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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)
   1. The Distinction
   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
         1) Lack of self-knowledge
         2) Misinformation, ignorance
         3) Deficient historical sense
         4) Differing folklorsch
   5. Books Double Purpose
   6. Author’s Starting Point
      a. Personal liberty
   7. Unwarranted Identification of Democracy with Liberty
   8. Defeats for Liberty
      a. Even Burke welcomed the French Revolution
      b. Disappointments of “progressives”
   9. Democratic Evolution towards Nonviolent Slavery
      a. Roots of the evil are all in 1789
         1) Jacobin Cap as the symbol of iniquity
         2) The heresy-denial of personality and liberty
         3) Its manifestations
   10. Purpose of the Book
PART I: THE LEFTIST MIND

CHAPTER ONE: IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY

Outline

A. TWO BASIC DRIVES: IDENTITY AND DIVERSITY [ONE AND THE MANY] (15-17)
   1. Identitarianism: Herd Instinct, Drive toward Conformity: e.g., Nationalistic Gymnastic Organizations
      a. Nostrism: Effacement of Self, Submergence of Ego, But a Clever Multiplication of Egoisms
      b. Homosexuality as Narcissism
   2. Diversitarian Drives: Herd Instinct vs. Romantic Sentiment
      a. Curiosity for the New
      b. History Results from Man’s Desire for Change [Sameness of the Ant State or Termite State]
      c. Longing for Otherness: Incarnation of Christ
   3. Modern Times Are More Favorable to the Herd Instinct, Conformity
      a. Identity Is a Cousin of Equality
      b. Result: Identitarianism

B. PROGRAMMATIC IDENTITARIANISM HAS FEAR AS ITS DRIVING MOTOR: INFERIORITY COMPLEX (17-20)
   1. Hatred: Helplessness before One Considered to Be Stronger
      a. Slavish Hatred vs. Masterly Contempt
      b. Cruelty Is the Inferior’s Revenge
      c. Spirit of Mass Movements
   2. Envy: Its Complex Psychological Roots
      a. [“Zero-Sum” Feeling: “I Am Poor Because He Is Rich”]
         1) Assumption: All Good Things in This World Are Finite
      b. Suspicion That Others Feel Superior
   3. Mobilization of Envy Has Been the Key to Political Success for 200 Years
      a. Leftist Theme: Opposition to Privileges of Others and a Demand to Conform
      b. Nonconformist Treated as a Traitor: Confusion of Unity with Uniformity
   4. Sameness Simplifies Matters
      a. Two Obstacles: Nature and Man
      b. Procrustean Bed
   5. Mystery of Personality
   6. Equality as a Poor Substitute for Human Identity

CHAPTER TWO: EQUALITY AND LIBERTY

Outline

A. CHRISTIAN VIEW (21)
   1. We Are Not Equally Loved by God
   2. Grace Is Sufficient, Not Equal
      a. Inequality of Saints and Sinners
   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

B. ADVERBIAL EQUALITY: SEMANTIC TRICKERY (22-26)
   1. Why We Should Treat Each Other as Equals
a. Procedural Equality
b. Personal Uniqueness

2. Equality before the Law
   a. Differentiation: By Age
   b. By Circumstance
   c. By Gender

3. Equality of Opportunity
   a. Abolition of Arbitrary Discrimination
   b. Insistence on Indiscriminate Wage Rates
   c. One-Man-One-Vote Principle
   d. Equality of Education: Collectivization of Children

4. Equality of Treatment: F. A. von Hayek
   a. Timocratic Principle
   b. Consolations of Failure in an Unequal Society
   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
   c. Brutal Elitism in Professional Life
   d. Competition in Business, Sports, and Politics

CHAPTER THREE: DEMOCRACY AND LIBERALISM

Outline

A. DEMOCRACY (27-30)
   1. Democracy Is a Political Form, Not a Social Attitude
   2. Definitions
      a. Democracy: *Demos* (People) and *Kratos* (Power)
      b. Monarchy
      c. Aristocracy
      d. Republic: Multitude of Forms
   3. Question "Who Should Rule?" and Answer "Majority of Political Equal
      Citizens" Raises Subsidiary Questions
      a. Direct vs. Representative Democracy
         1) Oligarchic School: Pareto, Mosca, Michels
         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
6. Proper Understanding of Liberalism
   a. Question: "How Should Rule Be Exercised?"
   b. Answer: In Such a Way That Each Citizen Enjoys the Greatest Possible Amount of Personal Liberty"
   c. Limit of Liberty Is the Common Good: Arbitrariness, Relativity
7. Genuine Liberalism: Democracy as Well as Monarchy May Be Liberal
   a. Examples of Liberal Monarchs
   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
   b. Genuine Liberalism Rarely Becomes a Mass Movement -- Conservatism Never
   c. Tocqueville: Danger That Democracy May Evolve into Oppressive Totalitarianism

CHAPTER FOUR: RIGHT AND LEFT

Outline

A. CLEARING THE SEMANTIC RUBBLE (36-37)
   1. Traditional Meanings of Right and Left
   2. Biblical Uses
   3. British Parliament
   4. French Parliament
   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)
   1. Belief That Extremes Meet
C. RIGHT (38-39)
   1. Right Equates with Freedom: Need for Lebensraum (Living Space) for Personal Development
      a. The Great Menace
1) Mass Collectivist Movements  
2) Mad Ambition of Oratorically or Literarily Gifted Intellectuals

2. Right Is Identified with Personal Freedom and Respect for Tradition  
   a. It Stands for Free, Organically Grown Forms of Life  
      1) Respect for Tradition  
      2) Right Is Truly Progressive  
      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

D. LEFT (39)  
1. Left Is the Enemy of Diversity  
   a. Uniformity Is Stressed in All Leftist Utopias  
   b. “One” is the keynote

E. APPLICATIONS OF THIS DICHOTOMY  
1. Structure of the State  
   a. Leftists: Strong Centralization  
   b. Rightists: Federalism, Principle of Subsidiarity  
   c. French Provinces Broken into Dependent Departments
2. Statist Education  
   a. Leftist Is Always a Statist
3. Religion  
   a. Jealous Desire for Undivided Allegiance: Circumscription and Cooptation of the  
      Church  
      1) Atrophy of Religion by Driving It from the Marketplace  
      2) Asphyxiation of the Church through State-Control  
   b. Rejection of the Supernatural: Leftism Is Basically Materialistic  
   c. Provident State: Extension of Government and Dependency  
      1) Alexis de Tocqueville’s Prophecy [cf. Lord Macaulay: “Your Constitution  
         Is All Sail and No Anchor”]  
      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
4. Exceptions to the Rule: Leftist Inroads into the Right  
   a. Spain  
      1) Falangist Nationalism vs. Carlist Federalism  
      2) Catalanian Autonomy: Anarchism Confused with Communism  
   b. Metternich Regime: It Learned Too Much from Its Enemy in Reaction to the  
      French Revolution  
   c. Maurrasism: Monarchism Blended with Nationalism
5. Making Semantical Sense:  
   a. Right: Freedom, Personalism, Variety  
   b. Left: Slavery, Collectivism, Uniformity  
   c. American Liberalism (Vague Leftism) vs. European Liberalism  
   d. [Confucius: If Words Lose Their Meaning, People Lose Their Liberty]

CHAPTER FIVE: THE HISTORIC ORIGINS OF LEFTISM

A. THE EARLIEST ROOTS (47-50)  
1. Hellenic Democracy  
   a. Envy vs. excellence  
   b. Zoon politikon (Aristotle): man as a creature absorbed by the polis  
   c. Death of Socrates
1) The charges
d. Salvador de Madariaga: Western civilization rests on two deaths [cf. Eric Voegelin’s *World of the Polis]*
   1) Crucifixion of Christ
   2) Truth vs. “preferences statistically arrived at”

2. Rome
   a. Caesar: Leftist Dictator
      1) Polybius: *Anakyklosis*
   b. Diocletian
      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
   b. Waldensian
   c. Dualistic Sects
   d. Poor of Lyons

B. THE ENGLISH FORERUNNERS (50-5*)
1. Turlupins
   a. Joachim de Floris
   b. Jacquerie

2. John Ball, Wat Tyler

3. Wyclif
   a. Three criticisms
   b. Parallels with Luther
   c. Poor preachers
   d. Wyclif influenced by Marsilius of Padua
   e. Power resides in the people
   f. Franciscan mendicant orders
   g. Corruption of the best becomes the worst

4. Lollardy
   a. Material envy
   b. Intellectual envy
   c. Spiritual envy
   d. Egalitarian sects

5. Hus and Taboritism
   a. Attack on further image
      1) Unitarianism
      2) Questioning of monarchy
   b. Hus’s nationalism
      1) Hus’s death
   c. Utraquists vs. Taborites
      1) Jan Zížka
      2) Taboritism
      3) Battle of Lipan
   d. Proudhon: Theology is at the bottom of politics
   e. Theism vs. isms

6. Luther and the Reformation
   a. Gothic style
   b. World sects
      1) Thomas Münster
      2) Jan van Leyden
      3) Nikolsburg theology
c. Chiliastic expectation
7. Mid-17th Century England
   a. Levellers
   b. Diggers
8. New England Puritanism
   a. Its oligarchic character

CHAPTER SIX: NASCENT AMERICA

A. COLONIAL ERA (59-61)
   1. Winthrop Contra Democracy
      a. John Cotton
      b. War for Independence Provided Psychological Momentum for the French Revolution
         1) Example of England
         2) Switzerland
         3) French mistranslations
      c. But It Is a Filiation based on a Misunderstanding
         1) American motive for independence
         2) British failure of public relations
         3) British and American claims
      d. Republican Government Was Not Inevitable
         1) Belgium
         2) Christian monarchy was an international, diversitarian institution
         3) Norway
         4) Balkans, except for Serbia and Montenegro, adopted foreign dynasties

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF AN AMERICAN REPUBLIC (61-71)
   1. It Was Not Inevitable
      a. Nathan Gorham
      b. Dutch model
      c. Gen. San Martín’s request of Simón Bolívar
   2. Alexander Hamilton’s Regret That the United States Could Not Become a Monarchy
      a. Francis Lieber noted that the Declaration of Independence is not anti-monarchical
      b. Thomas Jefferson was near the mainstream of American leftism
      c. Gouverneur Morris to Nathanael Greene, 1781
   3. Antimonarchism
      a. Legacy of English civil conflicts
         1) Whigs
         2) Tories
      b. Nobility
         1) Aristocracy vs. Monarchy
         2) Aristocrat as Republican
      c. New Whigs vs. Old Whigs in England
      d. Response of the nobility to War for Independence
         1) Tadeusz Kościuszko
         2) Baron von Steuben
         3) Comte de Rochambeau
         4) Marquis de Lafayette
         5) Kazimierz Pulaski
         6) Charles-Armand Tuffin, Marquis de Rouérie
7) Baron de Kalb
e. American antimonarchism
f. Religious independents
   1) Anti-Catholic anti-hierarchical animosity
   2) Quebec Act

4. Aristocratic Character
   a. Mixed government
      1) Democratizing influences
      2) Switzerland
      3) Rejection of totalitarian democracy
      4) George Washington
   b. John Adams
      a. “Democracy will envy all, contend with all, endeavor to pull down all”
      b. Danger to private property
   c. James Madison
   d. Thomas Jefferson

PART II: LEFTISM IN HISTORY

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Outline

A. GREAT EURAMERICAN MISUNDERSTANDING (72-74)
   1. English and American Views
      a. Insularity
      b. Nonconformist Expatriates on the Continent
      c. Philip Rahv: American Enthusiasm for Europe
      d. Hamilton on Jefferson in France
      e. Gouverneur Morris
         1) His Hatred of Leftist Sentiments
         2) Fear of an American Dictatorship
         3) Irritation with Lafayette
         4) Joy at Bourbon Restoration
   B. FILIATION BETWEEN 1776 AND 1789 (74-76)
      1. 1792 Was Not Inevitable End of 1789
         a. Nobility
            1) Difference from Lower Middle Class Terror
            2) Role of Bloodthirsty Mobs
            3) Nobility of the Robe Forced the Issue: *revolte nobilitaire*
            4) Aristocratic Whiggishness
         b. Jansenist Hatred of Crown
            1) Constitutional Catholics of Bishop Grégoire
            2) Huguenots Burke’s Criticism of Huguenot Behavior
            3) Andre Siegfried’s View
            4) St. Etienne
            5) Anti-Huguenots
         c. The Foreign Influences
            1) Images of England
               a. Voltaire
               b. Metternich’s Obsession with English Influence
               c. Müller-Armack
d. Charles Seignobos
2) Switzerland
3) Romanticized American Example
   a. Roussellian Aura
   b. Frenchman Who Had Fought in America

C. EVIDENCE OF MISUNDERSTANDING (76-78)
1. Examples
   a. French Misunderstanding of the American Revolution
   b. Hamilton and Jefferson
   c. Adams's Self-Blame
   d. Jefferson and Paine
      1) Nazi Praises
      2) Conservative Criticism
2. America: An Aristocratic State
3. Charles-Armand Tuffin

D. COMTE DE SADE: THE GRANDFATHER OF MODERN DEMOCRACY (78-83)
1. Research on De Sade
   a. Dühren
   b. Maurice Heine
   c. Pierre Klossowski
2. His Political and Philosophical Thought
   a. Question of His Influence
3. Pathology of de Sade
4. Personal Background
5. Bastille Imprisonment
   a. His Alleged Contribution to the Fall of the Bastille
   b. July 14
   c. Killing of the Governor
6. De Sade’s Release
   a. His Divorce
7. His Writings
   a. Justine
   b. Later Books
   c. Lost Plan for Totalitarian Sex Control
8. His Materialism
   a. Egalitarian Animal Kingdom
   b. Complete Determinism
   c. No Creation without Determinism
   d. Self-Destruction of Mankind
   e. Children Should be Wards of the State
   f. Mandatory Incest
   g. Promiscuity
   h. Murder
9. Patron Saint of Leftist Movements
   a. Concept of the Party is Leftist
   b. Unpopularity of the Right

E. VOLTAIRE (83-84)
1. He Was a Spiritual Kerensky
2. His Elitism

F. JEAN-JACQUES ROUSSEAU (84-87)
1. Social Contract Theory
2. His Character
3. His Influence
   a. George Herron’s Enthusiasm
   b. American Jacobinism (Fröbel, Pestalozzi)
   c. Seventeenth-Century England as a Model
4. Rousseau and Calvin: The Two Johns of Geneva
   a. Common Emotional Trait
   b. Dialectical Contradiction: Cold Thinker vs. Confused Emotionalist
   c. Jellinek: Thomas Hobbes → Rousseau
      1) Concept of Sovereignty
      2) Mystical Deism
   d. Their Totalitarianism
      1) Constant Aid to Despotism
      2) Notion of the People
   e. Irving Babbitt: Nationalism and Internationalism
      1) Patriotic Virtue as an Emotional Intoxicant
      2) Improving the Mystery of Murder
      3) Naturalism in the Church
   f. Werner Kägi
      1) Rousseau’s Monistic State
      2) Democratic Leviathan
   g. Rousseau’s “Freedom”
      1) Forced to Be Free
      2) A Priori Consent to All Laws
      3) Voice of the People (cf. Jefferson)
   h. Laying the Foundations of Socialism
      1) Glorified Individual as a Cipher
      2) Recreating Man
   i. Contempt for Personality
   j. The Jacobins Who Followed
      1) Saint-Just
      2) Robespierre: Collective Liberty
      3) Fichte and the Nazis

G. THE EVOLUTION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (88-89)
   1. Initial Period
      a. Undermining of Traditional Values
      b. Masochism of the Elite
   2. Politics of Guilt
      a. Louis XVI
      b. Nobility
      c. National and Class Suicide
   3. Role of the Clergy
      a. Christian Heresies Draw Heretics

H. DANGER OF WEAK-WILLED REFORMS (89-91)
   1. Loosening of Reins
      a. Reformation: Reverse of the Enlightenment
   2. Balance of Masses Upset By Radical Changes
      a. Luther
      b. France
   3. The Kerenskys
      a. Lapse into Anarchical Tyranny
      b. Despotism of Single Men
         1) Endless Fratricidal Intrigues
         2) Military Defeat Breaks the Chain

I. LESSONS OF HISTORY (90-91)
   1. Revolutionary Horrors: Logical Outcome of the French Revolution’s Underlying Philosophy
      a. Atrocities Surprised the Relativistic Post-Protestant Mind
      b. Continental Antitheism
   2. French Revolution: Model of Later Horrors
      a. Comparison with Bolsheviks and Nazis
J. CHARACTER OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (91-94)
1. Metternich Observation
2. Nature of the Beast
   [cf. Shakespeare's Julius Caesar: “Cry ‘Havoc!’ and let slip the dogs of war”]
   a. Horrible Massacres under Gen. Turreau
   b. Big Army of Useless Mouths
   c. Arras Horrors
   d. September Massacres
      1) Prostitutes, Bestiality
      2) Butchery of Prostitutes
   e. Man Seen as a Pest
3. Envy
   a. Lavoisier’s Death
   b. Envy for Material Possessions (cf. Diggers)
4. War on the Rich by the Enragés
   a. Joseph Lebon
   b. Jacques Roux
   c. Fall of Robespierre and Babeuf
5. Insipid Teaching about the Revolution
   a. Moralizing Banalities (e.g., the pendulum theory)
   b. Luther: *des Teufels Wirtshauss*
   c. Flight from Theology
   d. Vale of Tears
   e. Loss of the Tragic Sense
   f. Examples of Other Unprovoked “Reactions”
   g. Man Is Not “Good”

K. CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE REVOLUTION (94-96)
1. Increasing Prosperity
   a. Cupidity Driven to New Heights
   b. Comparison with Spain, Italy, Bulgaria
2. Old Nobility and Peasantry
   a. Elimination of Serfdom
   b. Peasant Proprietors
   c. Home Industries
3. Burke’s Observations
   a. Familiarity of Nobility with Lower Classes
   b. Catholic Hierarchy
4. Ideological Preparation
   a. Claude Royer’s Call for Terror
      1) Demand for *Levée en Masse*
   b. Chabot
   c. Priests as Mobmasters
5. Jacobin Fathers
   a. His Role as Censor
      1) Interference with Elie Fréron
      2) Other Persecutions
      3) Philosophes’ Tyrannical Rule over the Literary World
   b. Malesherbes’ End

L. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REVOLUTION (97-100)
1. Revival of Democracy, Primitivism
2. State, Worship, Ethnic Nationalism
3. Influence on Nazism
4. Brinton on the Jacobin Xenophobia
   a. Frenchness as the Touchstone of Equality
b. Crusade against Other Languages

5. National Socialist Savagery vs. Programmatic Terror of French Revolutionaries
a. Ignorance about the Extermination Camps
   1) Schrecklichkeit
b. Boasting of Bestial Deeds
   1) Gen. Westermann’s Extermination of the Vendée
   2) Report from Avranches
   3) Dr. Gainou
   4) Marceau-Desgraviers

c. Orgies of Necrophilia
   1) Spanish Civil War

d. Mass Murder
   1) Fourcroy’s Poison Gas
   2) Carrier

e. Racist Spirit of the Marseillaise

CHAPTER EIGHT: FROM DEMOCRACY TO ROMANTIC SOCIALISM

Outline

A. CONCEPTION OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM (101-02)
   1. More’s Utopia
      a. Four Natural Virtues
   2. Monasticism
      a. Influence on Modern Institutions
      b. Essene Communities
      c. Monachoi or anchorites vs. coenobites
      d. St. Benedict
      e. Decline of the Monasteries
         1) Nonmonastic Orders

B. REFORMATION: REACTION AGAINST RENAISSANCE HUMANISM (102-04)
   1. Luther’s Visit to Rome
      a. Fideism
      b. Alienation of Leading Humanists
   2. Luther’s Calvin
      a. Calvin’s Geneva
   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  
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5. The Great Change
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6. Reversal of Basic Outlook
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   a. Ruling Classes
6. Hotility Against Organized Religion: Privatization of Religion
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8. Antifamilism
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   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
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    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”
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2. Isolationism of American Conservatives
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   c. Grund’s Picture of the Classes

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      1) Conservatism Arose in Reformation Countries
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   b. Nazi Writers in America
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   b. Ideological Divisions
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      b. Stresa Conference
      c. Schuschnigg’s Desire to Restore the Monarchy
      d. Czech and Yugoslav Collaboration with Hitler
      e. Hatred of the Left for the Habsburgs Continues
   7. Ideological Reasons for Withdrawal of Mussolini’s Support
      a. Mussolini’s Announced Intent to Attack Ethiopia
         1) Revenge Motive
      b. British Left’s Call for Sanctions
      c. Moral Issues
         1) Preferability of Italy’s Role
      d. Diplomatic Dilemma
         1) Hoare-Laval Plan
            a) Leftist Sabotage
         2) Sanctions Ineffective
      e. Weakening of Austria’s Position
      f. Eden Drives Mussolini into Hitler’s Arms
   8. Austria’s Loss of Italian Protection
      a. Halifax Note
      b. Inability of Austria to Resist
      c. Reprisals Against Monarchists
   9. American and British Observers
      a. Hull’s Lack of Disapproval
   10. Ambassador William E. Dodd
      a. His Diary
         1) Important Revelations
         2) His Aristophobia, Democratism
         3) His Parochial Specialization
      b. Specimens of His Reactions
c. Assessing Such Ignorance
   1) Other Offenders
      a) Raymond Moley

11. Consequences
   a. Schuschnigg
   b. French Reaction

G. EDWARD BENŠ (281-84)
1. His Obstructionism
2. Reasons for His Suicidal Policy
   a. Anti-Catholic Attitude (Anti-Semitism of the Moderate Left)
   b. Appeasement Toward Germany
   c. Attitude Toward Anglo-Saxons
3. Preference for Anschluss Over Restoration
4. His Stupidity
5. Admiration for Moscow
6. Admiration for Hitler’s Minorities Policy
   a. Transfer of Populations
   b. Problem of the Sudeten Germans
7. Beneš’s Illiberality
8. Post-War Consequences
   a. Collapse of the Whole Edifice of Contradictions
   b. Grave Economic Crisis
   c. Charge of Masters
      1) The Difference

H. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN ((284-88)
1. His Predecessors
2. British Unpreparedness
   a. Czechoslovakia During the War
3. Chamberlain’s Lack of Options
4. Halder-Beck Conspiracy
   a. Generals Despised Him
      1) Fritsch Case
   b. Plan to Arrest Hitler in Case War Broke Out
   c. Theodor Kordt
   d. Failure
   e. Chamberlain’s Psychological Limitation
5. Winston Churchill
   a. Liberal and Deist
   b. Misleading of the Soviets
   c. His Early Hope for Hitler

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN: ANOTHER LIBERAL WAR

Outline

A. LEFTIST ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE FALL OF POLAND (289-91)
   1. Churchill
   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
      b. East Prussian
6. Hitler’s Beliefs Britain Would Not Help Poland
   a. Britain’s Declaration of War a Surprise
7. Advertisement of the Committee on Cultural Freedom

B. OUTBREAK OF WAR (291-94)
1. Unparalleled Depression and Despair
   a. Rightist Resistance
   b. Admiral Canaris
2. Effects of the Stalin-Hitler Pact
   a. Leftists
   b. Volte Face of the Brown Press
   c. Soviet Economic Assistance to Germany
      1) Molotov’s Attitude
3. Soviet Attack on Finland
   a. Finnish Communist Refused to Cooperate
4. Switch in the German-Soviet Alignment
   a. Leftist Manifesto
5. Possible Consequences of a German Victory
   a. Hitler’s Prestige
   b. Alternative Has Also Proven Disastrous

C. BRITAIN AND AMERICA (294-99)
1. Churchill’s Poor Schooling
2. FDR
   a. No Preparation for Statesmanship
      1) Ignorance
   b. Eleanor’s Leftism
   c. Hull’s “Training”
   d. Stettinius
3. Sheer Amateurism of British and Americans
   a. Pragmatism and Anti-Intellectualism
4. Comparison of Churchill and FDR
   a. FDR’s Lack of Moral Responsibility
   b. His Extraordinary Frivolity
   c. Hazy Ideas of the Future Order
      1) Plebiscites Proposed
5. Churchill’s Plan to Invade the Balkans
   a. Wedemeyer on Their Lack of Clearly Defined Political Objectives
      1) Churchill Was No Strategist
6. Air Warfare Policy
   a. Nazi Offer to Limit Air Warfare
   b. Air Secretary Thomson’s Reply
   c. Attack on Rotterdam
   d. Churchill’s Attitude
   e. RAF Began Methodical Bombing
7. Manipulating American Public Opinion
   a. Deceivers Mislead by Their Own Fabrications
      1) Pro-Soviet Propaganda
      2) Soviets’ Demand for More of Poland
   b. Bill Presented in 1945
   c. Building of American Enthusiasm for the Soviet Union
      1) Strong in Highest Social Layers
      2) USSR’s Favorable Press

D. QUENTIN REYNOLDS: JOURNALIST AS PROPAGANDIST (299-306)
1. His Best Anecdote
2. His Deceitfulness
   a. Examples of His Technique
      1) Treatment of Religion
2) A Critique
   a) Church-State Separation
   b) Concentration Camps
   c) Persecution
b. Evaluation of His Technique
c. His Moral Schizophrenia
3. Orgy of Lies
4. Exceptions in the Chorus of Ignorants
   a. Those Who Refused to Play the Game
   b. Office of War Information (OWI)
c. Homo Oeconomicus as an Explanation for the Masses
5. Exegesis of Nazism in the Propaganda
   a. Revival of Stock Characters of WWI Propaganda
   b. Common Man Tossed into a War Aim
   c. Anticolonialism
6. The Common Man Hysteria
   a. Examples
   b. Uncommon Men from Common Origins
   c. Left’s Dawnism
d. Promises of the Wartime Utopia
7. Proposals to Dismember Germany: Henry J. Morgenthau, Jr.

E. SOVIET TERRITORIAL CLAIMS (306-11)
1. Baltic Republics
2. Size of the Demands
   a. Their Acceptability
      1) Churchill’s Cynicism
3. Poland
   a. Curzon Line
   b. Basis of Soviet Claim
      1) Ethnic Minorities in USSR and Poland
      2) Comparable to Hitler’s Claims
   c. 1920 Boundary
      1) Polish Aid to Petlyura
      2) Pilsudski’s Defense of Warsaw
      3) Compromise Peace of Riga
         a) Polish Losses
         4) Flood of Refugees
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
      1) Nuremberg Trial
   b. Other Signs of Soviet Duplicity
      1) Signs Ignored by Leftists
   c. Roosevelt’s Attitude
   d. Churchill’s Attitude
      1) Bombing of Dresden
         a) The Victims
         b) Day of Infamy
F. GERMAN ARMY (311-12)
1. Efforts to Contact Western Allies
2. Unconditional Surrender Formula Kept Secret
   a. The Lives Plowed Under
3. Attempt to Assassinate Hitler
   a. American Attitude
G. EXTERMINATION CAMPS (312)
1. Ignorance of the Common Man
2. Knowledge of Allied Leaders
   a. Léon Blum
   b. Gerstein Report
   c. Indications That the Western Allies Knew

H. YUGOSLAVIA (313-14)
1. Churchill’s Switch to Tito
2. Rank Amateurishness of the Allies
   a. Choice of Evils
   b. Yugoslavia Should Not Have Been Created
3. Refugee Influence in America
   a. Emigration of Jews
   b. Leftists Were the Most Mobile
      1) Borchardt’s Rebuke of Them as Gravediggers of Germany

I. TREASON OF AMERICA’S LEFTISTS (314-20)
1. Hiding Behind Liberal Tolerance
2. The Betrayal Cannot Be Doubtèd
   a. Definition of Treason
   b. Extenuating Circumstances
      1) Admiral Canaris
      2) Count Klaus Stauffenberg
   c. Ideological Warfare
3. Trouble About the So-Called Witch-Hunt
   a. Question of Where to Draw the Line
   b. Commonalities of Leftists
      1)
4. The Case of Eleanor Roosevelt
   a. Her Column
      1) Slow Awakening of the People From Pro-Communist Propaganda
   b. Her Views
5. Wendell Willkie
6. Alger Hiss
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) Rousselianism in Place of Calvinism
8. What Must Be Done
   a. Reconstituting the Great Christian Tradition

J. POTSDAM AND THE JUST WAR SETTLEMENTS (320-24)
1. Declaration of Austrian War Guilt
   a. Soviet Traps
   b. Comparison with 38th Parallel
2. Potsdam Meeting
   a. Truman
   b. Attlee
   c. Outcome
      1) Poland
         a) Warsaw
         b) Lwów
         c) Churchill’s threats to Mikoajczyk
         d) Anglo-Polish Treaty
      d. Fresh acts of folly
         1) War against Japan
         2) Testing of an atomic device had no influence of the Americans
   e. Excuses
1) Prologation of the war
2) Dropping of the war

3. Two Crucial Historic Questions
   a. Why the hasty withdrawal
   b. Why not use America’s atomic monopoly

4. The Armistice
   a. Bombing of Vienna
   b. Prague and Berlin left to Soviets
   c. Patton’s troops ordered back
   d. Berlin and Vienna divided

5. Population Transfers
   a. Oder-Neisse Line
   b. Atrocities, spoliations
   c. Starvation

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
4. Reeducation
   a. Zook Report
      1) Proposed invasion of the German home
5. Fifth Estate
   a. Occupying powers imnsured licenses to leftists

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
      2) Yamashita trial

L. MISMANAGEMENT BY THE LEFT GENERALLY (327-35)
1. Return of South Tyrol Questioned
   a. The bleeding border
2. Operation Keelhaul
   a. Resistance
   b. Eyewitness decriptions
      1) Lienz woods
      2) Dachau’s Russians
   c. Surrender of the Domobranci
3. Italy
4. Greece
5. Yugoslavia
6. France
   a. Petain’s argument with Churchill
   b. Communist terror warfare
      1) Assassinations by the resistance
   c. Moral issue of expendibility by Allies
      1) Gratuitous massacres
7. Leftist Control of UNRRA
   a. La Guardia
   b. Problem of the dips
8. Spain
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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN: ANTICOLONIALISM

Outline

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)
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
   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
   a. Separatism
9. Transition to Independence
The leaders
1) Lumumba
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
2) Voter qualifications
   a) Illustration
   b) Administration makes a country tick

D. MAGNIFICATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE (358-59)
1. Political Gresham’s Law
2. Need For a High Quality Civil Service
3. Incompetence of the Leftist to Design a Policy
   a. His two mistakes
      1) Overrates man
      2) Underrates human variety
   b. Automatic view of progress

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 comonent
      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

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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

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. Preferability 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
      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-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
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 haste 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
4. Differences between conservatives and totalitarians

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