

Liberty University

From the Selected Works of Steven Alan Samson

Fall 2018

GOVT 332 – Politics of Europe (2018)

Steven Alan Samson



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LIBERTY UNIVERSITY
Helms School of Government
GOVT 332 – POLITICS OF EUROPE
Autumn Semester 2018

Dr. Steven Alan Samson

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GH 1661T

Office Hours MWF 12:00-12:50, 15:15-16:55, T 08:30-10:30; and by appointment

- I Course Description** A survey of the political systems of Britain, France, Germany, and Russia, comparing how various forms of government provide for the requirements of their citizens and the tasks of governing.
- II. Rationale** As the cultural hearth of Christendom, Europe was the historic locus of the political, economic, and increasingly secular development of Western civilization. Until recently Europe was also the strategic focus of the modern international system under the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). Although Europe remains a major center of economic activity, its political and military leadership has weakened since the Second World War. As part of the comparative politics sequence, GOVT 332 examines Europe's transition from Great Power politics of its imperial past to the technocratic regime of a European Union that seeks to create an integrated economic and political system even as demographic winter approaches.

- III. Prerequisite** GOVT 200, GOVT 210, or GOVT 220

It is the student's responsibility to make up any prerequisite deficiencies, as stated in the Liberty University Catalog, which would prevent the successful completion of this course.

- IV. Materials List**

Each required book and/or reading will be represented on one or more tests as shown on the Class Schedule. The Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Hancock texts are noted on the Class Schedule by an abbreviation: K. 1 = Kuehnelt-Leddihn, chapter 1; H = Hancock

Required

Blackboard Readings [Blackboard]

[The European Conservative, vol. 13 Winter-Spring 2016](#)

Huizinga, Todd. The New Totalitarian Temptation. New York: Encounter Books, 2015. ISBN: 978-1594037894

Kuehnelt-Leddihn, Erik von. The Intelligent American's Guide to Europe. New Rochelle, NY: Arlington House, 1979. [K. 1-36] ISBN: 0870004190 (reprint)

GOVT 332: Politics of Europe Reader, which contains
Study Guide

Vladimir Bukovsky and Pavel Stroilov. EUSSR

Weigel, George. The Cube and the Cathedral ISBN: 978-0465092666

Collateral

Laqueur, Walter. The Last Days of Europe [L. Introduction-4] ISBN: ISBN: 978-0312368708
Soviet Archives. <http://www.bukovsky-archives.net/>

- V. Learning Outcomes**

1. Students will identify and review a variety of concepts and historical as well as social science approaches to the comparative study of European political institutions.
2. Students will recognize and be able to locate European countries and other features on outline maps.
3. Students will analyze and compare the history, geography, economies, governing institutions, and political behavior of contemporary European nations, states, and international entities.
4. Students will thereby become better equipped to understand, participate in, and evaluate international political processes.

VI. Assignments/Requirements

1. **Reading:** a) Each student is responsible for completing reading assignments listed on the Class Schedule **prior** to class. b) The emphasis is on close and careful reading of the texts (what the French call *explication de texte*). c) Keeping a loose leaf notebook of class materials is highly recommended. d) The schedule may change from time to time requiring adjustment of the schedule along the way. Changes to the schedule on the syllabus will be posted on Blackboard with the date of the change. e) Recent articles may be posted periodically and usually included as optional sources for answering short essay questions. f) **Collateral (optional) reading** is especially for honors students, graduate students, and others who are interested.
2. **Workbook** Purchase of the workbook is **mandatory**.
3. **Class Participation** is an essential part of class. Textbook chapters, collateral readings, and current events will be the subject of class commentary and discussions. It is recommended that students follow <http://www.stratfor.com/>, particularly the pieces by George Friedman and Robert D. Kaplan. The full Stratfor service is obtainable on campus through the library's database links under S. Students should come prepared to discuss textbook readings as well as current events.

VII. Grading Policies

1. **Tests** (900 points): a) Students will be tested on the lecture and reading material through a series of seven tests and a map test. Tests will normally be taken during the last 25 minutes of the class period. The entire class period will be given to tests with short essays. b) At least six tests, including the mandatory seventh (final) test, must be completed in order to complete the course. c) The final grade will be calculated on the combined total of six regular test scores (including the final test) plus a separate map test. The lowest test score of the first six tests will be exempted from the calculation and hidden from view. d) In preparing for objective tests, please note the **review** section for the readings when the sixth test score is posted. The major readings in the workbook, those posted on Blackboard, and those linked to the syllabus have review sections at the end of the study aids for each reading or chapter. Each review item represents a specific question that may be on the test (and most will be on the test). e) One short essay each will be required on the second, fourth, and sixth tests, and be optional on the final (seventh) test. Essay topics will be posted about a week in advance of each test. The questions will be drawn primarily from designated short readings (posted on Blackboard or on the syllabus). They are noted under **Short Essay** for each particular test. Advice for writing a good essay: Start with a thesis statement, develop an essay point-by-point using specific examples, and then draw a conclusion based on these points. Make sure you answer all parts of the question and pay attention to specific instructions and make use of the posted rubric. The idea is to integrate the material and show a command of the subject. f) It is always wise to check Blackboard or e-mail for possible schedule changes. g) A **Europe map test** is scheduled for **Wednesday, September 17**. Students will identify

by number 60 countries and natural features shown on a collection of maps that will accompany the test. The score, ranging from 0-60, will be recorded on Gradebook. Map Exercises may be found at various sites, such as the following:

<http://www.ilike2learn.com/ilike2learn/africa.html> and
<http://lizardpoint.com/geography/>.

2. **Makeup Tests:** a) Make-up tests have become a logistical nightmare due to the quantity of tests, university-sponsored activities, and various reasons for absence, especially due to receiving last minute requests via e-mail. So please do **not** e-mail me that you are going to be absent or that you wish to make up a test. You may e-mail me if you have been unavoidably absent for a prolonged period and wish to make arrangements for your return. Otherwise, see me in person after class or during office hours. Please do not request to take a test early. Here is a set of procedures to follow. (1) General rule number one: Since **all** students are required to be in class on the dates of designated academic events, *i.e.*, test dates, the test **must** be taken at the scheduled date and time in the scheduled classroom. This includes students who normally take their tests at Testing Services. I lecture for the first half of the period on test days. Since test dates and specific readings are subject to change until roughly a week in advance of the test, please consult **only** the on-line syllabus for those dates. 2) General rule number two: The first test you miss will be counted as the low test score, which is automatically dropped before the final exam. The second test you miss will require you to take the optional test during the final exam period. 3) General rule number three: If you miss the test due to a required university-sponsored activity, military exercise, documented illness, or family emergency (for which you bring documentation from Student Affairs), please see me at the end of class the day after the test has been given or on the date of returning to class. Please hand me a note with your name and make-up test information. I will then arrange for a test to be sent to Testing Services. You must make arrangements on-line with Testing Services to take the test. If you fail to do this, general rule number two will apply. The make-up test must be taken within one week except in cases where I have been notified of a prolonged absence. I will not post the scores of make-up tests until a week or more after the regular test. 4) General rule number four: No more than **one** extra make-up **or** replacement test per student will be made available during the final exam period (and only with prior notification to me in class). It is your responsibility to stay on top of these matters.
3. **Test Scores and Final Grades:** a) Raw scores for the tests, including any extra points given to compensate for problematic questions and 0-4 points for short essays, will be multiplied by four and recorded in the Gradebook section of Blackboard. Raw scores for the short essays range from 0=Unacceptable or No Answer, 1=Poor, 2=Fair or Average, 3=Good, and 4=Superior. b) Each objective question is worth one point (raw score) and four points when multiplied to be recorded on Blackboard. Regular tests are composed of a minimum of 35 questions (or 33 objective questions and one short essay) and are worth 140 points maximum. d) Short essay points are included in the recorded score. A selection of essay questions (from which you will choose **one**) will be posted about a week in advance of each test. The questions will be drawn primarily from designated short readings (posted on Blackboard or on the syllabus). They are noted under **short essay** for each particular test. Advice for writing a good essay: Start with a thesis statement, develop an essay point-by-point using specific examples, and then draw a conclusion based on these points. Make sure you answer all parts of the question and pay attention to specific instructions. The idea is to integrate the material and show a command of the subject. e) Only six of the seven regular tests will be counted; the lowest score will be dropped following the sixth test. f) A second low test score may be replaced by substituting a test taken during the final exam period on the collateral book by Walter Laqueur, *The Last Days of Europe*.
4. **Book Review, Area Study, and Presentations** (100 points): Each student will: a) Give PowerPoint presentation on a country or region of Europe; and b) give a book

review/PowerPoint presentation after Thanksgiving. A PowerPoint slide presentation is encouraged. The countries/regions which may be chosen are: Spain (and Portugal); the Low Countries; Sweden (and Scandinavia); Italy; Switzerland; and Poland. Additional students may choose the former Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary, the former Czechoslovakia, Ukraine, or the Microstates. Suggested books for the book review include the following:

Bruckner, Pascal. *The Tyranny of Guilt*, 2010

Djilas, Milovan. *Conversations with Stalin*, 1962.

_____. *The New Class*, 1957. The classic on the power and privileges of the Communist nomenklatura

Douglas-Home, Jessica. *Once Upon Another Time: Ventures Behind the Iron Curtain*, 2000. Roger Scruton and others involved in smuggling professors and books into underground schools.

Finkelkraut, Alain. *The Defeat of the Mind*, 1995

Gregg, Samuel. *Becoming Europe*, 2013

Hitchens, Peter. *The Rage against God*, 2010

Manent, Pierre. *Democracy without Nations?* 2007

Pera, Marcello. *Why We Must Call Ourselves Christians*, 2011

Ratzinger, Joseph. *Europe: Today and Tomorrow*, 2007.

Schall, James V. *The Regensburg Lecture*. South Bend, IN: St. Augustine's Press, 2007.

Scruton, Roger. *Gentle Regrets: Thoughts from a Life*, 2005.

_____. *An Intelligent Person's Guide to Modern Culture*, 2000.

_____. *The Uses of Pessimism: And the Dangers of False Hope*, 2010.

5. **Grades** The grading scale is 1000-900=A, 899-800=B, 799-700=C, 699-600=D, 599 and below=F.

VIII. Attendance Policies

For the good of the Liberty University student body, a consistent attendance policy is needed so that all students in all majors will understand the expectations of faculty in all their courses. **In general, regular and punctual attendance in all classes is expected of all students.** At times, students will miss classes. These absences will be identified as either excused or unexcused and will be handled per the policy below.

Excused Absences

- Excused absences include all Liberty University sponsored events, to include athletic competition or other provost-approved event.
- Absences due to medical illness that are accompanied by a doctor's note will be excused.
- Absences due to family situations such as a death in the family or a severe medical condition will be excused
- Students will **not** be penalized for excused absences and will be permitted to make arrangements to complete missed work.

Unexcused Absences

While the University believes that consistent attendance in all classes is the largest contributor to students earning good grades, the University Attendance Policy allows students in upper-level classes the opportunity to make their own decisions concerning attendance. ***It is the students' responsibility to ensure they are present for required classes and turn work in when it is due.*** Please note the policy for make-up tests in Section VII.

NOTE: Although you may not currently be concerned about it, in the near future you will need faculty members to give letters of reference, recommendations for employment, or letters of recommendation for graduate school. Your attendance, punctuality, appearance, and attitude will be areas of interest to those requesting these letters. In addition, some of you will need a security check for your future job. Be aware that cheating and plagiarism are causes for a permanent record being placed in your student folder, which will be consulted during a background security check

IX. Other Policies

Dress Code

Students are expected to come to class dressed in a manner consistent with [The Liberty Way](#).

Honor Code

We, the students, faculty, and staff of Liberty University, have a responsibility to uphold the moral and ethical standards of this institution and personally confront those who do not.

Academic Misconduct

Academic misconduct includes: academic dishonesty, plagiarism, and falsification. See [The Liberty Way](#) for specific definitions, penalties, and processes for reporting.

Disability Statement

Students with a documented disability may contact the Office of Disability Academic Support (ODAS) in DeMoss Hall 1050 for arrangements for academic accommodations. For all disability testing accommodation requests (i.e. quieter environment, extended time, oral testing, etc.) the Testing Center (Religion Hall 119) is the officially designated place for all tests administered outside of the regular classroom.

Drop/Add Policy

A Fall/Spring course may be dropped without a grade, tuition, and fee charges within the first five days of the semester. From the sixth day until the end of the tenth week, a Fall/Spring course may be withdrawn with a grade of W or WF.

Classroom Policies

The inappropriate use of technology, such as cell phones, iPods, laptops, calculators, etc. in the classroom is not tolerated. Other disruptive behavior in the classroom is not tolerated. Students who engage in such misconduct will be subject the penalties and processes as written in [The Liberty Way](#).

Food is not permitted. Neither is gum-chewing. Students who are not in appropriate campus attire will **not** be admitted to class. Caps may not be worn in class.

Helms School of Government Policies

Plagiarism and Multiple Submissions of Papers:

Plagiarism is a serious offense and utilizing the work of others without proper citation is a clear violation of University policy. However, no clear directive has been established within the Helms School of Government as to the permissibility of a student submitting substantially the same paper to satisfy writing requirements in different courses.

Effective spring 2007, any writing assignment required for a Helms School of Government course must be an original composition drafted specifically for the individual course. When a course requirement in an upper division course builds upon a previously researched topic, and the student desires to utilize his/her prior submission as a foundational document for the new course assignment, he/she may bring a copy of the previous paper to the current professor. The

professor will review with the student the additional research and writing elements needed to complete the current assignment without violating this policy.

Christian Service:

For those students not already involved in Christian Service, see the professor for details and other information if interested.

X. Calendar for the Semester

CLASS SCHEDULE

(Subject to Revision)

Key to Readings: **Red** = Readings for objective questions are in **Bold** type

Green = Readings posted on Blackboard

Blue = Links to Readings on Internet

Light Blue = Handouts

Brown = Video or Podcast

[S. 1-13] = Readings and/or Study Aids in workbook (sometimes multiple)

Preliminary Reading:

Scripture Reading: **"And Elisha prayed, and said, LORD, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the LORD opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha."** – 2 K. 6:17.

Daponte-Smith, Noah. [Illiberal Europe, East of the Elbe](#)

Davis, Avi. [The First World War's Relevance to Our Times](#)

Krastev, Ivan. [America Hasn't Gone Crazy. It's Just More Like Europe.](#)

Mangalwadi, Vishal. [How the Bible Created the Soul of Western Civilization](#)

Rubin, Barry. [Tell Me What They're Reading and I'll Tell You Who Will Win](#)

Stafford, Julianne. [Professor raised under communism explains academics' love of socialism – and why they're wrong](#)

Collateral

Bostom, Andrew G. [U.S. State Department Witnessed 1974 Birth of Eurabia](#)

Brown, Stuart. [Five Minutes with Phillip Blond: We're Looking at a Complete Collapse of Standard Left and Right Ideologies](#)

Dershowitz, Alan. [A Visit to the Old and New Hells of Europe Provides a Reminder of Israel's Importance](#)

Kern, Soeren. [Catalonia to Muslims: Support Independence. Get Mega-Mosque](#)

_____. [Kebab Shops Financing Global Jihad](#)

Marinov, Bojidar. [Isidore of Seville and the Birth of Europe as the Regnum Christi](#)

Open Europe. [EU Reform Heat Map 2015](#)

[Open Europe Responds to David Cameron's Letter-and Speech on EU Reform](#)

PART ONE: EUROPE IN THE ROUND (August 29-September 7)

Bertolt Brecht: The Solution (1953)

After the uprising of the 17th of June
The Secretary of the Writers' Union
Had leaflets distributed in the Stalinalee
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?

Required: K. 1-10

Benedict XVI. [Europe and Its Discontents](#)
Curtis, Michael. [We Won't Always Have Brussels](#)
Desjardins, Jeff. [Currency and the Collapse of the Roman Empire](#)
Goldman, David P. [Supranational Government in Europe?](#)
Heffernan, Michael. [The Meaning of Europe](#), pp. 23-45 (and review)
Lipkes, Jeff. [Divvying Up the Caliphate: The Long-Term Causes of the War](#)
Magister, Sandro. [Eurabia Has a Capital: Rotterdam](#)
Manent, Pierre. [The Reason for Nations](#) (an interview)
Meotti, Giulio. [The Substitution of a Population](#)
Pera, Marcello. Introduction: A Proposal That Should Be Accepted
Raico, Ralph. [The European Miracle](#)
Map Exercises
Selection of Countries for Area Studies

Historical Vignettes

Belien, Paul. [How Flanders Helped Shape Freedom in America](#)
Berger, Peter. [The Fading Shadow of the Habsburgs](#)
Hanson, Victor Davis. (Blackboard)
Myers, Jeff. Someone Will Act, But Who? (Blackboard)

Collateral

Brague, Rémi. ["Yellow Ants," Fundamentalists, and Cowboys: An Interview](#)
Fjordman. [Europe and the Indo-European Languages](#)
Grice, Elizabeth. [Interview with Antony Beevor: Europe Is Already Falling Apart](#)
Kotkin, Joel. [Declining Birthrates, Expanded Bureaucracy: Is the U.S. Going European?](#)

Collateral: Videos

Klavan, Andrew. [The History of Western Culture in 2 1/2 Minutes](#)
Rosling, Hans. [200 Countries, 200 Years, 4 Minutes](#)
Speech by Czech President Vaclav Klaus to the European Parliament, February 19, 2009 [Vaclav Klaus Stands Up for Freedom](#)
Farage, Nigel. [UKIP Nigel Farage Defends Czech President Klaus](#)

FIRST TEST: Friday, September 9: K. 1-10, Slides, Heffernan

PART TWO: UNITED KINGDOM (September 7-21)

Required

K. 11-12 Britain, Ireland
K. 13-15 The Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg
K. 17-23 Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Sweden, Finland
Adams, J. Christian, Interview. [Putting the Great Back into Britain: UKIP Leader Nigel Farage](#)
Cameron, David. [Speech on the King James Bible](#)
Colson, Charles. The Great Proposal (Blackboard)
Dalrymple, Theodore. [Go to Manchester, Young Hoodlum](#)
[The European Conservative, vol. 13 Winter-Spring 2016](#) articles by Edwin Dyga, Anthony Daniels
(Theodore Dalrymple), and Roger Scruton
Hannan, Daniel. [Fire Me: Daniel Hannan Makes the Case for Leave](#)
Hay, William Anthony. The Geopolitics of Europe (Blackboard)
Murray, Douglas. [Britain's Two Sets of Books](#)
O'Sullivan, John. [Taking the Measure of Mrs. May](#)

Partanen, Anu. [What Americans Don't Get about Nordic Countries](#)
Phillips, Melanie. The Disenchantment of Reason
Ross, Tim. [Traditions Such as Christmas Celebrations Will Die Out Unless People Stand Up for British Values](#)
Scruton, Roger. [Interview](#)
Turner, Derek. [Notes from a Smaller, Freer Island](#)
Westrop, Samuel. [UK: Multiculturalism vs. Islamism](#)
Collateral
Lord Ashcroft. [How the United Kingdom Voted on Thursday -- and Why](#)
BBC. [Ukraine Slipping Out of Control, Germany Warns](#)
Berlinski, Claire. Why Margaret Thatcher Matters
CBN News. [Belgistan? Sharia Showdown Looms in Brussels](#)
Graff, Garrett M. [The Grim Task Awaiting Theresa May: Preparing for Nuclear Armageddon](#)
Kern, Soeren. [European 'No-Go' Zones: Fact or Fiction? Part 2: Britain](#)
Magna Carta 800. <http://magnacarta800.org.uk/>
Persson, Mats. "Remember This?" (opting out of EU controls)
<http://www.spectator.co.uk/coffeehouse/6632468/remember-this.shtml>
Scruton, Roger. [The Common Law between England and America](#) (audio lecture)
Stanley, Tim. [Au Revoir Nigel Farage: The Kentish Bloke Who Repainted Britain Purple](#)
Street, Chriss. [Independent Scotland Would Generate \\$17,217 Per Family in Energy Taxes](#)
Warner, Jeremy. [Why Britain Should Follow the Yellow Brick Road to Kansas and Cut Taxes](#)
Wilson, Christopher. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/Secret Plot to Deny the Queen the Throne>

SECOND TEST: Friday, September 23: H. 1, K. 11-15, 17-23, Britain Slides, Colson, Hay; **Short Essay:** Allison, Bostom, Brenner, Bruckner, Marinov, Wheeler, Benedict XVI, Hanson, Heffernan, Lappen, Heffernan, Pera, Phillips (2), Raico, Storhaug, Myers, Hanson, Colson, Dalrymple, Hannan, Hay, Scruton

PART THREE: FRANCE (September 23-October 12)

Required:

K. 33 France

K. 31-32, 34-35 Italy, Malta, Spain, Portugal

Berlinski, Claire. [Barbarism Again in France](#)

Brague, Rémi. [Understand the Enemy as He Understands Himself](#)

Bruckner, Pascal. [Gloomy France](#)

Delsol, Chantal. Unjust Justice (excerpts)

[The European Conservative, vol. 13 Winter-Spring 2016](#) article by André P. DeBattista and Edouard Chanot

Gurfinkel, Michel. [Statist France Collapsing, It Simply No Longer Works](#)

Kaminski, Matthew. [Guy Sorman: Why Europe Will Rise Again](#)

Manent, Pierre. [Current Problems of European Democracy](#)

Ratzlav-Katz, Nissan: [Fmr. Italian Pres.: We Signed Pact with Terrorists](#)

Collateral

Caldwell, Christopher. [Les Déplorables](#)

Humor: [You Have Two Cows](#)

Manent, Pierre. [Interview: Reason for Nations](#)

Minder, Raphael, and David Zucchini. [Spaniards, Exhausted by Politics, Warm to Life without a Government](#)

Solzhenitsyn, Aleksandr. [Address at the Dedication of the Memorial de la Vendee, 1993](#)

THIRD TEST: Monday, October 17: H. France Slides, K. 31-35, Delsol, Manent

PART FOUR: GERMANY (October 12-24)

Required

K. 16 The Germanys

K. 27 The Late Habsburg Monarchy

Adams, J. Christian. [The White Rose: An Anniversary of Three Executions](#)

Alexiev, Alex. http://www.americanthinker.com/articles/2016/08/the_real_weak_link_in_europe.html

Bruckner, Pascal. The Tyranny of Guilt: Doubt and Faith

[The European Conservative](#), vol. 13 Winter-Spring 2016 articles by Filip Mazurczak and Roland Fritz

Greve, Michael S. [The View from Berlin](#)

Kern, Soeren. [Austria: Springboard for Global Jihad](#)

Kurth, James. [The Tragic Death of the Habsburg Empire](#)

Meotti, Giulio. [Christianity in Rattling: 'Lights Out' in Germany](#)

Salyer, Jerry. [Martyrs and Heroes](#), on Beate Ruhm von Oppen and Helmuth James von Moltke

Collateral

[Freya Graefin von Moltke](#)

Hopper, Tristin. [Hitler Was on Cocaine and His Troops Were on Meth](#)

New Film: [Stay Like Brunei or Become More Like Denmark: Economic Freedom](#)

Purvis, Andrew. [Is This the Greenest City in the World?](#) (Freiberg)

Röhl, John. [The Kaiser and His Court](#)

FALL BREAK: Friday, October 7

MAP TEST: Friday, October 21

FOURTH TEST: Monday, October 31: Germany Slides, K. 16, 27; **Short Essay:**

PART FIVE: RUSSIA (October 24-November 4)

Required:

K. 26 The Russians and the Soviet Union

K. 24-25 The Baltic Republics, Poland

K. 28-30 Rumania, The Balkans, Yugoslavia

Alexiev, Alex. [Russia in Decline](#)

Applebaum, Anne, and Edward Lucas. [The Danger of Russian Disinformation](#)

Berlinski, Claire. [A Hidden History of Evil](#)

Chang, Gordon G. [Passivity in the Face of Big-Power Aggression](#)

Devine, Donald. [Secondhand Gulag](#)

Eberstadt, Nicholas. [Drunken Nation: Russia's Depopulation Bomb](#)

[The European Conservative](#), vol. 13 Winter-Spring 2016 article by Miltiades Varvounis

Golodryga, Bianna. [Interview: Garry Kasparov on Vladimir Putin](#)

Glucksmann, André. [Guilty of Being Right](#)

Pacepa, Ion, and Ronald Rychlak. Putin Time

Rieth, Peter Strzelecki. [Thinking about Russia](#)

Satter, David. [Did an Act of Terrorism Carry Putin to Power?](#)

Stroilov, Pavel. [The Communist Collapse: Twenty Years On](#)

Voshell, Kay. [Russia, Solzhenitsyn, and the Reset Button](#)

Collateral

Boros, Crina. Interview with Pavel Stroilov [Russian dissident who copied the Gorbachev Foundation's archive: Mitterrand and Gorbachev wanted the European Socialist Union, Thatcher opposed Germany's reunification](#)

Bukovsky, Vladimir, and Pavel Stroilov. [Biden's Secret Diplomacy](#)

Chrenkoff, Arthur. [Still Dis-Putin' History after All These Years](#)

Gati, Charles. [The Mask Is Off](#)

Glucksmann, André. [A Hot Summer in Europe](#)

Hanton, Alex. [10 Dark Secrets of the Byzantine Empire](#)

Latynina, Yulia. [Life in Putin's Russia](#)

Mahoney, Daniel J. [Telling the Truth about Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn](#) (podcast)

Spengler (David P. Goldman). [Russia's Hudna with the Muslim World](#)

FIFTH TEST: Friday, November 11: Russia Slides, K. 24-26, 28-30

PART SIX: TWO IDEAS OF EUROPE (November 4-11)

Required: Weigel [W]

James Kurth: <http://www.fpri.org/orbis/5003/kurth.europeidentity.pdf>

Heinsohn Interview: <http://gatesofvienna.blogspot.com/2007/06/continent-of-losers.html>

Booker, Christopher. [Global Governance Is Making the EU Irrelevant](#)

Brague, Rémi. [Christ, Culture, and the New Europe](#)

Neather, Andrew. [Labour Wanted Mass Immigration to Make UK More Multicultural Says Former Adviser](#)

Phillips, Melanie. [The Real Meaning of Lifestyle Choice](#)

Scruton, Roger. [The Flame That Was Snuffed Out by Freedom](#)

Soros, George. [Statement to the European Parliament](#)

Spengler on Depopulation (Blackboard)

Wheeler, Brian. [EU Should 'Undermine National Homogeneity' Says UN Migration Chief](#)

Collateral

Bostom, Andrew. [Bat Ye'or: The Universal Caliphate Stands before Us](#)

Gutteridge, Nick. [European- Superstate to Be Unveiled](#)

Wilders, Geert. [The Failure of Multiculturalism and How to Turn the Tide](#)

PART SEVEN: PAST AND PRESENT EUROPEAN UNIONS (November 11-18)

Why and how has a union that was created to serve interlocking German and French purposes come to have a life of its own, and come to command the allegiance of all the politicians—except a few mavericks of no account—of the whole of Europe?

The answer, I think, is obvious: the European Union is like a giant pension fund for defunct politicians, who either cannot get elected in their own countries or are tired of the struggle to do so. It is a way for politicians to remain important and powerful, at the center of a web of patronage, after their defeat or loss of willingness to expose themselves to the rigors of the electoral process. One of the characteristics of modern political life is its professionalization, such that it attracts mainly the kind of people with so great an avidity for power and self-importance that they do not mind very much the humiliations of the public exposure to which they are inevitably subjected. They are increasingly like Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, of whom John Maynard Keynes was once asked what he thought about when he was alone in a room. “When Lloyd George is alone in a room,” replied Keynes, “there’s nobody there.”—Theodore Dalrymple (Anthony Daniels), *The New Vichy Syndrome* (2010), pp. 94-95.

Required: K. 36; Bukovsky [B] **EUSSR; Rakove, Jack.** [Europe's Floundering Fathers](#)

or Go to Academic OneFile: Author (au) Rakove; Keyword (ke) Floundering; Keyword (ke) Fathers

Atbashian, Oleg. [Want a Financial Crisis? Impose 'Fairness'](#)

Booker, Christopher. [The secret history of the EU, written on an Italian prison island, reveals why the project is doomed](#)

Bush, George W. [President Discusses Freedom and Democracy in Latvia](#)

Durden, Tyler. [If You Exclude All Debt, There's No Debt Problem](#)

Hannan, Daniel. [A European's Warning to America](#)

Kagan, Robert. [Americans Are from Mars, Europeans Are from Venus](#)

Klaus, Vaclav. [Crisis of the European Union: Causes and Significance](#)

Paumgarten, Nick (talk with Nigel Farage). [Less Europe](#)

Preobrazhensky, Konstantin. Interview with Bukovsky. [How Putin Is Separating America from Europe](#)

Stroilov, Pavel. [Dark Secrets of the Cold War](#)

West, Diana. [Why the EU Is Not Your Father's Europe](#)

Collateral

Batten, Gerard. [Potential Ties between Europol and Russia Demand UK Split from Police Agency](#)

Coughlan, Anthony. [European Constitution: An Analysis](#)

Glazov, Jamie. Interview with Pavel Stroiilov: [When the Berlin Wall Fell](#)

Kagan, Robert. Review: [Of Paradise and Power](#)

North, Gary. [EUthanasia](#)

SIXTH TEST: Friday, December 2: H. 8, EUSSR, Rakove, Weigel

Short Essay: Kaminiski, Monti, Ratzlav-Katz, Adams, Bruckner, Manent, Elfström, Molnar, DeISol, Bosoni, Caldwell, Curtis, Fonte, Heffernan, Heinsohn, Kertesz, Laqueur, Manent, Jonescu, and others

PART EIGHT: THE NEW TOTALITARIAN TEMPTATION (November 18-December 9)

Required: Huizinga, Introduction, 1-8, 10, 13, 19, Epilogue

Bosoni, Adriano. [Traveling through Multiple Europes](#)

Caldwell, Christopher. Survival and Culture

Eberstadt, Mary. [How the West Really Lost God](#)

[The European Conservative](#), vol. 13 Winter-Spring 2016 by Leonardo Polo

Farrell, Nicholas. [Italy's in Terminal Decline and No One Has the Guts to Stop It](#)

Fonte, John. [Liberal Democracy vs. Transnational Progressivism: The Future of the Ideological Civil War within the West](#)

Jonescu, Daren. [The Progressive Degradation of Freedom](#)

Kertesz, Imre. [Europe's Oppressive Legacy](#)

Laqueur, Walter. After the Fall: Conclusion

Manent, Pierre. [The Autumn of Nations](#)

Nelson, Jill. http://www.worldmag.com/2014/10/cold_realities

Persson, Mats, *et al.* [Ten Economic Lessons from Europe for the U.S. President](#)

Collateral

Bakel, Rogier van. [Interview with Ayaan Hirsi Ali](#)

Curtis, Michael. [President Putin's Mirage of Russian Empire](#)

Sanandaji, Nima. [The Swedish Model Reassessed: Affluence Despite the Welfare State](#)

Samson, Steven. [The Grapes of Parnassos: Is Europe Withering on the Vine?](#)

Presentations: November 17-21

THANKSGIVING BREAK: Monday-Friday, November 21-25

FINAL EXAM: Friday, December 16, 08:00, Huizinga

XI. Bibliography

See separate file on Blackboard.

QUOTATIONS

“In his ‘Notes on the Way,’ Orwell wrote that the writers who sawed off the West’s soul included ‘Gibbon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Shelley, Byron, Dickens, Stendhal, Samuel Butler, Ibsen, Zola, Flaubert, Shaw, Joyce—in one way or another they are all of them destroyers, wreckers, saboteurs. These ‘Enlightenment’ writers led the West into its present darkness.”

In his essay Orwell was reflecting on Malcolm Muggeridge's book *The Thirties*, which describes the damage these writers had done to Europe. Muggeridge, then still an atheist, was astute enough to perceive that

'We are living in a nightmare precisely *because* we have tried to set up an earthly paradise. We have believed in 'progress.' Trusted to human leadership, rendered unto Caesar the things that are God's. . . . There is no wisdom except in the fear of God; but no one fears God; therefore there is no wisdom. Man's history reduces itself to the rise and fall of material civilizations, one Tower of Babel after another . . . downwards into abysses which are horrible to contemplate.'"

-- Quoted in Vishal Mangalwadi, *The Book That Made Your World*, p. 23.

"The primary function of the study of history is to foretell the future; and the kind of history we accept depends on the type of future we desire. Since the past itself is imperfectly grasped, we often stand on what we only imagine to reach what has not yet come to pass. The only consolation in this insane state of affairs is that this circular process sometimes works." – Richard Fernandez, Belmont Club, April 28, 2003

"The ideal of service does not extend further than the ideal of social utility; it knows nothing concerning what is unique. A high standard of living, and not the salvation of the soul, is its highest aim. Thus mere production becomes an end in itself, an absurdity which on the practical side is already becoming patent from the fact that more and more Americans are living on their future income, so that the present is being sold into deeper and deeper debt-slavery to the future—which from the viewpoint of the soul signifies the same bondage as that of the Jews in Egypt. . . . *To Europe, and to Europe alone, has the task been entrusted to guard the sacred fire of the spirit from extinction during the long night of the spirit which now lies before mankind.* For if the majority of mankind, in its search for rejuvenation, sinks back into the group soul, it means a dark age for spirit, mind, and soul." – Keyserling, *Europe* (1928), pp. 389-90.

Faced with a choice between democracy and supra-nationalism, the European Union almost always opts for supra-nationalism and nowhere is this clearer than in its policy in the Western Balkans. We are maintaining to all intents and purposes protectorates in Bosnia, in Kosovo and arguably even in Macedonia for the sole purpose of preventing ethnographic boundaries along the lines of what local people there would choose.

It is very difficult to have a functioning democracy unless people feel enough in common one with another to accept government from each other's hands. If you want government for and by the people, you have to have a people that everyone recognises some identity with, some allegiance to.

To put it in another way, democracy needs a 'demos', a unit with which we identify when we use the word 'we'. I am not saying it is simple. People can sustain multiple loyalties, populations can be interspersed, but our prejudice, other things being equal, should be towards national self-determination. If you take the 'demos' out of democracy, you are left only with the 'kratos', with the power of a system that must compel by law what it dare not ask in the name of civic patriotism. – Daniel Hannan, speech to the European Parliament, January 19, 2011.