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# Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn: Leftism: From De Sade and Marx to Hitler and Marcuse Study Guide, c. 1990-2012

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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

<http://library.mises.org/books/Erik%20von%20Kuehnelt-Leddihn/Leftism%20From%20de%20Sade%20and%20Marx%20to%20Hitler%20and%20Marcuse.pdf>

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

### Outline

- A. LEFTIST IDEOLOGIES ARE COMPETITORS, NOT ENEMIES (9-12)
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  - 2. Semantic Confusion
    - a. American ideological prejudices
  - 3. Ideologies Are Nothing New in America
    - a. Nascent United States were in the throes of warring ideologies
  - 4. American Intervention in World Affairs
    - a. Great Euro-American misunderstanding
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      - 2) Misinformation, ignorance
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    - b. Homosexuality as Narcissism
  - 2. Diversitarian Drives: Herd Instinct vs. Romantic Sentiment
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    - b. History Results from Man's Desire for Change [Sameness of the Ant State or Termite State]
    - c. Longing for Otherness: Incarnation of Christ
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    - b. Result: Identitarianism
- B. PROGRAMMATIC IDENTITARIANISM HAS FEAR AS ITS DRIVING MOTOR: INFERIORITY COMPLEX (17-20)
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    - a. Slavish Hatred vs. Masterly Contempt
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    - c. Spirit of Mass Movements
  - 2. Envy: Its Complex Psychological Roots
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    - b. Nonconformist Treated as a Traitor: Confusion of Unity with Uniformity
  - 4. Sameness Simplifies Matters
    - a. Two Obstacles: Nature and Man
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  - 5. Mystery of Personality
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  - 3. Equality Does Not Figure in Holy Scripture
  - 4. Too Many Religious Thinkers Try to Bridge the Gap between the Christian Faith and Current Political Notions
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- a. Procedural Equality
- b. Personal Uniqueness
- 2. Equality before the Law
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- 3. Equality of Opportunity
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  - c. One-Man-One-Vote Principle
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- 4. Equality of Treatment: F. A. von Hayek
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  - c. Psychological Difficulty of Failure amidst Social Mobility
- 5. Egalitarianism Depends on Force
- 6. Mutual Hostility of Equality and Freedom
- 7. Myth of Equality in the United States and Other Myths of National
  - a. Character
  - b. Programmatic Egalitarianism
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  - 2. Definitions
    - a. Democracy: *Demos* (People) and *Kratos* (Power)
    - b. Monarchy
    - c. Aristocracy
    - d. Republic: Multitude of Forms
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    - a. Direct vs. Representative Democracy
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      - 2) Conscience: Democratic [Delegate] vs. Republican [Trustee]
    - b. Majority Rule: Republic as *pars sanior* [People of Quality or Natural Aristocracy] vs. Democracy as Mob Rule
  - 4. Politically Equal Citizens
    - a. Definition of Full Citizenship Is Always Arbitrary
      - 1) Factors: Gender, Age of Maturity, Age of Military Service
  - 5. Two Pillars of Democracy: Majority Rule and Political Equality
    - a. Proportional Representation
- B. LIBERALISM (30-35)
  - 1. Freedom Has Nothing to Do with Democracy as Such
    - a. Majority Leniency toward Defeated Minority Is Tolerance
    - b. Ideologically Systematized Majority Tolerance Is Liberalism
  - 2. Illusion of Democratic Self-Government
    - a. Lottery Analogy
    - b. Forced Choice between Pre-established Candidates
  - 3. "Self-Government" Is an Understandable Dream

- a. Democratism Is a "Paradisiacal" Movement
  - 1) Loss of Golden Age Seen as a Conspiracy
- b. Hardship of Being Ruled by Another (Servitude) Can Only Be Dissolved in Love
  - 1) Paradox: How Can We Love Those We Hire and Fire Like Obnoxious Menials?
  - 2) Pejorative Meaning of Politics and Politician in Democracies
- 4. Tolerance as the Essence of Liberalism
  - 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
  - d. Unprincipled People Only Have Indifference: e.g., Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and Franklin Delano Roosevelt
- 5. Readiness to Compromise Is the Quintessence of Parliamentary Life on a Democracy
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- 6. Proper Understanding of Liberalism
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  - b. Answer: In Such a Way That Each Citizen Enjoys the Greatest Possible Amount of Personal Liberty"
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  - b. Examples of Democratic Illiberalism
  - c. Myth of Absolute Monarchs: Limitation by *Corps Intermédiaires* (Local *Parlements* in France, *Landtage* and *Stände* in Germany)
  - d. Monarchs Always Stood on Thin Ice
  - e. Totalitarian Tendencies Exist in Democracies That Are Not Present in Absolute Monarchies, Less So in Mixed Government
- 8. Totalitarian Democracy
  - a. Isms That Menace Liberty Call Themselves Democratic
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  - 5. Germany: Nazis Seated on Extreme Right for Their Nationalism (a Byproduct of the French Revolution)
  - 6. Nationalism Is Identitarian
  - 7. Mislocation of the Nazis Has Hardened a Semantic Confusion That the Extremes Meet
- B. SEMANTIC CONFUSION: RIGHT VS. LEFT (37-38)
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- 1) Mass Collectivist Movements
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  - 2. Right Is Identified with Personal Freedom and Respect for Tradition
    - a. It Stands for Free, Organically Grown Forms of Life
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      - 3) Utopianism Is Reactionary, Not Progressive, and Seeks to Return to an Assumed Golden Age
    - b. Man of the Right "Does Not Have a Time-Bound, But a Sovereign Mind"
      - 1) In Case He is a Christian, He Is the Steward of a Royal Priesthood
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    - b. "One" is the keynote
- E. APPLICATIONS OF THIS DICHOTOMY
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    - c. French Provinces Broken into Dependent Departments
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      - 1) Atrophy of Religion by Driving It from the Marketplace
      - 2) Asphyxiation of the Church through State-Control
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    - c. Provident State: Extension of Government *and* Dependency
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      - 2) Fulfillment of Two Leftist Wishes: Extension of Government and Dependence on the State
      - 3) Detailed Record-Keeping: Everything Is a Matter of Knowledge to the State
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    - b. Metternich Regime: It Learned Too Much from Its Enemy in Reaction to the French Revolution
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    - b. *Zoon politikon* (Aristotle): man as a creature absorbed by the *polis*
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      - 1) Crucifixion of Christ
      - 2) Truth vs. "preferences statistically arrived at"
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      - 1) Polybius: *Anakyklosis*
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      - 1) Golden Crown and Demand for *Proskynesis* (Prostration)
  - 3. Middle Ages
    - a. Mixed governments
    - b. *Rex sub Lege*: Bracton's Formula That the King Is Under the Law
  - 4. Leftist Religious Sects
    - a. Albigenses
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- B. THE ENGLISH FORERUNNERS (50-5\*)
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    - a. Three criticisms
    - b. Parallels with Luther
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- 7) Baron de Kalb
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  - 3. Religious Inner-directedness
    - a. Luther's Monastic Severity
    - b. Puritanism
- C. SECULARIZATION OF MONASTICISM (104-11)
  - 1. Prefiguration of Communities behind Real or Symbolic Walls
    - a. Its Opposite: the Bohemian Life
    - b. Envy Towards the Secure Life
      - 1) Provider State
    - c. Monastic Yearning
      - 1) Security Element
      - 2) Desire for Internal Conformity
  - 2. Tomaso Campanella
    - a. Comparison with Joachim de Floris
      - 1) His Apocalypticism
      - 2) Three Ages
      - 3) Jansenius

- b. His Political Difficulties, Imprisonment
- c. "Civitas Solis"
- d. Later Life
  - 1) Richelieu
  - 2) Death in the Jacobin Monastery
- 3. William Morris
- 4. Morelly
  - a. Code de la Nature
  - b. Model of Legislation
  - c. Influence on Babeuf and Saint-Simon
- 5. Saint-Simon
  - a. His Youth
  - b. Writings on the Working Class
    - 1) Social Origins
    - 2) Wage Question
    - 3) New Race of "Wild Animals"
  - c. Later Life
    - 1) Nouveau Christianisme
- 6. Barthélemy Enfantin
  - a. His Goal: Destruction of the Family
  - b. Program of the New Theocracy
  - c. Revolution of 1830
  - d. Church of Tomorrow
    - 1) Promiscuity
- 7. Brissot
- 8. Abbé de Mably (brother of Condillac)
  - a. Leftist Priests
- D. MISINTERPRETATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY (111-14)
  - 1. Isms
    - a. Christian Imagery
      - 1) End of Crime, Envy, Hatred
      - 2) Edenism and Nudism
    - b. Christian Folklore
  - 2. False Images
    - a. Christianity as a Proletarian Movement
    - b. Social Station of Joseph and Mary
    - c. The Disciples
    - d. Christianity Was Not a Religion of Outcasts
      - 1) View of "Conservatives" with a Pagan-Heroic Outlook (e.g., Churchill)
    - e. Is Poverty in Itself Sanctifying?
    - f. Desire to Baptize Socialism
    - g. Ecumenical Tendency to Build Bridges
- E. FOURIER (114-20)
  - 1. Harmony as a Basic Drive
  - 2. Phalanges
  - 3. His Insanity
    - a. Imaginary History
  - 4. The Phalanster
    - a. Daily Schedule
  - 5. Fourier's Epicureanism
    - a. Gastrosophers
  - 6. Education
    - a. *Petites Hordes*
    - b. *Petites Bandes*
    - c. Scavengers
    - d. Adolescents

7. Work-Armies
  - a. "Antilion"
  - b. Farming
8. Fourier's Significance
  - a. Engels' Praise
  - b. Victor Considérant
    - 1) La Réunion
9. Brook Farm
  - a. Transcendentalists
  - b. Sympathizers, Supporters
  - c. Arthur Brisbane
10. Influence on the Russian Left [cf. Dostoevsky's *The Possessed*]
  - a. Alexander Herzen
  - b. Nikolay Chernyshevski
  - c. Peter Lavrov

## CHAPTER NINE: FROM ROMANTIC TO SCIENTIFIC AND INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM

### Outline

- A. PROUDHON (121-24)
  1. Personal Background
    - a. Attacks on Fournier
    - b. Human Outlook
    - c. His Distributism
    - d. Love of Liberty
  2. Opposition to Centralism
    - a. Criticisms of Democracy
  3. Conflict with Marx
    - a. Temperamental Differences
    - b. Gradualism
    - c. Lack of Dogmatism
- B. MARX AND LASSALLE (124-36)
  1. Personal Background
    - a. Conversion
    - b. Education
    - c. Romanticism
    - d. Frustrated Artist
    - e. Dilletantism
    - f. Prometheanism
    - g. Aestheticism, Lack of Ethics
  2. Start of His Career
    - a. Marriage to Jenny
    - b. Carl Schurz on His Arrogance
    - c. Paris Years
    - d. Anti-Semitism
      - 1) Bruno Bauer
      - 2) Friedrich Engels
    - e. Materialism of Feuerbach
      - 1) Culture and Education Should Supplant Religion
      - 2) Social Betterment
      - 3) Automatic Nature of Progress

- f. Disciples of Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte
  - 3. Transient Years
    - a. Incitements to Revolution
    - b. Move to London
  - 4. *Communist Manifesto*
    - a. League of the Just
    - b. The Pamphlet Itself
      - 1) Motives
    - c. View of History
    - d. Marx's Self-Hatred
    - e. Crisis of the Bourgeoisie
    - f. Plight of the Proletariat
    - g. Gravediggers of the Bourgeoisie
    - h. Critique of Bourgeois Invitations
    - i. Evolutionary Transformation
    - j. Political Measures
    - k. Section of Criticism and Ridicule
    - l. Evaluation of the Document
    - m. Contemporary Fulfillment
      - 1) Agrarian Reform
        - a) Imperial Russia
      - 2) Progressive Taxation
      - 3) Death Duties
      - 4) Property of Emigrants and Rebels
      - 5) Centralization of Credit
      - 6) Centralization of Transport
      - 7) Nationalization
      - 8) Labor Armies
      - 9) Industrialized Agriculture
      - 10) Public Education
    - n. Its Influence
  - 5. Later Work
    - a. Shaping Influences
    - b. *Das Kapital*
      - 1) Theory of Concentration and Monopolization
        - a) Neoliberal Antitrust Attitudes
    - c. His Lack of Foresight
    - d. His Quasireligious Vision
  - 6. His Monumental Hatreds
    - a. Lassalle
    - b. Envy Toward Successful Minorities
- B. SECOND PART: DIGRESSIONS (136-41)
- 1. Jews and Socialism
    - a. Indigent East European Jews
    - b. Soviet Anti-Semitism
    - c. Jewish High Finance Was Never Pro-Communist
  - 2. Nonproletarian Nature of Marxism
    - a. Waldemar Gurian
    - b. Ben Hecht
  - 3. Victories Due to the Religious Crisis
    - a. Dregs of Philosophy
    - b. Caricatures of Christianity
  - 4. Robert Owen
    - a. Model Factory
    - b. New Harmony
    - c. Trade Unions



- d. New Ethical System: Men as a Product of His Environment
- 5. The First International
  - a. Fight with Bakunin
- 6. Ferdinand Lassalle
- 7. Weaknesses of Marxian Thought
  - a. Dalliance with Helen Demuth
  - b. Errors
  - c. Creation of an Ideology
  - e. His Appeal
- C. THE FABIANS
  - 1. Revisionism
  - 2. Fabian Society
  - 3. Personalities
    - a. George Bernard Shaw
    - b. Sidney Webb
    - c. Henry George
  - 4. Politics
    - a. Labour Party
    - b. Liberals
    - c. Winston Churchill
  - 5. American Influence
    - a. Foreign Policy Association
    - b. Harold Laski
    - c. Moral Disarmament
  - 6. East European Influence
    - a. Hobson
  - 7. The Provider State

## CHAPTER TEN: FROM SOCIALISM TO COMMUNISM

### Outline

- A. THREE PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION (144)
  - 1. Russian Collectivism
  - 2. Pendulum Swing
  - 3. Strength of Communism
- B. INDIVIDUALISM OF THE PEOPLE (144-46)
  - 1. Evidence
    - a. The Paradox
  - 2. Crankshaw on the Russian's Anarchic Mentality
    - a. Anarchic Bent of South and East Europeans
- C. SMOKE-FIRE THEORY (146-48)
  - 1. Russia After 1905
  - 2. Peasantry
    - a. Opportunities
  - 3. Workers
    - a. Pioneer Labor Legislation
  - 4. Discrimination
  - 5. Educating the Intelligentsia
- D. REASONS FOR COMMUNIST VICTORY (148-51)
  - 1. 1903 London Congress
    - a. Schism
  - 2. Middle Class Background
    - a. Three Revolutionary Gifts

3. Rebellious Soldiers and Sailors
    - a. Kerensky's Female Regiment
    - b. Slaughter of Royal Family
    - c. Lloyd George's Refusal of Refuge
      - 1) Moderate Left's Excesses of Nationalism
  4. Center of Loyalty Destroyed with Fall of the Monarchy
    - a. Civil Wars
    - b. Supports of Peasantry
  5. Promises of Land
    - a. Kulaks
    - b. Losing Battle of the Whites
    - c. Confiscations
  6. Apportioning the Guilt
    - a. Germans
    - b. Intelligentsia
      - 1) Dostoyevsky's *Possessed*
  7. Evaluations
    - a. Myerezhkovski
    - b. Rozanov
- E. DOGMATIC SOCIALISM IN ACTION (151-52)
1. Similarity with French Revolution
  2. The Price in Lives

## CHAPTER ELEVEN: FROM MARXISM TO FASCIST NATIONALISM

### Outline

- A. FASCISM (153-54)
  1. First Systematic Left Opposition to Moscow
  2. Benito Mussolini
    - a. Named After Juárez
    - b. Trent
    - c. His Books
- B. TABORITES (154-56)
  1. Collectivistic and Identitarian Movement
  2. Their Violent Racial Ideological Wars
    - a. Komotau
    - b. Prachatice
    - c. Sadistic Tortures
  3. Decisive and Irrevocable Currents Were Produced
    - a. Hus and Wyclif
    - b. Hus and Luther
  4. Nineteenth Century Image of the Movement
  5. Josef Pekař's Critique
  6. New Attitude
    - a. Palacký's Mythological Presentation
    - b. "Away from Rome" Movement
    - c. New Literature
    - d. Appearance of Catholic Church
      - 1) Masaryk and the Bohemian Brethren
      - 2) Nazis
    - e. Racism

- 1) Jews
- C. INFLUENCE ON MUSSOLINI (156-60)
  - 1. Interventionism
  - 2. Triple Alliance
    - a. Italy Gained Little from the Break
  - 3. Mussolini's Ideological Reasons for Intervention
    - a. Syndicalism
  - 4. Fasci di Combattimento
    - a. Forced Italianization
  - 5. State of Near Collapse
    - a. Waves of Strikes
    - b. King's Failure to Proclaim a State of Emergency
  - 6. Mussolini's Appointment
    - a. Diarchy
    - b. Italian Social Republic
  - 7. Evaluation
    - a. Arendt
    - b. Inferiority Complex
      - 1) Fascist Remedy
        - a) Shaw's Praise
        - b) Soviet Parallel
    - c. Synthetic Religion
      - 1) Its Mauvrossian Side
    - d. Influence of Communism
      - 1) Victor Serge
      - 2) Massimo Rocca
    - e. Comparison with Hitler
      - 1) Monistic Statism
    - f. Jules Romains's Evaluation
      - 1) Hitler and Mussolini are despots belonging to the age of democracy

## CHAPTER TWELVE: NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND SOCIALIST RACISM

### Outline

- A. IMAGE OF THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST TABORITES (161-62)
  - 1. Hitler's *Weltanschauung*
  - 2. Czech National Socialist Party 1896
    - a. Edvard Beneš
    - b. Its Programs
      - 1) Anti-Jewish Feelings
      - 2) Masaryk and Wickham Steed
      - 3) Identitarian Character
- B. GERMAN NATIONAL SOCIALISM (162-65)
  - 1. Franko Stein
    - a. Georg von Schönerer
  - 2. Ferdinand Burschofsky
  - 3. German Worker's Party in Austria, 1903
    - a. Demands
    - b. Hans Knirsch's Moravian Faction
    - c. First Deputies
  - 4. German National Socialist Worker's Party, 1918

- a. Its Program
  - 5. Pro-Germanism
    - a. Allied Elimination of the Habsburg Monarchy
    - b. Three Branches
  - 6. National Socialist German Worker's Party
    - a. Anton Drexler
    - b. Adolf Hitler
    - c. Rudolf Jung
    - d. Julius Streicher
- C. ADOLF HITLER (1889-1945)
  - 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
    - a. Occupation
    - b. Superstitious
      - 1) Fixation on Brown
    - c. Social Inferiority Complex
      - 1) Carl Burckhardt's Report
      - 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
    - b. Mein Kampf
    - c. Hitler's Acceptance by All Factions of Nazis
  - 7. Czech Nazis
    - a. Konrad Henlein
    - b. The *Sokol* and Other Calisthenics Leagues [cf. *Türnvereine* of Father Jahn]
- D. ELECTORAL POLITICS (1919-1933)
  - 1. Weimar Constitution
  - 2. Denominational Voting Patterns
  - 3. Luther
  - 4. Nazism's Ideological Conquests
    - a. Mobilization of Old Nonvoters
    - b. Switch of Demo-Liberals
    - c. Relative Changes
- E. END OF THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC (1933-1934)
  - 1. Impasse
    - a. Monarchical Solution Rejected by Hindenburg
    - b. Franz von Papen
    - c. General von Schleicher
      - 1) Conservative Failure of Nerve
    - d. Nazis 1933
  - 2. Papen's Desire to Form a Coalition Government
- F. REAL CHARACTER OF NATIONAL SOCIALISM (1933-1934)
  - 1. Misinterpretations
  - 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
  - a. Reeducation
  - b. Pornography
  - c. Office of the Butcher (Fourier)

## **PART III: LIBERALISM**

### **CHAPTER THIRTEEN: REAL LIBERALISM**

#### **Outline**

- A. SEMANTIC MISUNDERSTANDING (183-84)
  1. Meaning of Liberalism
  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
    - b. Tocqueville
    - c. Burckhardt
  - 4. Hostility Toward Democracy
    - a. Acton
    - b. Tocqueville
      - 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. Democratism 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
      - 1) Natural "Goodness" Qualified
    - f. Roots In Preliberalism
    - g. Fetish of Pluralism
      - 1) Information Explosion Has Brought Confusion
    - h. Emphasis on Education
    - i. Enlightened Self-Interest
      - 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
    - 3) Freemasonry
  - 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
    - 2) Rise of Socialist Parties
    - 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

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN: FALSE LIBERALISM

### Outline

- 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) Chiasm
      - 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 Notians
- 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
  - a. Dislike for Capital Punishment
    - 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
      - 4) Federal Force: cf. Robert Hugh Benson's *Lord of the World*
    - e. Religion of Democracy
      - 1) Democracy Must Be Dogmatized and Redefined
- E. THIRTEEN POINT PROGRAM OF AMERICAN PSEUDOLIBERALISM (220-24)
  - 1. Utopianism: Universalism
  - 2. Planning: Man as a Cipher

3. Centralization vs. Local Rights and Privileges
4. Identity, Sameness: Standardization
5. Majoritism: Opposition to Privileged Minorities [cf. Occupy Wall Street's 1%]
  - a. Ruling Classes
  - b. Badmen as Scapegoats [cf. René Girard, *The Scapegoat*]
6. Hostility Against Organized Religion: Privatization of Religion
7. Socialist Hatred for Free Enterprise: State Welfarism
8. Antifamilism
  - a. Attack on Dynasties: inheritance tax and system of progressive taxation
  - b. Moral protection of family ridiculed and rejected [note the work of Allan Carlson and Judith Reisman in defense of the family]
  - c. Indifference to Man's Biological Views and Behavior Patterns [cf. Lester Ward]
9. Intolerance: Internal Inquisition
10. Statism
  - a. They throw sand in our eyes by accusing teachers of totalitarian ideology of proclaiming: "Everything within the state, nothing against the state, nothing outside the state"
11. Messianism [cf. Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy, J. L. Talmon, R. J. Rushdoony]
  - a. American Republic and democracy pressed into service
12. Anticolonialism
13. Interventionism
  - a. Holy Wars Against Reactionaries
  - b. Illiberal Emergency Measures in Wartime
    - 1) Their Ideal: the Secular Monastery of Civilian Barracks
14. Evaluation
  - a. Nature of Leftist Antiracism
  - b. Racial Conformity Or Uniformity
  - c. The Rightist
    - 1) *Suum Cuique*

## PART IV: THE LEFT AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

### CHAPTER FIFTEEN: THE AMERICAN LEFT AND WORLD WAR I

#### Outline

- 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
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    - e. Fanaticism
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    - a. Situation in Summer of 1917
    - b. Lord Lansdowne's Letter
    - c. Campaign for American Aid
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      - 1) Democratic Wars
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  - 2. Germany's New Advantage
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    - a. Criticism of Liberals Attitude
      - 1) Parallel with American Attitude
  - 2. Churchill's View
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    - b. Vacuum Filled by Hitler
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    - a. Total Defeat of Democracy and Liberalism
      - 1) Example: Professor Tuka
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    - b. Conference of Ambassadors Resolution
    - c. Ethnic Minorities Now Dominated by New Foreign Rulers
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    - a. Anti-Intellectualism and Democracy
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      - 2) Reformers Were Anti-Intellectual
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    - c. International and Cultural Affairs Left to the Left
  - 4. American Foreign Policy
    - a. State Department
  - 5. Left Thought to be Riding the Wave of the Future
    - a. College Appointments
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    - d. Inferiority Complex
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  - 6. Strengthening of the American Left
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- D. FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (261-62)
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  - 2. Nazis and the New Deal
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- c. Hostility to Big Business
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- E. SPANISH CIVIL WAR AS A LEFTIST CRUSADE (263-71)
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  - 2. Leftist Attitude
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    - a. Primo de Rivera
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    - c. Unamuno as an Advocate of Civil War
    - d. Mob Violence
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    - c. Franco's Return
    - d. Carlists
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  - 5. Situation in 1936
    - a. Cultural Figures Traditionally Rightists
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      - 1) Defiling of Cemeteries
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    - b. Difference in Spain
      - 1) Falangism ≠ Fascism
        - a) Personalism
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        - a) German and Italian Aid
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  - 7. Nationalists' Common Ground
    - a. Franco's Coalition
    - b. Liberals, Moderates
  - 8. Loyalist Side Was Red
    - a. Freemasonry Was Divided
    - b. President Azaña's Impotence
    - c. Low Numerical Strength of the Communists
      - 1) Power of a Determined Minority
  - 9. Pro-Loyalist Hysteria Confined to Britain, America
    - a. Abraham Lincoln Brigade
    - b. Maritain's "Neutrality"
      - 1) Critique of "Neutrality"

- a) Danger of Perfectionism
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    - c. Moral Issues
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  - 9. American and British Observers
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- A. LEFTIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE FALL OF POLAND (289-91)
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  - 2. Leftist Press' Hatred of Poland
  - 3. Negotiations to Build Up a Solid Front Against Hitler
  - 4. Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact
    - a. Setback for the Army Conspirators
  - 5. Eastern Boundary Settlement Was Not Unjust
    - a. Polish Corridor
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      - 1) Molotov's Attitude
  3. Soviet Attack On Finland
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  5. Possible Consequences of a German Victory
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- C. BRITAIN AND AMERICA (294-99)
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  3. Sheer Amateurism of British and Americans
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  4. Comparison of Churchill and FDR
    - a. FDR's Lack of Moral Responsibility
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      - 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
    - b. Air Secretary Thomson's Reply
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    - e. RAF Began Methodical Bombing
  7. Manipulating American Public Opinion
    - a. Deceivers Mislead by Their Own Fabrications
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    - a. Those Who Refused to Play the Game
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  - 5. Exegesis of Nazism in the Propaganda
    - a. Revival of Stock Characters of WWI Propaganda
    - b. Common Man Tossed into a War Aim
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- H. YUGOSLAVIA (313-14)
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  2. Rank Amateurishness of the Allies
    - a. Choice of Evils
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- I. TREASON OF AMERICA'S LEFTISTS (314-20)
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  3. Trouble About the So-Called Witch-Hunt
    - a. Question of Where to Draw the Line
    - b. Commonalities of Leftists
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    - b. Her Views
  5. Wendell Willkie
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  7. Attitude an Investigative Committee Should Have Taken
    - a. We Have to Go Back to the Point Where We Took the Wrong Turn
      - 1) Immunity of a 17th Century Burgher to this Nonsense
      - 2) Symbolic Reminders of Our Susceptibility
        - a) Roussellianism in Place of Calvinism
  8. What Must Be Done
    - a. Reconstituting the Great Christian Tradition
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    - b. Comparison with 38th Parallel
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      - 1) Poland
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      - 2) Testing of an atomic device had no influence of the Americans
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- 1) Prologation of the war
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  - 3. Two Crucial Historic Questions
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    - b. Why not use America's atomic monopoly
  - 4. The Armistice
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    - b. Prague and Berlin left to Soviets
    - c. Patton's troops ordered back
    - d. Berlin and Vienna divided
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    - b. Atrocities, spoliations
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  - 6. Attitude Toward Resistance
  - 7. Political Order
    - a. Röpke's memorandum
    - b. Parliamentary democracy restored
- K. WHAT THE LEFTIST ESTABLISHMENT DID IN GERMANY (324-27)
  - 1. Social Democratic Governments
  - 2. The Fragebogen
  - 3. Ejection of Adanauer From His Office
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    - a. Zook Report
      - 1) Proposed invasion of the German home
  - 5. Fifth Estate
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  - 6. Diplomatic Mistakes
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    - b. Nuremberg trials
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    - a. The bleeding border
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  - 3. Italy
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  - 6. France
    - a. Petain's argument with Churchill
    - b. Communist terror warfare
      - 1) Assassinations by the resistance
    - c. Moral issue of □expendibility□ by Allies
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  - 7. Leftist Control of UNRRA
    - a. La Guardia
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- a. Hayes' efforts to keep Spain out of the way
  - b. Expulsion of Jews
    - 1) Comments
    - 2) Refugees
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    - 1) Potsdam Plan miscarried
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  - b. China
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10. Presidential Rejections of Papal Efforts
11. Successive Blunders
- a. Analogies with those of other leftists
    - 1) Difference = their lack of an establishment
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- a. Marshall Plan
13. Envy and Jealousy
- a. Interventionism by war and revolution
    - 1) Erich Ludendorff
    - 2) De Gaulle's critique
14. Soviets Needed the Democratic Restoration
15. World Conflicts Move on Several Levels

## **PART V: LEFTISM TODAY**

### **CHAPTER EIGHTEEN: ANTICOLONIALISM**

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- A. PERCEPTIONS OF COLONIALISM (339-46)
- 1. Invisible Colonialism
    - 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"
      - 2) Leftist fraud
    - c. Author's view: political federation of the globe might have positive aspects in the very long run
- B. WESTERNIZATION IMPEDED (346-48)
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)
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    - 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
    - a. Curious duality
    - b. Catholics vs. Masons
  6. Belgian Plan
    - a. Primary educational system
    - b. Plan for universities
      - 1) The Lovanium
  7. The First Spark
    - a. Football brawl of 1959
    - b. How the unrest was exploited
  8. Upper Katanga
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  9. Transition to Independence

- a. The leaders
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- b. Mutiny of Thysville
- 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
  - a. Development of the cortex
  - b. Miserable education of mothers
  - c. Africa's intellectual handicap
    - 1) Literacy issue
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      - a) Illustration
      - b) Administration makes a country tick
- D. MAGNIFICATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE (358-59)
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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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- E. NATIONAL "BADSTARTS" (359-61)
  - 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
    - d. Mass expulsions and butcheries
- F. MYTH OF ORIGINAL INNOCENCE (361-65)
  - 1. Spiritual Darkness
    - a. Diseases and vices
    - b. Fear-based religions
      - 1) Illustrations from Papau
      - 2) Conversation with an Educated Hindu
        - a) Suttee

2. Consequences of Ideas
    - 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
      - 1) Psychological consequences of decolonization
        - a) Colonial powers' new prosperity
  4. Colonial Adolescence
    - 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
  5. The Damage Done

## CHAPTER NINETEEN: THE NEW LEFT

### Outline

- 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

## CHAPTER TWENTY: CONSERVATIVES AND LIBERALS

### Outline

- 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. Preferrability 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: Józef Pilsudski
    - f. Popular representation, but not parties
      - 1) French Revolution
      - 2) Absolute monarchy formed
    - g. Antinationalism
      - 1) Reaction against German Romanticism
      - 2) Force met by force
- 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-sljets*
    - 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

5. Propaganda and Indoctrination
    - a. Total war
      - 1) WWII developments
      - a) Russian partizani
  6. No Effort Made to Return to the Old System of Professional Armies
    - a. Antinationalist attitude given up
      - 1) Liberty treated with suspicion
  7. Reasons for These Changes
    - a. Anti-intellectual trend
    - b. Jewish attitudes
    - c. Illustrations
      - 1) DNVP
  8. Second Reich
    - a. Restoration could have come only through the Habsburgs
    - b. Opposition to Otto von Bismarck
  9. Italy
  10. France
    - a. Maurras
- 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 demagoguery
      - 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 peccadillos 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 *Scienda* 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 Moëlien
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