic unit in Europe, but the average French Jew is culturally French; **Yiddish** is a medieval form of German; Balkan Jews speak Ladino, a late medieval Spanish dialect.
  - b. Lapps are linguistically but not ethnically related to the Finns.
  - c. The Irish are linguistically but not ethnically English.
4. Omissions: Moldavian (Moldovan) is a Rumanian dialect written in Cyrillic script.
  5. Dialects: These are usually tribal and often political in character.
  6. Sub-Dialect Variations: The German-speaking parts of the Austrian and Italian Tyrol boasts 145 dialects.
  7. Literary Languages: Literary German is the German of Luther's translation of the Bible; Italian is the **Tuscan** dialect of Dante; Spanish is essentially **Castilian**; Dutch [a form of Low German] is an idiom of North and South Holland (two of the dozen provinces of the Netherlands); French is the language of the Paris region (Île de France).
  8. Ambling Commentary on Several Languages (106-07)
    - a. French has been a prestigious international language since the seventeenth century; variants include Provençal (Languedoc) and Walloon.
    - b. Galician and Ladino
    - c. Portuguese
    - d. Dutch and German
    - e. Swedish
    - f. Hebrew: Part of the **Semitic** family, which includes Arabic, Ethiopian, and Maltese.
  9. **Romance** Languages: French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Galician, Portuguese, Rumanian. Spanish, like other European languages, incorporated numerous Arabic words, such as alcohol (al-quhl), algebra, and alcalde (al-qadi = mayor).
  10. Latin Traits: Kuehnelt-Leddihn found some evidence of a distinctive Latin mind or culture [Francis Lieber traced this notion to Napoleon III, an Anglophobe who wished to claim hegemony over the Mediterranean lands and who set up an emperor in Mexico].
  11. Effects of Transplantation: Ethnic groups may be transformed from the original stock but Latin traits are often misunderstood.
  12. Rumanians and Aromunians: East Europeans who are linguistically Latin.
  13. High German: Thuringian-Saxon
  14. Low German: The three literary languages are Dutch, Frisian (the Frisian Islands belong to the Netherlands; surnames typically end in -stra), and English. (109)
    - a. **English** dropped the great complexities (such as the declension of adjectives and nouns) of Low German grammar; words of Germanic and Latin origin are treated differently.
  15. Scandinavian Languages: Common root is **Old Norse**; Finns are culturally but not linguistically or ethnically Scandinavians.
  16. Germanic Generalities: Common linguistic denominator of Icelanders and the Tyroleans of Austria.

17. Slavic Languages: Russian, Polish, Czech, and many others. **Cyrillic** (derived from the Greek) alphabet is only a minor problem for foreign students, but the western branches use the Latin script.
18. Slavic Origins: **Slavs** were originally a rural people who followed in the train of German migration.
19. Cultural Differences: Culturally, but not linguistically, Slovenes are Austrians; Croats and Serbs speak almost the same language, but the Catholic Croats are Central European Slavs who use a Latin script while the Orthodox Serbs are East European Slavs who use a modified Cyrillic script; the Bosnian Muslims are Croats by descent and language; Dalmatian Croats have been influenced by Venetian culture (and were once part of the Venetian Empire); there has been a long intermingling of Hungarians and Slovaks.
20. Bulgars: **Old Slavonic** is the original language of the region; Macedonian is a variant.
21. **Celtic** Languages: Only Irish Gaelic (Erse), Scottish Gaelic, Welsh (Cymric), and Breton survive.
22. **Baltic** Languages: Latvian and Lithuanian.
23. Albanian: A family of language dialects distinct from Greek.
24. Greek: *Dimotiki* (demotic, "the people's language") and *Katharevousa*.
25. In the Caucasus, Ossetians and Armenians round out the Indo-European speakers; N. Y. Marr's theory linking **Georgian** with Basque and Etruscan has been discredited.
26. **Basque** (Euskara): The Basques are the only remnant of the original Iberians.
27. Uralic-Altaic (113)
  - a. **Finno-Ugrian**: Finnish, Lappish, Estonian, Magyar (Hungarian).
  - b. **Turkish-Tartar** group: Turkish, Tartar, Uzbek, Kyrgyz
28. Alphabets (113-14)
  - a. The majority of European languages use Latin letters, but the languages that are richer in sounds make use of diacritical signs; only English and Dutch use the pure Latin alphabet without using any modifying additions.
  - b. Cyrillic letters are more practical for this purpose.
  - c. The German **Gothic** alphabet survives in isolated instances.
  - d. Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic are the other scripts used in Europe; Turkish has shed its Arabic alphabet in favor of a modified Latin alphabet.
  - e. Runic and Ogam scripts have long since disappeared.
29. Music and the Arts: **Culture** (such as folk music and folk art) vs. **civilization** (opera arias).
30. Foods: Gastronomic Epicureanism of all classes in Southern Europe.
31. Boundaries: Political boundaries do not correspond to the national ones.

## Review

be able to identify representative Germanic, Romance, Celtic, and Slavic languages

## PART II: THE NATION-STATES OF EUROPE

### CHAPTER 11: GREAT BRITAIN

#### Outline and Study Questions

1. Peaceful Evolution: Checkered racial background. What happened to the Norman ruling class? What replaced it? How did it compare with the European **burghers**? NOTE: A good source on Britain's ethnic diversity is David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed*, who identifies four British folkways that shaped early America: Puritans from East Anglia to Massachusetts, Cavaliers and indentured servants from the South of England to Virginia, Quakers from the North Midlands to the Delaware Valley, and Scotch-Irish and other emigrants the North to the Backcountry of America. Invasions, crystallization of classes, rise of the burgher class [middle class]. NOTE: The Labour Party was eclipsed for a time under Margaret Thatcher, but the "rule of the working classes" (or their university-educated representatives) still prevails.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE: Kuehnelt-Leddihn, whose stepfather was English, spoke English with a British accent (French, the *lingua franca* of the aristocracy, was his first language). He learned Japanese, I believe, under a military attaché in Austria around 1930, who became Gen. Yamashita (and whose innocence of war crimes K-L stoutly maintained). During his decade of exile in the United States, K-L taught at four colleges, including Japanese at Fordham during WWII. Another European aristocrat who has lived in Britain most of his life is Count Nikolai Tolstoy, whose stepfather was the novelist Patrick O'Brian.

2. History of **Emancipations**: The nobility (1215-1688), Catholics (1788-1829), middle Class and Jews (1830-1860); working classes and women (after WWI). Two chief historical forms of government: aristocratic oligarchy and rule of the working classes (which may prove to be as short-lived as royal absolutism under the Tudors and Stuarts).
3. Geographic Expansion: English monarch also held title of King of France. Welsh, Scottish, and Irish nationalism have led to "**devolution**" despite relative loss of native Languages.
  - a. **English Hegemony**: The British established a rule of law and order, with justice and a certain amount of fairness, wherever they were in command, the glaring [but not the only] exception being Ireland. Britain's ability to maintain its Commonwealth of Nations does testify to the relative success of its colonial enterprise.
4. Plasticity of Nations: The overwhelming influence of the Normans during the centuries of their rule could hardly be matched or repeatedly anywhere today; the spirit of heroic resistance survived in the Jacobites [supporters of the ousted James II and his successors] and the Lollards [contemporaries of Wyclif]. As to the loss of heroic resistance, see Lee Harris's *The Suicide of Reason* on the generation that fought WWII.
5. Richness of the English Heritage: Prodigious **vocabulary** derived from Latin and Teutonic sources; ethnic variety[see David Hackett Fischer's *Albion's Seed*].
6. **Anglomania** on the Continent: See David Landes's *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*. But the England of the democrats, liberals, and industrialists was also the England that gave refuge, aid, and comfort to destructive minds and movements from the Continent. It was everything to all men. The Anglomania remark is also passing nod to Holland's

- earlier Tulipomania. (122-24)
- a. Reasons for the Fading of Anglomania: Disestablishment of the Empire, Britain's financial plight, the presence of British troops all over the Continent.
  - b. British Tourists: NOTE: Soccer hooliganism is a serious problem, but a recent poll placed French tourists at the bottom of the list.
7. **Reasons for Britain's Decline:** A "brain drain" associated with democratization; free public education favored upward mobility and "deprived the lower layers of their talents." NOTE: The phenomenon of the "brain drain" is more extensive than usually understood. In his autobiography, *Gentle Regrets*, Roger Scruton speaks of his trade unionist father's adamant opposition to his pursuit of a Cambridge education.
- a. Decline of Energy: Weakened work ethic
  - b. Organized Labor: Sullenness, threat to British survival, ideological socialism
  - c. Fool's Paradise of British Labor: Destruction of export markets, ruin of currency, strikes. NOTE: "The British disease" was the common European taunt in the 1970s. Margaret Thatcher (1979-1990) broke a major strike intended to topple her government and finally brought the unions to heel. PM Tony Blair promoted a Clintonesque New Labour model.
  - c. **New Egalitarianism:** Harkening back to Wat Tyler (Peasants' Revolt of 1381) and the Levelers, the Diggers, and Fifth Monarchy Men of the English Civil War (1640s). The illusion of money left the working classes close to bankruptcy. NOTE: The international credit crisis of 2008 is largely a consequence of widespread financial irresponsibility.
  - d. Ire of the Masses: Turning against the middle classes
  - e. Franz Zweig noted a high degree of hopelessness and anomia. NOTE: The cynical world-weariness depicted here is difficult to square with vibrant self-government. The increasing concentration of power in an increasingly bureaucracy-ridden European Union seems to track a growing demoralization. Political apathy and cynicism represent an existential threat to national independence and a people's capacity to govern themselves. As for guest-workers: Since 1979 when this book was published, the guest-worker population has changed dramatically. Italy is now a leading economic power. Southern Europeans have been largely replaced by citizens of the former colonies, including Muslims from South Asia, and East Europeans.
8. Nearness of the Continent: Opposition to the Common Market among the TUC and some Conservatives. Canterbury (where **Thomas à Becket** was martyred in *The Murder in the Cathedral*) was once a major place of pilgrimage and Britain was an integral part of Europe.
- a. Reformation: Abyss created between England and the Continent. (127)
  - b. Latitudinarianism of the Anglicans: The threefold division is now (2009) further complicated by African bishops who are now overseeing traditional Anglican churches in America.
  - c. Uneasiness over the Continent: Lack of *Einfühlungsvermögen*
9. Catholics and Anti-Catholic Attitudes: Labour PM Tony Blair (1997-2007) converted to Roman Catholicism not long after he stepped down as PM. He has been seeking the presidency of the European Union under the proposed Treaty Constitution.
10. Fear of the Continent: The Chunnel was finally built between 1988 and 1994. K-L notes that self-conscious means opposite things for the English and the Germans. He also senses a **communitarianism** that can easily fall into [often chauvinistic] identitarianism. This is one of the hazards of what David Riesman (*The Lonely Crowd*) called the "other-directed" personality. The Victorian political commentator **Walter Bagehot** (who wrote *The English Constitution*) believed that this sort of conformism (along with stupidity) was a necessary element of political democracy.

## 11. Problems Faced by Britain:

**Review**

Normans	Middle Ages	burgher class
emancipations	devolution	vocabulary
Anglomania	reasons for Britain's decline	new egalitarianism
Thomas à Becket	communitarianism	Walter Bagehot

**CHAPTER 12: IRELAND****Outline and Study Questions**

1. Racial Background and Early History: Milesians (mentioned in Irish mythology, see p. 119), Celts, Vikings and Danes, Norman English established the **Pale** (*An Pháil Shasanach*) by the 12C. Cromwellian genocide c. 1649-50 [the extent of civilian casualties is disputed; the massacre of Protestants with thousands of casualties during the Irish Rebellion in 1641 is not mentioned]. Irish Catholic support of the Stuart line. Irish Defeat: **Battle of the Boyne**, 1690. Irish monasteries in the 5-7C were centers of Christian faith and civilization during the so-called Dark Ages. Abolition of the Irish parliament, 1801.
2. Post-Cromwell Changes: English and Scotch-Irish plantations, the Ascendancy [Maria Edgeworth, an older contemporary of Jane Austen, depicted his class in *Castle Rackrent*]. Roman Catholic Church forced underground. Proletarianization of the Irish masses. Poverty, ignorance, and clericalism translated into a vehement anti-aristocratic tradition.
  - a. The **Ascendancy**: Early Irish nationalism was led by Protestants like Wolfe Tone. Contributions to politics and the arts by Swift, Shaw, Wilde, and others.
3. Ireland under British Rule: **Potato Blight of 1845** caused a famine that last until 1848. Unmilled corn was sent by the British government to replace the potatoes but compounded the tragedy. Ireland lost a quarter of its population: about a million to starvation and another million to emigration.
4. British Prime Minister **William Gladstone's** proposal for Irish **Home Rule** late in the 19C might have solved the Irish problem and avoided the subsequent Troubles.
5. The narrowness and Manichean-Jansenist tendencies of Irish Catholicism.
6. Prodigal defiance of an attempt to introduce Home Rule in 1914 delayed implementation until the outbreak of the First World War scrubbed the plan. The **Easter Rebellion** of 1916 was brutally suppressed. The Irish troubles continued until a compromise was reached in 1921. Discrimination against and the ghettoization of Catholics remained a serious problem at the time the book was published. Political unrest from 1968-1994 created a second time of troubles. Although the bulk of the population supports union with Britain, most Protestants regard themselves as British and most Catholics call themselves Irish.
7. Catholic resistance to British rule: Social Democratic Party, IRA Officials, IRA Provisionals (Provos). The author was not optimistic about a solution to the strife, given the fanaticism he witnessed on both sides of the conflict. The Prods reminded him of the *pieds noirs* (black feet), the French residents of Algeria who fought savagely in the 1950s to keep Algeria as a part of France.

**Review**

Pale  
William Gladstone

Battle of the Boyne  
Easter Rebellion

Ascendancy

**CHAPTER 13: THE NETHERLANDS****Outline**

1. Lowlands
  - a. Holy Roman Empire
  - b. **Philip II** [persecuted the Calvinists]
2. Spanish Netherlands
  - a. Flemish [Dutch] and Walloon [French] provinces
3. Republican Regime
  - a. North and South Holland
  - b. Hereditary Stadhouder from the Oranje-Nassau family
  - c. Dietsch
4. **Peace of Westphalia**
  - a. Swiss and Dutch independence
  - b. Animosity against the Germans shared with Norway [although the exiled Kaiser took up residence in the Netherlands]
5. Colonial Empire Was Largely Wrested from Portugal
  - a. South Africa, Ceylon, Malayan Archipelago [East Indies], parts of the Americas; the Dutch discovered New Zealand
  - b. Japan
    - 1) Capt. Kokenbaker
    - 2) Conquest of Shimabara
    - 3) Trade monopoly at Dashima in Nagasaki harbor
    - 4) **Rangaku**
6. Standoffishness
  - a. Ceylon
  - b. Portuguese *fados* in Sumatra
  - c. Miscegenation
    - 1) Coloreds (Kleurde) in South Africa
  - d. Jews
  - e. Going Dutch
  - f. Pennsylvania "Dutch" [actually Deutsch: Germans]
7. Colonial Remnants
  - a. Ambon [home of cloves]
  - b. Batavia
  - c. Curaçao
8. Arts and Reclamation
  - a. Refined tastes
  - b. Architectural modernism
  - c. Painting

- d. Maritime Floods
  - 1) Regaining lost land [reclamation, polders]
  - 2) Zuider Zee
  
- 9. Hinterland
  - a. Southeastward migration
  - b. Spanish-Austrian Netherlands
  
- 10. Catholics
  - a. "Lower" element socially
  - b. New Zealand
  
- 11. Character Differences
  - a. Hertogenbosch
  - b. Limburg
  - c. Maastricht
    - 1) Carnival
  
- 12. Beleaguered Catholics
  - a. **Schuilkerken**
  - b. Church fine
  - c. Kingdom of the Netherlands
  - d. **Jansenist** [Catholic schism] Inroads
  - e. Schism
    - 1) Old Catholic bishop
  
- 13. Catholic Organizations
  - a. The church survived by virtue of strong discipline
  - b. Catholic nobility
  - c. Clericalism
    - 1) Abundance of Dutch priests
  - d. Catholic school system
  
- 14. Ghetto Mentality
  
- 15. Post-Vatican II Crisis
  - a. Religion was overorganized
  - b. Few cross-secterism friendships
  - c. Disciplinarian faith
  
- 16. Calvinists
  - a. The unchurched
  - b. Two major churches
    - 1) Hervormde Kerk
    - 2) Gereformeerde Kerk
  - c. **Abraham Kuyper**: leader of the Anti-Revolutionary party, founder of the Free University of Amsterdam, prime minister
  
- 17. Catholic-Calvinist Relations
  
- 18. Calvinist Political Group
  - a. Marchand
  - b. Hilaire Belloc
  
- 19. Beastly Earnestness
  - a. Seriously mindedness

- b. **Freedom of expression**
  - c. Jewish and other refugees
    - 1) Spinoza
    - 2) Marranos
  - d. Affluence
  - e. Bicycles
20. Social Classes
- a. Jan Hagel
  - b. Lack of social polish
  - c. Jordaan
  - d. Marginalization
21. German Occupation
- a. Dutch national socialists
    - 1) Mussert
  - b. Eputation
  - c. Imprisonment of German war criminals
  - d. War casualties from Allied warfare
  - e. Starvation dictating unconditional-surrender policy
22. Social Crisis
- a. Appearance of hippies
  - b. Klabauterman Party
  - c. Discipline gave way
23. Colonies
- a. Surinam
  - b. Urbanization
  - c. Spaniards
    - 1) Sinterklaas and Swarte Pieter
  - d. Large-scale emigration led to immigration from Europe's South[and North Africa]
24. Worldwide enterprises and parochialism
25. Burnt-out Crater

### Review

Philip II  
*Schuilkerken*  
 freedom of expression

Peace of Westphalia  
 Jansenism

*Rangaku*  
 Abraham Kuyper

## CHAPTER 14: BELGIUM

### Outline

- 1. Origin
  - a. Burgundy
  - b. Calvinist iconoclasm
  - c. Belgian Baroque
  - d. Forced conversions of the counter-reformation
- 2. Eastern Algerians



3. Kingdom of the Netherlands
  - a. **Flemings**
  - b. **Walloons** (French: Wallonia)
4. **Revolutions of 1830**
  - a. Long separation between Dutch and Belgians
  - b. New borders
  - c. Leopold I of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha
5. Persistent Problems
  - a. Neutrality treaties
  - b. Catholics vs. Liberals (inc. freemasons)
  - c. System of **proportional rule**
6. Language Question
  - a. Flemish upper crust
  - b. Flemings are more pious Catholics
7. Ethnic Division
  - a. **Language wars**
  - b. Zones
8. Use of Vernacular in the Liturgy
  - a. Division of the Catholic University of Louvain
9. Belgian Character
  - a. Flemings
  - b. Walloons
  - c. Flemish cities
10. Flanders
  - a. Grand-bourgeois patrician culture
  - b. Rubens
  - c. Rembrandt
11. Dreary Landscape
  - a. Industry in Wallonia
  - b. Brussels
    - 1) *Communist Manifesto*
  - c. Ensor and Wiertz
  - d. *Borinage*
    - 1) Vincent Van Gogh
12. World War II
  - a. General von Falkenhausen
  - b. Alleged atrocities came true
13. Collaboration
14. Royal Family
15. Loss of the Congo
  - a. Brilliantly administered
  - b. 1959 riots
  - c. Anticolonial Washington-Moscow Axis

- d. Army revolt and Katanga breakaway
  - e. Seeds of Anti-Americanism
16. Relations with the Netherlands

### Review

Flemings  
proportional rules

Walloons  
language wars

Revolutions of 1830

## CHAPTER 15: LUXEMBOURG

### Outline

1. Survival of the Italy Roman Empire
  - a. Language
2. Royal family
  - a. Nassau-Oranje
  - b. Loss of Dutch Limburg
  - c. **Salic Law**
    1. Adolf of Nassau
3. German Occupation
4. Economy
5. Foreign Relations
6. National Feeling
  - a. Argument for decentralization

### Review

Salic Law

## CHAPTER 16: THE GERMANYS

### Outline

1. Descriptions
2. Many Tribes
  - a. **Stämme**: Tribes
3. Oversimplifications
  - a. Nazi vote
  - b. Masurians [Masovians: Lutheran Poles, many of whom were reclassified as Germans after WWII and deported]
4. Myths
  - a. *Deutsche Treue* [German Loyalty or Fidelity]

- b. Discipline
5. Family of Tribes, Not a Nation
    - a. Bavarians
    - b. German Swiss
    - c. Austrians
    - d. Alsatians
    - e. Prussians
  6. Displacement of Celts
    - a. Place names
    - b. Germanic migration
    - c. Slavs
  7. Migration
    - a. Receded from France
    - b. **Teutonic Order**
    - c. Colonization of the East [*Drang nach Osten* = drive to the east]
    - d. Annihilation
    - e. Volga-Germans
    - f. Alemannic-Swabian group
  8. North and East
    - a. Franks
    - b. Upper Saxons
    - c. Low Germans
    - d. Polish refugees from Soviet-annexed East Poland
  9. Deutschland
    - a. **Charlemagne**
      - 1) **Holy Roman Emperor**
  10. Two Emperors [East and West]
    - a. Conscious continuation of the Roman tradition
    - b. **Constantine**
    - c. **Imperial double eagle**
  11. Three-way Partition of Charlemagne's Empire
    - a. **Treaty of Verdun**
    - b. Charles [the Bald] and Louis [the German]'s **Oath of Strasbourg**
    - c. Lothar's middle kingdom partitioned
    - d. Election of the emperor
    - e. Prayers for the emperor
    - f. King of the Romans [Holy Roman Emperor or Emperor-elect of the Romans]
      - 1) **Prince-Electors**: Three spiritual (the Archbishop of Mainz, the Archbishop of Trier, and the Archbishop of Cologne) and four lay electors (the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg). In the 17C, the Duke of Bavaria replaced the Count Palatine and the Elector of Hanover (three were kings of England) was added. Charles V was the last to be crowned as Holy Roman Emperor by the pope. Later emperors were merely emperors-elect.
    - g. Habsburg dynasty
    - h. Three points
      - 1) Pride in overlord and the glory of his universality
        - a) Reich

- 2) Multiple centers of local power
    - a) Variety and disunity
  - 3) Delay of nationalism
    - a) Degeneration from national democracy to national socialism and racism
    - b) Morbid centralism
12. Consequences of the Reformation
- a. German princes
    - 1) Exceptions
      - a) Austrian Habsburg and Bavarian Wittelsbach
      - b) Lutheran **Landeskirchen** [state church]
      - c) *Cuius regio, eius religio* [whoever reigns, his the religion]
13. Political Fragmentation
- a. More than 100 principalities before 1900
  - b. German League, 1850: 39 principalities in the Diet
  - c. **Thirty Years War**
  - d. Polarization
14. Duel between Prussia and the Emperor
15. Origins of Prussia
- a. Pruzzi
  - b. Teutonic Knights
  - c. Conversion of the Grand Master, a Hohenzollern prince
  - d. Elector of Brandenburg
  - e. Frederick I
  - f. **Frederick II**, King of Prussia
  - g. Partition of Poland
  - h. The several titles of the emperor
16. Evolution of the Kingdom of Prussia
- a. Electorate of **Brandenburg** [One Margrave of Brandenburg rejected Johann Sebastian Bach's application for a court musical appointment]
  - b. Colonized part of the Germanys
    - 1) Slavic middle and lower classes
    - 2) Ancient language was low German
  - c. Calvinist imprint
    - 1) **Edict of Potsdam**: Invitation to French Calvinists (Huguenots) who went into exile as a result of Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes
    - 2) Huguenot refugees
17. *Réfugiés*
18. French-Prussian Ties
- a. Anti-Habsburg, anti-Austrian policy of Cardinal Richelieu
    - 1) Emperor bestowed the title of king [of Prussia] on the Elector
  - b. War of the Austrian Succession
  - c. **Silesia**
  - d. Unintended consequence: Expulsion of the reduced German population after WWII
  - e. Prussian politics was directed against the Holy Roman Emperor
19. Frederick II, the Great
- a. Change of alliance

- b. Berlin and Bucharest: Outposts of French culture in the East
20. Napoleonic Wars
- a. Enhanced Prussian role
  - b. Emperor of Austria (*Österreich*)
  - c. German League
    - 1) Frankfurt
    - 2) Junker **Otto von Bismarck**
21. Lapse of the *Sacrum Imperium Romanum*
- a. Delegations to the league
    - 1) Non-German representation
22. Polish Partitions and Other Events
- a. Division of Poland: Original sin of Europe
    - 1) Central Poland given to Russia in 1815
23. Nationalism
- a. **Kleindeutsche** [supporters of a Little Germany, excluding Austria]
  - b. Conservative **Junkers** [*jung Herren* (New Gentlemen): aristocracy of the eastern marches, notably Prussia]
  - c. **Friedrich Wilhelm IV** refuses the imperial crown
  - d. All the imperial traditions went to Austria
24. Inner-German War, 1866
- a. Bismarck's secret alliance with Italy
    - 1) Italy's acquisition of **Venice** from Austria
    - 2) Federal execution
  - b. Catastrophe of the first order
  - c. Breech-loader needle gun
  - d. Consequences of the Austrian loss
25. Evangelical Victory in the Heart of Europe
- a. Austrian decline
  - b. New Germany born out of the Franco-Prussian War
    - 1) Bismarck's **purge of ruling families**: "The ruling families of Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen were accorded the dynastic rights of a cadet branch of the Royal House of Prussia after yielding sovereignty to their royal kinsman. The exiled heirs to Hanover and Nassau regained sovereignty by being allowed to inherit, eventually, the crowns of Brunswick (1914) and Luxembourg (1890)."
  - c. Bismarck as revolutionary
  - d. *Deutsches Reich* created in a spirit of pan-German opposition to France
    - 1) Versailles
    - 2) **Battle of Sedan** and Napoleon's surrender [end of France's Second Empire]
26. German Reich Was Not Centralized
- a. Subjects of "Germany" lived only in the colonies
  - b. Different systems of law
  - c. Third Reich sought to erase the memory of its predecessors
27. Several Prussians
- a. Junkers
  - b. Provider state
  - c. **Rechtsstaat** [state ruled by law]

28. Rising Middle Class
  - a. Universities
  - b. Berlin metropolis
    - 1) Huguenots and emancipated Jews
29. Servility and Courage in Prussia
  - a. Nazi support in southern East Prussia
  - b. Königsberg
30. **Kulturkampf** [culture struggle]
  - a. German Jesuits banned
  - b. Center Party
31. Leaders
  - a. Bismarck and Lassalle
  - b. **Wilhelm II**
  - c. Walter Rathenau
32. World War I
  - a. War guilt
  - b. **Russian mobilization** [Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholayevitch also played a key role, according to Baron Wrangell-Rakassowsky, p. 216 of his book]
  - c. **Willy-Nicky telegrams**
  - d. American intervention
  - e. Hunger blockade
33. Myths of the Back-Stab [*Dolchstoß*]
  - a. Gen. **Erich Ludendorff**'s shipment of the Bolsheviks to Russia
34. World War I through German Eyes
  - a. Defense of cultural values
  - b. Honoring Charles Péguy [French Catholic thinker killed early in the war]
  - c. Chivalry
  - d. Murder at Sarajevo: In German eyes, the Allies sided with the murderers
35. Territorial Stipulations of Versailles
  - a. What was lost: Parts of Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, the Pomerelia, and northern Schleswig
  - b. Polish Corridor
36. Other Stipulations
  - a. Article 231: War-Guilt Clause
  - b. John Maynard Keynes
  - c. **Reparations**
    - 1) Inflation and impoverishment of the middle class
  - d. Aid to the Führer: A leader rather than a ruler, a Big Brother rather than a Father
  - e. Winston Churchill
  - f. Scapegoating of Jews followed loss of their royal protectors
37. Debunking **German Atrocity Tales** [Attributed to British Propaganda]
  - a. Central Powers had not spread similar tales
  - b. Fear of the Russian steamroller
  - c. No possibility of repealing Article 231
  - d. Gentleman's agreement no longer possible
  - e. New Precedent: Failure to invoke the Trinity [Contrast with the Treaty of

Westphalia; it was a symbolic end of Christendom]

38. Weimar Republic
- a. French occupation of the Ruhr
  - b. **Beer Hall Putsch**: Hitler had the support of Ludendorff, who had earlier helped Lenin]
  - c. Great Depression
  - d. Hitler's strategy
  - e. Heinrich Brüning
  - f. Conservative defeat
  - g. Germany's naïve north bewitched by southerners
39. Myths about the Nazis
- a. Munich
    - 1) Resistance came from the Catholic South
  - b. **Klaus von Stauffenberg**
    - 1) Conspiracy included 53 of the nobility [Helmuth James von Moltke's Kreisau Circle should also be noted]
  - c. Decline of the Democratic Party
40. Who Became Nazis?
41. Resistance to the Regime
- a. Concentration Camps
  - b. Lack of a common public philosophy (civil society)
  - c. Indoctrination
42. Dissent
- a. Admiral Canaris
  - b. **Ernst Jünger** [novelist who wrote of the Nazis in *On the Marble Cliffs*; his *Storm of Steel* was one of the great WWI novels]
  - c. Anti-Nazi literature
  - d. Historical novels
  - e. Fritz Reck-Malleczewen
  - f. Albrecht Haushofer
  - g. Absence of a Nazi literature: Radical leftism feeds on hatred and envy
43. Absence of a Common German Character
- a. Bavarian peasant
  - b. Schleswig-Holstein: Descendants of the Angles
44. German Mind
- a. Painters
  - b. Delay of literary development
45. Limits of Hitler's Grip
- a. His annexation of historically German areas enjoyed popular support
  - b. **Allied blunders**
    - 1) Air warfare
    - 2) Nuremberg Trials
46. "Spinalist" Absolutism [Extremism]
- a. Note: "The methodical extermination of 'unwanted life' was the logical consequence of a strictly materialistic viewpoint. In World War II most Germans were religiously still living on the whiff of an empty bottle."
  - b. Paul Valéry on duty

47. German Humor
  - a. *Tierischer Ernst* [beastly earnestness]
  - b. Adenauer's humor
  - c. Friedrich August III
  
48. Disappearance of Humor
  - a. Weakening of religion
  
49. Cult of **Treue** (Fidelity) and **Pflicht** (Duty)
  - a. Loyalty
  - b. Invalid oaths
  - c. Juan de Mariana: It is just to kill a tyrant
  
50. Partition of Germany
  - a. *Länder*
    - 1) Only three have a historic past
  - b. West Germany
    - 1) In many ways a revival of the Weimar Republic
  
51. Favorable Aspects of the Federal Republic
  - a. Jusos (junior Social Democrats)
  - b. Judos (junior Free Democrats)
  - c. Social Democrats (SDU)
    - 1) **Bad Godesberg** program, 1959 [Willy Brandt]
  - d. Christian Democrats (CDU)
  - e. Christian Social Union (CSU)
  - f. Union Parties
  - g. **Wilhelm Röpke** and Ludwig Erhard [chancellor after Konrad Adenauer]
  - h. Socializing temptations
  
52. Educational Policies
  - a. Tools of ideology
  - b. Leftism in the universities
  
53. Hitler Legend
  - a. No revival
  - b. Rolf Dahrendorf on modernity
  - c. Nazism was a revolution of the youth
  - d. Occupation policies
  - e. Impact on publishing
  
54. *Deutsche Bundesrepublik* (BRD): Federal Republic of Germany
  - a. Exclusion of "colonial Germany" [former East Prussia]
  - b. Cowardice in political discussions
  - c. Confused loyalties
  - d. Trust is a thing of the past
  
55. Jolt to German Virtues
  
56. Weakening of Independence of Thought
  - a. Work ethic weakened
  - b. **Guest workers** [Gästarbeitern]
  
57. Plasticity
  - a. Madame de Staël



58. West Berlin  
 a. Tragic curiosity  
 b. Soviet Zone
59. East Germany (DDR)  
 a. Oswald Spengler: Prussianism and socialism  
 b. Rebellion of 1953: German freedom of thought survives behind the mask of discipline  
 c. Ideological mission  
 d. BRD vegetates
60. Werra River Border  
 a. Yalta Agreement  
 b. Berlin could have been taken by Eisenhower
61. Separation  
 a. **Inevitable reunion** will create problems  
 b. Genuine purgatory vs. a fake paradise
62. East Berlin  
 a. **German displacement** [traumatic expulsion of more than nine million Germans]
63. Constant Motion in the West  
 a. "Americanization"  
 b. Hermann Keyserling
64. The West as a Fragment  
 a. Edgar Jung  
 1) Danger of one-sided development
64. **Economic Miracle** [*Wirtschaftswunder*]

### Review

<i>Stämme</i>	Teutonic Order	Charlemagne
Holy Roman Emperor	Constantine	imperial double eagle
Treaty of Verdun	Oath of Strasbourg	Prince-Electors
<i>Landeskirchen</i>	Thirty Years War	Frederick II, the Great
Silesia	Otto von Bismarck	<i>Kleindeutsche</i>
Junkers	Friedrich Wilhelm IV	Venice
purge of ruling families	Battle of Sedan	<i>Rechtsstaat</i>
<i>Kulturkampf</i>	Wilhelm II	Russian mobilization
Willy-Nicky telegrams	Gen. Erich Ludendorff	reparations
German atrocity tales	Beer Hall putsch	Klaus von Stauffenberg
Ernst Jünger	Allied blunders	<i>Treue</i>
<i>Pflicht</i>	Bad Godesberg	Wilhelm Röpke
guest workers	inevitable reunion	German displacement
Economic Miracle		

## CHAPTER 17: SWITZERLAND

### Outline

1. Tourism

2. Intellectual Powerhouse
  - a. Two Johns of Geneva: Jean Calvin and Jean-Jacques Rousseau
  - b. Theologians: Reformed (Barth, Brunner) and Catholic (Balthasar, Küng)
  - c. Scholars and Cultural Thinkers: Bluntschli, two Burckhardts, Vinet, Jung)
  - d. Critique of democracy
  
3. Direct Democracy
  - a. **Scita** and **Scienda** [common knowledge vs. necessary knowledge for solving problems]
  - b. **Landsgemeinde**: representative assemblies in the cantons
  - c. National Council and Federal Council
  - d. Military democracy
  - e. Virtually a fortress
    1. Defenses
    2. *Si vis pacem para bellum*
  
4. Swiss Guards
  - a. Storming of the Tuileries
    - 1) "Dying Lion" monument
  
5. Banking [the "gnomes of Zurich"] and Tourism
  - a. Hard work
  - b. **Strong civic sense**
  
5. Cultural Differences
  - a. Most exclusive upper class
  - b. Aristocracy without a nobility
  - c. heraldry
  
6. Linguistic Cleavages
  - a. Schwyzertütsch
  - b. French
  - c. Italian
  - d. **Romantsch**: Languages of the original cantons
  - e. **The Grisons** [or Graubünden = Grey Leagues]  
Most of the area was originally part of the Roman province of *Raetia*
    - 1) Binding together of three confederations: House of God, Grey League, House of Ten Places
  - f. Religious crazy-quilt
  
7. Religion
  - a. Ulrich Zwingli
  - b. Reformed church: Calvinist
  - c. Catholics
  - d. Jesuits
  
8. No Irreligion
  - a. Basically conservative country
  
9. Contradictions
  - a. Civil war, 1847: North vs. South
  - b. Calvin's **Geneva**
    - 1) Harbored Leftist revolutionaries: Herzen, Bakunin, Lenin
  - c. Habsburgs
  - d. Eye in the storm of European History

- e. ETH
  - f. Progressive country as regards technology
  - g. Politics
  - h. Coalitions
10. Industry and Commerce
- a. Highly qualified workmanship
    - 1) Leader in chocolates
12. **Guest Workers**
- a. Phenomenon of all Europe since the 1950s: Lower birth rates in the North, mass immigration from the South

### Review

Scita and Scienda  
Romantsch  
guest workers

*landsgemeinde*  
The Grisons

strong civic sense  
Geneva

## CHAPTER 18: LIECHTENSTEIN

### Outline

1. Wealth
  - a. Remnant of the **Holy Roman Empire**
  - b. Austrian origin
  - c. Vaduz
2. Ethnicity
3. Ruling Family
  - a. [Prince Hans-Adam II is the current ruler]
  - b. Constitutional monarchy
4. Two parts

### Review

Holy Roman Empire

## CHAPTER 19: DENMARK

### Outline

1. History
  - a. **Canute** the Great: Denmark, Iceland, England
  - b. Loss of Norway and Schleswig-Holstein
  - c. Iceland
  - d. Faeroe Islands
  - e. Greenland
  - f. War of 1864
  - g. 1940 German invasion
  - h. Christian X

2. Sexual Disintegration
  - a. Karin Michaelis
  - b. Per Jens Jacobsen
  - c. Georg Brandes
3. Arts
  - a. **Søren Kierkegaard**
  - b. Nikolai Grundtvig
4. People
  - a. Winters
  - b. Once dominant sea power
5. Parties
  - a. Social Democratic Party
  - b. Toleration
6. Royalty

**Review**

Canute

Søren Kierkegaard

## CHAPTER 20: NORWAY

**Outline**

1. Danish Influence
2. Geography
3. History
  - a. Union of Kalmar
  - b. Secession of Sweden and Finland 1521
  - c. Personal union with Sweden
4. Temperament
  - a. **Normans**
5. Differences with Sweden
  - a. WWI
  - b. WWII
6. Collaborators
  - a. Knut Hamsun and Vidkun Quisling
  - b. Resistance
7. Politics and Religion
  - a. Norwegian Labor Party
8. Eminent Norwegians
  - a. Edvard Grieg, Henrik Ibsen, Edvard Munch, Sigrid Undset

9. Middle Class Country
10. Demography
  - a. Hammerfest
  - b. North Cape
  - c. Finnmark
11. Northern Latitudes
11. Tourism
  - a. Skiing
12. Enthusiasms

### Review

Normans

## CHAPTER 21: ICELAND

### Outline

1. Uniqueness
  - a. Gulf Stream
2. Racial Background
3. Settlement
  - a. Christianization
  - b. Jón Arasón
  - c. Moorish slave raids
  - d. Depopulation
4. Democracy
  - a. **Althing**
  - b. Independence
  - c. Xenophobic
  - d. Acute historical memory
5. Leftism
  - a. Halldor Laxness
6. Patronymics
7. Religion
  - a. Spiritualism
8. Language and Reading
9. Customs
10. Geography
  - a. Reykjavik
  - b. Hot springs

- c. Wool
- 11. Tourism
  - a. Conversation
- 12. Houses
- 13. Literature

### Review

*Althing*

## CHAPTER 22: SWEDEN

### Outline

- 1. Size
  - a. Battle of Poltava
- 2. Eastward Expansion
  - a. Ingria
  - b. Trauma of defeat
- 3. Six Major Periods
  - a. Origins
- 4. Christianity
  - a. Uppsala
  - b. Reformation
  - c. Episcopacy preserved
- 5. Vasas
  - a. **Gustavus Adolphus**
- 6. Loss of Finland
- 7. Provider State
- 8. Taxation
  - a. Need for uncertainty and risk
- 9. Melancholy
- 10. Faith
  - a. August Strindberg
  - b. Catholics
- 11. Theologians
- 12. Architecture
- 13. WWII
  - a. Social Democratic cooperation with Nazi Germany

- 1) Ore from Swedish Lapland
  - b. Refugees were well treated
  - c. Overreaction after the collapse of the Nazis
  - d. Roundup of Baltic refugees as the British and Americans did with the **Vlasovtsy**  
[The American roundup of expatriated Russians was designated Operation Keelhaul]
- 14. Social Democratic Rule
  - 15. Monarchy
  - 16. Social Manners

### Review

Gustavus Adolphus                      *Vlasovtsy*

## CHAPTER 23: FINLAND

### Outline

- 1. Finns
  - a. Independence in 1918
  - b. Early Swedish rule
  - c. Language: Finno-Ugrian family of the Ural-Altai group
  - d. Resistance against **russification**
- 2. **Finlanders**
  - a. Language differences
- 3. Resistance
  - a. East Karelians assimilated
  - b. Ingria and **Karelia** lost to Russia, 1721
    - 1) Russian conquest of Finland, 1809
  - c. Grand duchy
  - d. Russification under Alexander III and Nicholas II
- 4. Westernized Outlook
  - a. Emancipation of women, 1906
- 5. World War I
  - a. Volunteers went to Germany
  - b. Rebellious Finnish and Russian soldiers formed a Red Army
  - c. Finlander Baron **Gustav Mannerheim's** White Army
  - d. Finnish Republic, 1918
  - e. Corridor to the Arctic: **Petsamo** region
- 6. Soviet Attack in the Winter of 1939
  - a. *Lottas*
  - b. Finnish Communists were Finns first
- 7. Winter War
  - a. Western Karelia ceded
  - b. Neutrality in June 1941 followed by an appeal to Germany for aid

- c. Väinö Tanner
- 8. End of World War II
  - a. Gen. von Mannerheim
  - b. Loss of Petsamo
  - c. German scorched earth retreat
- 9. **Reparations** Paid Off [Finns paid reparations for both world wars]
  - a. European Free Trade Association (EFTA)
- 10. Population
  - a. Nobility is almost entirely Swedish
  - b. Finnish place names
- 11. Real Finns
  - a. **Architects:** *e.g.*, Eero Saarinen and Alvar Aalto
  - b. Granitic character
- 12. Inter-marriage of Swedes and Finns
  - a. Swedish conquest
  - b. Honesty
- 13. Character
  - a. Earlier polytheistic religion
  - b. Artistry
  - c. Cruelty
- 14. Religion
  - a. Lutheran state church
  - b. Catholics
  - c. **Puritan strain**
  - d. Literacy
  - e. Impressive intellectual life
  - f. Language
- 15. Deeply Wounded Country
  - a. Climate
  - b. Sauna
  - b. *Sisu* = zest for life and toughness
- 16. **Lapps** [Sami]
  - a. Language akin to Finnish
  - b. Nomadic
  - c. Witchcraft
  - d. Vague citizenship
  - e. Lack of political organization
- 17. Gypsies [Roma]

### Review

Russification  
Gustav Mannerheim  
architects

Finlanders  
Petsamo  
puritan strain

Karelia  
reparations  
Lapps



## CHAPTER 24: THE BALTIC REPUBLICS

### Outline

- A. INTRODUCTORY NOTE (216-17)
  - 1. Forcible Incorporation into the Soviet Union
  - 2. Ethnic and Historical Dimensions
  - 3. Victims of Russian Expansion
  - 4. Occupation and Annexation
    - a. Molotov speech on the **German-Soviet agreement** [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact] of August 1939
    - b. Western protests against the occupation subsided once the USSR became an ally [but the West did not recognize the Soviet annexation]
 See Andres Küng, [Communism and Crimes against Humanity in the Baltic States](#)
  
- B. ESTONIA (217-221)
  - 1. **Russification**
    - a. Deportation of Estonians and importation of Russians [China has done the same in Tibet and Xinjiang Province]
  - 2. Non-historic Nation
    - a. Close relative of the Finns
    - b. Letts pushed the Estonians northward
      - 1) *e.g.*, name of the village of Ikškilis is derived from the Estonian Üksküla
    - c. Danish colonization followed by Teutonic knights, Swedes, Poles, Russians, then independence
    - d. Abortive putsch, 1924: See [An Attempted Communist Coup on 1 December 1924](#)
    - e. Annexation, liberation and reconquest
  - 3. Culture
    - a. German influences
    - b. **Baltic barons** and the **Literaten** [German burghers]
  - 4. **Teutonic Knights**
    - a. Hospital of St. Mary
    - b. Three Orders of Hospitalers during the Crusades
      - 1) Monastic vows
    - c. Achievement of sovereignty
    - d. Fall of the Templars [denounced and decimated by Philip the Fair of France]
    - e. Knights of St. John [Knights of Malta]
  - 5. German Immigrants
    - a. Granted land for fighting against the Cumans and pagan Prussians
    - b. Knights of the Sword
    - c. East Baltic Provinces
    - d. Serfdom imposed on the natives
    - e. Architecture similar to the Hanseatic cities
  - 6. German Upper Crust

- a. Harsh rule
  - b. Divided allegiances under Russia
    - 1) Divided loyalties affected families
    - 2) 1905 uprising
7. Severe Agrarian Reforms after WWI
- a. Losers were the barons
  - b. Hitler-Stalin Pact was an even deadlier blow against the German Balts
  - c. German evacuation to “Greater Germany”
8. Western Orientation
- a. Estland and Northern Livonia
  - b. Authoritarian regimes because of constant Soviet pressure and Communist infiltration
  - c. Success stories after WWI
9. Betrayal
- a. They did not feel the impending doom
  - b. Dishonor of the “civilized world”
  - c. Heart-rending messages from **Estonian Freedom Fighters**, 1944: Forest Brothers [see the film: *The Singing Revolution*]
10. Losses
- a. Low birthrate
  - b. Crisis in procreation in all of Europe
- C. LATVIA (221-222)
1. Historic Units
- a. Courland and Semgallia
  - b. Southern Livonia
  - c. **Latgallia**
    - 1) Polish middle and upper class
2. Character
- a. Brutality and toughness
  - b. Not deeply Christianized
  - c. Atrocities against Lutheran ministers
3. Struggle for Independence
- a. Generals Johan Laidoner (who died in a Soviet prisoner in 1953) and Janis Balodis (exiled to Siberia but allowed to return to Latvia late in life)
4. Dislocation of Middle and Upper Class
- a. Russian immigration
  - b. Suppression of religion
  - c. Northernmost point of uninterrupted Catholic territory
  - d. Struggle to preserve personality against totalitarian flatness
- D. LITHUANIA (223-227)
1. Historical Nation
2. Christianity
- a. Conversion, 1386: marriage of **Jogaila** [Władysław II Jagiełło], Duke of Lithuania, and **Jadwiga** [Hedwig]; Jogaila was also legally adopted by his mother-in-law so he could retain the crown in the event of Jadwiga’s death, which occurred later

- b. Union with Poland, 1569: Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
- 3. **Gedymin**
  - a. Resistance against Teutonic Knights
  - b. Little Lithuanians
    - 1) Lutherans
- 4. Gedymin's Realm
  - a. **Bialorus** (Belarus): inhabited by a preponderance of Slavs
  - b. Ukraine
  - c. Jagiełło
- 5. **Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth**
  - a. **Polonization** of the upper layers
- 6. Partition of 1795
  - a. Russian takeover
  - b. Polish Lithuanians (analogy with the Ascendancy in Ireland)
- 7. Division of Noble Families into Branches
  - a. Radziwiłł family
- 8. Revival of Lithuanian Language
  - a. Oldest living Indo-European language
- 9. Post WWI Independence
  - a. Clash with newly arising Poland
  - b. Polish claim to **Vilnius**
  - c. Coup by Gen. Zeligowski
  - d. **Józef Piłsudski**
- 10. Tensions with Poland
  - a. Soviets gave Vilnius back to Lithuania
  - b. Lithuania was originally to have been awarded to Germany
  - c. Soviet takeover
- 11. Depopulation
  - a. Flight and deportation
  - b. High birthrate
- 12. Industry
- 13. **Memel**
  - a. Autonomous area after WWI
  - b. Annexation
  - c. East Prussia
- 14. Future

### Review

German-Soviet agreement	Estonia	russification
Baltic barons	Literaten	Teutonic Knights
Estonian Freedom Fighters	Latvia	Latgallia
Lithuania	Jogaila and Jagwiga	Gedymin
Bialorus	Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth	

## CHAPTER 25: POLAND

### Outline

1. Interwoven with Lithuanian History
  - a. Boleslaw Chrobry
    - 1) Piast dynasty
  - b. Władysław Lokietek
  - c. **Casimir the Great**: Introduction of German and Jewish settlers
  - d. Jadwiga
    - 1) Jagiello
    - 2) University of Cracow
  - e. Defeat of Teutonic Knights
  - f. **Danzig**: Hanseatic city made a Polish free city
2. Elective Monarchy, 1572
  - a. Result: Weak monarchs and a nationalist character
3. Nobility (Szlachta)
4. Patriotism and Truculence
5. Fractional Tendencies
  - a. Large, undisciplined nobility
  - b. Republican Empire
6. Jews
  - a. State within a state
  - b. Reformation
  - c. Counter Reformation
  - d. Polonization of Germans
7. Impossible Political Structure
  - a. Partitions of 1772
  - b. Second partition, 1793
    - 1) **Tadeusz Kościuszko**
    - 2) Potocki family
8. Napoleon
9. Polish Organizational Efforts
  - a. Prussia
  - b. Austria
  - c. Polish Club
  - d. Russian advance into Europe
10. World War I
  - a. Gen. **Erich Ludendorff**
  - b. Brest-Litovsk
  - c. **Józef Piłsudski**
11. Piłsudski's Goal: Creation of a New Polish State

12. Partition by Plebiscite
  - a. Danzig
  - b. Plebiscites
  - c. Furor in Germany
  - d. Danzig Problem
  - e. German anti-Polish propaganda
13. Poland's eastern border
  - a. West Ukrainian designs
14. Polish-Ukrainian Alliance
  - a. Gen. **Symon Petlyura**: appeal to Poland for aid [subsequently assassinated in Paris]
  - b. Marshal Mikhail Tukhachévsky [executed during Stalin's purges]
  - c. **Curzon Line**
  - d. Red Army defeat
15. Difficulties of Building a United Poland
  - a. Jozef Piłsudski
  - b. PPS
  - c. Nazi takeover
16. Resistance
17. Loss of the Eastern Sector
18. Reverse Mass Exodus Caused by Churchill
19. Sense of Insecurity
  - a. Reconstruction of German cities
20. Continued Resistance
  - a. **Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński**
  - b. Polish martyrs
  - c. Father Kolbe
21. Relative Freedom
  - a. **Jan III Sobieski**

### Review

Casimir the Great  
Erich Ludendorff  
Curzon Line

Danzig  
Jozef Piłsudski  
Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński

Tadeusz Kościuszko  
Symon Petlyura  
Jan III Sobieski

## CHAPTER 26: THE RUSSIANS AND THE SOVIET UNION

### Outline and Study Questions

- A. RUSSIA: ORIGINS AND EMPIRE (238-41)
  1. Russification of national minorities taking place even as the Russians become the largest minority.

- a. Great Russians, who have low birth rate, are being imported into the republics. NOTE: Many of those Russians have migrated back to Russia following national independence for fourteen of these republics. Kazakhstan has moved its capital northward to assert its effective claim to the entirety of this largest of the breakaway republics. In 2014 Moscow continued to try to draw Ukraine and other former republics into a closer relationship.
2. Kiev and Kievan Rus
    - a. Rus is probably of Viking (Varangian) origin. In the 9C **Ryurik** or Rurik the Red founded a Scandinavian nobility that ruled over a Slavic people. Scandinavian rule was established along the big rivers. In Note 664, K-L notes that the academic career of Andrei Amalrik [later author of *Will the Soviet Union Survive until 1984?*] was ruined for adhering to the Scandinavian theory of origins.
    - b. Cultural development started in the south through Byzantine influences, so that Russia fell into the Greek Orthodox rather than the Roman Catholic orbit.
    - c. **Tatars** (Mongol invaders) destroyed the Kievan realm in the 13C.
    - d. Delivery from Tatar rule came from the north: The commercial republic of Novgorod and the grand duchy of Muscovy (Moscow), which eventually absorbed Novgorod.
    - e. By the 17C Cossacks reached the Pacific coast.
  3. **Romanov Dynasty**
    - a. Death of Ivan Grozny (Ivan the Dread), the last Ryurik ruler.
    - b. Michael Romanov, a kinsman of Ivan's wife, was elevated from the boyar class.
    - c. **Peter the Great**: Split in the Church, beards and caftans forbidden (much as Atatürk did in 20C Turkey), and westernized the country with great brutality. He called himself Imperator Augustus rather than Tsar.
    - d. Russia (Moscow) had already been called the Third Rome and a coat of arms with the imperial double-eagle gradually became more "westernized."
  4. Westernization
    - a. Holstein-Gottorps Dynasty (beginning with Peter III, whose mother was Peter the Great's daughter and who was overthrown by his wife, Catherine the Great). Nevertheless, the royal house was considered Romanov until Nicholas II and his family were murdered in 1918 by the Bolsheviks.
    - b. **Revolution of 1905** coinciding with Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War.
    - c. Decembrist Uprising, 1825. Note 668: The author discusses the legend that Alexander I became a *starets* or wandering holy man, Feodor Kuzmich, who entered the annals of history in 1836 and, after his death, was elevated to sainthood. The motive according to tradition is that Alexander, who had been disappointed in the loss of his daughter and his attempts to make things better for his people, chose to disappear late in 1825 and do penance for the death of his father. He had been present when his father was assassinated in 1801.
    - d. Serfdom: Some were professional people; some became rich
    - e. Workers
    - f. Labor unions were often organized by police to prevent exploitation. Forced labor (*kátorga*) in Siberia.
    - g. Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The House of the Dead*
    - h. Siberia
      - 1) Vladimir Lenin's comfortable exile
  5. Comparisons
    - a. Russia is a part of Christian civilization
    - b. Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote* strikes a chord with Russians and Dostoevsky does with Spaniards
    - c. Despotism of Ivan IV and Henry VIII

- d. Peter the Great and Oliver Cromwell as brutal reformers
  - e. Forced labor and repression
6. **Pyotr Stolypin's Reforms**
- a. Dissolution of the *mir* [comparable to the 16C enclosure of the English commons]
  - b. Big landowners actually controlled a far greater percentage of English property
7. Industry
- a. Fear of the "Russian steam roller:" considered the America of the East [cf. the end of Book One of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*]; new class of entrepreneurs.
- B. REVOLUTIONS AND THE USSR (241-50)
1. Liberalization after the Revolution of 1905
- a. Press and religious freedoms
  - b. *Pravda*
2. Imperial Jails
- a. Leon Trotsky
  - b. Ilya Ehrenburg
3. The Great Life
- a. Not a single Bolshevik was executed until after the Bolshevik Revolution. Note 686: All those that had been executed were anarchists [which presumably included Lenin's brother].
4. Bolshevism
- a. Russia's development probably would have been evolutionary except for the intervention of the First World War.
  - b. Three factors favored the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 [the February Revolution was liberal; the October Revolution was radical]
    - 1) Immense stupidity of some liberal democrats and Mensheviks. K-L adds in Note 677: "It is more or less the thesis of George Karkov that the moderate Left made a revolution without being certain that they could actually control it. . . . The [subsequent] dream of pious Western liberals that a post-Communist Russia will emerge in the form of a tame, pluralistic democracy will never come true."
    - 2) Gen. **Erich Ludendorff's** assistance [Lenin shipped to the Finland Station in St. Petersburg in a sealed boxcar]
    - 3) The role of **Vladimir Lenin**: A "Pugachev of the university" was used to describe the Russian Nihilists [Pugachev led a rebellion, 1773-74].
  - c. Bolsheviks won the support a "disintegrating army and navy" of marauders with nothing to lose.
5. Weaknesses of the Old Regime
- a. **Corruption.** Note 680: "Eastern 'corruption' has two sources: the frequently miserable salaries of civil servants *and* the desire to make (if possible generous) recompense for any services rendered."
  - b. Ethnic and religious discrimination
6. Discrimination against Jews
- a. Integration of baptized Jews, like the musical Rubinstein brothers [Anton was Tchaikovsky's teacher; his famous Piano Trio was a memorial to Nikolai]
  - b. The **Pale of Settlement** and the ghettos [after the It. *borghetto*]

- c. **Pogroms.** Note 682: "The main reason for the *pogrom* was not hatred, but simple envy and rapacity."
  - d. Arts, crafts, and professions
  - e. Farmers
  - f. University quotas [cf. California's Asian quotas]
7. Role of Moderate Leftists
- a. The February Revolution turned the war into a fight for world democracy
  - b. Fight against the Bolsheviks was continued by anarchists and monarchists [the White Army also received aid from the Allies after the German defeat]
8. The Russian as an **Extreme Personalist** [K-L regarded Russians as far more individualistic than Americans]
- a. A natural anarchist rather than a statist
  - b. Comparison with the Spaniard [note James Billington's similar comparison]
  - c. Edward Crankshaw: Uncompromising and mentally free
  - d. Thirst for the absolute [cf. the Muscovite ideology]
9. Harmful Effects of **Western Ideas**
- a. Misunderstanding and perversion of these ideas
    - 1) Parliamentary democracy [note Yeltsin's armed assault on the Duma]
    - 2) Marxism transformed by Leninism
  - b. Analogy with the wild growth of exotic plants
10. Dmitry Merezhkovski (Russian Symbolist) on Bolshevism
- a. Shape of the Soviet mind
  - b. Russia is an extremely gifted nation
11. [Second] Russian Revolution of 1917
- a. A **soulless bureaucracy** was a creation of part of the **intelligentsia**
  - b. Totalitarian rule of the ubiquitous monopolistic state
  - c. Illegality of non-state activities
12. Books
- a. High literacy
  - b. Classics
  - c. Vladimir Soloviev [who wrote a story of the Antichrist] and Nicolas Berdyaev [I read *The Origins of Russian Communism* under Edward Rozek and later added other works]
  - d. Fyodor Dostoevsky
  - e. Secret catalogues in libraries
  - f. **Samizdat**
  - g. Secretive side of the Russian character
13. Attacks on Communism
- a. **Viktor Nekrasov** [Note 692 discusses his revelation that the Red Army held back and let the Nazis wipe out the 1944 uprising in Warsaw. K-L notes that Nekrasov's report from Italy (published in *Novy Mir*, vol. XXXIV, no. 7 and 8) "is marred by an account of the 'crimes' committed by the Jesuits (part 2, p. 127). Nekrasov admitted to me that he had copied this nonsense almost verbatim from the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*."]
    - b. Vera Panova
14. Literary Periodicals
15. Religion



- a. Revival in 1942
  - b. 1958 crackdown
  - c. Closure of churches: catechism forbidden
  - d. Elderly parishioners [but K-L had observed the same decades earlier]
  - e. Religious *samizdat* literature
16. **Persecution**
- a. Unofficial Baptists
  - b. Eastern Rite (Uniate) Catholics
  - c. World Council of Churches (WCC) [a Communist front] offers no protection
  - d. “Westerners cannot measure the despair of those who nevertheless cling to their faith, and practice it in secrecy.”
  - e. A totalitarian state cannot tolerate the idea of a church
17. The New Society [dominated by what Milovan Djilas called *The New Class*]
- a. Simultaneously egalitarian and hierarchical
  - b. **Alexander Solzhenitsyn**: Women given the dirtiest jobs
    - 1) **Low birth rate**
18. University Professors [this applies also to the *Nomenklatura* generally]
- a. Academy of Sciences
  - b. High salary is a bribe
  - c. Communist student is “a parrot without feathers”
19. Upper Echelons of the *Nomenklatura* [a feudal patron-client system through which the Communist Party governed appointments]
- a. Absence of hereditary property ownership
  - b. Lack of savings
  - c. Big earners
  - d. Alcoholism
20. Life Hidden from Tourists
- a. Rents are cheap per family
21. Crime
- a. Lack of statistical data
  - b. **Criminal syndicates**. Note 698: “One of the worst aspects of the life of the ‘politicals’ is their symbiosis with criminals.”
22. Monotony and Penury
- a. Collectivized peasantry
  - b. Farms cannot feed the country
  - c. The grey market
23. **Convergence Theory**
- a. Two fallacies
    - 1) That economics is the decisive factor in life. “Communism, very much like democracy, is an irrational secular religion. Not one of the tenets of either system can be proved, whether rationally or scientifically; they are creeds pure and simple.”
    - 2) That the USSR is on the road to free enterprise. K-L calls this childish and adds: “It might apply to the Chinese, who are pragmatists. But the Russian never was a pragmatist. He is a religionist and will die for his conviction. Bolshevism *is* a **messianism**. Hence its dynamic—abroad, that is.” Edward Rozek occasionally taunted the Leftist true believers

who opposed him in class, saying: "I appreciate the courage of your confusions."

24. Socialism: A Clear but False Idea
  - a. Its advantage: It is easy to explain
  - b. Most Soviet citizens recognize the system is fundamentally wrong
  
25. German Invasion
  - a. The people welcomed them, but then stalled and fought back. "Germany could have had Russia on a platter—but not Germany under Hitler. One socialism cannot defeat another one."
  
26. Prospects for the End
  - a. A Third World War
  - b. Revolution is more likely to end Communism than evolution, but not a well-prepared and well-organized revolution
  - c. Worst uprising took place at Novocherkassk in 1962 [26 died in food riots when machine-gunned by Soviet troops]
  - d. Horror of a peasant uprising
    - 1) The Chinese would break into the political void left by the USSR
  - e. Churches would be filled.
  - f. But liberal democracy is not in Russia's future
  
- C. THE WHITE RUTHENIANS, UKRAINIANS, GEORGIANS, AND ARMENIANS (250-52)
  1. **White Ruthenians** (there were also Black and Red Ruthenians)
    - a. Byelorussia [Belarus]
    - b. Influence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
    - c. Emerging nation
  
  2. **Ukrainians**
    - a. Source of resistance and self-assertion is in Eastern Galicia [in western Ukraine]
    - b. Eastern Rite Catholics (**Uniates**)
    - c. The desire to separate from Imperial Russia spread also to the East Ukraine
    - d. Brief period of independence
    - e. **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** [voided by the German defeat]
  
  3. Cultural Differences
    - a. Moscow's ascendancy in Russia was a result of the Tatar occupation of **Kiev**
    - b. Kiev is far more culturally western
  
  4. German Occupation and Subsequently
    - a. People enjoyed greater freedom under German administration
    - b. Pitched battles were fought in the mid-1960s between Ukrainians and Russians
    - c. Soviet authorities closed off some areas due to nationalism [later, Chernobyl rendered a sizeable area uninhabitable]
  
  5. Efforts to Denationalize the Ukrainians [similar to other captive peoples]
    - a. Russians and Jews imported into Kiev
    - b. Prospect of independence
  
  6. **Caucasus**
    - a. Various small tribes
    - b. Well-developed religious sentiments
    - c. World's greatest hodge-podge of tribes, faiths, and languages
    - d. Oldest ties with Russia were aristocratic

- e. Armenia and Georgia have ancient roots

### Review

Ryurik	Tatars	Romanov Dynasty
Peter the Great	Revolution of 1905	Pyotr Stolypin
<i>mir</i>	Erich Ludendorff	Vladimir Lenin
corruption	Pale of Settlement	<i>pogroms</i>
extreme personalist	western ideas	soulless bureaucracy
intelligentsia	<i>samizdat</i>	Viktor Nekrasov
persecution	Alexander Solzhenitsyn	low birth-rate
<i>Nomenklatura</i>	criminal syndicates	convergence theory
messianism	White Ruthenians	Ukrainians
Uniates	Treaty of Brest-Litovsk	Kiev
Caucasus		

## CHAPTER 27: THE LATE HABSBURG MONARCHY

### Outline

- A. HABSBURG DYNASTY (252-59)
1. Alsatian-Swiss Dynasty
    - a. Rudolf's inheritance
    - b. Tyrol
    - c. **Maximilian I**
      - 1) **Burgundy** (the domain of Charlemagne's grandson including the Netherlands) received as a dowry (it was originally part of Lothair's middle portion of the Carolingian empire)
    - d. Charles V
    - e. Louis II
      - 1) **Double marriage contract** [Ferdinand and Anna, Louis and Mary]
      - 2) **Battle of Mohács**: Louis died without issue
    - f. Wars against the Turks [Suleiman reached the Gates of Vienna in 1529]
    - g. Arnold Toynbee
  2. Duel with Prussia
    - a. Francis II, Emperor of Austria
    - b. German League
    - c. Battle of Königgrätz
    - d. Proclamation of German emperor at Versailles
    - e. Austria and Hungary
  3. Size
  4. Western Disregard
    - a. Raymond Aron: Second War of the Austrian succession
    - b. Prejudice against the Habsburgs
    - c. Note: George D. Herron promoted the break up
  5. Nationalities
    - a. Shortcomings of the Dual Monarchy
    - b. **Multinational empire** that did not include the Serbs and Rumanians
    - c. Insiders

6. Historic Identity
  - a. There was never a Slovenian or Slovak state until the early 1990s
7. Vertical vs. Horizontal Loyalties
  - a. **French Revolution** and **Romanticism** [particularly the “cult” of Prometheus]
    - 1) Earlier attachments were between individuals: rulers and ruled
    - 2) Now came the spread of collectivist, horizontal, democratic ideas
  - b. **National awakening**: Impossibility of drawing satisfactory borders because of the intermingling of peoples
8. Psychological Errors of the German Austrians (who ruled the Czechs and Slovenes) and the Magyar Hungarians (who ruled the Slovaks, Croats, and Transylvanians)
  - a. Arrogance
  - b. Acquisition of language and culture
  - c. Publishing and translations [K-L was fluent in Hungarian and eight other languages, having obtained his doctorate from the University of Hungary]
  - d. Aristocrats knew other languages
  - e. Gap between Polish and English languages
9. Empire’s Lack of Regard for Historic Rights
  - a. German nationalists scorned the Crown of St. Wenceslaus
  - b. Hungarian nationalists had little regard for Croatia [Duchies of Pannonia and Dalmatia existed in the early 9C]
  - c. **Franz Ferdinand**
    - 1) Proposed federation
10. Middle Class Nationalism
  - a. Healthy imperial “skeleton”
  - b. State machinery
  - c. Collapse
11. Dual Monarchy
  - a. Only the Czechs succeed in creating something like a democracy
  - b. Life was free and easy
  - c. Suffrage [one-man, one-vote system in 1907] and a free press
12. Dismemberment of the Monarchy
  - a. Galicia and Silesia
  - b. Rumania
  - c. Italy
  - d. Austria
13. New Countries
  - a. Poland
  - b. Rumania
  - c. **Czechoslovakia** and **Yugoslavia**
  - d. French goal
    - 1) Impossible to achieve with new, synthetic phantom states
  - e. Czechoslovakia
  - f. Yugoslavia
  - g. Absurdity of France’s alliance with the Little Entente
    - 1) Romania
    - 2) Prevention of a return of the Habsburg
    - 3) **Eduard Beneš**
14. German Geo-Political Victory

- a. France's **Maginot mentality** (contrary to Capt. Charles de Gaulle) [The Germans simply bypassed the Maginot Line of fortresses when they invaded in 1940]
- 15. **Balkanization** (Fragmentation or Atomization)
  - a. Ernst Kornemann
  - b. Fragile mosaic
  - c. *Zwischeneuropa*
  - d. Prison of nations: The USSR inherited the position of jailer
  - e. Short-sightedness of political leadership
- 16. Third War of the Austrian Succession (WWII)
  - a. Sinister role played by **George D. Herron**
- B. AUSTRIA (260-71)
- 1. Federal Republic
  - a. Industrialization
  - b. Vienna
- 2. Problematic Country: Deeply Divided
  - a. Autonomy of the Nine **Länder**
  - b. Viennese music
  - c. Dark cultural themes
- 3. Racial Character
  - a. Bavarian "colonialism"
  - b. Intermingling of Germans and Slovenes
- 4. Slavic background
  - a. Demotic (populist) temper
    - 1) Battery and assault are frequent crimes
- 5. *Länder* (regions)
  - a. Salzburg acquired in 1815: Originally an Imperial bishopric
  - b. Italian-speaking Trieste was acquired in the 14C
  - c. Tyrol
    - 1) Innsbruck's cultural ties with Bavaria [K-L lived at nearby Lans]
  - d. **South Tyrol**
- 6. Vorarlberg
  - a. Swabian-Alemannic and Roman Catholic
  - b. Switzerland
- 7. Ethnic identity
- 8. Nationality
  - a. Different self-identifications
  - b. Attitudes about the **Anschluss**
  - c. Habsburg dynasty
  - d. SDP support
    - 1) Karl Renner
  - e. **Adolf Hitler** as a native son
  - f. *Österreich* and *Ostmark*
  - g. Anti-historical policy
- 9. German Austria
  - a. An **Anschluss** in 1919 might have prevented the Nazi rise

10. Crises
  - a. Inflation
  - b. *Republikanischer Schutzbund* [republican defense alliance]
  - c. **Engelbert Dollfuss**
    - 1) *Heimwehr*
  
11. Civil War
  - a. Parliamentary Deadlock
  - b. Cabinet government
  - c. General strike
  - d. Nazi murder of Dollfuss
  - e. **Benito Mussolini** thwarts Hitler
  - f. Christian corporate state
  - g. **Kurt von Schuschnigg**
  
12. **Stresa Conference, 1935**
  - a. Topic: Integrity of Austria
  - b. Risk to **Czechoslovakia**
  - c. Mussolini's intention: Invasion of Ethiopia
  - d. Western objections
  - e. Hoare and Laval attempted a compromise
  - f. Anthony Eden pushed sanctions
    - 1) Mussolini became the bogeyman
  - g. Mussolini driven into the arms of the Germans
  
13. **Western Dithering** over Austria
  - a. Concessions to Hitler
  
14. **Anschluss**
  - a. Plebiscite
  - b. Note: Lord Halifax spearheaded the appeasement policy
  
15. Conquest of Austria
  - a. Soviet attitude
  - b. Resistance
  - c. British
  - d. Arrest of those who had resisted the Communists
    - 1) Deportation of Vlášovtsky and Domobranci
  - e. Rapes by Soviet troops
  
16. Occupation
  - a. Vienna surrounded by Soviet-controlled territory
  - b. Four sectors
  
17. **Austrian Miracle**
  - a. Reunification
  
18. **Soviet Motives**
  - a. Neutralization to create a political vacuum
  - b. Demoralization of the occupying Soviet forces
  - c. Interruption of the direct land bridge between Germany and Italy, forcing a detour in the shipment of NATO troops and war matériel
  
19. Socialism
  
20. Abortion law: The Lutheran bishop protested more than the Catholic bishops

21. Conformity
  - a. Envy
  - b. Herr Karl
  - c. Dr. Karl Renner
  
22. Austrian character
  
23. Intellect
  
24. The Misfortunes of **Franz Joseph**: Brother of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico and father of Rudolf, who probably committed suicide at Mayerling]
  
- C. CZECHOSLOVAKIA (271-283)
  1. New Country
  
  2. Czechs
    - a. **Moravians**: Christianized by St. Cyril and St. Methodius
    - b. Bavarian monks of the Latin Rite then converted Bohemia and Moravia
    - c. Elector of **Bohemia**
    - d. **Přemyslid** dynasty
    - e. Winter King: Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, son-in-law of James I
    - f. **St. Wenceslaus** (Václav = Victorious), posthumously declared King Wenceslaus I (10C) by the Emperor [a legend holds that the army of Wenceslaus sleeps inside Blanik, a mountain, until summoned. Bedrich Smetana included Blanik in his tone poem cycle *Ma Vlasť*]
    - g. Charles IV founded Carolina University
    - h. Murder of St. John Nepomuk by aides to **Wenceslaus IV**, King of the Romans, who had earlier tried but failed to heal the Great Schism in the Church and who was eventually forced to abdicate but not as king of Bohemia.[The Hussite Wars broke out after his death in 1419, which shortly followed the First Defenestration of Prague, the murder of seven city council members—out of the thirteen who were thrown out the window by the radical Hussites]
  
  3. The Boii (Bohemia and Bavaria Have the Same Root)
    - a. Slavs
    - b. Backflow of Germans into the cities and agriculturally less fertile hills
    - c. Prague: Predominantly German city during the Middle Ages
  
  4. Charles IV
    - a. Inherited Silesia
  
  5. **John Hus**: Rector of Prague University
    - a. Emperor Sigismund I [brother of Wenceslaus IV] broke his promise of safe conduct to the Council of Constance. [Following his burning, a series of Crusades were sent against his followers
    - b. Hussite Wars
      - 1) Utraquists
      - 2) Taborites [also memorialized in Smetana's *Ma Vlasť*]
  
  6. Hussite Legacy
    - a. Defeat of Taborites
    - b. Adamites
    - c. Moravian Brethren
      - 1) **Amos Comenius**

7. Habsburgs
  - a. Silver Age under Emperor Rudolf II
    - 1) Rabbi Loew and the Golem
8. Thirty Years War
  - a. Ferdinand II routed the Winter King
  - b. Alleged dispossession of the nobility
9. Nationalism
  - a. The nobility was immune
10. Ethnicity
  - a. Field Marshal Josef Radetzky
  - b. Wittgenstein family [Ludwig's brother was a left-handed concert pianist]
  - c. Silesia
  - d. Pillaging of Jewish shops in the 1897 riots in Prague
11. World War One
  - a. **Eduard Beneš**
  - b. **Thomas Garrigue Masaryk**
  - c. Jan Masaryk: later foreign minister who was defenestrated by the Soviets
  - d. Republic of Czechoslovakia willfully ignored the principle of self-determination
12. Birth of Czechoslovakia
  - a. Czech army in Russia
  - b. Jaroslav Hašek's Good Soldier Švejk [Schweik]
13. Pittsburgh Declaration
14. Differences between Czechs and Slovaks
  - a. German/Czech symbiosis
  - b. **Slovak/Magyar tie**
  - c. Loss of nobility through denationalization
  - d. Ethnic differences
  - e. Coast of arms
  - f. Pressburg (Bratislava)
  - g. Vojtěch Tuka
15. Democracy
  - a. Gerrymandering to create a Czech majority
  - b. Germans were forcibly incorporated
  - c. Slovaks
  - d. Magyars declined to a small minority in their former capital, Pressburg
16. Economic Crisis
  - a. Dissatisfaction with the Czech state
  - b. Beneš tried to negotiate with Hitler
  - c. Country stillborn
17. **Munich Agreement**
  - a. Czech army was overwhelmingly non-Czech
  - b. Britain and France could never have gone to war to defeat the principle of self-determination
  - c. France was barely armed; Britain totally unarmed
  - d. Russia could/would not have helped



- e. Czechs enjoyed a preferred position as a result of Munich
  - f. Munich Pact was hailed by most democratic leaders in the West
18. Halder-Beck Conspirators Wanted War
    - a. Hitler felt himself cheated of a war at that time
    - b. Plot to arrest Hitler
  19. Occupation of Prague
    - a. Secession of Slovakia
  20. World War Two
    - a. Czech war production
    - b. **Reinhard Heydrich**
    - c. **Lidice** [the Nazis observed the "Lamech Principle"]
    - d. Czech uprising when the Russians invaded Bohemia
      - 1) Mass expulsion of three million Germans
    - e. Massacre at the Elbe bridge in Aussig (Ustí) [the Brno death march had taken place about two months earlier]
  21. Forced Population Transfers
    - a. Inevitable tragedy
  22. Post War Period
    - a. Prague Spring
  23. Injustice Injuries
  24. Earlier Periods of Greatness
  25. Rivers
- D. HUNGARY (283-290)
1. Old Hungary
  2. Background
    - a. **Árpád**
  3. Pagan Nomads
    - a. Defeated by the Germans in two bloody battles
    - b. **St. Stephen**
      - 1) Golden crown received from Pope Sylvester II
  4. **House of Árpád**
    - a. Saints
    - b. Benedictine monasteries
    - c. Defeat of Cumans and Pechenegs
  5. Middle Ages
    - a. Tragedies
      - 1) 1241 Mongol invasion
  6. Rebuilding
    - a. **Golden Bull, 1222**
    - b. **Matthius Corvinus Hunyadi**, Jagiellonian king
    - c. **Double marriage**: Habsburg-Jagiellonian families

- d. Turkish invasion
- 7. Habsburg Dynasty
- 8. Religious Partition
- 9. Turkish Calvinist Cooperation
  - a. Division
- 10. 1848-1849
  - a. Austro-Hungarian monarchy
- 11. Nationalities
  - a. Official language
- 12. Nobility
- 13. Post-World War One
  - a. **Louis Kossuth**
  - b. Béla Kun's Communist Regime, 1919
  - c. **Treaty of Trianon**, 1920
  - d. Elisée Reclus on Hungary's natural boundaries
- 14. Truncation
- 15. Elections
- 16. Adm. Horthy (285-286)
- 17. German Ultimatum
  - a. Count Paul Paul Teleki, geography and one of K-L's teachers
- 18. Soviet Takeover
  - a. 1956 revolution
  - b. Suez crisis
  - c. Cardinal Mindszenty
- 19. Melancholia
  - a. Csárdás
  - b. Kama River
  - c. Turanian Society
- 20. Today's Culture
  - a. Religion
  - b. Letters
  - c. **Petőfi Körök** (Petőfi Circle)
    - 1) [Imre Nagy was brought out of forced retirement, became prime minister, declared the withdrawal Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, and two years after being ousted a second time, was tried and executed on Khrushchev's orders]
- 21. Gifts
  - a. Jews
- 22. Prospects

## Review

Maximilian I	Burgundy	double marriage contract
Battle of Mohács	multinational empire	French Revolution
national awakening	Franz Ferdinand	Czechoslovakia
Yugoslavia	Eduard Beneš	Maginot mentality
balkanization	George D. Herron	<i>Länder</i>
South Tyrol	<i>Anschluss</i>	Adolf Hitler
Engelbert Dollfuss	Benito Mussolini	Kurt von Schussnigg
Stresa Conference	Western dithering	Austrian miracle
Soviet motives	Franz Joseph	Moravians
Bohemians	Přemyslid dynasty	St. Wenceslaus
Wenceslaus IV	John Hus	Amos Comnenius
Thomas Garrigue Masaryk	Slovak/Magyar tie	Munich Agreement
Reinhard Heydrich	St. Stephen	House of Árpád
Matthias Corvinus Hunyadi	Golden Bull	double marriage
Louis Kossuth	Treaty of Trianon	Petőfi Körök

## CHAPTER 28: RUMANIA

### Outline

- A. THE OLD KINGDOM (291-95)
  1. **Wallachians** and **Moldavians**
  2. Origins
    - a. **Dacia**
  3. Another Theory
    - a. Aromunians [Aromanians or Vlachs = Romanized people of Macedonia and Dobrudja]
    - b. Migration to the Carpathian Mountains
  4. Culture
    - a. Eastern Orthodox
    - b. **Phanariot Greeks** [Phanar was the chief Greek quarter of Constantinople]
    - c. **Vlad III Tepeş** [Dracula]
  5. Phanariot **Hospodars**
    - a. Bessarabia
  6. Greek Revolution
  7. Crimean War
    - a. **Carol I**
    - b. First Balkan War
    - c. Second Balkan War
      - 1) Dobrudja
  8. World War One
    - a. **Ferdinand**
    - b. Switch of sides
    - c. Treaty of Bucharest

- 1) Dobrudja
  - d. Brest-Litovsk Treaty
  - e. Another attack on the Central Powers
- 9. Biggest War Profiteer
  - a. Territorial enlargement
- 10. Grave Problems
  - a. Corruption in the **Regat** [Old Kingdom as in Regat Germans]
  - b. Feudal disorganization
- B. TRANSYLVANIA [Across the Forest] (295-96)
  - 1. Bribes
  - 2. Three Historic Races
    - a. Saxons
    - b. Swabians
    - c. Magyars and Széklers
  - 3. Modernity
    - a. The three “nations” were more advanced
    - b. Superiority of Braşov, Sibiu, and Cluj
    - c. Grand Duke of Transylvania
  - 4. Preservation of Magyar Traditions
- C. STORMY INTERWAR PERIOD (296-97)
  - 1. Iron Guard
  - 2. Royal family
    - a. Queen Marie
    - b. Prince Carol
    - c. **Michael I** [still alive in 2014: r. 1927-30, 1940-47]
    - d. Dictatorship of Carol II
  - 3. **Ion Antonescu**
    - a. Michael
    - b. Arrest of Antonescu
    - c. Shadow monarchy
- D. COMMUNIST RULE (297-99)
  - 1. 1907 Peasant Revolt
  - 2. Idealists
    - a. **Iron Guard**
    - b. Stalinism
  - 3. National Consciousness
    - a. Communist Nationalism directed against minorities
    - b. “Reimbursements” for losses
  - 4. Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia
    - a. Moldavians

- b. Cyrillic writing
  - c. Macedonians
5. Soviet/Rumanian Tensions
- a. Bucharest as Little Paris
6. Soviet Orbit
- a. Hopeless geopolitical position of both Romania and Poland [Hungary opened the Iron Curtain by letting vacationers cross into Austria in the summer of 1989; Romania ousted Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu late in the same year after the fall of the Berlin Wall]

### Review

Wallachia  
Phanariot greeks  
Ferdinand  
Ion Antonescu

Moldavia  
Vlad III Tepeș  
Regat  
Iron Guard

Dacia  
Carol I  
Michael I

## CHAPTER 29: THE BALKANS

### Outline

- A. OVERVIEW (299-301)
- 1. Peninsula
  - 2. Ethnic Influences in the Land of the Romans
    - a. Greek influence
    - b. Turkish influence
      - 1) Loss of local nobility
    - c. Slavic influences
    - d. Roman occupation
  - 3. Culture
    - a. Nodding
  - 4. Turkish Legacy
    - a. Center of ancient high culture of Europe
    - b. Cradle of an exceedingly sophisticated empire
    - c. Cultural activity
    - d. Shrouded in silence for centuries
      - 1) Turkey reduced their inhabitants to poverty and servility
- B. BULGARIA (302-306)
- 1. Language
  - 2. Origins
    - a. **Khan Krum** the Terrible
  - 3. Christianity
    - a. Slavic language with its Illyrian grammar replaced Turkish-Tartar idiom of nobility
    - b. Khan Boris embraced Christianity

- b. **Simeon the Great:** Tsar of the Romans and Bulgars
  - c. Asen Dynasty
    - 1) Revival under Peter and (Ivan) Asen
  - d. Decadence
  - e. **Bogomils:** Christianity undermined by this Manichean sect
    - 1) Marriage opposed as carnality
    - 2) Hostility to sex
    - 3) Homosexuality
    - 4) Patriotism destroyed
    - 5) Conversion to Islam
4. Bulgarian Nationalism
- a. Hellenization
5. **Haydukin Resistance**
- a. NOTE: The term may derive from the Turkish *Haydut* [bandit, Hungarian mercenaries]
  - b. *Komitadjis* [created by Vasil Lenski, a Bulgarian national hero]
  - c. Hideous slaughters by the Turks
  - d. Liberation
    - 1) **Treaty of San Stefano**
    - 2) **Congress [and Treaty] of Berlin**
  - e. Eastern Rumelia
  - f. Serbian expansionism
6. Rulers
- a. Alexander von Battenberg [another Battenberg changed his name to Mountbatten]
  - b. The Saxe-Coburg Prince Ferdinand
  - c. **First Balkan War**
    - 1) [Disputes broke out over the distribution of the spoils]
  - d. World War One losses
  - e. Tsar Boris III [Ferdinand's son]
  - f. [Simeon I reign briefly as a child, went into exile, returned, and served as prime from 2001-2005 as Simeon Saksokoburgotski]
7. World War Two
- a. Forced into the Axis
  - b. Assassination of Boris in 1943 [it is alleged but not proven that Boris was assassinated by a slow-acting poison of the sort that allegedly killed Ioannis Metaxas in Greece two years earlier; Boris had attempted to block the deportation of Jews at the urging of his friend, the future Pope John XXIII; he was succeeded by six-year-old Simeon]
  - c. **Balkan League**
    - 1) [Bulgaria attacked Serbia and Greece; the resulting Second Balkan War stripped Bulgaria of most of its gains; Bulgaria lost the support of Russia; the following year, the July Crisis into World War One]
8. Oppression of Individualistic Population
- a. Contrast with more compliant peoples
  - b. Difficulty of breaking this vicious circle
9. Pro-Russian Feelings
- a. [Bulgaria was reluctant to attack Russia during both World Wars]
10. Claims on Macedonia

- a. Bulgar drive to the Aegean
11. Society
- a. Gardeners
  - b. Prominent communists
  - c. Agriculture
  - d. Pomaks
- C. TURKEY (306-310)
1. European Tie
- a. Cyprus
  - b. Eastern Thrace
  - c. Sultan and Caliph
2. Asia Minor
- a. Hittites
  - b. Greeks
  - c. Romans
  - d. Seljuks destroyed by Mongols
  - e. Osmanli Turks
  - f. Constantinople: 90 year siege
  - g. Its fall, 1453
3. Mixing
- a. Southern European appearance
  - b. Converts to Islam
  - c. **Janissaries**
4. Advance and Retreat
- a. **Balkan Wars**
    - 1) European Turkey reduced to Eastern Thrace
  - b. Loss of the Levant [Syria, Lebanon, Palestine]
5. Transformation after World War One
6. Less Tolerant
- a. Constantinople
  - b. Armenians
  - c. **Young Turks**
  - d. **Slaughter of Armenians**
7. Mustapha Kemal **Atatürk**
- a. Treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne
  - b. Swiss civil law
  - c. Fez banned
  - d. Expulsion of Greeks
  - e. Orthodox patriarch
8. World War Two Neutrality
9. Religion, Politics
- a. Sunni sect
  - b. Instability
  - c. Army interventions
  - d. Bulent Ecevit

10. Extremist Groups
  - a. Guest workers
  - b. Remittances
11. Basic Problem: Identity
  - a. Turanianism
  - b. Hittite nostalgia
- 'D. GREECE (310-316)
  1. Cradle of Western Civilization
  2. Immigration
    - a. Pelasgians [predecessors of the classical Greeks]
    - b. Macedonia
    - c. Rome
  3. Byzantium
    - a. 1453
    - b. *Rayah*
    - c. Coat of arms
  4. 1833 Kingdom
    - a. **Otto of Wittelsbach**
    - b. Linguistic revolution
    - c. Dimotiki [people's language] prevailed
    - d. National gifts
  5. George I
    - a. Megali Idea
  6. Expansion
    - a. Constantine I
    - b. Gallipoli
    - c. Allied aggression following defeat at Gallipoli
    - d. **Treaty of Lausanne**
    - e. George II
    - f. Republic
  7. Restoration
    - a. Monarchists in 1934 thought a restoration was impossible
    - b. Attack by Italy and resistance by **Ioannis Metaxas**
      - 1) Defeat by Germany
    - c. British mismanagement of Crete
  8. Resistance
    - b. British liberation of Greece from Red forces
  9. Another Restoration
    - a. Paul I
    - b. Constantine II
    - c. Inability of Greece to be ruled democratically
  10. Second Republic
    - a. Rule by the colonels



11. Political Structure
  - a. Impermanence
  - b. Bagehot on the democratic need for stupidity
  - c. Ulysses as archetype
  - d. Fickleness of Greek fidelity
  - e. Intrigues, institutionalized envy
12. Comparison of Greeks with Turks in Nikosia, Cyprus
  - a. Greek quarter is prosperous and progressive
  - b. Barbed wire and pillboxes mark off the Turkish quarter
13. Europeanization
  - a. Merchant families
  - b. Shipping
14. Besetting Vice: Politics
  - a. Need for a strong monarch
- E. **ALBANIA** (316-320)
  1. Forbidden Country
  2. Origins
    - a. **Kastriot** (Skanderbeg)
    - b. Turkish reconquest
    - c. Kosovo
    - d. Yugoslavia
  3. Nationalism
    - a. Tosks, Ghegs
    - b. Tribalization
    - c. **Vendetta**
  4. First Balkan War
    - a. **Kosovo** [the Field of Blackbirds where the Serbs were defeated in 1389]
  5. Independent Principality
    - a. Wilhelm
    - b. **Ahmed Zogu** [Zog I]
    - c. **Enver Hoxha**: Maoist dictator of a very closed regime and proponent of the Illyrian descent theory of Albanian origins
  6. Totalitarian Dictatorship
    - a. All places of worship were closed down
  7. Foreign Policy
  8. People
    - a. **Mother Teresa**
    - b. Divisiveness
    - c. *Besa*
  9. Ancient Tenor of Life

## Review

Khan Krum	Simeon the Great	Bogomils
<i>Haydukin</i> resistance	Treaty of San Stefano	Congress of Berlin
Balkan Wars	Balkan League	Janissaries
Young Turks	slaughter of Armenians	Atatürk
Otto of Wittelsbach	Treaty of Lausanne	Ioannis Metaxas
Kastrioti	vendetta	Kosovo
Ahmed Zogu	Enver Hoxha	Mother Teresa

## CHAPTER 30: YUGOSLAVIA

### Outline

- A. LAND OF THE SOUTH SLAVS
  1. Kingdom SHS
  2. Origins
    - a. Wends and Chorvats
    - b. Slovenes
    - c. Croats
    - d. Serbs
    - e. Montenegrins
    - f. Macedonians: Bulgars
  3. Cultural Differences
    - a. Distance between Ljuljana (Laibach) and Prizren (Pristina)
  4. **Slovenes**
    - a. Nongermanized Austrians
    - b. Contradictory loyalties
  5. **Croats**
    - a. Aquileia
    - b. Cravate (colored neckscarf)
  6. Two Musical Traditions
  7. Dalmatia
    - a. Venice
    - a. Republic of **Ragusa** (Dubrovnik)
  8. **Montenegro**
    - a. **Milovan Djilas**
  9. Montenegrin Character
    - a. **Vladikas**
    - b. Petrović-Njegoš dynasty
  10. **Serbia**
    - a. Kosovo Field
  11. Serb Culture
    - a. Peć Patriarchate

12. The Arts
  - a. Tamguraški orkestar
13. **Bosnia**
  - a. Bogomil nobility
  - b. 1908 annexation by Austria-Hungary
14. **Macedonians** (Western Bulgars)
  - a. Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (IMRO)
  - b. Serb claim based on the coronation of Stefan Dušan
  - c. Methodical denationalization
    - 1) Adaptation of Bulgar speech to Serb type
15. Assassination in Sarajevo
  - a. Black Hand
    - 1) Union or Death
  - b. White Hand
16. Austrian Ultimatum
17. Austrian Mobilization
  - a. Conspiracy, p. 169
18. Monument to the Assassin
19. Birth of the New Kingdom
  - a. IMRO
  - b. Serb oppression of the Macedonians
20. Persecution of Macedonians
  - a. Kosovo Albanians
21. Evolution of **Croatia**
  - a. Medieval independence followed by Hungarian rule
  - b. Stjepan and Pavle Radić of the Peasant Party
    - 1) Assassination by Puniša Račić on the floor of parliament
  - c. Royal dictatorship by **Alexander II**
  - c. Abolition of historical regions
  - d. **Ustaša** organized by Ante Pavelić
  - e. Assassination of Alexander II
  - f. Peter II
22. Croatian Autonomy
  - a. Independent Croat State
  - b. Massacres
23. Massacres
24. Croat Opponents of Ustaša
  - a. **Josip Broz Tito's** Partizani
  - b. **Četnici** [Chetniks]
25. War of All against All
  - a. **Domobranci** Slovenian Home Guard)
  - b. Draža Mihajlović [organizer of the Chetniks]

26. Titoist Victory
  - a. Roundup (part of “Operation Keelhaul”) and massacre of the Domobranci
27. Tito’s Background
28. Tito’s Visits to Austria
29. Worker Self-Government
  - a. Tension between nationalities
  - b. Criticism of Communism
30. Federation
  - a. Disintegration
31. Catholic Church
  - a. Censorship
32. Future
  - a. Pan-Slavism is dead

### Review

Slovenes	Croats	Ragusa
Montenegro	Milovan Djilas	Vladikas
Serbia	Bosnia	Macedonia
Alexander II	Ustaša	Josip Broz Tito
<i>Četnici</i>	<i>Domobranci</i>	

## CHAPTER 31: ITALY

### Outline

- A. HISTORY AND UNIFICATION OF ITALY
  1. Ancient Romans
    - a. Etruscans
    - b. Defeat at the **Battle of Teutoburg Forest**, 9 AD
    - c. Cultural consequences of a Roman victory
  2. Fall of the Roman Empire
    - a. Lost “Progress”
    - b. Idi Amin Dada [who styled himself the Last King of Scotland]
      - 1) Comparison with the regimes of the Kabakas [kings of Buganda]
  3. Roman Legacy
    - a. Germans, Greeks, and others all left cultural and racial traces
    - b. The Roman *limes* [boundaries, limits]
    - c. Latin words
    - d. Roman letters
    - e. Roman roads
  4. Divided Italy
    - a. Dante’s Tuscan dialect

- b. Italian **fragmentation** [esp. the north-south divide known as the **Ancona line**]
  - c. Decentralized culture
  - d. far-flung publishing companies [not centralized as in France]
  - e. Multiple Italian courts
  - f. Otherwise, Rome would have developed into a gigantic metropolis like London, Paris, Berlin, or Moscow]
    - 1) [Rome had less than 10,000 inhabitants at one point during the Dark Ages]
5. Renaissance
- a. Importation of Greek [Byzantine] ideas from decaying, defeated Constantinople
  - b. **Pitirim Sorokin**: An ideational gave way to an idealistic culture [ours is a late sensate culture Sorokin characterized as chaotic syncretism]
  - c. Humanism
    - 1) Pagan ideas gained ground toward the end
  - d. Martin Luther's reaction
6. Renaissance and the Baroque
- a. They shaped western culture and civilization
  - b. Italian became an international language
  - c. Cultural ascendancy of Protestant countries in the 18C
7. Idea of a Unification of Italy
- a. Napoleon's kingdom of Italy
    - 1) Eugène Beauharnais
  - b. Various states: Venice, Genoa, Papal States, grand duchy of Tuscany
  - c. Austrian acquisitions
  - d. Gioberti's vision
  - e. **Risorgimento**
  - f. Savoy dynasty in Turin
  - g. 1848: Opposition to the papacy and Austria
  - h. Anticlericalism
8. Kingdom under the Savoy Dynasty  
[beginning with Victor Emmanuel II]
- a. Venice ceded after the German-Prussian War [Prussia did not have the German confederation on its side] even though Austria defeated the Italians
  - b. **Italia Irredenta**: the ideology of irredentism eventually drove Italy to break with the Central Powers in 1915
9. World War I
- a. Alliance with the **Central Powers**
    - 1) Hopes of regaining Nice, Savoy, Corsica, and Tunisia
    - 2) The Western Allies would have lost if Italy had not switched
  - b. By switching sides in 1915 [with promises of spoils in the Treaty of London] Italy saved the Allies until the Americans arrived
10. Post-War Disappointment
- a. Attempts to blackmail Austria-Hungary
    - 1) Defeat of Caporetto
  - b. South Tyrol
  - c. Disillusionment: Dalmatia given to Yugoslavia
  - d. German colonies went to Britain, France, and Japan
  - e. Fiume
  - f. Great disappointment
  - g. Cost of one million dead

11. Mounting Social Unrest
  - a. **Benito Mussolini** [named after Benito Juarez by his radical father]
    - 1) Fascism
    - 2) "Progressive" reputation
    - 3) Anarchist Stalin of the Italian Left
12. Parental Authority
14. Fascism As A Disciplinary Movement
14. Montesquieu
  - a. Republics characterized by virtue, monarchies by clemency
  - b. **Leadership principle**
15. Takeover
  - a. Matteotti murder
  - b. King's assent to the rise of Fascism
  - c. Vietnam
16. **Roman Question Solved**
  - a. 1870: Virtual imprisonment of the Pope; excommunication of the King
  - b. Masonic character of Italian governments
  - c. Peace efforts of Benedict XV hampered by removal of the German and Austrian ambassadors from Rome and lack of access to other diplomats
  - d. **Lateran Treaties** of 1929
17. Mussolini Turns to Hitler
  - a. Anthony Eden's policies
  - b. His fear of Germany
  - c. Attack on Greece
  - d. Invasion of Russia delayed
18. Switching Sides
  - a. Italy became a pawn
  - b. Hitler withheld what Italy desired
  - c. General Badoglio
19. Decay of Mussolini's Character and Death
  - a. Repubblica Sociale Italiana
  - b. Capital of Salò
  - c. His lynching
20. Accomplishments
  - a. Italy melded into a single nation, an unfinished task
  - b. Fair amount of collective "self-confidence"
21. Post-War Clean Up
  - a. Monarchy voted out
  - b. Excommunication of the Savoy Kings
  - c. Bourbonist bands
  - d. Vote of the Austrians in keeping Italy decentralized
22. Christian Democracy
  - a. An enlarged church state
  - b. **Anti-clericalism**

23. **Guelphs and Ghibellines**
  24. Communist Party
  25. A Schizoid People
    - a. Giovanni Guareschi
  26. Catholic Faith
    - a. Rules on fasting were unknown in Italy
    - b. Sanctity
    - c. Sacco and Vanzetti
    - d. European protests
  27. Negative Aspects of Character
    - a. Mafia
      - 1) Contrast between the United States and Brazil
      - 2) Difficulty in assimilating to competitive society
  28. Morals
    - a. Virtuosos at making life pleasurable
    - b. Imagination
    - c. Light-heartedness
  29. Effects of Modernity
    - a. Local patriotisms but weak civic sense
    - b. Lack of personal ambition
    - c. Joachim Murat's radical agrarian reforms were gradually undone
  30. Decline in Morals and Rise in Crime
    - a. Inner crisis of the Catholic Church
    - b. Murder of Aldo Moro
  31. Historic Compromise
    - a. Communists
  32. Dissolution
    - a. Successful efforts of the trade unions to ruin the 1955-1965 economic boom
    - b. Military dictatorship is not imaginable in Italy
    - c. A great man is not in sight
    - d. Papacy is no longer a real force
    - e. The switches were set wrong long ago
- B. SAN MARINO**
1. One of the Least Known Dwarf States
    - a. Ancient constitution
    - b. Capitani Reggenti
- C. VATICAN CITY**
1. Oldest political and spiritual establishment in Europe
    - a. Tradition that Peter was the first Bishop of Rome
    - b. Papacy
    - c. College of Cardinals
    - d. All Christians share in a "royal priesthood"

- e. Bishops
- 2. Patrimonioum Petri
  - a. Pepin IV
  - b. Babylonian captivity
- 3. Moral Ebb
  - a. Marozia [*Saeculum Obscurum*]
  - b. Reformation
- 4. Recent Popes
  - a. Pius IX
  - b. Leo XIII
  - c. Pius X
  - d. Benedict XV
  - e. Pius XI
  - f. Pius XII
  - g. John XXIII
- 5. Vatican II
  - a. A pastoral council
    - 1) *Periti* and a paramagisterium
  - b. Alleged modernism
- 6. Leftism and Neo-Modernism
  - a. *Mater et Magistra*
    - 1) Limits of **infallibility**
  - b. Misapprehensions
  - c. Threat of Neo-Modernism
- 7. Paul VI's Task
  - a. Jacques Maritain
  - b. Temptation of secular monasticism
  - c. Christ was not the "proletarian son of a poor carpenter"
  - d. Christians from prominent families
- 8. Popular Picture
- 9. Paul VI
  - a. Civil servant
  - b. Reference of John Paul II
- 10. Boccaccio's Tale
  - a. History of the Church is Not a Success Story

### Review

Battle of Teutoburger Forest	fragmentation	Ancona line
Pitirim Sorokin	Risorgimento	Italia Irredenta
Central Powers	Benito Mussolini	leadership principle
Roman Question	Lateran Treaties	anti-clericalism
Guelphs and Ghibellines	San Marino	Vatican City
infallibility		

## CHAPTER 32: MALTA



### Outline

1. British Commonwealth
2. Checkered History
  - a. Carthaginians
  - b. Romans
  - c. Arabs
  - d. Norman Conquest
  - e. **Knights of St. John** [Knights of Malta]
  - f. Napoleon
  - g. Hospitalers
3. People
4. Foreign Policy
  - a. George Cross

### Review

Knights of St. John

## CHAPTER 33: FRANCE

### Outline

- A **FRANCE**
1. Two Fatherlands
  2. Settlers
    - a. Aborigines
    - b. Celts
    - c. Gauls
    - d. Franks
    - e. Words with Germanic roots
  3. Common French-German History
    - a. **Charlemagne**, first Holy Roman Emperor
    - b. **Treaty of Verdun**
    - c. Germanic Holy Roman Empire
    - d. Louis XIII
      - 1) **Cardinal Richelieu**, chancellor
    - r. Louis XIV
    - f. **Fear of German encirclement**
  4. Franco-German Relations
    - a. Alsace
    - b. Strasbourg
  5. Ethnicity

- a. Celtic identity
  - b. Latin south
  - c. Bretons
  - d. Calvinists
  - e. **Spine of absolute thought**
6. **French Character**
- a. Language
  - b. Restrained people
  - c. Friendship
7. Bipolarities
- a. Toughness
  - b. Alcohol
8. Franco-German Affinities
9. Language
- a. **French cultural imperialism is linguistic**
  - b. Colonial empire
  - c. Sahara
10. **French Revolution**
11. **Caesarism** Fostered **Democratic Nationalism**
- a. Spread of the tenets of democracy
12. Warring Sectors
- a. **Third Republic**
    - 1) **Comte de Chambord**
13. Religious Cleavage
- a. **Edict of Nantes**
  - b. **Edict of Fontainebleau**
  - c. Jansenism
14. Disunity
- a. Dreyfus Scandal
    - 1) **Alfred Dreyfus**
15. Ideological Splintering
16. Third Republic Financial Scandals
- a. **Marshal Philippe Petain**
17. Revanchism
- a. Petain trial
18. **Charles De Gaulle**
- a. **Maginot line**
  - b. Leadership
  - c. Adenauer
19. Lack of Continuity
20. 1968 Student Rebellion [*Soixantes Huitards* = '68ers]

- a. *The Paras* and Gen. Massu
  - b. Referendum on regionalization [designed to unmake departments]
  - b. De Gaulle's resignation
21. Danger of Military Dictatorship
22. French Right
- a. **Algerian War**
  - b. Fellaghas
  - c. Repeated traumas
23. De Gaulle's Successors
- a. **Georges Pompidou**
  - b. **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**
24. **Popular Front**
- a. Revolutionary tradition
25. Opposing Forces
26. Future
- a. Contradictions
- B THE PRINCIPALITY OF MONACO**
1. Three Municipalities
- a. Customs union with France
2. Matignon-Grimaldi Family
- a. Rainier III
- C ANDORRA**
1. Catalan
- a. 1278 Treaty
2. Refuge
3. Duty-Free Area
- a. Sulphur baths

### Review

Charlemagne	Treaty of Verdun	Cardinal Richelieu
fear of German encirclement	spine of absolute thought ( <i>tierischer Ernst</i> )	
French character	French cultural imperialism is linguistic	
French Revolution	Caesarism and democratic nationalism	origin of Third Republic
Comte de Chambord	Edict of Nantes (1598)	Edict of Fontainebleau (1685)
Alfred Dreyfus	Marshal Philippe Pétain	Maginot line
Charles de Gaulle	Algerian war	1968 student rebellion ( <i>soixantes huitards</i> )
Georges Pompidou	Valéry Giscard d'Estaing	Popular Front

## CHAPTER 34: SPAIN

## Outline

- A. IBERIA (367-81)
  - 1. Iberians
    - a. Celts
    - b. Carthaginians
    - c. Roman impact
    - d. Germanic tribes
      - 1) Vandals (Andalusia) and Visigoths (Catalonia)
      - 2) Suevi
    - e. Arabs
    - f. **Charles Martel**
  - 2. Reconquista
    - a. Cave of Cavadonga
    - b. Moorish civilization
    - c. Byzantine influence
    - d. Transmission of the classics
  - 3. Reasons for Arabic Cultural Decline
    - a. **Fatalism** (*kismet*)
    - b. Star performance of Arabic culture
  - 4. *Reconquista* and 1492
    - a. Jews
    - b. Moriscos
  - 5. Absence of serfdom
    - a. New settlers
    - b. Spanish American oligarchy
  - 6. Habsburgs, Bourbons
    - a. Peninsular War against Napoleon
  - 7. **Liberales** vs. **Carlists**
    - a. Salic Law
    - b. First Carlist War
  - 8. George Ticknor
  - 9. **Isabella II**
    - a. First Republic
    - b. Third Carlist War
  - 10. **Miguel Primo de Rivera**
    - a. Republic
  - 11. Second Republic
    - a. Collapse
  - 12. Chaos
    - a. Attempted coup by Sanjurjo
    - b. **Francisco Franco**
  - 13. War of Extermination against the Church

- a. Ghoulish horrors [cf. the *noyades* of revolutionary France]
- 14. Butcheries
  - a. Communist secret police
- 15. Nationalists
- 16. Falange
- 17. JONS
  - a. Traditionalist
  - b. Franco
- 18. Senseless executions
  - a. Assassination of the poet **Federico García Lorca**
- 19. Crusading spirit in the West
  - a. Black Legend
- 20. Invitation to Jews
  - a. **Lex Primo**
- 21. Blockade of Spain
  - a. Retarded economic recovery
  - b. Statism
- 22. **Opus Dei**
  - a. Reforms
  - b. Taxation
- 23. Franco
  - a. Accomplishments
- 24. Juan Carlos
  - a. Planting a monarchy
- 25. Monarchy and Religion
  - a. Emphasis on religious unity
- 26. Disunity
  - a. Regional differences
  - b. Castile
  - c. Andalusia
  - d. **Catalonia** [Catalunya]
- 27. **Basques**
  - a. **Fueros**
  - b. Navarra
  - c. Republican leanings
  - d. Basque nationalism
  - e. Guernica
- 28. **Galicia**
  - a. Regional autonomy
  - b. Representation

- 29. Century of Instability
- 30. No Taste for Parliamentarism
- 31. Old vs. New Spain
  - a. Art
  - b. Spanish Irrealism
- 32. Spanish Proverb

### Review

Charlrs Martel	<i>Liberales</i>	Carlists
Isabella II	Miguel Primo de Rivera	Francisco Franco
Federico García Lorca	Lex Primo	Opus Dei
Catalonia	Basques	fueros
Galicia		

## CHAPTER 35: PORTUGAL

### Outline

- A. OPEN BALCONY OVER THE INFINITE
  - 1. Spanish Rule
  - 2. Origins
    - a. **Reconquista**: Reconquest of Iberia from the Moors
    - b. North-South antagonism: Porto
  - 3. Overseas Conquests
    - a. Tangier: Algarve beyond the sea
    - b. Macau
    - c. Japan
    - d. **Treaty of Tordesillas**
    - e. Lagos, Nigeria
    - f. Abyssinia
    - g. India
    - h. Indonesia
    - i. Ceylon
    - j. Malaysia
    - k. Macau
    - l. Japan
      - 1) Yokohama
  - 4. Global Achievement
    - a. Courage and gentleness
    - b. Goa, Diu, Daman [still culturally Portuguese]
  - 5. Portuguese Soldiers
  - 6. Three Catastrophes
    - a. Battle of Alcazarquivir
      - 1) *Sebastianismo* [cf. sightings of Prince Dmitry and a false Dmitry in

- Russia]
  - b. Philip II
  - c. Dutch conquests
  - d. Joao IV
- 7. Enlightenment
  - a. Lisbon earthquake [which figures in Voltaire's *Candide*]
  - b. Pedro
  - c. Miguel
  - d. Port Wine
  - e. Britain
    - 1) Dependency and the decline of the overseas empire
- 8. End of the Monarchy
  - a. Illiterate population manipulated by leftist, anticlerical, anti-traditional intelligentsia
- 9. Republic
  - a. WWI
- 10. Turmoil
  - a. 1926 coup
  - b. **Antonio Salazar**
- 11. Salazar
- 12. Marcelino
  - a. Angola
- 13. Ferment
  - a. University Marxisms
  - b. Revolution in the **officers' corps**
- 14. General Spínola
  - a. North African terrorists
- 15. Abortive Communist Coup, 1975
  - a. Mario Soares
- 16. Effects of the Coup
- 17. Two Portugals
  - a. South
    - 1) Algarve
  - b. North
- 18. Parties
- 19. Catholic Church
- 20. The People
  - a. Fados

### Review

Reconquista  
officers' corps

Treaty of Tordesillas

Antonio Salazar

## PART III: AMERICA, EUROPE, AND THE CONTINUING WAR

### I

#### Outline

1. Confusion
2. End of Splendid Isolation
3. Shortcomings Concerning the **Teaching of European History**
  - a. Truncated Europe
  - b. Egocentrism
4. **Gustave Le Bon**: Nations Are Ruled by Their Characters
  - a. Failure
5. **Extraordinary Persons**
  - a. Mediocrity
6. Maturation

### II

1. Younger Generation
2. Meteoric Descent of Europe after WWI
3. American Share
  - a. Wilson's error
4. Democracy Leads to Tyranny
5. Europe's Moral Guilt
  - a. **Envy**
6. Lack of Legitimacy
  - a. Ferrero
7. Author's Purpose
8. Leftist Insane Asylum
  - a. **Low birth rates**
  - b. Abortion
9. Global Institutions
  - a. World Council of Churches [a Soviet front organization]
10. United Nations



11. USSR as the Joint Crime of Europe and America
  - a. Leftist **political pilgrims**
12. Consequences of the French Revolution
  - a. Merezhkovski
13. Harry Truman



1. Need for a Christian Perspective
2. Need for American Leadership
  - a. Marshall Plan
3. American Paralysis
  - a. Rousseau vs. Calvin
4. Conspiracy Mindedness
5. American Anti-Intellectualism
  - a. Revivalist sects
  - b. Intellectual of the first order
  - c. Obligation to govern
6. Need for Scienda



1. Need for a Christian Perspective
2. Need for American Leadership
  - a. Marshall plan
3. American Paralysis
  - a. The two Johns of Geneva: **Rousseau vs. Calvin**
4. Conspiracy Mindedness
5. **American Anti-Intellectualism**
  - a. Revivalist sects
  - b. Intellectual of the first order
  - c. Obligation to govern
6. Need for **Scienda**
  - a. Need for minimal government of the highest quality
  - b. Andrew Jackson
  - c. Permanent rotation in office
7. American Love of the Successful Amateur
  - a. Amateurs/Dilettantes
    - 1) Expertise
    - 2) William Buckley

- b. Second rate intellectuals dominate public opinion
- 8. **Helmut Schelsky**: Domination by intellectuals

## IV

- 1. Increasing Gap between **Scita** and **Scienda**
- 2. Two False Consolations
  - a. Evaluating experts
  - b. Physical appearance
- 3. WWII

## V

- 1. Distrust for power
- 2. Result: Lack of power
- 3. Modern corruption
- 4. **Religion of Democracy**
- 5. Recruitment of others as self-justification
  - a. Leftist self-congratulation
  - b. Khmer Rouge

## VI

- 1. West's Failure to Take the Offensive
  - a. **Trickery**
    - 1) Lusitania
    - 2) Japanese Embargo
- 2. Weakness of Democracy
  - a. Metternich to Ticknor
  - b. Acheson on the Constitution
- 3. Cold War
  - a. Ideal: constitutional state
  - b. Populism
  - c. **Need for national creed**
  - d. An ideology, a utopia

## VII

- 1. Conservative dislike for utopias
  - a. Edenism

2. Leftist Character of Religious Utopias
3. Man the Visionary
  - a. Lack of satisfaction
4. Realistic vs. Unrealistic Utopias
  - a. Thomas More
  - b. Plato
5. Man the Time-binder
6. Progress of Rosenstock-Huessy's Cross of Reality

## VIII

1. Ideology
  - a. **Destutt de Tracy**
  - b. Napoleon
  - c. Marx
  - d. Lenin
2. English Use of Ideology
  - a. ***Weltanschauung***
3. Ideology in the Modern Sense
4. English Hostility to Ideological Systems
  - a. Compromise
5. Change in Protestantism
6. Aversion to Ideology
  - a. Anglo-Saxon team spirit
7. Divisiveness
  - a. **Harold Laski**: civil society
8. Existentialist View of Ideology
  - a. Søren Kierkegaard
9. Pragmatic Epimethean Attitude
  - a. G. W. F. Hegel
10. Man is Promethean
  - a. Agnostic attitude
  - b. **Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.**: The sacredness of human life is a piece of folklore
    - 1) Loathing of Oswald Spengler

## IX

1. Mirage of Relativism

2. Social Order Vests on Ideology
  - a. **Friedrich A. Hayek**: Every social order rests on ideology
  - b. Debunking of Hans Kelsen
3. Personal Outopos
  - a. Need for a coherent set of beliefs
  - b. Inconstancy
  - c. Perfidious Albion
4. Democracy is an Ideology
5. Inescapable Concept
6. Positive vs. Negative Utopias/Ideologies
  - a. Reject identitarianism

## X

1. Portuguese Army Revolt
  - a. Marxism
2. Ideological Vacuum
3. European Intellectualist Tradition
4. Marxism
  - a. Need for an Alternative
  - b. Conservative Division War Ideology

## XI

1. American Ideological Unity
  - a. Vietnam: Betrayal of the fighting men and allies
2. Need for an Idea
  - a. Conservatives
  - b. Criticisms of the Left
  - c. **Whittaker Chambers**: "The Right has no program for one reason it will not face historical reality"
3. Leadership by Americans with Wide Horizons
4. What Sort of Ideology Is Needed?
5. Swaddling Clothes of Liberal Democracy

## XII

1. Return to Religion

2. Drift in Foreign Affairs
  - a. Lenin vs. Wilson: Navigator vs. Sailor
3. America Is Not Young
  - a. Theodor Mommsen
4. Youth vs. Age
5. **Charles de Gaulle's** Europe of Fatherlands
6. Monarchy

### **XIII**

1. Europa in Greek Mythology
  - a. Ariadne's thread

#### **Review**

teaching European history  
 envy  
 Calvin vs. Rousseau  
 Scita vs. Scienda  
 need for national creed  
 Harold Laski  
 Whittaker Chambers

Gustave Le Bon  
 low birth rates  
 American anti-intellectualism  
 religion if democracy  
 Destutt de Tracy  
 Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.  
 Charles de Gaulle

extraordinary persons  
 political pilgrims  
 Helmut Schelsky  
 trickery  
*Weltanschauung*  
 Friedrich A. Hayek