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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, 2002-2009
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 ONE: 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 TWO: 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
dual citizenship

ius sanguinis
Lex Primo de Rivera

ius soli

CHAPTER THREE: 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 FOUR: 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 FIVE: 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 SIX: 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. 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 Christians 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	Arabic cultural influence
anti-materialism’s influence	Gothic style
relativist liberalism	Enlightenment
Sephardim	Ashkenazim
	Baroque and Rococo styles
	Khazars

CHAPTER SEVEN: 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 **Parens 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** 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].
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 EIGHT: 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 NINE: 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 TEN: NATIONALITIES AND LANGUAGES

Outline and Study Questions

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 Thraco-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 ELEVEN: 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 Gen. Yamashita (whose innocence of war crimes he stoutly maintained) and taught the subject 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 been 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
emancipations
Anglomania
Thomas à Becket

Middle Ages
devolution
reasons for Britain's decline
communitarianism

burgher class
vocabulary
new egalitarianism
Walter Bagehot

CHAPTER TWELVE: 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*) in 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.

Conscription was reintroduced in America in 1917 despite a recent finding (in a brief submitted to the Supreme Court) by the attorney general that conscription is unconstitutional.