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ERIK VON KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN: LEFTISM: FROM DE SADE AND MARX TO HITLER AND MARCUSE
STUDY GUIDE, c. 1990-2014
Steven Alan Samson

Text


Also available from the Ludwig von Mises Institute as an e-book.

Dedication: To the Noble Memory of Armand Tuffin, Marquis de la Rouërie

Courageous Fighter for Liberty
Ardent Admirer of America
Bitter Foe of the Jacobins
Friend of George Washington
Member of the Order of the Cincinnati

INTRODUCTION

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   3. Ideologies Are Nothing New in America
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      b. Homosexuality as Narcissism
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      b. Cruelty Is the Inferior’s Revenge
      c. Spirit of Mass Movements
   2. Envy: Its Complex Psychological Roots
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   c. Psychological Difficulty of Failure amidst Social Mobility

5. Egalitarianism Depends on Force

6. Mutual Hostility of Equality and Freedom

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   3. Question "Who Should Rule?" and Answer "Majority of Political Equal
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   3. "Self-Government" Is an Understandable Dream
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   1) Paradox: How Can We Love Those We Hire and Fire Like Obnoxious Menials?
   2) Pejorative Meaning of Politics and Politician in Democracies
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   a. Its Virtue Entails Self-Control and an "Ascetic" Attitude
   b. Its Limits: Revolutionary Anarchists, East Indian Thugs, People’s Temple
   c. Arbitrariness of Tolerance
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   a. Question: "How Should Rule Be Exercised?"
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   1) Respect for Tradition
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      2) Fulfillment of Two Leftist Wishes: Extension of Government and
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2. Rome
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   b. Parallels with Luther
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   c. Flight from Theology
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   a. Frenchness as the Touchstone of Equality
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B. REFORMATION: REACTION AGAINST RENAISSANCE HUMANISM (102-04)
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      a. Fideism
      b. Alienation of Leading Humanists
   2. Luther’s Calvin
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      a. Luther’s Monastic Severity
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      c. Monastic Yearning
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   2. Tomaso Campanella
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         1) His Apocalypticism
         2) Three Ages
         3) Jansenius
b. His Political Difficulties, Imprisonment

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  1) Richelieu
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     1) End of Crime, Envy, Hatred
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  a. Christianity as a Proletarian Movement
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  c. The Disciples
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      b. Education
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      f. Prometheusanism
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   l. Evaluation of the Document
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d. New Ethical System: Men as a Product of His Environment
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   a. Labour Party
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   2. Crankshaw on the Russian’s Anarchic Mentality
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5. Josef Pekař’s Critique
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5. State of Near Collapse
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      1) Its Mauvrassian Side
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         1) Anti-Jewish Feelings
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B. GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM (162-65)
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   3. German Worker’s Party in Austria, 1903
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a. Its Program
5. Pro-Germanism
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   b. Three Branches
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   1. Family
      a. His Father
      b. Braunau
      c. His Ancestry a State Secret
      d. His Loathing for Austria
   2. Education
      a. His Animosities
      b. Rejection by the Art Academy, Polytechnic
   3. Emigration to Bavaria to Avoid Military Service
   4. Character
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      b. Superstitious
         1) Fixation on Brown
      c. Social Inferiority Complex
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         2) Not a Ruler But a Personifier of the Masses
            a) Amazing Mediocrity of His Tastes
      d. His Table Talks
      e. Influence of Georg Lanz
   5. Inter-Nazi Rivalry
   6. Munich Putsch
      a. August von Kahr
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      c. Hitler’s Acceptance by All Factions of Nazis
   7. Czech Nazis
      a. Konrad Henlein
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D. ELECTORAL POLITICS (169-71)
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   2. Denominational Voting Patterns
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E. END OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC (171-73)
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      b. Franz von Papen
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   2. Papen’s Desire to Form a Coalition Government
F. REAL CHARACTER OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM (173-80)
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   2. Hermann Rauschning
3. Marxist Influences
   a. Wilhelm Röpke
   b. Hitler's Use of Former Communists
4. Attitude Toward Destruction
   a. Transforming Cities into Ruins
   b. Herbert Read
5. Leftist Jargon
   a. Democracy
   b. Michael Oakeshott's Observation
   c. Goebbels' Homage to French Revolution
6. Attitude Towards Christianity
   a. Rejection of Origins, Ethics
   b. Biological Determinism
7. Nazis Were Slow to Show Their Cards
   a. Bormann's Anti-Christian Circular
8. Financing of the Nazis
   a. Gustav Stolper
9. Economic Order
10. The Real Nazis
    a. Situation in the Army
    b. July 1944
    c. Atrocities
       1) Shock following 200 years of Rousseau's propaganda
       2) Realism of the Bible
       3) Ernst Jünger
11. Our Debt to Germany
    a. Gorgonian Mirror
    b. Spine of Europe
       1) Pilgrims of the Absolute
    c. Fatal Consequences
12. Nicolas Calas
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CHAPTER THIRTEEN: REAL LIBERALISM

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A. SEMANTIC MISUNDERSTANDING (183-84)
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   2. Origins as a Political Concept
      a. Spain
         1) Constitution of Cádiz
         2) Carlist Wars
      b. England
         1) Robert Southey
         2) Whigs and Tories Renamed
      c. Republican Undercurrent in Aristocratic States
B. PRELIBERALS (185)
   1. Manchester School
a. Deism
   1) Preestablished Harmony
   2) Artificial Regulations
b. Ideology of Manchesterism
   1) Synthesis of Calvinism and Humanism
C. EARLY LIBERALS (185-90)
   1. Whiggery
      a. Christian Sympathies
      b. Exponents
      c. Edmund Burke
      d. Political Inspiration Taken From Theology
         1) Religious Aspect
e. Libertarianism
f. Catholic Thinkers Reformed People
   1) Evangelical Areas
   2) Catholics' Attitudes Toward Businessmen
      a) Double Entry Bookkeeping
2. Paleoliberals Contrasted
3. Its Limited Pragmatism
   a. Montalembert
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4. Hostility Toward Democracy
   a. Acton
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      1) His Passion For Liberty
   c. Burckhardt
   d. Defects of Democracy Recognized By Systematic Thinkers
      1) Literacy Adherents of Democracy
e. Other Dangers Recognized
      1) Tocqueville: New Tyranny
      2) Burckhardt: People in Ferment
      3) Royer-Collard
5. Temptations of Democracy
D. THE OLD LIBERALS (190-97)
   1. Their Agnosticism
      a. Fear That Strong Conviction Breeds Intolerance [ref. to ch. III, pp. 31-32, not IV]
b. Indifference is Not Tolerance
2. Armistice with Democracy
   a. Democracy as an Ideology
   b. Democracy as an Abstract Principle Can Commit Suicide
c. Its Discrimination
d. Its Agnosticism
   1) A Happy Democracy Rests on Change
e. Roussellian View of Man
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f. Roots In Preliberalism
g. Fetish of Pluralism
   1) Information Explosion Has Brought Confusion
h. Emphasis on Education
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   1) Their Half Truths Preferable to Leftist Gnostic Errors
j. Social Darwinism and Democratic Optimism
   1) Influence on the Nazis
   2) Awareness of Dangers of Colossalism
   3) Private VS. State Monopolies
k. Entry Into Various Alliances and Combinations
   1) Ethnic Nationalism
   2) Bourgeois Character
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l. Its Growing Illiberalism
   1) Imaging an Intellectual Life
m. Working Class and Aristocratic Support
   1) Examples: Franz Josef, Rudolf, Maximilian
   2) Never a Party of the Left
n. Political Decline
   1) Defeat by Catholic Parties
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   3) Ambiguous Attitudes Regarding Liberty Resulted
o. Defeat in the Field of Power Politics
   1) Liberal Newspapers Failed to Turn Elections
   2) Tied to War Interest During WWI
   3) Supporters of a “Hard Peace”
p. Persecution by Totalitarian Nationalists
   1) Totalitarians Could Switch Sides
   2) Old Liberals Could Not
   3) Abstained From Mobilization of Envy
   4) Exception of National Liberalism

E. THE NEOLIBERALS (197-201)
   1. Confusion About This New Phase
   2. Origins
      a. Mont-Pèlerin Hotel Meeting
         1) Von Mises
      b. Reappraisal of Christianity
         1) Wilhelm Röpke
   3. Leading Neoliberals
      a. Alexander Rüstow
      b. Walter Eucken, Franz Böhm
      c. Wilhelm Röpke
      d. Goetz Briefs
   4. Characteristics
   5. Demarcation Lines Are Blurred
   6. Unique Situation in the United States

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A. LIBERAL FLUX (202-06)
   1. Oswald Garrison Villard’s Old Fashioned Liberalism
   2. Leftward Liberal Drift
      a. Fabians Influence
      b. Lloyd George
      c. Churchill
      d. Reduced Influence
   3. Evolution of the Term “Liberal” in the United States
      a. The Puzzle: How Liberal Came to Mean Its Opposite
      b. The Process
         1) Refusal to Resist
         2) Futuristic Character of Leftist Ideologies
a) Chiliasm
b) Example of an “Advance”
c. Old-Fashioned Liberals Stick to Their Convictions
d. Others Feared Being Outmoded

4. Anarchists Were the Radicals Before 1930

5. The Great Change
a. The Red Decade
   1) New Goals of Security and Equality
b. American Liberal Drift
c. Secular Monasticism
d. Great American Semantic Confusion

6. Reversal of Basic Outlook
a. Past Suspicion of the State
   1) Democracy Works with Largesses (Adams)
b. Vulnerability of the Old Liberal to “Progressivism”
   1) Loss of His Philosophic Props

B. POSITIVISM (206-09)
1. Holmes as an Example
a. Pragmatism in Education and Law
b. Holmes on Sovereignty
c. Force as the Ultima Ratio
d. Man as a Cosmic Ganglian
e. His Pessimistic Nihilism
2. Chief Justice Fred Vinson
   a. No Absolutes
3. Hans Kelsen
   a. Intellectual Defenselessness of Such Nihilism
b. Impotence in Face of Evil
4. Hunger for Absolutes Fed by Totalitarians
   a. Absolutism of the Relativists
5. E. L. Thorndike
   a. His Naturalistic Philosophy
6. Parallel with Voltairean Skepticism that Eroded the Faith of French Upper Classes
7. Metamorphosis of Old Values Through Corrosive Agnosticism
   a. Protestant Seminaries
      1) Rationalism
      2) Other Attributes Contra Luther
   b. Reformation Was a Conservative Movement
      1) Protestantism Has Become Its Opposite [cf. James Kurth’s Protestant Deformation]

C. DILEMMA OF THE AMERICAN LEFT (209-14)
1. American Leftist’s Incoherence
   a. Sources of Influence
2. His Miscalculations in Dealing with Systematic Leftists
   a. Convergence Theory
      1) Its Defects
      2) Example: Yugoslavia
3. National Psychology as a Factor
   a. Anglo American Horror of Absolutes
   b. James Burnham’s “Liberal Creed” as an Example
      1) Expropriation
      2) Freedom of Expression
      3) Trade Unions
      4) Corporal Punishment
      5) Progressive Taxes
4. Myth that the Masses Are Good But Misled by Eggheads
a. Oversimplification of This View
b. Crucial Question
   1) Leftist Sensitivity to Local American Notions

5. Leftist Syncretism
a. Imparted Ideas
b. American Folklore
c. Appetites Higher and Lower

6. Domain of Sex
a. Libertinism of the American Left
b. Leftist Feminism
c. Stricter Leftist Ideologies Frown on Libertinism
   1) Punishment of Homosexuals
   2) A Crime in the USSR

7. Humanitarian Residues
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   1) Abolition by Hapsburgs
   2) Father-Son Relationship with People

8. Personal Freedom Denigrated
a. Noble Experiment
b. Roussellian Influence

D. CITY OF MAN: A DECLARATION ON WORLD DEMOCRACY (214-20)

1. Historical Context: 1938-1940
a. Fear and Tension Among Uncommitted Leftists in America after the Fall of Paris
b. Alliance between the Third Reich and the Soviet Union

2. Disappointment over Soviet-Nazi Alliance
a. Nazism Had Been Considered a Rightist Movement
b. Radical Isolationism of Many Leftists
c. American Youth Congress: A Communist Front

3. Non-Marxist Left’s Declaration on World Democracy
   a. Drafting
      1) Father Walter Farrell Called It American “Hitlerism”
   b. Defense of Illiberal, Totalitarian Democracy
      1) Democracy Presented as a Religion
         a) Rational Theocracy in Universal Humanism
         b) Democracy Interprets the Separate Creeds as Its Own Vernaculars
         c) Its Syncretism: Democracy Explains and Annexes All Dogmas as Its Symbols
      2) Criticism of Catholic Church in the Language of the Know-Nothings
      3) No Return to Religions of the Past
   c. Control of Religion Proposed
      1) Inquisitional Investigation
         a) Catholic and Lutheran Churches Regarded as Dangerous
      2) “Unsectarian Liturgy”
         a) Comparison with Robespierre, Hitler
         b) Appointment of Bishops
   d. Visions of a World State
      1) One “Brotherland”
      2) Universal Parliament
      3) President of Mankind
   e. Religion of Democracy
      1) Democracy Must Be Dogmatized and Redefined

E. THIRTEEN POINT PROGRAM OF AMERICAN PSEUDOLIBERALISM (220-24)
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2. Planning: Man as a Cipher
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A. PERSONAL NOTE (227-28)
   1. His Austrian Experience
   2. No Fatherland Since 1918
   3. Speaks as a Citizen of Christendom
   4. Collective Shame, Not Guilt
   5. Thesis: Guilt of Omission by the Right

B. AMERICAN NATIVE MYTHOLOGY (228-30)
   1. Idea of an American Experiment
   2. Myth of America as the Big Democracy
      a. Walt Whitman
         1) Literature Should Be Revolutionary
      b. "God's American Israel"
         1) Thomas Jefferson: Grandfather of American Messianism
         2) American Nationalist Feelings
         3) Patriotism Contrasted
4) Literary Expressions

C. IDEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

1. Depiction of the Enemy: Ramshackle, Priest-Ridden
   a. Antimonarchism

2. Progressive Countries Distinguished from Backward

3. Black Legend: leyenda negra

D. ANTIMONARCHISM IN WORLD WAR ONE (231-34)

1. Crystallization of American Leftism

2. Character of the War
   a. Conscription, Role of Press
   b. Collective Loathing
   c. Starvation Policy
   d. Atrocity Stories
   e. Fanaticism
   f. Guilt Was Divided

3. Hopes of a Compromise Peace Dashed
   a. Situation in Summer of 1917
   b. Lord Lansdowne’s Letter
   c. Campaign for American Aid

4. German Errors

5. 1917: Fateful Year
   a. Wilson’s Error
   b. Monumental Ignorance of the Left
      1) Democratic Wars
      2) Fruits Lost at the Conference Table
         a) Amateurism

6. American Attitudes Toward the Various Principals
   a. Russia
   b. France
   c. Britain
   d. Japan
   e. Germany
   f. Austria

7. Fateful Dismemberment of Austria-Hungary
   a. Power Vacuum in the East

E. WOODROW WILSON (234-39)

1. Sought a Holy War

2. Attitude Toward Mexico

3. Prejudice Against Monarchy

4. French Revanchisme Ignored

5. Identification of Democracy with Peace

6. Prodigious Ignorance in Matters of History and Geography
   a. Brenner Pass
   b. Fiume
   c. Endless Series of Wars

7. Keynes’s Evaluation

8. Wilson’s Greater Guilt
   a. Mercenaries vs. Conscription
   b. Kennan’s Assessment of the Results
   c. Lord Newton’s View

9. The Disappointed Aspirations Would Have Been on the Left

10. Wilson’s Religious Tradition
    a. Allegedly Calvinistic
    b. Anti-Catholic Attitude

11. His Populist Antimonarchism
    a. Common Man as Leader
b. Ledru-Rollin

12. Americans’ Explosive Nationalism
   a. Monarchy Considered “Rotten”
      1) Misunderstanding of Divine Right
      2) Reinhold Niebuhr

F. GEORGE HERRON: EMBODIMENT OF WWI LEFTISM (239-47)
1. His Part in Preventing an Early Peace
2. Ideological Affinity with Wilson
   a. Choice of Geneva
   b. His National Messianism
3. Hatred for Austria-Hungary
   a. William James
   b. Masaryk’s Influence
   c. Pressure on Wilson to Declare War
   d. Austria as a Symbol of all the Left Hated
4. Herron’s Character
   a. His Roots
      1) Ripon College
   b. Career
      1) Ministry
      2) Iowa (Grinnell) College
      3) Carrie Rand
5. His Socialism
   a. Orator and Pamphleteers
6. WWI
7. Herron Papers
8. Herron’s Part in an Information Network
   a. Heinrich Lammasch
   b. His Lack of Concern for Human Life
   c. Reaction to Lansdowne’s Initiative
   d. His Anti-Semitism
9. His Denunciation of the Peace Treaties
10. Fourteen Points
11. Praise of Fascism

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A. OUTCOME OF THE WAR (248-51)
1. Germany’s Humiliation
   a. Moralizing Attitude of the West (Article 231)
   b. Issue of Reparations
      1) Contrast with Congress of Vienna
      2) Moral Indignation Game
2. Germany’s New Advantage
   a. Break up of Austria-Hungary
   b. Ernst Kornemann
3. Dangerous Balkanization
   a. Czechoslovakia
   a. Czech Gerrymandering
   b. Cult of Disloyalty
5. Yugoslavia
a. No Synthesis
b. Germans and Dutch

B. CULTURAL EUROPE (251-55)
1. Disraeli on the Austrian Empire
   a. Criticismm of Liberals Attitude
      1) Parallel with American Attitude
2. Churchill’s View
   a. Consequences of the Destruction of Austria
   b. Vacuum Filled by Hitler
3. An Inventory of What Happened
   a. Total Defeat of Democracy and Liberalism
      1) Example: Professor Tuka
      2) Freedom Existed in the Historic Monarchies
   b. Conference of Ambassadors Resolution
   c. Ethnic Minorities Now Dominated by New Foreign Rulers
      1) Serbia’s Murderous Role
         a) Monument to Gavrilo Princip
      d. Madness of French Strategy
4. New Alliances
   a. Little Entente
   b. Balkan League
   c. Their Common Interest
   d. Their Betrayal of France

C. SIN OF OMISION OF THE AMERICAN RIGHT (255-61)
1. Weak Understanding of Foreign History and Geography
2. Isolationism of American Conservatives
   a. Anti-Intellectualism and Democracy
   b. Upper Crust Was Well Traveled
   c. Grund’s Picture of the Classes
3. The Change of Attitudes
   a. European Analogy
      1) Conservatism Arose in Reformation Countries
      2) Reformers Were Anti-Intellectual
   b. Intentional Character of America’s Socialism
   c. International and Cultural Affairs Left to the Left
4. American Foreign Policy
   a. State Department
5. Let though to be Riding the Wave of the Future
   a. College Appointments
   b. Children Sent to Leftist Professors
   c. Leftist Journalists
   d. Inferiority Complex
      1) What the Conservative Needs
6. Strengthening of the American Left
   a. Sacco and Vanzetti Case
      1) European Criticism
      2) Vanzetti Cult
   b. Black Friday
   c. Anticapitalist Feeling
      1) Red Decade
      2) USSR as a Model

D. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (261-62)
1. Background of Eleanor and Franklin
2. Nazis and the New Deal
   a. End of the Economic Crisis Came with Rearmament
   b. Nazi Writers in America
c. Hostility to Big Business
d. U.S. Recognition of the Anschluss

E. SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS A LEFTIST CRUSADE (263-71)
1. Black Legend
2. Leftist Attitude
3. Second Spanish Republic was a Failure
   a. Primo de Rivera
   b. Ideological Divisions
   c. Unamuno as an Advocate of Civil War
   d. Mob Violence
   e. Election of 1934
   f. Atrocities
      1) Franco
   g. Gil Robles Government
      1) Franco’s Refusal of Dictatorship
      2) Gen. Sanjurjo
4. Revolution
   a. Assassination of Sotelo
   b. Sanjurjo’s Attempted Takeover
   c. Franco’s Return
   d. Carlists
   e. Junta
5. Situation in 1936
   a. Cultural Figures Traditionally Rightists
      1) Old Liberals
   b. Loyalist Side
      1) Leftist Persecutions
   c. Loyalists’ Advantages
   d. Nationalists
      1) Bernanos on the Majorca Executions
   e. Loyalist Fiendishness
      1) Defiling of Cemeteries
         a) Cemetery of Huesca
6. Foreign Intervention
   a. American War for Independence
   b. Difference in Spain
      1) Falangism ≠ Fascism
         a) Personalism
      2) Independence of the Military Men
         a) German and Italian Aid
   c. Germain Aid
   d. Volunteers
      1) Volunteers in the International Brigades
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8. Loyalist Side Was Red
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   b. President Azaña’s Impotence
   c. Low Numerical Strength of the Communists
      1) Power of a Determined Minority
9. Pro-Loyalist Hysteria Confinied to Britain, America
   a. Abraham Lincoln Brigade
   b. Maritain’s “Neutralism”
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   5. Western Press Opposed Dollfuss
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   6. Kurt Von Schuschnigg
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8. Post-War Consequences  
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2. British Unpreparedness  
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3. Chamberlain’s Lack of Options  
4. Halder-Beck Conspiracy  
   a. Generals Despised Him  
      1) Fritsch Case  
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   c. Theodor Kordt  
   d. Failure  
   e. Chamberlain’s Psychological Limitation  
5. Winston Churchill  
   a. Liberal and Deist  
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   a. Setback for the Army Conspirators  
5. Eastern Boundary Settlement Was Not Unjust  
   a. Polish Corridor  
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6. Hitler’s Beliefs Britain Would Not Help Poland
   a. Britain’s Declaration of War a Surprise
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   a. Rightist Resistance
   b. Admiral Canaris
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   c. Soviet Economic Assistance to Germany
      1) Molotov’s Attitude
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   a. Hitler’s Prestige
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2. FDR
   a. No Preparation for Statesmanship
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4. Comparison of Churchill and FDR
   a. FDR’s Lack of Moral Responsibility
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   c. Hazy Ideas of the Future Order
      1) Plebiscites Proposed
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   a. Wedemeyer on Their Lack of Clearly Defined Political Objectives
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6. Air Warfare Policy
   a. Nazi Offer to Limit Air Warfare
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   d. Churchill’s Attitude
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4. Exceptions in the Chorus of Ignorants
   a. Those Who Refused to Play the Game
   b. Office of War Information (OWI)
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5. Exegesis of Nazism in the Propaganda
   a. Revival of Stock Characters of WWI Propaganda
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6. The Common Man Hysteria
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   b. Basis of Soviet Claim
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4. Abrogation of Soviet Treaties in 1941
   a. Poland’s Lidices
5. Consequences of the News of the Katyn Massacres
   a. Soviet Attempts to Pass the Blame
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   b. Other Signs of Soviet Duplicity
      1) Signs Ignored by Leftists
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F. GERMAN ARMY (311-12)
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2. Unconditional Surrender Formula Kept Secret
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G. EXTERMINATION CAMPS (312)
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2. Knowledge of Allied Leaders
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3. Refugee Influence in America
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I. TREASON OF AMERICA’S LEFTISTS (314-20)
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2. The Betrayal Cannot Be Doubtved
   a. Definition of Treason
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      1) Admiral Canaris
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3. Trouble About the So-Called Witch-Hunt
   a. Question of Where to Draw the Line
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   b. Her Views
5. Wendell Willkie
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7. Attitude an Investigative Committee Should Have Taken
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   b. Comparison with 38th Parallel
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   a. Truman
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         a) Warsaw
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3. Two Crucial Historic Questions
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   b. Prague and Berlin left to Soviets
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5. Population Transfers
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3. Ejection of Adanauer From His Office
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5. Fifth Estate
   a. Occupying powers insured licenses to leftists
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   b. Nuremberg trials
      1) The preferrable course
   c. Attempts to implicate German industry and high finance
      1) Krupp Trial
5. Fifth Estate
6. Diplomatic Mistakes
   a. Swiss bank accounts
   b. Nuremberg trials
      1) The preferrable course
   c. Attempts to implicate German industry and high finance
      1) Krupp Trial
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3. Italy
4. Greece
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   a. Soviet
   b. American
2. Inevitability of Colonialism
3. Twin Roots of American Anticolonialism
   a. Mirage of self-rule
   b. Patriotic motive
4. Varieties of Colonies
   a. Classic colony
      1) Settlers from the metropolis
      2) American colonies as an example
   b. Isolated basis
   c. Rule over a lower culture
      1) Measuring levels of culture and civilization
      2) Psychological motives
      3) Altruism
   d. Rule over stagnant cultures
5. Interconnection Between Culture and Civilization
   a. Arthur Koestler: a package deal
6. No Point of Comparison Between American Independence and Recent Imitations
7. Switch From Calvinistic to Roussellian Ideals
   a. Guilt complex
      1) Slavery often a lesser evil: human sacrifices of *Zan nyanyana*
      a) “Evil Night” Ceremonies
   b. Suspicion that Europeans merely exploited their colonies
      1) Red ink
      2) Plans never matured
8. American Protest Against All Forms of Colonizing
   a. Modified Oedipus complex
9. Hidden Motives of American Foreign Policy
   a. Voting record of the emerging nations
   b. Anti-americanism of many Europeans
      1) Uprooting of the Expellees
      2) Complaints about a Washington-Moscow axis
         a) Their competition
10. Two Views on Decolonization And Its Negative Results
    a. Inevitable, but premature, vs. Resulted from a historical impasse, as did the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire
    b. Leftist conceit of fixed historical evolution
       1) Attempts to “turn back the clock”
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    c. Author’s view: political federation of the globe might have positive aspects in the very long run

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1. Thriving European Cities in the Colonies
2. Western Common Denomination of the Globe
   a. Cohesiveness of Western influences
3. Emerging Nations Are European Creations
4. Post-War Balkanization
5. Decolonization Was a Recessive Movement
   a. Whether the Afro-Asians wanted to be westernized
      1) Unqualified “yes” to European civilization was not always followed by an enthusiastic ascent to culture
      2) Limits to “package deals”

C. THE CONGO (348-57)
1. Industrialization of Upper Katanga
   a. Dominion mandate
2. Western Educational Effort Too Haphazard According To Critics
3. Uncivilized Tribes, Except the Bakongos
4. Colonization
   a. Congo free state
   b. Reports of Roger Casement
   c. Goal of autonomy
5. Belgian Cultural Recapitulation
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   b. Catholics vs. Masons
6. Belgian Plan
   a. Primary educational system
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      1) The Lovanium
7. The First Spark
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   b. How the unrest was exploited
8. Upper Katanga
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9. Transition to Independence
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   1) Lumumba
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10. Africa as a Gorgonic Mirror of the West
a. Disappearance of authority
b. Kasavubu’s exchangeability
c. Soviet protests over Belgian intervention

11. Reaction of the Western Press
a. Educational qualifications for a reporter
b. Half-baked journalism
  1) Simplification
     a) Clear but false ideas (Tocqueville)
  2) Inferiority complex of owners and editors

12. Press Blamed Belgians for Failure to Educate for Independence
a. Obstacles to rapid education
   1) Comparison with American Indians
b. Violence blamed on Belgians

13. African IQs
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b. Miserable education of mothers
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   1) Literacy issue
   2) Voter qualifications
      a) Illustration
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2. Need For a High Quality Civil Service
3. Incompetence of the Leftist to Design a Policy
   a. His two mistakes
      1) Overrates man
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1. Latin America
2. Haiti
   a. A prefiguration of tomorrow’s Africa?
3. Africa’s Advantages
   a. No serfdom
   b. Better treatment
4. Cumulative Quality of Material Progress
   a. Its spiritual component
      1) Bestiality restrained by the “whiff from the empty bottle”
5. Decolonization Before Deep Roots Could Be Sunk
6. India
   a. Forgotten horrors of The Indian Mutiny
   b. Passage from Moghul rule
   c. Partition
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   a. Diseases and vices
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      2) Conversation with an Educated Hindu
         a) Suttee
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   a. Aryan destruction of widows

3. Slow Progress of Christianity in Overcoming Such Practices
   a. Jacob Burckhardt's prediction
      1) Catastrophes result if the level of culture sinks only a hand's width
   b. Speed of progress
      1) Judging Apartheid
   c. New nations are trailing
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   a. Analogy between the elites of the former colonies with adopted children
   b. The competition between Uncle Ivan and Uncle Sam as seducers to be more anti-colonialist
   c. Reluctance to help the "underdeveloped countries"

G. FOREIGN AID (365-69)
1. Compensation Argument
   a. European and American standards of living achieved through struggle

2. Myth of Exploitation

3. Living Standards of the Present
   a. Not seen as exceptional
   b. Wealth seen as an act of provocation
      1) Work and frugality

4. Motives
   a. Aid as blackmail payments
   b. Fostering egalitarianism
      1) Break to progress
   c. Subsidizing the left

5. Disappearance of the aid
   a. e.g., diplomatic expenses

6. Aid As Bribery
   a. Jim Crow in the USSR

H. AMERICAN POLICY'S FAILURES (369-71)
1. Radical Differences Among Peoples
   a. Author's acquaintance with America
   b. Lack of realism of Soviet novels set in the West

2. American Intervention in Vietnam
   a. French resistance to decay

3. Decolonization Never Meant Progress
   a. Material decay
   b. Impact of centuries of westernization

4. Situation of the New Nation Today

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A. CHARACTER OF THE NEW LEFT (372-77)
   1. Reaction
      a. Disillusion with the classic left
      b. Offers only criticisms, no solutions
   2. Geographic Origins
      a. University of Cordoba, 1918
b. University of San Marcos, 1926

c. Japan
d. California
e. Berlin and Frankfurt

3. Causes
   a. Irrationalism
   b. Disappearance of parental authority
   c. Americanization
      1) Refugee New Left Ideologues from the Frankfurt School
d. Disillusioned leftists whose gods failed

4. Young Marx
   a. Focus on freedom

5. Marx’s Lack of Foresight
   a. Middle class comforts for the working class
   b. New Left’s appeal to outcasts

6. Iniquity of the Present Order
   a. Christian view
   b. High level of unhappiness

7. Antitechnological Stand of Young Marx
   a. Old conservative critique
      1) More subtle servitude
   b. Marcuse’s lament

8. Isolation of These Old Sorcerer’s Apprentices
   a. Herbert Marcuse
   b. Theodor Adorno
   c. Max Horkheimer

9. Confusion of New Left and Right

B. ABSENCE OF A BLUEPRINT (377-80)

1. Aversion to Programs
   a. Vision of a new Bolivia

2. Shortsightedness and Youthful Cruelty
   a. Prosperity and ease
   b. Parental Abdication
   c. Germany’s boy-judges
   d. Rebels without a cause
   e. Depersonalization, debasement of sex
   f. Nihilism

3. Contrast With Old Left
   a. Delight in disorder
   b. Suicidal nature

4. May 1968

5. Frankfurt Riots

6. Reaction
   a. Pasolini
   b. Vietnam troops
   c. Dangerous disorder

7. Cult of Heroes

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A. INTRODUCTION (381-89)
   1. Conservative Parties in Protestant Countries
2. Liberal Parties
   a. Aristocratic character
   b. Liberal monarchs
      1) Peter the Great
      2) Bloodshed of progressive revolutions

3. Aim Is Not Static

4. Christian Is Not a Reactionary
   a. Luther’s Metternich’s reactionary aspects
   b. Preffrability of the reactionary
   c. False rationalism led to reaction
      1) Revival of scholasticism

5. Continental “Conservative”
   a. Miguel de Unamuno

6. The Term Conservative
   a. Tories
   b. Conservative Parties
   c. Anti-revolutionary Party [Groen van Prinsterer and Abraham Kuyper]

7. The Conservative as “Gentlemen”: Class Characteristics
   a. British version
   b. Continental “cleric”
   c. Parochial internationalism of Anglo-Saxon leftists
   d. American anti-intellectualism

8. Conservative Ideology: Continental
   a. Difference between Anglo-Saxon and Continental conservatism
   b. Rigidity and harshness
      1) In view of the horrors it had witnessed, this attitude is unsurprising
   c. Its liberal aspects were only partial reflections of the Ancien Régime
   d. Authoritarian bent
   e. Reactionary aspects
      1) Congress of Vienna
      2) Partition of Poland: Crime of the Congress of Vienna
         a) Leftist, republican reaction of Poles: Józek Pilsudski
   f. Popular representation, but not parties
      1) French Revolution
      2) Absolute monarchy formed
   g. Antinationalism
      1) Reaction against German Romanticism
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B. CLASH OF NATIONALISM AND ANTINATIONALISM (389-93)
   1. Idealism of the Young German Republican-Minded Nationalists
      a. They merit our sympathies
         1) Karl Ludwig Sand: Kotzebue’s assassin
      b. But not our approval
   2. Friedrich Ludwig [Father] Jahn
      a. Mass calisthenics
      b. Germanism
      c. Francophobia
   3. Carl Jarcke’s Critique
      a. Turnvereine, Falcon Leagues and the identitarian sokol-slets
      b. Ethnic nationalism acted like social dynamite
         1) e.g., Brünn
   4. Conscription
      a. Hippolyte Taine
         1) Militarism
      b. End of the old-fashioned cabinet wars
         1) Mercenaries
Propaganda and Indoctrination
a. Total war
   1) WWII developments
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No Effort Made to Return to the Old System of Professional Armies
a. Antinationalist attitude given up
   1) Liberty treated with suspicion

Reasons for These Changes
a. Anti-intellectual trend
b. Jewish attitudes
c. Illustrations
   1) DNVP

Second Reich
a. Restoration could haste come only through the Habsburgs
b. Opposition to Otto von Bismarck

Italy

France
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C. PROBLEM OF DEFINING CONSERVATISM (393-97)
1. Issue of Historicism
2. Its Historical Character
   a. Definition
3. Social Thought
   a. Sweden: “Christian Social Thought”
4. Social Reforms
   a. Social insurance
   b. Wilhelm II
5. The Reforms Were an Error
   a. “Democratic Toryism”
      1) Royalty, nobility, clergy, plutocracy, university: distinguishing features
6. Russian Case
a. End of serfdom: Alexander II, the tsar-liberator
b. First trade unions established by the Okhrana to prevent exploitation of workers
7. Negativism of the Early Conservatism
   a. Militarism
   b. Disciplinarian outlook
   c. Identitarian Nationalism
   d. Anti-semitism
   e. Agrarianism
   f. Sentimentalism
8. Stand for Perennial Values
   a. Local institutions
   b. Religion
   c. Monarch’s veto
   d. Protection against exploitation

D. CONSERVATIVE DILEMMA (397-400)
1. Electoral Politics
   a. Lack of mass appeal
   b. Refusal to resort to demagogy
      1) Popular issues
2. Intra-Leftist Strife
   a. Example of Italy
3. Conservative Resistance to National Leftism Paralyzed
   a. Cooperation with Nazis
   b. “Lesser Evil” choice
   c. No such thing as nationalistic monarchy
d. Differences between conservatives and totalitarians

4. Suicidal Cooperation

E. PERIOD OF DICTATORSHIP WAS A SCHOOL FOR CONSERVATIVES (400-01)
1. Learned Full Value of Liberty
   a. Truth has a chance to be attractive in liberty only
2. Value of Peace
3. Value of Christian Humanism
4. Value of a Free Economy
5. Rejection of Conspiracy Theories of History
6. Rejection of Anti-semitism
7. Analogy with Reforming of the Liberals
   a. Similarity of new conservative and new liberal

F. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EXISTING ORDER (401-12)
1. European Conservative’s Opposition
   a. His revolutionary views
   b. His interest in quality
      1) Majority rule disregards truth, justice, reason, loyalty, love
2. Opposition to Omnipotent State
   a. Possibility of failure of the State
   b. Importance of family
   c. Paternalistic idea of social security
3. Education of People to Their Ability While Not Saddling Them with Extra Responsibilities
   a. Inner contradiction of the re-educators
4. Man is Not Totally Wicked
   a. Pascal
   b. Need for open-mindedness
   c. Conservative demonology has been overcome
5. Position of American and European Conservatives Contrasted
6. European Conservatives’ Attitude Toward American Conservatism
   a. No place for Adam Smith
   b. Lack of a coherent system of thought
      1) Eliseo Vivas
7. Anglo-Saxon Empiricism
8. Need for a Rational Program
   a. Charity
   b. Lack of a concise philosophy
      1) Dangers to American conservatism
      2) Roots of this state of affairs
9. Will the American Constitution Fill the Bill?
   a. Probably not
10. Preparing for the Demise of Democracy
    a. Conservative lacks program
    b. Aftermath of total atomic war
    c. Use of experts
        1) It is unavoidable
        2) Importance of a first class administration
           a) Hartmann
11. The Current Stand-Off
    a. Increasing leftist expertise
       1) Reasons
          a) Conservative anti-intellectualism
       2) Need to get good men into government positions
    b. Entrenchment of leftists
       1) Tactics
          a) Silent treatment
          b) Defamation
12. Conservative Must Use the Scholastic Distinguo
   a. *e.g.* Japanese internment
   b. Poor record on racial tolerance
      1) Multiplying laws
         a) Lesson of prohibition
   c. Need for delight in diversity
   d. Internationalism
      1) Not necessarily identitarian
      2) Possibility of a global federation
   e. Federalist principle
      1) Deteriorating effects of the centralized state
         a) Italian Risorgimento
         b) Second Reich

13. Prerequisites of a Global Federation
   a. Common religious denominator
   b. Question of timing
      1) Kairos

14. Task of the American Conservative

CHAPTER 21: THE OUTLOOK

Outline

A. UNITED NATIONS (413-14)
   1. Impaired Effectiveness
   2. Lack of a Common Denominator
      a. What about “man”?
      b. Proliferation of states and „nations‟
      c. Inequality of their integrity
   3. Lasting Values of the Globe Are Not Reflected in It
      a. Many crucial failures
      b. Timetable error

B. COCKSURENESS OF THE MODERATE LEFTISTS (414-17)
   1. Misery and Ruin
      a. Its pervasiveness
      b. Crimes of non-leftists are pecadillos by comparison
   2. Are We Better Off Than 40-60 Years Ago?
      a. The frightening menaces hanging over us
      b. Decisions have been made by the left
   3. Reasons for Their Mischief
      a. Ideological close-mindedness
      b. Intellectual arrogance
      1) Unchallenged Monopolies
      2) Ignorance of Western traditions
         a) Conservative must also come to grips with tradition
      c. Roussellian heritage and inferiority complex
      d. The “halfway” man (double-mindedness)

C. THE COLOSSAL HAVOC THE LEFTISTS HAVE WROUGHT (417-19)
   1. Recant of the Horrors
   2. The Sheer Magnitude of Horror

D. BRINK OF THE ABYSS (419-21)
   1. Current Situation
      a. Legitimacy of religious pessimism
   2. The Future
a. Repeating of basic patterns
b. Leftism will be a permanent factor
c. Democracy is drawing to a close
   1) Its union with the liberal impulse is headed toward divorce
d. We should look upon this development with fear and trembling
   1) Gap between Scita and Scienza makes change inevitable
   2) Rule from above could be an Augustean age or its opposite
   3) Quality of the top is of crucial importance
      a) Left's effort to monopolize the top
      b) Max Horkheimer's observation
   4) Need to create domains of freedom
      a) Where democratic institutions make sense
      b) Need to secure local autonomy

E. PRACTICAL UNDERTAKING  (421-
1. Spain's Constitutional Development
2. Peter Drucker's Observation
3. Thirst for Monarchy
   a. Inordinate fascination with royalty
      1) Familistic principle
   b. Lost sense of authority
      1) Crisis of masculinity
         a) Father State or Provider State is a faceless father substitute:
            “The failure of man as a warrior and as a father is now being
            followed by his resignation as a lover”
4. Leftist Monism
   a. Clemenceau, et al.: Everything belongs to Caesar, nothing to God
5. Task of Christianity to Fight the Leftist Temptation
   a. Its crisis
   b. Theology of the beaten dog
   c. Total immersion in social thought and social action
      1) Changing faith in a changing world
   d. Responsibility to defend freedom
6. Old Left Proposes a False Order
   a. New Left proposes chaos that is the flip side of the same coin

APPENDIX: THE TRAGIC LIFE OF CHARLES-ARMAND TUFFIN, MARQUIS DE LA ROUËRIE

Outline

A. A MAN LAMENTABLE OVERLOOKED ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC (435-36)
   1. Temperamental But Generous and High-Minded Young Man

B. YEARS IN AMERICA, 1777-83 (436)
   1. Colonel Armand
   2. Battle of Camden
   3. Siege of Yorktown

C. RETURN TO FRANCE (437)
   1. Failure to Secure a Commission
   2. Marriage and Loss of His Wife
   3. Dr. Chévetel
   3. Breton Delegation, 1788, and Imprisonment in the Bastille

D. REVOLUTION AND RESISTANCE (438-43)
   1. Armand's Apprehensions
2. Count Ranconnet de Noyan
3. Plans for a Counterrevolution
4. Jacobinism
5. Thérèse de Moélien
6. Monsieur Millet
7. Chévetel's Deception
8. Castle of La Fosse-Hingant
9. Castle of La Guyomarais
10. Armand's Illness and Death
11. Aftermath
12. Great Rebellion Crushed
13. Noyades
14. The Revolutions’s Evil Aftermath Is Still with Us