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**From the Selected Works of Steven Alan Samson**

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**HUIZINGASQ.doc**

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# TODD HUIZINGA: THE NEW TOTALITARIAN TEMPTATION STUDY GUIDE, 2016 Steven Alan Samson

## INTRODUCTION: UNDERSTANDING THE EU

### Outline

NOTE: Supranational governance generally is an expression of the larger project of postmodernism. Wikipedia notes that “postmodernism is typically defined by an attitude of skepticism or distrust toward grand narratives, ideologies, and various tenets of Enlightenment rationality, including the existence of objective reality and absolute truth, as well as notions of rationality, human nature, and progress.’ Thus its own narratives should be regarded as rather vague, shapeless works in progress. Postmodernism “is broadly characterized by tendencies to epistemological and moral relativism, pluralism, self-referentiality, and irony.” Operationally, this resembles the “liberationist and transformative right to define oneself” that lies at the heart of the EU’s postmodern ethic. This places it, theologically, a far cry from the “propositional revelation” that Francis Schaeffer finds at the heart of the Biblical worldview.

Helmut Schelsky’s “The New Strategy of Revolution: The ‘Long March’ through the Institutions” (1972) is one of the best analyses of the cultural revolution that has continued to overwhelm the West. [http://www.mmsi.org/ma/18\\_04/schelsky.pdf](http://www.mmsi.org/ma/18_04/schelsky.pdf)

Understanding how best to resist and perhaps reverse it requires an understanding of how and why it has been so effectively marketed. Joe Carter’s “How to Destroy a Culture in 5 Easy Steps,” which draws on the Overton Window, is a good place to start.

<https://www.firstthings.com/web-exclusives/2011/06/how-to-destroy-a-culture-in-easy-steps>

- A. THE EUROPEAN UNION (vii-viii)
  - 1. A Sketch of the EU’s Essence
    - a. Opaque, complex, full of crosscurrents
  - 2. Need to Understand What Makes the EU Tick
    - a. Ideological roots of the eurozone crisis
    - b. Risks of jihadist terror and unmanageable de-Westernization
    - c. Transatlantic alliance
  - 3. Sounding an Alarm
    - a. Soft-utopian ideology of global governance
- B. THE SOFT UTOPIA OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE (viii)
  - 1. Longing for Peace, Prosperity, and Stability
    - a. EU is meant to be a **model for supranational governance**
  - 2. **Soft Utopia** Engendered in the Birthplace of the **Hard Utopias** of Communism and Fascism
    - a. Deficiency of democratic legitimacy
    - b. It puts politics before people
  - 3. European Idea Remains Amorphous [Shapeless, Indeterminate, Indefinite, Vague]
    - a. Vague underlying ideology
- C. THE ENDLESS BECOMING OF THE EU (ix-xii)
  - 1. It Is *Sui Generis* [self-generated]
    - a. Political and economically integrated but not a superstate
  - 2. Its Postmodernity

- a. It exemplifies process [Hegelian process philosophy] rather than outcome
- b. Quintessentially European mind game
- 3. Its Essence
  - a. Aspiration to lead the way to a new world order
- 4. Obsession with **War Prevention** from the Beginning
  - a. **European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)**, 1952 [preceded by Benelux, 1944]
    - 1) Its supranational character was its essence
  - b. Elitist project
- 5. Role of the United States
- 6. **European Economic Community (EEC)**
  - a. **Treaty of Rome**, 1957
- 7. Visionaries
- 8. EU's Objective: Permanent Peace
- 9. Vague and Open-Ended Pursuit of "Ever Closer Union"
  - a. **Vagueness** is strategic [contrast the U.S. Constitution and the "void for vagueness" and "unconstitutional vagueness" rules]
- 10. Importance of Remaining Ill-Defined
- 11. Basic Disagreement
  - a. It is often played out along national lines
- 12. Germany
  - a. Strong attraction of a unified Europe transcending nation-states
  - b. Antinationalism: Being a good person means being pro-EU
- 13. France
  - a. EU as a vehicle to increase French influence
  - b. Instrument to bend Germany to its will
  - c. A means to promote French interests and national grandeur
- 14. Britain
  - a. Singularity and national sovereignty valued
  - b. More protective against encroachments
- D. SUBORDINATING DEMOCRACY AND BENDING REALITY (xii-xv)
  - 1. Case Studies
    - a. High-handedness of EU leaders: Overriding popular will, rewriting history
  - 2. First: EU Response to Referenda
    - a. Ireland and Denmark
    - b. Netherlands and France
      - 1) Treaty substituted for the constitution
  - 3. Second: Debate over Recognizing **Europe's Christian Heritage**
  - 4. Third: **European Monetary Union**
    - a. Common currency (Euro) defied basic economics
      - 1) Political rationale
      - 2) 2008 global financial crisis and sovereign debt crisis in the eurozone
      - 3) Massive bailouts
  - 5. Utopian Ideology Affects All Areas of Policy and Practice
    - a. Global governance goal: **liberation from primary allegiances**
    - b. Globalist view: **Malleability of human nature** [cf. constructivism]
  - 6. Liberationist and Transformative **Right to Define Oneself** [a consequence has been the breakdown of traditional mediating structures that permitted pluralism and subsidiarity]
    - a. EU's approach kicks against the traces of traditional views
  - 7. Non-Acceptance of Traditional or Reality-Based Limits
    - a. Unlimited choice and **absolute autonomy for individuals** [a consequence of their vagueness and *libido dominandi* (lust to rule)]
    - b. This belief has clear implications for **classical rights** based on the **idea**



- a. Footnote: John Fonte on terminology: international, transnational, supranational
  - b. Overriding ideal since the Treaty of Paris, 1951
- B. WHAT THE EU IS NOT (4-5)
  - 1. Ceding of Significant Sovereign Powers to the EU
  - 2. Comparison with the Organization of American States (OAS)
  - 3. How the OAS Differs
    - a. Sovereign member states
    - b. Attempts to hijack the OAS in service of political agendas
  - 4. Both Are **Free-Trade Blocs**
  - 5. EU Is Also a **Customs Union**
    - a. Daniel Hannan: A common external tariff
    - b. Trade negotiations are by the bloc as a whole
  - 6. Common Currency
    - a. **Euro**
    - b. Three holdouts: United Kingdom, Denmark, Sweden
- C. THE EU INSTITUTIONS (6-8)
  - 1. Principal Five EU Institutions
    - a. "Managing" role
  - 2. **European Commission**
    - a. Executive arm of the EU
  - 3. **Council of the European Union**
    - a. Member states are represented by cabinet-level ministers
    - b. Multiple configurations
      - 1) Ten councils
    - c. Quasi-legislative function
  - 4. **European Parliament**
    - a. Supranational legislature made up of 751 members elected by voters in their respective members states
    - b. MEPs
    - c. Political groups
    - d. What it does not do
    - e. What it does do
  - 5. **European Council** (not the Council of Europe, p. 32)
    - a. The top decision-making body in the EU
      - 1) Made up of the presidents and prime ministers of member states
    - b. President is appointed by the member states
    - c. Originated due to Yom Kippur War and the global energy crisis
    - d. "In-between sphere"
  - 6. **Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU)**
    - a. Three distinct courts
    - b. **Doctrine of direct effect:** Gives citizens of EU member states standing to challenge the validity of a national law of their member states that allegedly impinges on their rights under EU legislation
- D. THE EU'S MEMBER STATES (8-10)
  - 1. Series of Enlargements
    - a. Nonmembers
    - b. Albania and former Yugoslav republics
    - c. Former Soviet republics
    - d. Turkey
  - 2. Process of Joining the EU
    - a. **Acquis communautaire**
  - 3. Candidacy
    - a. EU monitoring
    - b. Accession treaty
- E. WHAT IS THE EU? (10-11)

1. EU Law Supersedes **National Law** of Member States
  - a. EU edicts and regulation affect daily life in member states
2. EU Is Not Comparable to a Federal Nation-State
  - a. Europeans persist in thinking of themselves first in national terms
  - b. No European demos
  - c. No unifying language
3. Definition of the EU
4. Caveat
  - a. Essence is to have no definable essence
    - 1) In-between-ness"

## Review

supranationalism	free trade blocs	customs union
European Commission	Council of the European Union	European Parliament
European Council	Court of Justice of the European Union	
doctrine of direct effect	<i>acquis communautaire</i>	national law

# CHAPTER 2: POSTMODERN: THE EU AS AN UNANSWERED QUESTION

## Outline

- A. LACK OF CONSENSUS (12-13)
  1. Alcide De Gasperi
    - a. Question of what road to take
  2. Foundational Uncertainty
    - a. No agreement on the ultimate end, either
- B. CLASHING VISIONS (13-16)
  1. Two Paradigms
  2. **Sovereigntist View**
    - a. **Charles de Gaulle**
    - b. **Margaret Thatcher**
      - 1) 1988 speech
  3. **Integrationist View**
    - a. **Helmut Kohl**
      - 1) United States of Europe
    - b. **José Manuel Barroso**
      - 1) Europe 3.0
      - 2) Community method
  4. Intermediate Position
    - a. Tony Blair
  5. Serious Divergence of Opinion
    - a. De Gaulle
    - b. Thatcher
    - c. Kohl
      - 1) Maastricht Treaty
    - d. Barroso
      - 1) Perfected political union
  6. How Has It Escaped Paralysis?
    - a. Pragmatism
      - 1) Constructive ambiguity
      - 2) Accomplishments

7. Cards Are Stacked Against the Sovereignists
  - a. Supranationalists have rigged the game
- C. THE EU ENIGMA (16-18)
  1. Alcide De Gasperi's Answer
    - a. Association of national sovereignties
  2. Question Left Unanswered
    - a. Gasperi wanted to have it both ways
  3. The European Union Is Two Different Things
    - a. A group of distinct and independent states that retain national sovereignty
    - b. A supranational entity that absorbs and integrates its member states
  4. Its "Bothness" [Ambivalence]
    - a. **Wolfgang Schäuble**
      - 1) Multi-level democracy
      - 2) National-European double democracy
      - 3) Impenetrable thought-edifices of Kant, Hegel, Heidegger, and Habermas
  5. Unanswerable Question
    - a. Postmodern, quintessentially European mind game
      - 1) Its **inscrutability** may be the key to the EU's success
      - 2) Soft utopia
    - b. Jean-Claude Juncker
  6. The **EU Is Process**
    - a. Intentional impenetrability
      - 1) Subterfuge
  7. Soft Utopia
    - a. Regional model for global governance

## Review

sovereignist view  
 integrationist view  
 Wolfgang Schäuble

Charles De Gaulle  
 Helmut Kohl  
 inscrutability

Margaret Thatcher  
 José Manuel Barroso  
 EU is process

# CHAPTER 3: THE UTOPIAN DREAM OF WORLD PEACE

## Outline

- A. AMORPHOUS IDEOLOGY (19)
  1. **Schuman Declaration**
    - a. European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
      - 1) Robert Schuman
    - b. Jean Monnet
  2. Ideology of Global Governance
- B. A NEW WORLD ORDER (20-22)
  1. Pascal Lamy
    - a. "Global challenges need global solutions"
  2. **Jürgen Habermas**: Frankfurt School philosopher
  3. Foundational Consensus of European Elites
    - a. Unrestricted national sovereignty must become a thing of the past
    - b. EU as the prototype
  4. Wolfgang Schäuble
    - a. EU is a model for global governance
  5. **Global Governance**: What Is It?

6. Definitions
  - a. Adil Najam
    - 1) "Management of global process in the absence of global government"
  - b. Thomas G. Weiss
  - c. Shorter definition
- C. GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IS *SUI GENERIS* – JUST LIKE THE EU (22-25)
  1. Habermas Rejects the **Democratic Federal State**
    - a. Instead, a multilevel system as the political constitution of a decentered world society
  2. No One-World Government
    - a. United Nations
    - b. Habermas: Global domestic politics without a world government
  3. **John Fonte**
    - a. Power shift
    - b. Restriction of democratic decision making
    - c. Moral conflict
  4. **No Right to Self-Government**
    - a. Global rule of law
  5. Liberal Democracy Will Be Replaced by Postdemocratic Governance
    - a. Zero-sum conflict between two irreconcilable visions of political life
  6. Grand, Attractive, Ambitious Vision of a Better World
  7. Proposed Policies Would Shrink and Usurp Democratic Self-Government
    - a. **Democratic deficit**
  8. Essence: Usurpation of Democratic Self-Government by a Democratically Uncountable Group of Globalist Elites

### Review

Schuman Declaration  
 democratic federal state  
 democratic deficit

Jürgen Habermas  
 John Fonte

global governance  
 no right to self-government

## PART TWO: INTENDED AND UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES

### CHAPTER 4: OUT OF THE ASHES

#### Outline

- A. POWERFUL SYMBOL OF A NEW EUROPE (29)
  1. Schuman Declaration, 1950
  2. European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)
    - a. Solidarity in production would make war impossible
- B. AN END TO WAR (30-31)
  1. Costs of the World Wars
  2. Death Toll
  3. Nuclear Weapons
  4. **Treaty of Paris**, 1952
    - a. Jean Monnet
  5. Schuman Declaration Attributed the War to the Failure to "Achieve a United Europe"



6. Aim: A United, Post-Nation-State Europe
  - a. Fusion of interests
  - b. Economic community: The basis for broader and deeper community
7. ECSC High Authority
  - a. Sovereign power to build weapons and machinery of war was ceded
- C. FROM EUROPEAN DREAMS TO INSTITUTIONAL REALITY (31-34)
  1. Long History of European Unity
    - a. Immanuel Kant
      - 1) League of peace
  2. Post-WWI
    - a. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi
    - b. Aristide Briand
    - c. Winston Churchill
    - d. **Council of Europe**
  3. League of Nations
    - a. **Woodrow Wilson**
      - 1) Fourteen Points speech
  4. United Nations
    - a. Alliance against the Axis powers
  5. **Marshall Plan**
  6. **Jean Monnet**
    - a. **Monnet method**: utopian objective embedded in a gradualist strategy
    - b. Adrian Hilton
  7. Moving Toward a Utopian Goal in Small, Achievable Steps
    - a. "Benign deception" is at the heart of this strategy
  8. Self-Deception of the Elites
- D. THE UTOPIAN IDEA OF WORLD PEACE (34)
  1. The Goal Has Never Been Only About Europe
  2. Mirror Image of Other Ideologies
  3. Its Ultimate Goals Are Unachievable

### Review

Treaty of Paris  
Marshall Plan

Council of Europe  
Jean Monnet

Woodrow Wilson  
Monnet method

## CHAPTER FIVE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF EUROPE

### Outline

- A. A FALSE STEP (35)
  1. ECSC
  2. **European Defense Community (EDC)**
    - a. Treaty was rejected by the French National Assembly
- B. FROM COMMUNITY TO UNION (35-38)
  1. European Common Market, 1957
    - a. EEC and Euratom
    - b. **Treaty of Rome (TEEC)**, 1957
  2. Merger of the EEC, Euratom, and ECSC into the European Community (EC)
    - a. Linguistic subtleties
  3. **Treaty of Maastricht**, 1993
  4. European Integration Moves Forward in Fits and Starts
    - a. Charles de Gaulle
    - b. **Empty chair crisis**

5. Enlargement
    - a. 28 member states
  6. Deepening via Institutional Changes
    - a. **European Monetary System (EMS)**, 1979
      - 1) European Currency Unit (ECU)
    - b. First direct elections to the parliament
    - c. Single European Act (SEA)
  7. **Maastricht Treaty**, 1993
    - a. European Monetary Union (EMU)
    - b. European Central Bank (ECB)
    - c. UK and Denmark opted-out of the common currency
  8. Treaty of Amsterdam, 1999
- C. FROM THE COMMON CURRENCY TO THE CONSTITUTION (39-40)
1. Euro Coins and Notes, 2002
    - a. Eurozone
  2. **Treaty of Nice**, 2003
    - a. Reforms
      - 1) Weighting of votes
      - 2) Qualified-majority voting
      - 3) Enhanced cooperation
  3. Steps toward Greater Integration
  4. European Convention
    - a. Treaty: Constitution
  5. Rejected in the French and Dutch Referenda
- D. "A CONSTITUTION THROUGH THE BACK DOOR" (40-43)
1. Strategy of Deception
    - a. **Treaty of Lisbon**
      - 1) Cosmetic amendments
  2. Analysis by **Jens-Peter Bonde**
    - a. "Constitution through the back door"
    - b. "Constitution without democracy"
    - c. Massive transfer of power to the EU
  3. Myriad of Structural Changes
    - a. Two presidents
    - b. De facto EU foreign minister
    - c. EEAS: EU-level diplomatic corps
  4. Legal Personality Conferred on the EU
    - a. **Charter of Fundamental Rights** of the European Union
      - 1) Pretext for the pursuit of a supranational human rights policy
  5. Symbolism
    - a. "Bill of rights"
    - b. EU citizenship
    - c. Beethoven/Schiller *Ode to Joy*
    - d. EU flag
  6. Road from ECSC to the EU
    - a. "Ever closer union" imposed from the top down

## Review

European Defense Community empty chair crisis  
 Treaty of Nice Treaty of Lisbon  
 Charter of Fundamental Rights

Maastricht Treaty  
 Jens Peter Bonde

# CHAPTER SIX: THE CLOAK OF CONSTRUCTIVE AMBIGUITY

## Outline

- A. KEY FOUNDATIONAL PHRASE (44-45)
  - 1. Cusp of Becoming Pan-European
    - a. 40-60% of laws affecting people originate in Brussels
    - b. Practice diverges from law and regulation
  - 2. Goal: "Ever Closer Union"
- B. HOW "EVER CLOSER UNION" HOLDS THE PROJECT TOGETHER (45-47)
  - 1. Essence of the EU
  - 2. Bothness
    - a. Ideal of a unifying supranational governance
    - b. Lack of clear objective content
  - 3. **Monnet method**: Ultimate Meaning Is Left Open
  - 4. Paradox at Its Heart
    - a. Joseph Weiler: Closer union among the peoples of Europe
  - 5. Unity in Diversity
    - a. Cris Shore
      - 1) Safeguarding cultural diversity is not the underlying purpose; it is Promoting Europe's overarching unity
      - 2) Deliberate ambiguity
  - 6. Ambiguity Is Also for the Elites
    - a. EU and national jurisdiction are hopelessly intertwined
  - 7. Keeping Supranationalists and Nationalists Together
- C. THE WORLDVIEW AND DIRECTION OF EVER CLOSER UNION (47-48)
  - 1. Animating Idea behind This State of Constant Change
  - 2. The Haziness Is Deceptive
    - a. Beneath its postmodern flux lurks a steely determination
  - 3. Fixed Framework
    - a. Fluid, undecided, evolving relations
    - b. David Cameron's criticism
  - 4. Post-Democratic Coloring
    - a. Victory of the visionaries over the pragmatists
    - b. Supranationalists have their ideas in black-and-white

## Review

Monnet method

Cris Shore

# PART THREE: CASE STUDIES IN SOFT UTOPIA

## CHAPTER 7: GETTING IT RIGHT THE SECOND TIME

### Outline

- A. DISARMING RHETORIC OF DEMOCRACY (51)
  - 1. **Adrian Hilton's** Synopsis of the Monnet Method
  - 2. EU's **Disrespect for Democracy**
    - a. Refusal to accept the result of votes

- B. GETTING THE DANES TO YES (51-53)
  - 1. **Danish Referendum**, 1992
  - 2. Reaction of **Jacques Delors**
  - 3. Reactions of John Major and Poul Schluter
  - 4. Verdict Could Not Be Allowed to Stand
  - 5. **Edinburgh Agreement**
    - a. Danish opt-outs
      - 1) Outside eurozone
      - 2) Citizenship issue
  - 6. Second Danish Referendum, 1993
  - 7. Other Referendums in Ireland and France
- C. TEACHING THE IRISH A LESSON OR TWO (53-55)
  - 1. EU Membership Traditionally Held in Favor in **Ireland**
    - a. Reasons
      - 1) Structural funds that fueled Ireland's economic boom
      - 2) Troubled history of Great Britain's dominance of Ireland
  - 2. Treaty of Nice Rejected, 2001
  - 3. Resignation to Lack of a Voice
  - 4. Second Referendum, 2002
    - a. Seville Declaration
  - 5. Treaty of Lisbon, 2008
  - 6. Calls for a Second Vote
  - 7. Second Try, 2009
    - a. Blatant scare tactic
- D. THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION (56-57)
  - 1. Earlier **Rejections by the French and Dutch**
  - 2. European Constitution
    - a. Guy Verhofstadt
      - 1) Response to 9-11 terror attacks
    - b. European Convention
  - 3. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing
  - 4. Impossible to Call for a Revote
  - 5. Repackaging of the Constitution as the **Lisbon Treaty**

### Review

Adfrian Hilton	disrespect for democracy	Danish referendum
Jacques Delors	Edinburgh Agreement	Ireland
rejections by French and Dutch	Lisbon Treaty	

## CHAPTER 8: *ÉCRASEZ L'INFÂME*: RELIGION AND THE EU CONSTITUTION

### Outline

- A. CONSTITUTIONS (58-59)
  - 1. Expression of a People's Identity
  - 2. U.S. Constitution
  - 3. Germany's Basic Law
  - 4. Polish Constitution
- B. CREATING A EUROPEAN IDENTITY (59-60)
  - 1. Call for a Constitutional Convention
  - 2. Convention on the Future of Europe, 2002

- a. Debate about Christianity
  - 3. Other Motivations
    - a. Practical agenda
    - b. Transparency
    - c. Question of what is the European people
- C. TRADITIONALISTS VS. PROGRESSIVES, AND A STUBBORN FRENCHMAN (60-64)
  - 1. Christendom
    - a. The debate was about three questions
  - 2. Predictable Lineup
    - a. Traditionalists
    - b. Progressives
    - c. States that remained neutral
  - 3. **Valéry Giscard d'Estaing**
    - a. Projection of *laïcité* onto the entire continent
  - 4. Successive Drafts of the Constitution Omitted God and Christianity
    - a. Distinctly **secularist statement**
    - b. Debate
  - 5. First-draft preamble
    - a. Traditionalists effectively blocked
  - 6. Petition
  - 7. **John Paul II**
  - 8. Secularists
  - 9. Seven Dissenting States
  - 10. Lisbon Treaty
    - a. Angela Merkel
- D. A POST-CHRISTIAN EUROPEAN IDENTITY? (64-65)
  - 1. Opening Clause
  - 2. Religion Perceived as a Competitor to This Utopian Experiment
  - 3. Reference to Christianity Was Rejected Because It Would Have Been Unambiguous
  - 4. EU Has to Be a **Postmodern Narrative**: Inventing and Reinventing Itself
    - a. Such an entity cannot logically acknowledge its roots in Christianity [or anything else so specific]
  - 5. European Elites Aspire to Create a European Identity [by dissolving competing identities]

NOTE: This project resembles the reproach Bertholt Brecht made following the East German uprising of 1952:

#### THE SOLUTION

After the uprising of the 17th June  
 The Secretary of the Writers Union  
 Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinallee  
 Stating that the people  
 Had forfeited the confidence of the government  
 And could win it back only  
 By redoubled efforts. Would it not be easier  
 In that case for the government  
 To dissolve the people  
 And elect another?

#### Review

Valéry Giscard d'Estaing  
 postmodern narrative

secularist statement

John Paul II

# CHAPTER 10: ABSOLUTE AUTONOMY: THE GLOBAL ETHIC OF WOMEN'S RIGHTS

## Outline

- A. TRANSFORMATIVE AND LIBERATIONIST MODEL OF HUMAN RIGHTS (77-80)
  - 1. Robust Engagement in Behalf of Human Rights Is Wise
  - 2. But What These Rights Are, Is Not Axiomatic
    - a. Switch to a secular culture of cultural relativism
    - b. It coincides with the growth of global governance ideology
    - c. Mainstreaming of women's, children's, and LGBT rights into all areas of EU policy making
  - 3. What They Have in Common: A Notion of the Absolute Autonomy of the Individual
    - a. They are transformative and liberationist
  - 4. EU's View of Human Rights
    - a. Transformation of the idea of what people are
      - 1) Liberation from the constraints of traditional familial and social bonds
      - 2) **LGBT rights**: centrality of this transformative aspect
  - 5. Complete Departure from **Classical Human Rights**
    - a. These were based on the Christian/Enlightenment view of human nature
    - b. **Declaration of Independence**
  - 6. Grounding in Common Sense
    - a. Bill of Rights
    - b. Individuals are embedded in communities
  - 7. Common Sense Value That Is the Keystone Is the Family
    - a. These skewed, redefined rights are the rights that matter in the EU
- B. LIBERATING WOMEN FROM THEIR CHILDREN (80-85)
  - 1. The Women's Right *Sine Qua Non* Is the **Right to Choose**
  - 2. Abortion Falls within the Remit of Member States
    - a. Malta, Ireland and Poland are outliers
  - 3. Cornerstones of the Abortion Lobby's Claim to International Legitimacy
    - a. **Cairo Agenda** (ICPD)
    - b. **Beijing Platform for Action**
  - 4. "Reproductive Health"
  - 5. Clear Definitions Are Avoided in Order to Preserve Deniability
    - a. Subtle changes in phrasing
    - b. Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (**SRHR**)
  - 6. Follow the Money
    - a. Development assistance
      - 1) **International Planned Parenthood Federation** (IPPF)
      - 2) Marie Stopes International (MSI)
  - 7. European Dignity Watch Report
    - a. Funding of overseas abortions and abortion-related services
      - 1) "Menstrual regulation"
  - 8. SRHR Is a Top Priority
  - 9. Fighting HIV/AIDS Linked to Promoting Abortion
    - a. Poul Nielson
      - 1) "Comprehensive policy"
  - 10. **Mexico City Policy** ("Global Gag Rule")
    - a. ICPD

- b. Policy rescinded
  - 11. European Parliament Role
  - 12. Reinvention of "Women's Rights"
    - a. Liberation from the constraints of motherhood
  - 13. Pro-Life Minority
    - a. Use of the language of supranational governance
  - 14. Anna Zaborska
    - a. Her argument undermines itself
- C. SRHR AND THE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS (85-88)
  - 1. Development of a Global Human Rights Ethic
  - 2. "An Advocate's Guide"
    - a. Monitoring progress toward "universal access" to SRHR
    - b. ICPD Programme of Action
  - 3. EU Disclaimer
  - 4. EU Promotion of the **Ideology of Transformative Rights**
    - a. UN's **Sustainable Development Goals** (SDGs)
      - 1) Successor to the Millennium Development Goals
  - 5. EU Is Helping Set the Ideological Framework of Global Correctness
    - a. Quasi-theological jargon
  - 6. European Commission Endorsement of SDGs
    - a. New transformative post-2015 agenda
  - 7. European Parliament: "Universality, Indivisibility and Interdependence of All Human Rights of All People"
  - 8. Council of Ministers
    - a. Homage to the Cairo and Beijing protocols
- D. THE LANGUAGE AND FAITH OF GLOBAL CULTURAL CHANGE (88-90)
  - 1. Role of the U.S. Government
  - 2. EU Is Pursuing Global Cultural Change
    - a. **Marguerite Peeters**
  - 3. Global Ethic Places Itself above National Sovereignty
    - a. And above parents, educators and religion
      - 1) It is a child of postmodernity
      - 2) Arbitrary sovereignty of the individual
      - 3) "Right to choose" is the fundamental norm
  - 4. For Postmodernity, Reality Is a Text to Be Interpreted
    - a. Truth and reality are merely social constructs
    - b. New language of global cultural change
    - c. Tendency to exclude words specifically belonging to the Judeo-Christian tradition
  - 5. Language of Globalism Is Vague and Ambiguous
    - a. Providing clarity would contradict the norm of the right to choose
      - 1) Life itself is regarded as an unanswered question shrouded in ambiguity
  - 6. "What the Global Ethic Deconstructs Is the Very Anthropological Structure of the Human Person"

## Review

LGBT rights	classical human rights	Declaration of Independence
right to choose	Cairo Agenda	Beijing Platform for Action
International Planned Parenthood Federation		Mexico City Policy
ideology of transformative rights	Sustainable development goals	Marguerite Peeters

# PART FIVE: OUR BEST FRIENDS AND OUR WORST ANTAGONISTS

## CHAPTER 13: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

### Outline

- A. THE AMERICAN SYSTEM (119-21)
  - 1. **U.S. Treaty Reservations**
    - a. John Fonte
      - 1) "The Constitution trumps the international convention"
  - 2. Core of National Sovereignty in the American Understanding
  - 3. "We the People"
    - a. **Philadelphian sovereignty**
  - 4. Declaration of Independence
    - a. Consent of the American people
    - b. The Constitution is the supreme law of the land
- B. THE TRANSATLANTIC CLASH OF VISIONS (121-24)
  - 1. U.S. Government Does Not Have the Right to Transfer Sovereignty to Any Other Organization
    - a. It is the opposite for EU states
    - b. EU's vision of supranational governance is a global one
  - 2. EU's Goal of Creating a Post-Nation-State
    - a. Best friends and allies are also our worst antagonists
    - b. American attitude is offensive to global governancers
    - c. Ditto for Israel
  - 3. Intellectual Pioneers of the EU Project Foresaw This Agenda and Embraced It
    - a. **Jean Monnet**
  - 4. Overweening Ambition of Wanting to Organize the World
    - a. Inherently totalitarian ramifications
    - b. Imposition of this vision on those who resist
      - 1) Root of the ineradicable anti-Americanism
  - 5. America Is Big Enough to Stand in the Way of the Grand Global Governance Plan
    - a. **Jürgen Habermas**
    - b. United States harbors an opposing vision of the world
      - 1) World of sovereign nation-states
    - c. Its dominance of world affairs
    - d. It makes the EU vision seem like a soft-power fantasy
  - 6. Common Argument for European Integration
  - 7. It Is Almost a 19C **Balance-of-Power** Thesis
    - a. But this does not necessarily mean anti-Americanism
    - b. Does it mean to undermine the dominant role of the United States?
- C. CLASHING ALLIES, BUT ALLIES NONETHELESS? (124-25)
  - 1. Collision Course
    - a. Why is it not more apparent?
    - b. Reasons for the paradox
      - 1) Global governance ideology has not yet won the day in Europe
      - 2) It competes with the everyday reality of a Europe of democracies
      - 3) United States and European democracies still need each other
  - 2. The Ideology Is Nevertheless a Dire Threat



- a. It has been actively undermining the shared transatlantic commitment to self-government
- b. EU's pursuit of its vision is large escaping public notice
- c. U.S.-EU alliance is threatening to hollow out

### Review

U.S. treaty reservations  
Jürgen Habermas

Philadelphian sovereignty  
balance of power

Jean Monnet

## PART SIX: SOFT UTOPIA AT A CROSSROADS

### CHAPTER 19: THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRACY IN EUROPE

#### Outline

- A. MAY 2014 EUROPEAN ELECTIONS (187-88)
  - 1. Anti-EU and Euroskeptical Gains
  - 2. Recently Established Protest Parties
  - 3. Euroskepticism Is Less of a Factor in Former Eastern Bloc States
    - a. Growing apathy toward the EU at election time
- B. THE WINNERS AND THE LOSERS (188-91)
  - 1. **United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)**
  - 2. **Front National (FN)**
  - 3. Danish People's Party
  - 4. Podemos
  - 5. Greece
  - 6. Sweden Democrats
  - 7. Germany
  - 8. The Losers
    - a. Pro-EU parties
    - b. **Geert Wilders'** Party for Freedom (PVV)
  - 9. Christian Democratic Union and Angela Merkel
  - 10. Social Democrats
  - 11. Italy's Democratic Party
    - a. Matteo Renzi
  - 12. Five Star Movement
  - 13. Forza Italia
    - a. Silvio Berlusconi
  - 14. Sinn Fein
  - 15. Others
- C. DESTABILIZATION OF POLITICS IN EUROPE (191-93)
  - 1. Euroskeptical Antiestablishment Wave Is Not Subsiding
    - a. **Marine LePen**
    - b. Podemos
    - c. PVV
    - d. Sweden Democrats
  - 2. UKIP
  - 3. Migrant Crisis and the Attack on Paris
  - 4. Unhappiness with the Pro-EU Establishment

5. Destabilization
  - a. Rise of anti-EU parties
  - b. Weakening of long-dominant parties and splintering of political affiliations
  - c. Two grand coalitions in Germany
6. Netherlands
7. British Politics
8. Subnational Weakening of National Loyalties
9. Pernicious Effects of the EU Democratic Deficit Are Degrading National Parties
  - a. Unresponsive elite-driven consensus of the established parties
- D. FOR LACK OF A BETTER IDEA: POLITICS AS USUAL (193-94)
  1. May 2014 Postmortem
    - a. **Herman van Rompuy**
  2. They Didn't Get It
  3. Not Much Has Changed Since Then
    - a. Jean-Claude Juncker
  4. Final Straws
- E. AGAINST ALL ODDS, THE REVIVAL OF DEMOCRACY? (195)
  1. Populist Surge
  2. Euroskeptic Parties Are Becoming More Mainstream
  3. Need to Revive Responsive Democracy

## Review

United Nations Independence Party  
Geert Wilders

Marine LePen

Front Nationa  
Herman van Rompuy

# EPILOGUE: WILL AMERICA FOLLOW THE EU INTO THE SOFT UTOPIA?

## Outline

- A. WHETHER AMERICANS WISH THEIR COUNTRY TO BECOME MORE LIKE EUROPE (197-98)
  1. Recurring Theme in U.S. Politics
  2. What Does It Mean?
    - a. Eurozone crisis and unsustainable sovereign debt
      - 1) Samuel Gregg
      - 2) Heart of a culture's identity
- B. NEOPROGRESSIVISM AND THE EXPANDING STATE (198-202)
  1. William B. Allen
    - a. National character: Is it a lover of liberty?
    - b. CAP
  2. Abandonment of the Idea of Consent
    - a. Substitution of a welfare model of legitimacy
  3. **Principle of Legitimacy by Consent** Is Abandoned in Favor of Relativism
    - a. Absent objective truth or unchanging human nature, citizens cannot claim truly inalienable rights
      - 1) It is the state that shapes the individual
      - 2) There can be nothing more than comfort and entertainment
  4. Two Corollaries
    - a. Unlimited government power required to effectuate civil rights
    - b. Human rights to be protected for all people globally

5. Why These Two Principles Arise from the Relativistic Foundations of **Neoprogessivism**
    - a. Accepted model: Government as **provider of enjoyments**, which become entitlements, then rights
    - b. **Human rights** will be determined by an elite
      - 1) Power can be attained and held only by coercion
    - c. No authoritatively objective basis for limiting political power
  6. Government as Provider Expands to Government as Master
    - a. Expansion geographically
    - b. National sovereignty as an impermissible limit to the elite's power to decide for everyone everywhere what is just and true
    - c. Migrant crisis
    - d. Unlimited power grab to define truth and justice
  7. These Are the Logical Ramifications in Principle
    - a. Symptoms in the United States
  8. Growing Affinity for European-Style Social Democracy
    - a. People demand more as a matter of entitlement
  9. **Charles Murray**
    - a. *Coming Apart*
      - 1) Centrality of freedom
    - b. How excessive government intervention contributes to social breakdown
      - 1) New lower class
  10. Abdication of Personal Responsibility
    - a. Result of the interventionist welfare state
    - b. Europe Syndrome
- C. THE LOSS OF FAITH AND CIVILIZATIONAL EXHAUSTION (202-05)
1. Non-Affiliation
  2. Void Is Filled by a **Post-Christian Moral Paradigm**
    - a. Bursting of Judeo-Christian moral boundaries
  3. LGBT Rights
    - a. Rainbow flag
      - 1) Madrid and Tallinn
      - 2) Tel Aviv
      - 3) Bratislava, Stockholm, Shenyang, London
  4. Gay Rights Equated with Human Rights
  5. Vacuum
    - a. Secular hope
  6. Soft Utopia
    - a. Overriding desire for ease and comfort
    - b. Utopia of civilizational exhaustion
  7. Civilizational Exhaustion
  8. **Mark Steyn, *America Alone***
    - a. Remorseless transformation into Eurabia
    - b. Civilizational ennui
    - c. Modern welfare state has annexed all the responsibilities of adulthood
      - 1) Severance from the survival instinct
  9. America as a Kind of Geopolitical Sugar Daddy
    - a. Europe absolved of the traditional responsibilities of nationhood
    - b. Cultural suicide
    - c. Self-destructive lack of resolve
  10. Lack of Resolve to Defend the West
    - a. Dawn of a new Dark Ages
- D. SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE SPLENDOR OF OBJECTIVE TRUTH (205-07)
1. What Is the Remedy?
    - a. Advocates of robust liberal democracy
    - b. Partisans of global governance

2. Elevation of Individual Choice over Objective Truth
    - a. Freedom of choice destroyed
    - b. State becomes to ultimate arbiter of which version of truth is to be enforced
    - c. No reason to put geographical limits on power
    - d. Challenge of Islam
  3. Philosophical Weakness of an Ideology Based on the Revolt against Truth
    - a. Lack of credibility
      - 1) Unwillingness to tolerate ideological rivals
      - 2) It must be imposed universally in order for it to survive
  4. Idea of Global Governance Is Utopian and Unrealistic
    - a. It ultimately will not work
    - b. Power will be held by elite opinion makers and power brokers
  5. American Elite as the Transmission Belt
    - a. **Ideological hegemony** (Antonio Gramsci)
- E. WHAT IS TO BE DONE? (207-09)
1. America's Immeasurable Debt to Europe
  2. Uneasy Coexistence of the Old and New Europe
  3. Need for a Reformation
    - a. An EU of sovereign states
    - b. EU and NATO shares responsibility for stable peace
    - c. Democratic sovereignty
  4. The Choice
    - a. Self-government vs. slow suicide of liberal democracy

## Review

principle of legitimacy by consent	neoprogressivism	Charles Murray
provider of enjoyments	human rights	post-Christian moral paradigm
Mark Steyn	ideological hegemony	