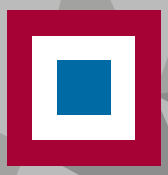
AN UNCONSTRAINED ANALYTICS REPORT



unconstrained analytics

Stop seeing what you know—Start knowing what you see!

On the Road to Serfdom

Stephen Coughlin

On the Road to Serfdom

Stephen Coughlin
September 17, 2019

Again, the evil practices of the last and worst form of democracy are all found in tyrannies . . . Hence, tyrants are always fond of bad men, because they love to be flattered, but no man who has the spirit of a freeman in him will lower himself by flattery; good men love others, or at any rate do not flatter them. Moreover, the bad are useful for bad purposes . . . Another mark of a tyrant is that he likes foreigners better than citizens, and lives with them and invites them to his table; for the one are enemies, but the others enter into no rivalry with him.[1]

Aristotle, Politics, Book V, Part XI, 350 BC, 227.

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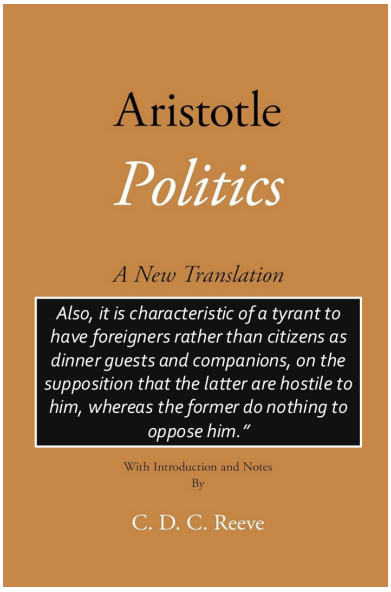
1 Aristotle, Politics, Book V, Part XI, , 350 BC, trans by Benjamin Jowett, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1908, 227.

The full paragraph, from Αριστοτελης, Πολιτικα [Aristotle, Politics], Book V, 11, ~350 B.C., from C. D. C. Reeve, *Aristotle. Politics: A New Translation, The New Hackett Aristotle*, 2017, pp. 137-138 states: "And the things that occur in the ultimate democracy are all characteristic of a tyranny, namely, [1l] *the dominance of women in matters concerning the household, in order that they may report on the men*, and [1m] *the license of slaves due to the same cause. For slaves and women not only do not plot against tyrants but, if they prosper under them, are necessarily well disposed toward tyrannies and toward democracies as well* [for the people too wish to be a monarch]. That is why a *flatterer* is honored in both constitutions – in democracies, the popular leader [for the popular leader is a flatterer of the people], in tyrannies, those who are obsequious in their dealings with the tyrant, which is precisely the function of *flattery*. And in fact it is because of this that *tyranny is a lover of wickedness*. For tyrants delight in being *flattered. But no one would do this who had free thoughts.* On the contrary, decent people show friendship, or [at least] do not *flatter*. Also, the wicked are also useful for wicked things, for "nail is driven out by nail," as the proverb goes. Also, it is characteristic of a tyrant *not to delight in anyone who is dignified or free.* For a tyrant thinks that he alone deserves to be like that, whereas anyone who is a rival in dignity or in being free deprives tyranny of its superiority and its element of mastership, *and so tyrants hate him as a threat to their rule.* Also, *it is characteristic of a tyrant to have foreigners rather than citizens as dinner guests and companions, on the supposition that the latter are hostile to him, whereas the former do nothing to oppose him*."



On October 25, 2018, the *European Court of Human Rights* [the ECtHR] announced judgment on the appeal of Elisabeth Sabaditsch-Wolff, an Austrian citizen, for her conviction in an Austrian court for her "criminal conviction for disparaging religious doctrines" in contravention of her "right to freedom of expression under Article 10 of the Convention [for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms[2]]."[3] The ECtHR ruled against Sabaditsch-Wolff:

> The Court concluded that, in the instant case, the domestic courts carefully balanced the applicant's right to freedom of expression with others' rights to have their religious feelings protected and to preserve religious peace in Austrian society.[4]

From the start, sensitivities notwithstanding, it is important to point out that the statements that led to Sabaditsch-Wolff's conviction are true and well-established.[5] Yet, the ECtHR suggests that Sabaditsch-Wolff was making value judgments in the absence of facts,[6] even as the ECtHR opinion documented her accurate reference to Islamic authority, Bukhari,[7] for the points she made

"They all create their own reality, because the truth is so cruel."

2 Article 10, *Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* as amended by Protocols No. 11 and No. 14, Rome, 4.XI.1950, Council of Europe, 4. [Hereafter, Article 10]

3 Procedure 3, *Case of E.S. v. Austria*, Application no. 38450/12, Judgment, Strasbourg, 25 October 2018 [Final March 18, 2019], European Court of Human Rights [Fifth Section]. [Hereafter, *E.S. v Austria*].

4 Press Release Issued by the Registrar of the Court, *European Court of Human Rights*, October 25, 2018, "Conviction for Calling Muhammad a Paedophile is not in Breach of Article 10", *Judgment E.S. v Austria*, [The judgment is available only in English] [Hereafter, ECtHR Press Release]

5 ¶13. The statements which the court found incriminating, E.S. v Austria, states: "2. The most important of all Hadith collections recognised by all legal schools: The most important is the ***Sahih Al-Bukhari***. If a Hadith was quoted after Bukhari, one can be sure that all Muslims would recognise it. And, unfortunately, in ***Al-Bukhari*** the thing with Aisha and child sex is written . . . II./ I remember my sister, I have said this several times already, when [S.W.] made her famous statement in Graz, my sister called me and asked: "For God's sake. Did you tell [S.W.] that?" To which I answered: "No, it wasn't me, but you can look it up, it's not really a secret." And her: "You can't say it like that!" And me: "A 56-year-old and a six-year-old? What do you call that? Give me an example? ***What do we call it, if it is not paedophilia?***" Her: "Well, one has to paraphrase it, say it in a more diplomatic way." My sister is symptomatic. We have heard that so many times. "Those were different times" – it wasn't okay back then, and it's not okay today. Full stop. And it is still happening today. One can never approve of something like that. They all create their own reality, because the truth is so cruel . . ."

6 ECtHR Press Release; "The Court reiterated that it has distinguished in its case-law between statements of fact and value judgments. It emphasised that the truth of value judgments was not susceptible to proof. However, a value judgment without any factual basis to support it might be excessive."

7 ¶13. The statements which the court found incriminating, *E.S. v Austria*, states: "2. The most important of all Hadith collections recognised by all legal schools: The most import-

when describing behavior that Austrians historically disfavor both culturally and criminally. There is no controversy about the fact of child marriage or that it is permissively being imported into Europe. Just a sampling:

- "Muslim Woman [in the UK] Defends Child Marriage" *SOCO Films*, *YouTube*, February 14, 2019.
- "Sharia Expert Defends Child Marriage," *JanSobieski1629*, *YouTube*, March 29, 2008.
- "Saudi Cleric Muhammad Musa Al-Sharif Defends the Marrying Off of Under-Age Girls in Saudi Arabia: Atheists, Christians, and Fornicators Are Responsible for Human Rights Treaties," *MEMRI* 2010
- Majid Rafizadeh, "An 8-Year-Old Bride," *Gatestone*, December 15, 2018
- Soeren Kern, "Britain's Underage Muslim Marriage Epidemic," *Gatestone*, October 15, 2015
- Gilgamesh Nabeel, "Early Marriage Figures for Iraq are Startling. Child Advocates worry it could Rise even More," *PRI,* August 13, 2018.

As important, in an era of uncontrolled immigration of undocumented men from territories demonstrating strong ISIS influence, it continues to be reported that ISIS leverages the licitness of forced child sex and marriage in its day-to-day operations.

- Asaad Hanna, Syrian Girls Forced to Marry ISIS Fighters, *Al-Monitor*, May 13, 2014.
- Troup Buchanan, "ISIS Justifies Capture and Sexual Enslavement of Thousands of Yazidi Women and Girls," *Independent*, October 13, 2014.
- "Iraq: ISIS Escapees Describe Systematic Rape," *Human Rights Watch*, April 14, 2015.

There is no difficulty in finding ubiquitously available supporting material that validates the same statements that Sabaditsch-Wolff made that the ECtHR suggests are "based on manifestly untrue facts.

Talk about the sanctioned predation of girls. Talk about a (real) war on women. Yet, the ECtHR would silence a woman, in fact, the mother of a daughter, for daring to articulate her concerns on this phenomenon. To no one's surprise, the sampling of print media provided above could be extended for pages. For anyone with 30 seconds on *Google* (or better yet, *DuckDuckGo*), there is no difficulty in finding ubiquitously available supporting material that validates the same statements that Sabaditsch-Wolff made that the ECtHR suggests are "based on manifestly untrue facts." The claim is ridiculous. While the topic may be sensitive for some, as the sampling of citations from prominent Middle Eastern

ant is the *Sahih Al-Bukhari*. If a Hadith was quoted after Bukhari, one can be sure that all Muslims would recognise it."

media suggests, this is a common concern in the Muslim world as well. It simply cannot be said to be so obscure as to require expert knowledge to arrive at an informed opinion, as the ECtHR suggests when expertizing Sabaditsch-Wolff to crucify her on that imputed expertise.[8] The ECtHR's characterization of Sabaditsch-Wolff oozes the ridicule it harbors against ordinary citizens.

So, what does the ECtHR mean when stating "that Mrs. S. must have been aware that her statements were partly based on untrue facts and apt to arouse indignation in others"?[9] Which material facts are "manifestly" untrue?[10]

Come to think of it, maybe informed Europeans should be concerned that the state is shutting down a citizen's free expression.

While the ECtHR opinion suggests much, it says little. Yet, if Sabaditsch-Wolff's statements are correct, and they are, why should it matter that others are being allowed to use them as a pretext for becoming "indignant" in anticipation of violence with the passive support of the state, just as with *Antifa*? Come to think of it, maybe informed Europeans should be concerned that the state is shutting down a citizen's free expression because 'others are being allowed to use them as a pretext for becoming "indignant" in anticipation of violence with the passive support of [that same] state – just as with *Antifa*.'

The ECtHR's reasoning is tortured in its vagueness. For those who truly value freedom of expression, the ECtHR Press Release raises more questions than it answers. Why, for example, is a citizen's free expression overburdened by conditions that render the right unattainable for all but elites and the highly educated? From the Release –

- "Sabaditsch-Wolff's argument] had not been made in an objective manner, contributing to a debate of public interest [*e.g.,* on child marriage]."[11]
    - If a person chooses to exercise their right to free expression by defending an Austrian value ensconced in history, in tradition, and in law when expressed in Austria, why should she be obligated to submit those views to a dialectical process of cultural negation [the *Frankfurt School's* strategy of *Aufheben*

8 ¶53; , E.S. v Austria, states: "The Court notes that the applicant described herself as an expert in the field of Islamic doctrine, already having held seminars of that kind for a while."

9 ECtHR Press Release.

10 , E.S. v Austria, for example, at ¶ 55; "Moreover, the applicant was wrong to assume that improper attacks on religious groups had to be tolerated even if they were based on untrue facts [see paragraph 35 above]. On the contrary, the Court has held that statements which are based on [manifestly] untrue facts do not enjoy the protection of Article 10."

11 ECtHR Press Release.

der Kultur][12] when her interest is precisely in defending them from such a court process as a condition of exercising that right? Just like Marx and Hegel, *Aufheben* is also a German import.

- "She failed to neutrally inform her audience of the historical background, which consequently did not allow for a serious debate on that issue.[13]

    - Freedom of expression is the freedom to zealously advocate. *The ECtHR seems to demand the overburdening of free expression by making it contingent on the peculiar Hegelian notion that one must explain the whole before speaking of particulars*. For example, it would be like requiring someone to explain the entire concept of soccer, down to its specific sports kinesiology, before they could tell the person next to them that someone just scored a goal. Why? Because the listener might think it is a hockey goal, even as the discussion takes place at the soccer pitch that both are attending, with the entire process repeating every time any scoring drive is discussed. Sabaditsch-Wolff is not an academic and makes no claims to be one. Her private citizen comments were tailored to her audience and the environment to convey the points she intended to make. The court demands that she have advanced training in Middle Eastern studies as a condition of her speaking her mind on the status of predation among immigrants in Austria. Free expression that is obligated to provide historical and cultural context on every point made, and on the condition that it be conducted in a neutrally phrased debating forum, is no free expression at all. In fact, it purposefully overburdens the right, rendering free expression a nullity. This holds true for the other implied demand; that free expression is overburdened by the requirement that all expression be parsed, including every sentence, phrase, and word.

Free expression that is obligated to provide historical and cultural context on every point made, and on the condition that it be conducted in a neutrally phrased debating forum, is no free expression at all.

The vagueness of the ECtHR's reasoning follows a pattern of enforcement by judicial fiat, where the court's saying it is so makes it so. This follows "*hate speech*" memes that are being weaponized in international forums like the *United Nations* [*UN*], the *Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe* [*OSCE*], and the *European Union* [*EU*]. The vagueness of the ECtHR opinion pat-

12 PDF – *Aufheben to Cancel Culture*

13 ECtHR Press Release.

terns "*hate speech*" sleights of hand that conceal the deliberate emptiness of speech suppression reasoning underlying "*hate speech*" efforts. The calculated obfuscation involved in this process creates a smokescreen that gives the state the space to abuse its power and impose its will on its own citizens, for any reason or no reason at all.

Hence, even as the UN General Secretary Antonio Guterres spoke of the need to step up international efforts to suppress "*hate speech*" at the June 18, 2019 "*United Nations Strategy and Plan of Action on Hate Speech*," the *Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide*, at that same forum, stated that "*hate speech* is a very grey area for which no international legal definition yet exists" in circumstances where, as of May 2019, the UN is on record as acknowledging that, "there is no international legal definition of *hate speech*." Push past the deliberate vagueness of the ECtHR's opinion, and one can see that the real authority for upholding Sabaditsch-Wolff's conviction is the *de facto* enforcement of "*hate speech*" standards. There is something totalitarian about the arbitrary prosecution of citizens for *hate speech* in circumstances where the state knows that the term has no definition.

There is something totalitarian about the arbitrary prosecution of citizens for hate speech in circumstances where the state knows that the term has no definition.

Strangely, this is the same characterization one hears about *Islamophobia*.[14] Actually, it's not strange at all. At the 2013 *OSCE* Side Event "Education Initiatives and Approaches for Addressing Anti-Semitism and Intolerance against Muslims" in Warsaw, Poland (an event Sabaditsch-Wolff personally attended), the architect of the *Islamophobia* strategy signaled Marx's "Eleventh Thesis" from his 1845 *Theses on Feuerbach* that "the philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it," when admitting that *Islamophobia* "terminology is difficult," that "terminology is important and we have the wrong terminology," and that "we need language to change the world." Should anyone be shocked that "*hate speech*" and "*Islamophobia*" narratives are joined at the united front level or that they tag-team in their assault on citizens like Sabaditsch-Wolff?

They shouldn't be. Just recently, for example, the *United Nations*, in conjunction with the *Organization of Islamic Cooperation* (*OIC*), sought the passage of *UN Resolution 16/18*. While stated in the facially neutral language of UN policy speak, while also drafted to be interoperable with Marxist Intersectional "hate speech" memes, the *Resolution* sought to ratify Islamic speech codes in such a way that non-Muslim countries could use them against their own citizens.[15]

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14 For a brief discussion on Islamophobia, see Stephen Coughlin, "*Killing without Right*," Unconstrained Analytics, Inc, July 1, 2019.

15 See Stephen Coughlin, "National Security Expert Slams Hillary's 'Assault' of Free Speech," *Daily Caller*, July 18, 2015. PDF – Secretary of State Clinton with OIC Sec Gen on UN Res 16/18

Quite obviously, this is the intended design behind ECtHR enforcement of such judgments against private citizens like Sabaditsch-Wolff.

By design, "*hate speech*" speech standards afford the state the authority to declare that saying 2 + 2 = 4 constitutes *hate speech* when demanding its citizens say, "2 + 2 = 5." The intended effect of the ECtHR's opinion was not simply to silence Sabaditsch-Wolff; it was also to send a chilling effect on the speech of all *Member State* citizens of the EU who would deign to speak unauthorized truth. As such, the ECtHR imposed what *U.S. First Amendment* jurisprudence considers the worst form of speech suppression, *prior restraint*.

By design, "hate speech" speech standards afford the state the authority to declare that saying 2 + 2 = 4 constitutes hate speech when demanding its citizens say, "2 + 2 = 5."

As *Black's Law Dictionary* states,

> "*prior restraint on speech and publication are the most serious and least tolerable infringement on First Amendment Rights*." As such, *Black's* continues, "*Any system of prior restraints of expression bears a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity, and the Government has a heavy burden of showing justification for imposition of such a restraint*."

The ECtHR opinion cannot bear the weight of such a presumption. There is no hyperbole. As we learned at a separate *OSCE* event, this time in Vienna, in May 2015, at the forum on "*Promoting Dialogue to Prevent Readicalization and*

Violent Extremism," an event Sabaditsch-Wolff also attended, we were told that speaking the truth can constitute "*hate speech*." At the event, "How can the Media help Prevent Violent Radicalization that Leads to Terrorism," the panel was asked a series of specific questions on whether speaking something known to be true can constitute *hate speech* -

The panel was asked a series of specific questions on whether speaking something KNOWN TO BE TRUE can constitute hate speech.

- "Truth can constitute *hate speech* because sometimes truth is difficult."
- "Sometimes when you report on facts, and these facts point out a community, then it can be a source of *hateful speech*. So, your question was 'Does that mean that hiding the truth can be a means to tackle *hate speech*?' I would answer, 'Sometimes it is, and sometimes we do by not saying the entire truth.' Does that mean that hiding the truth would be a means to tackle the *hate speech*? I would answer, sometimes it is, and sometimes we do by not saying the entire truth. It sometimes takes the form of the political correct."[16]

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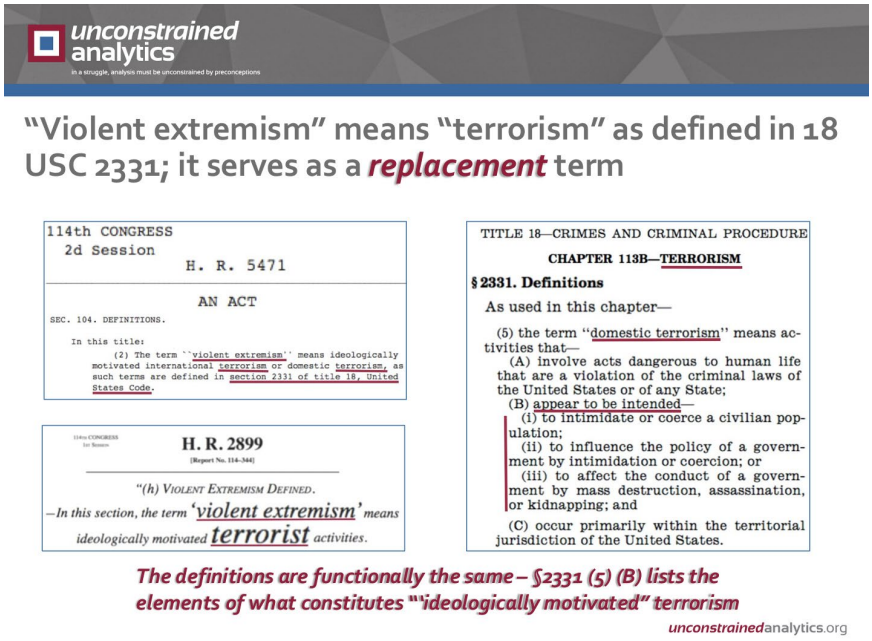
16 At the Night Owl Session "How can the Media help Prevent - Radicalization that Leads to Terrorism?," at the OSCE Security Days forum on "Promoting Dialogue to Prevent Readicalization and Violent Extremism" in Hofburg, Vienna, Austria, May 21, 2015, at 10:48 and then at 11:10 GRAPHIC – a selection of CVE slides

A selection of CVE slides; click here to see them larger



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Terrorism vs. Violent Extremism: they are not the same

- CVE legislation institutionalizes a competing parallel statutory basis for terrorism
  - Terrorism focuses on facts and demands evidence
  - Violent extremism conforms to narratives arising from outside the statutory framework
- Violent extremism repositions terrorism to conform to the CVE narrative designed to subsume the counterterror effort to postmodern constructs that find meaning outside the U.S. statutory framework
- The CVE does not enhance the counterterror effort, it replaces it and ***SUBVERTS*** it
  - ***(Think Counter-State)***

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The CVE has a substantial pedigree beyond American borders operating outside the framework of U.S. Law.

- The trajectory of the CVE suppresses speech through constructed hate speech paradigms that American law recognizes as **prior restraint**

"Only a coalition of Marxists and Islamists can destroy the United States."

Ilich Ramírez Sánchez
a.k.a. Carlos the Jackal
***Revolutionary Islam*, 2003**

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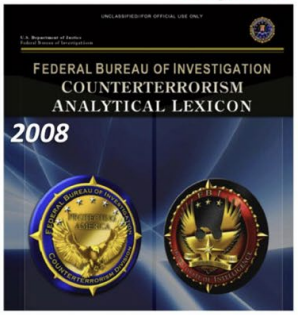
As the FBI did back in 2008 – under the Bush administration – "*violent extremism*" in lexicon but not jihad

The Statutory term for this is "*TERRORISM*"
Moving the Issue off its Legal / Factual Framework

Briefed to FBI BAU June 2010



(U//FOUO) **Violent Extremism:** "Violent extremism" is any ideology that encourages, endorses, condones, justifies, or supports the commission of a violent act or crim against the United States, its government, citizens, or allies in order to achieve political, social, or economic changes, or against individuals or groups who hold contrary opinions. Violent extremism differs from "radicalism" in that violent extremists explicitly endorse, encourage, or commit acts of violence or provide material support to those who do. "Radicalism" is a much looser term that does not necessarily indicate acceptance or endorsement of violent methods, and is therefore not preferred. "Extremist" should be coupled with "violent" for purposes of clarity. It should be noted that some "extreme" or "radical" activity—such as spreading propaganda—might be constitutionally protected. An analytical judgement that an individual is a "violent extremist," "extremist," or "radical" is not predication for any investigative action or technique.

The term "*VIOLENT EXTREMISM*"
replaces the term "*TERRORISM*"

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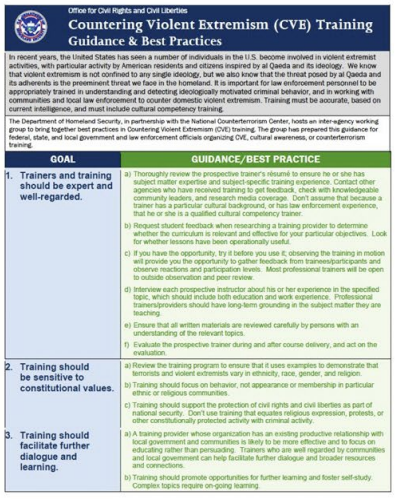
November 2011 – DHS Office of Civil Rights & Civil Liberties (CRCL) begins rollout of CVE policies



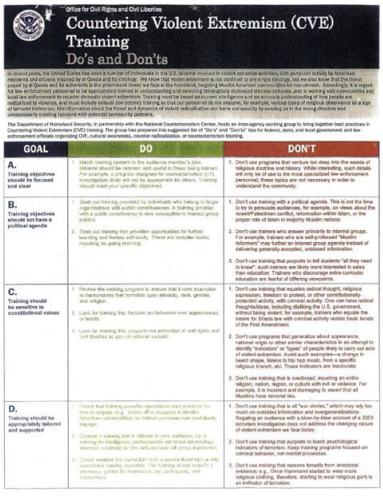
Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training
Guidance & Best Practices

In recent years, the United States has seen a number of individuals in the U.S. become involved in violent extremist activities, with particular activity by American residents and citizens inspired by al Qaeda and its ideology. We know that violent extremism is not confined to any single ideology, but we also know that the threat posed by al Qaeda and its adherents is the preeminent threat we face in the homeland. It is important for law enforcement personnel to be appropriately trained in understanding and detecting ideologically motivated criminal behavior, and in working with communities and local law enforcement to counter domestic violent extremism. Training must be accurate, based on current intelligence, and must include cultural competency training.

The Department of Homeland Security, in partnership with the National Counterterrorism Center, hosts an inter-agency working group to bring together best practices in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) training. The group has prepared this guidance for federal, state, and local government and law enforcement officials organizing CVE, cultural awareness, or counterterrorism training.

GOAL	GUIDANCE/BEST PRACTICE
1. Trainers and training should be expert and well-regarded.	a) Thoroughly review the prospective trainer's résumé to ensure he or she has subject matter expertise and subject-specific training experience. Contact other agencies who have received training to get feedback, check with knowledgeable community leaders, and research media coverage. Don't assume that because a trainer has a particular cultural background, or has law enforcement experience, that he or she is a qualified cultural competency trainer. b) Request student feedback when researching a training provider to determine whether the curriculum is relevant and effective for your particular objectives. Look for whether lessons have been operationally useful. c) If you have the opportunity, try it before you use it; observing the training in motion will provide you the opportunity to gather feedback from trainees/participants and observe reactions and participation levels. Most professional trainers will be open to outside observation and peer review. d) Interview each prospective instructor about his or her experience in the specified topic, which should include both education and work experience. Professional trainers/providers should have long-term grounding in the subject matter they are teaching. e) Ensure that all written materials are reviewed carefully by persons with an understanding of the relevant topics. f) Evaluate the prospective trainer during and after course delivery, and act on the evaluation.
2. Training should be sensitive to constitutional values.	a) Review the training program to ensure that it uses examples to demonstrate that terrorists and violent extremists vary in ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. b) Training should focus on behavior, not appearance or membership in particular ethnic or religious communities. c) Training should support the protection of civil rights and civil liberties as part of national security. Don't use training that equates religious expression, protests, or other constitutionally protected activity with criminal activity.
3. Training should facilitate further dialogue and learning.	a) A training provider whose organization has an existing productive relationship with local government and communities is likely to be more effective and to focus on educating rather than persuading. Trainers who are well regarded by communities and local government can help facilitate further dialogue and broader resources and connections. b) Training should promote opportunities for further learning and foster self-study. Complex topics require on-going learning.



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Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training
Do's and Don'ts

The Department of Homeland Security, in partnership with the National Counterterrorism Center, hosts an inter-agency working group to bring together best practices in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) training. The group has prepared this suggested list of "Do's" and "Don'ts" tips for federal, state, and local government and law enforcement officials organizing CVE, cultural awareness, counter-radicalization, or counterterrorism training.

GOAL	DO	DON'T
A. Training objectives should be focused and clear	1. Match training content to the audience member's jobs. Material should be relevant and useful in these being trained. For example, a program designed for counterterrorism (CT) investigators likely will not be appropriate for others. Training should match your specific objectives.	1. Don't use programs that venture too deep into the weeds of religious doctrine and history. While interesting, such details will only be of use to the most specialized law enforcement personnel; these topics are not necessary in order to understand the community.
B. Training objectives should not have a political agenda	1. Seek out training provided by individuals who belong to forged relationships with public constituencies. A training provider with a public record/history is less susceptible to interest group politics. 2. Seek out training that provides opportunities for further learning and focuses self-study. There are complex topics requiring on-going learning.	1. Don't use training with a political agenda. This is not the time for personal opinions about foreign policy, pro views about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, reformation within Islam, or the proper role of Islam in majority Muslim nations. 2. Don't use trainers who answer primarily to interest groups. For example, trainers who are self-professed "Muslim reformers" may further an interest group agenda instead of delivering generally accepted, unbiased information. 3. Don't use training that purports to tell students "all they need to know"; such trainers are likely more interested in sales than education. Trainers who discourage extra-curricular education are fearful of differing viewpoints.
C. Training should be sensitive to constitutional values	1. Review the training program to ensure that it uses examples to demonstrate that terrorists span ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. 2. Look for training that focuses on behaviors over appearances or beliefs. 3. Look for training that supports the protection of civil rights and civil liberties as part of national security.	1. Don't use training that equates radical thought, religious expression, freedom to protest, or other constitutionally-protected activity, with criminal activity. One can have radical thoughts without becoming disliking the U.S. government. Throughout history, for example, trainers who equate the desire for Sharia law with criminal activity violate basic tenets of the First Amendment. 2. Don't use programs that generalize about appearance, national origin or other similar characteristics in an attempt to identify violent extremists. Avoid such examples—it is cheap to beard shape, listens to hip hop music, from a specific religious branch, etc. These indicators are inaccurate. 3. Don't use training that is overbroad, equating an entire religion, nation, region, or culture with evil or violence. For example, such training is damaging to assert that all Muslims have terrorist ties.
D. Training should be appropriately tailored and supported	1. Check that training provides operational best practices for how to engage (e.g., when off to investigate a Muslim neighbor unprovoked) so trained personnel feel confident, engage. 2. Choose a training that is tailored to your audience, i.e. a training for intelligence professionals will be more terminology-intensive in training for law enforcement will stress awareness. 3. Check whether the curriculum is in a scientific-based report with associated validity reported. The training should explain in an easy-to-follow guides for audiences and participants, and instructors.	1. Don't use training that is all "war stories," which may rely too much on outdated information and overgeneralizations. Training should be evidence with a very low amount of a 2003 Brookings investigation does not address the changing nature of violent extremism we face today. 2. Don't use training that purports to teach psychological indicators of terrorism. Keep training programs focused on criminal behavior, not mental processes. 3. Don't use training that reasons broadly from anecdotal evidence; e.g., Omar Hammami started to wear more religious clothing, therefore, starting to wear religious garb is an indicator of terrorism.

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Example: "CVE Training Guidance & Best Practices" define al-Qaeda ideology as America's greatest threat but makes it impossible to define that ideology

Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties

Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training
Guidance & Best Practices

In recent years, the United States has seen a number of individuals in the U.S. become involved in violent extremist activities, with particular activity by American residents and citizens inspired by al Qaeda and its ideology.

but we also know that the threat posed by al Qaeda and its adherents is the preeminent threat we face in the homeland.

**** Cannot understand al-Qaeda's threat ideology without understanding its integration into shariah -***

2. Training should be sensitive to constitutional values.	a) Review the training program to ensure that it uses examples to demonstrate that terrorists and violent extremists vary in ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. b) Training should focus on behavior, not appearance or membership in particular ethnic or religious communities. c) Training should support the protection of civil rights and civil liberties as part of national security. Don't use training that equates religious expression, protests, or other constitutionally protected activity with criminal activity.

**** And DHS "Guidance & Best Practices" removes from the analytical processes making actual threat analysis impossible***

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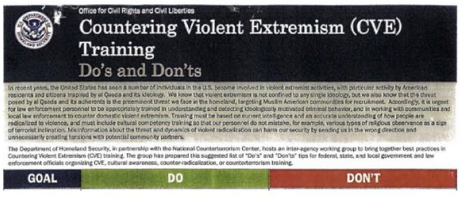
Example: CVE "Do's and Don'ts" rule out the doctrines that guide the threat et al


Office for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties
Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training
Do's and Don'ts
GOAL | DO | DON'T

(These are just a few examples)

DON'T

1. Don't use programs that venture too deep into the weeds of religious doctrine and history. While interesting, such details will only be of use to the most specialized law enforcement personnel; these topics are not necessary in order to understand the community.

**** The Muslim Brotherhood, al-Qaeda & ISIS communicate their worldview, doctrines & strategy expressly in terms of shariah***

DON'T

3. Don't use training that relies on fear or conspiracies to motivate law enforcement. Don't use training premised on theories with little or no evidence to support them. Examples (from the report "Manufacturing the Muslim Menace") of unsubstantiated theories include:
   b. Mainstream Muslim organizations are fronts for Islamic political organizations whose true desire is to establish Sharia law in America. Muslim Americans are using democratic processes, like litigation and free speech, to subvert democracy and install Sharia law.

**** The Holy Land Foundation linked principle "mainstream Muslim organizations" to the Muslim Brotherhood and terrorism***

DON'T

2. Don't use trainers who answer primarily to interest groups. For example, trainers who are self-professed "Muslim reformers" may further an interest group agenda instead of delivering generally accepted, unbiased information.

**** i.e., only Brotherhood approved Muslims need apply***

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That aligns 2011 DHS CVE narrative with the SPJ's original 2001 "Diversity Guidelines"

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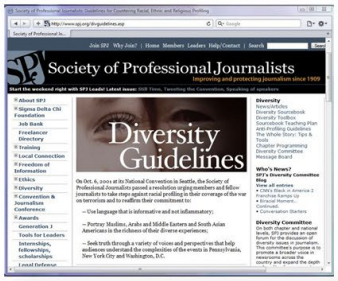
c) Training should support the protection of civil rights and civil liberties as part of national security. Don't use training that equates religious expression, protests, or other constitutionally protected activity with criminal activity.



– Regularly seek out a variety of perspectives for your opinion pieces. Check your coverage against the five Maynard Institute for Journalism Education fault lines of race and ethnicity, class, geography, gender and generation.

– When writing about terrorism, remember to include white supremacist, radical anti-abortionists and other groups with a history of such activity.

– Avoid using terms such as "jihad" unless you are certain of their precise meaning and include the context when they are used in quotations. The basic meaning of "jihad" is to exert oneself for the good of Islam and to better oneself.

The Counter-Terror mission subordinated to 1) the Multicultural narrative 2) that enforces Muslim Brotherhood objectives

QUESTION: Did Orlando follow this process?

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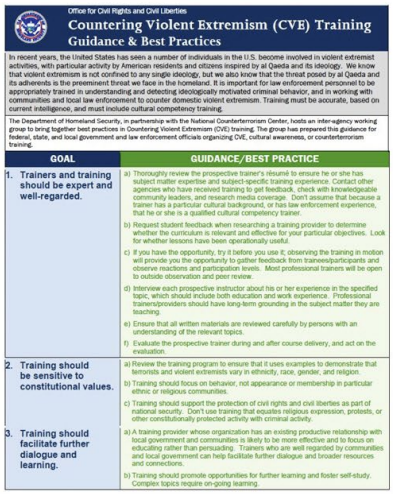
DHS *Civil Rights & Civil Liberties* Produces CVE Policies that Suppresses Threat Identification– in 2011



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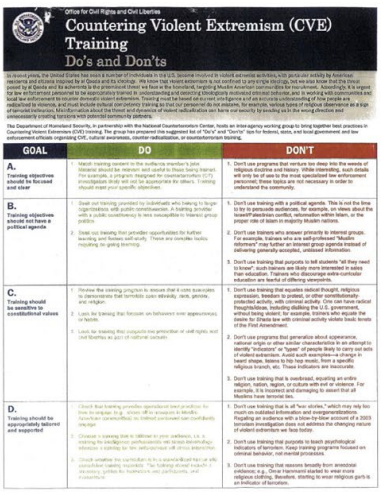
Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training Guidance & Best Practices

In recent years, the United States has seen a number of individuals in the U.S. become involved in violent extremist activities, with particular activity by American residents and citizens inspired by al Qaeda and its ideology. We know that violent extremism is not confined to any single ideology, but we also know that the threat posed by al Qaeda and its adherents is the preeminent threat we face in the homeland. It is important for law enforcement personnel to be appropriately trained in understanding and detecting ideologically motivated criminal behavior, and in working with communities and local law enforcement to counter domestic violent extremism. Training must be accurate, based on current intelligence, and must include cultural competency training.

The Department of Homeland Security, in partnership with the National Counterterrorism Center, hosts an inter-agency working group to bring together best practices in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) training. The group has prepared this guidance for federal, state, and local government and law enforcement officials organizing CVE, cultural awareness, or counterterrorism training.

GOAL	GUIDANCE/BEST PRACTICE
1. Trainers and training should be expert and well-regarded.	a) Thoroughly review the prospective trainer's résumé to ensure he or she has subject matter expertise and subject-specific training experience. Contact other agencies who have received training to get feedback, check with knowledgeable community leaders, and research media coverage. Don't assume that because a trainer has a particular cultural background, or has law enforcement experience, that he or she is a qualified cultural competency trainer. b) Request student feedback when researching a training provider to determine whether the curriculum is relevant and effective for your particular objectives. Look for whether lessons have been operationally useful. c) If you have the opportunity, try it before you use it; observing the training in motion will provide you the opportunity to gather feedback from trainees/participants and observe reactions and participation levels. Most professional trainers will be open to outside observation and peer review. d) Interview each prospective instructor about his or her experience in the specified topic, which should include both education and work experience. Professional trainers/providers should have long-term grounding in the subject matter they are teaching. e) Ensure that all written materials are reviewed carefully by persons with an understanding of the relevant topics. f) Evaluate the prospective trainer during and after course delivery, and act on the evaluation.
2. Training should be sensitive to constitutional values.	a) Review the training program to ensure that it uses examples to demonstrate that terrorists and violent extremists vary in ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. b) Training should focus on behavior, not appearance or membership in particular ethnic or religious communities. c) Training should support the protection of civil rights and civil liberties as part of national security. Don't use training that equates religious expression, protests, or other constitutionally protected activity with criminal activity.
3. Training should facilitate further dialogue and learning.	a) A training provider whose organization has an existing productive relationship with local government and communities is likely to be more effective and to focus on educating rather than persuading. Trainers who are well regarded by communities and local government can help facilitate further dialogue and broader resources and connections. b) Training should promote opportunities for further learning and foster self-study. Complex topics require on-going learning.



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Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) Training
Do's and Don'ts

GOAL	DO	DON'T
A. Training objectives should be focused and clear	1. Match training content to the audience member's jobs (investigators, intelligence analysts, etc.) and to threats facing them. For example, it can be very important for counterterrorism (CT) investigators (many will not be approved to do others.) Training should meet your specific objectives.	1. Don't use programs that venture too deep into the weeds of radical ideology and beliefs. While interesting, such details will only be of use to the few specialized law enforcement personnel; these topics are not necessary in order to understand the community.
B. Training objectives should not have a political agenda	1. Seek out training provided by subject-matter who belong to large organizations with public constituencies. A training provider with a public constituency is less susceptible to interest group politics. 2. Seek out training from providers opportunities for further learning and honest self-study. These are sensitive issues requiring an ongoing learning.	1. Don't use training with a political agenda. This is not the time to try to persuade audiences, for example, on views about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, reformation within Islam, or the proper role of Islam in majority Muslim nations. 2. Don't use trainers who answer primarily to interest groups. Trainers who are picked by "Muslim" or "Arab" or "Muslim reformers" may further an interest group agenda instead of delivering generally-accepted, unbiased information. 3. Don't use training that purports to tell students "all they need to know", such trainers are likely more interested in sales than education. Trainers who discourage extra-curricular education are fearful of differing viewpoints.
C. Training should be sensitive to constitutional values	1. Review the training program to ensure that it uses examples to demonstrate that terrorists span ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. 2. Look for training that focuses on behaviors over appearances or beliefs. 3. Look for training that supports the protection of civil rights and civil liberties as part of national security.	1. Don't use training that equates radical thought, religious expression, protests, or other constitutionally protected activity with criminal activity. One can have radical thoughts/ideas, including disliking the U.S. government, without being violent; for example, trainers who equate the desire for Sharia law with criminal activity violate basic tenets of the First Amendment. 2. Don't use programs that generalize about appearance, national origin or other similar characteristics in an attempt to identify "indicators" or "types" of people likely to carry out acts of violent extremism. Avoid such examples—a change in beard shape, listens to hip hop music, from a specific religious branch, etc. These indicators are inaccurate. 3. Don't use training that is overbroad, equating an entire religion, nation, region, or culture with evil or violence. For example, it is incorrect and damaging to assert that all Muslims have terrorist ties.
D. Training should be appropriately tailored and supported	Check that training provides operational best practices by tying to religion (e.g. when an act is suspect in Middle-American communities) to context and based can confidently [illegible] 2. Choose a training that is tailored to your audience, i.e., a training for intelligence professionals will focus more on intelligence indicators; a training for law enforcement will stress interdiction. 3. Check whether the curriculum is in a standardized format with consistent quality standards. For training-related subjects / discovery, guides for instructors and participants, and assessments.	1. Don't use training that is all "war stories," which may rely too much on outdated information and exaggerated/stories. Regaling an audience with a blow-by-blow account of a 2003 terrorism investigation does not address the changing nature of violent extremism we face today. 2. Don't use training that purports to teach psychological indicators of terrorism. Keep training programs focused on criminal behavior, not mental processes. 3. Don't use training that reasons broadly from anecdotal evidence; e.g., Omar Hammami started to wear more religious clothing, therefore, starting to wear religious garb is an indicator of terrorism.

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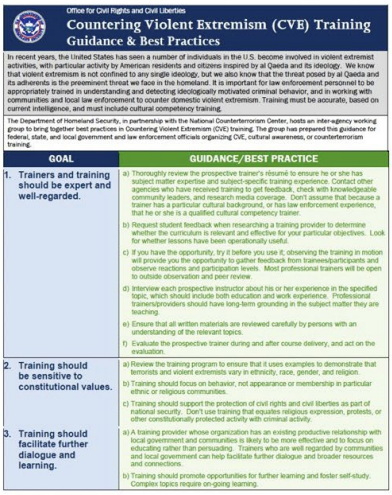
The release of CVE Guidelines in October 2011 that reduced threat analysis to incoherence



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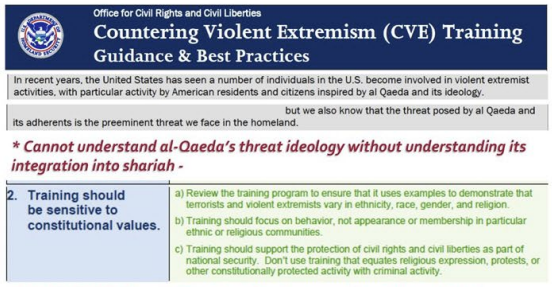

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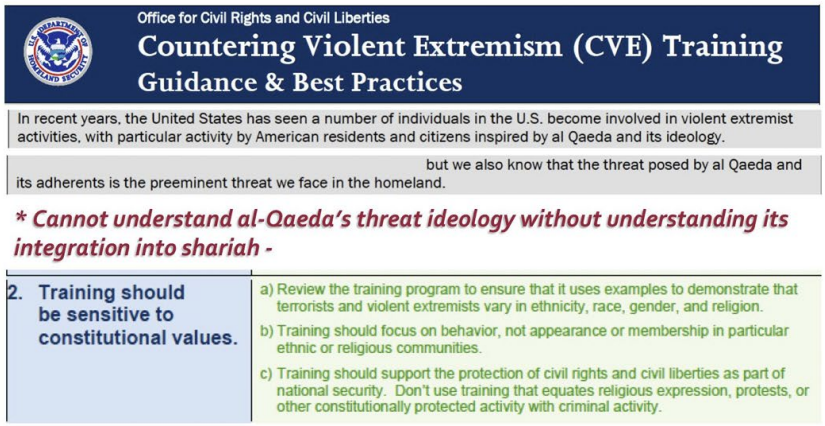
Example: "CVE Training Guidance & Best Practices" define al-Qaeda ideology as America's greatest threat but makes it impossible to define that ideology



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Her conviction continues a process designed to reduce Europeans from citizens to subjects on the road to a planned neo-post-modern serfdom.

This is the *de facto* standard the ECtHR used to convict Sabaditsch-Wolff; she spoke of actions known to be happening and accurately associated them with a community that the state protects from such scrutiny. This explains why the ECtHR's opinion and related opinions are deliberately vague.

Her conviction continues a process designed to reduce Europeans from citizens to subjects on the road to a planned neo-post-modern *serfdom*. This is not hard to see. As Hayek wrote in *The Road to Serfdom*, "One need not be a prophet to be aware of (the) impending dangers"[17] this poses to free peoples.

The ECtHR opinion against Sabaditsch-Wolff, and many like it, are the "*hate speech*" altars on which the veneer of freedom of expression is to be sacrificed, exposing the built-in contradictions of Article 10. Contradiction, you say? How is that? While Section 1 of Article 10 states the oft-quoted -

- "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers."[18]

Section 2 so conditions the "right" that it becomes little more than a revocable privilege granted by the state. The language of Article 10, read in totality, is simply a revocable privilege -

- **2** The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are *prescribed by law* . . .[19]

In looking at the extraordinary efforts the EU, the ECtHR, and Austria are willing to undertake to suppress the voice of a lone citizen activist, a concerned mother no less, one cannot help but see in their actions the warning Hayek posed in the depths of World War II:

> *"It is not difficult to deprive the great majority of independent thought. But the minority who will retain an inclination to criticize must also be silenced. Public criticism or even expressions of doubt must be suppressed because they tend to weaken public support . . . If the people are to support the common effort without hesitation, they must be convinced that not only the end aimed at but also the means chosen are the right ones . . . Public criticism or even expressions of doubt*

17 F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, George Routledge and Sons, LTD, London, 1944, 1

18 Article 10, 4.

19 Article 10, 4.

> *must be suppressed because they tend to weaken public support . . . When the doubt or fear expressed concerns not the success of a particular enterprise but of the whole social plan, it must even more be treated as sabotage.*[20]

But to what end? Why would Europe seek the suppression of its own citizens? In choosing the road to serfdom, Austria rejected Hayek in favor of Coudenhove-Kalergi. From *My-Europe* to *Political Thoughts-The Magazine*, Coudenhove-Kalergi is considered a founding father of the European Union. Yet Coudenhove-Kalergi hated European nations, hated the European people,[21] and harbored strange racial views that envisioned the breeding of ethnically European peoples out of existence.[22]

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What if understanding all current events is as simple as recognizing that Coudenhove-Kalergi's ethos is the driving force behind the EU? It would certainly clear things up.

By accepting Hayek's wisdom, Europe could have shaken itself free of the death grip Hegel holds over it. For almost two centuries, Europe has suffered under a dialectical delusion that divides the world into a binary that compels a destructive drive toward the absolute: *der Drang nach dem Absoluten*. While Europe remains captured in this binary, it oscillates between being so in love with itself that it must destroy "*the other*" or so in love with "*the other*" that it must destroy itself. Neither pole admits a sane middle; it is binary; it can't.

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20 F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, George Routledge and Sons, LTD, London, 1944, 118-119

21 Richard N. Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Pan-Europa*, Pan-Europa Verlag, Wien [Vienna], 1923, 23; "Europe as a political concept [*Begriff*] does not exist. The part of the world that bears this name harbors a chaos of peoples and states, of the powder chamber of international conflicts, a retort of future war. The European question and the European hatred contaminate the international atmosphere and are constantly disturbing the most peaceful parts of the world."

22 R. N. Coudenhove Kalergi, Praktischer Idealismus, Pan-Europa Verlag, Wein-Leipzig, 1925., 22-23; "Inbreeding strengthens the character, weakens the mind - crossing weakens the character, strengthens the spirit. Where inbreeding and crossbreeding meet under favorable circumstances, they testify to the highest human type, combining the strongest character with the keenest spirit. Where, under unfavorable circumstances, inbreeding and mixing meet, they create degeneration types with weak character, dull mind. The man of the distant future will be a hybrid. The present races and castes will fall prey to the overcoming of space, time and prejudice. The Eurasian-Negroid future breed, externally similar to the ancient Egyptians, will replace the diversity of peoples with a variety of personalities. For, according to the laws of inheritance, diversity grows with the difference of the ancestors, and with the monotony of the ancestors, the uniformity of the descendants. In inbreeding families, one child is like the other, because they all represent one common family type. In mixed-race families, the children differ more from each other: each forms a novel variation of the diverging parental and pre-parental elements."

For those seeking Hayek's path to freedom, it is obvious that one is not a "fascist" or "racist" when recognizing the insanity of the Left's destruction of its own people, any more than they are Communists for warning of the predatory activities of Nazis when they seek the annihilation of "*the other*". Both are unhealthy extremes that, of necessity, especially as they oscillate between themselves in this dialectical dance of death, must result in the complete destruction of Europe.

The opposite of Fascist is not Communist, nor vice versa. Rather, they both represent the twin poles of the same nihilizing binary *that always seeks the destruction* of the objects of its attention.

Societies that think this way have fallen from the median way. The opposite of Fascist is not Communist, nor vice versa. Rather, they both represent the twin poles of the same nihilizing binary that always seeks the destruction of the objects of its attention. The opposite of the dialectical delusion is abandoning it, detoxifying from it, and assuming a non-predatory worldview. As long as Europe remains captured by its Hegelian addiction, it will always occupy one of the two poles and hence always pose a threat to both itself and to others. It is infectious. It has infected the world. It has a death grip on America as well. More people have died due to strife from this dialectical delusion than quite possibly all the wars in the history of the world combined.

For the victims of this binary, it hardly matters whether the courts that suppress them come from one pole or the other. Whether it's the self-loathing ethos or the loathing of "*the other*," they will still be deprived of rights by a state that claims such authority. In Sabaditsch-Wolff's case, the state is overseeing the importation of an "*other*" for the purpose of imposing it on its own national population to suppress it under the rubric of "*pluralism*". As such, the only thing Sabaditsch-Wolff is guilty of is expressing her concerns in the context of an Austrian worldview, among Austrians, in Austria.

For Austria, the Left seeks to "*Aufheben der Kultur!*" *It is in this context that one should not forget that Sabaditsch-Wolff was not prosecuted by Muslim immigrants but rather by European courts wielding policies that seek the destruction of Austrian identity, among Austrians, in Austria.* Coudenhove-Kalergi would understand.

When a people, a nation, are forced to suppress their own culture from within their own culture in the name of an imposed "*other*", terms like "*tolerance*" do not reflect the tolerance of one people to that of "*the other*" but rather reflect the mandates of Marcuse's *repressive tolerance*.

The ECtHR's reasoning leading to Sabaditsch-Wolff's conviction is in lockstep with Marcuse's "*Repressive Tolerance*,"[23] such that "*tolerance*" means being deliberately intolerant of all existing social orders, including Austria's. In this case, "*pluralism*" means imposing a hostile group on a target population to nihilize it, and "*hate speech*" is the deliberate application of arbitrary "might makes right" regimes by states empowered to decide who is to be targeted, by what, and why. This is the process Sabaditsch-Wolff got caught up in when she was convicted.

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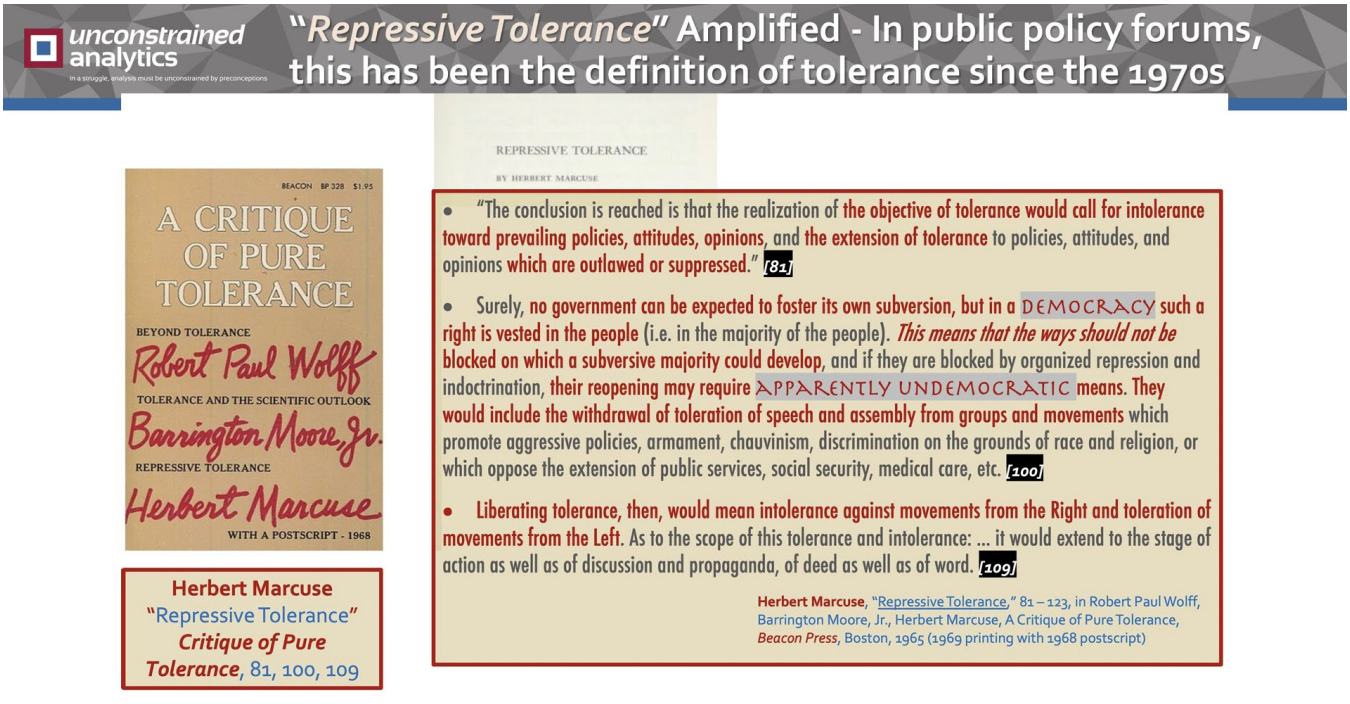
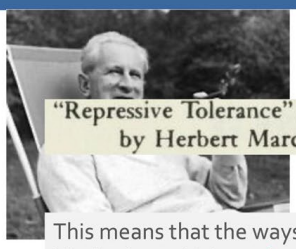
23 Herbert Marcuse, "*Repressive Tolerance*," 81 – 123, in Robert Paul Wolff, Barrington Moore, Jr., Herbert Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Tolerance*, Beacon Press, Boston, 1965 (1969 printing with 1968 postscript), hypertext link to HTML version linked posted at Marcuse.org, 81, 100, 109. See also – PDF Marcuse's "Repressive Tolerance"

Marcuse's "Repressive Tolerance -Click here to see the larger



Parallel language - Marcuse's facially neutral Pre-Revolutionary vs Mao's actively Revolutionary "Long March" rhetoric



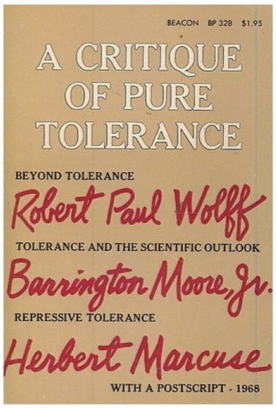
This means that the ways should not be blocked on which a **subversive majority could develop**, and if they are blocked . . . their reopening may require **apparently undemocratic means**. They would include the **withdrawal of toleration of speech** and assembly from groups and movements . . . Liberating tolerance, then, would mean **intolerance against movements from the Right** and **toleration of movements from the Left**."

"Repressive Tolerance," Herbert Marcuse, 100, 109, 1965

Mao Zedong
Speech Commemorating of the 28th Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party, June 30, 1949

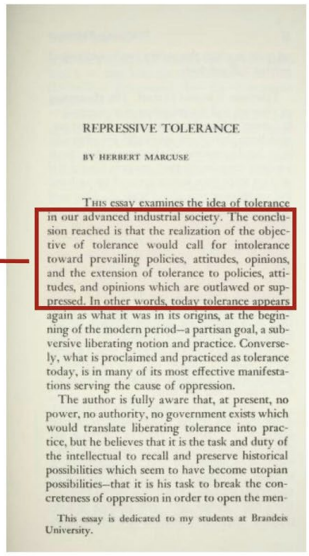
These classes, led by the working class and the Communist Party unite to form their own state and elect their own government they enforce their dictatorship over the running dogs of imperialism . . . The combination of these two aspects, **democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries**, is the people's democratic dictatorship. **The state apparatus . . . is the instrument by which one class oppresses another**. It is an instrument for the oppression; it is violence and not "benevolence" . . . **We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries** . . . **Our policy of benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people, not beyond them to the reactionaries**. . .

Repressive Tolerance Amplified



Herbert Marcuse
"Repressive Tolerance"
Critique of Pure Tolerance

"The conclusion is reached is that the realization of the *objective of tolerance* would call for *intolerance toward prevailing policies, attitudes, opinions,* and the *extension of tolerance* to policies, attitudes, and opinions *which are outlawed or suppressed.*" [81]



REPRESSIVE TOLERANCE

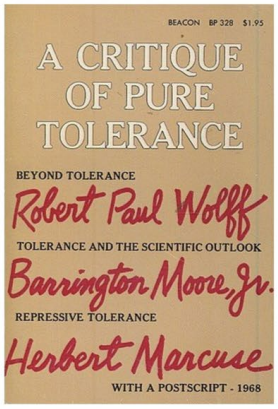
BY HERBERT MARCUSE

This essay examines the idea of tolerance in our advanced industrial society. The conclusion reached is that the realization of the objective of tolerance would call for intolerance toward prevailing policies, attitudes, opinions, and the extension of tolerance to policies, attitudes, and opinions which are outlawed or suppressed. In other words, today tolerance appears again as what it was in its origins, at the beginning of the modern period—a partisan goal, a subversive liberating notion and practice. Conversely, what is proclaimed and practiced as tolerance today, is in many of its most effective manifestations serving the cause of oppression.

The author is fully aware that, at present, no power, no authority, no government exists which would translate liberating tolerance into practice, but he believes that it is the task and duty of the intellectual to recall and preserve historical possibilities which seem to have become utopian possibilities—that it is his task to break the concreteness of oppression in order to open the men-

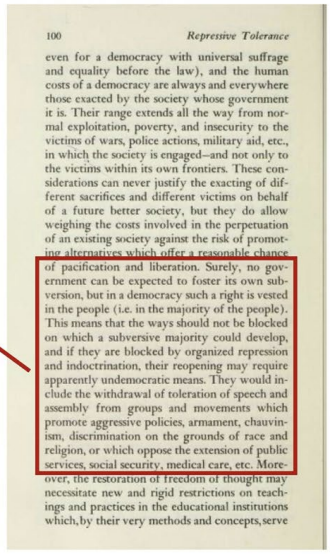
This essay is dedicated to my students at Brandeis University.

Repressive Tolerance Amplified



Herbert Marcuse
"Repressive Tolerance"
***Critique of Pure Tolerance**, 100*

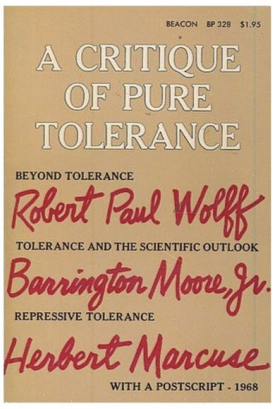
"Surely, *no government can be expected to foster its own subversion*, but in a DEMOCRACY such a right is vested in the people (i.e. in the majority of the people). *This means that the ways should not be blocked on which a subversive majority could develop*, and if they are blocked by organized repression and indoctrination, *their reopening may require* APPARENTLY UNDEMOCRATIC *means. They would include the withdrawal of toleration of speech and assembly from groups and movements* which promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race and religion, or which oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care, etc." [100]



100 *Repressive Tolerance*

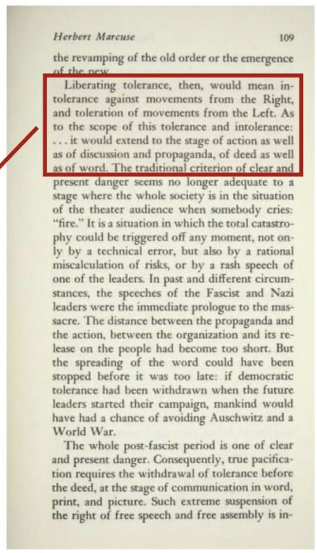
even for a democracy with universal suffrage and equality before the law), and the human costs of a democracy are always and everywhere those exacted by the society whose government it is. Their range extends all the way from normal exploitation, poverty, and insecurity to the victims of wars, police actions, military aid, etc., in which the society is engaged—and not only to the victims within its own frontiers. These considerations can never justify the exacting of different sacrifices and different victims on behalf of a future better society, but they do allow weighing the costs involved in the perpetuation of an existing society against the risk of promoting alternatives which offer a reasonable chance of pacification and liberation. Surely, no government can be expected to foster its own subversion, but in a democracy such a right is vested in the people (i.e. in the majority of the people). This means that the ways should not be blocked on which a subversive majority could develop, and if they are blocked by organized repression and indoctrination, their reopening may require apparently undemocratic means. They would include the withdrawal of toleration of speech and assembly from groups and movements which promote aggressive policies, armament, chauvinism, discrimination on the grounds of race and religion, or which oppose the extension of public services, social security, medical care, etc. Moreover, the restoration of freedom of thought may necessitate new and rigid restrictions on teachings and practices in the educational institutions which, by their very methods and concepts, serve

Repressive Tolerance Amplified



Herbert Marcuse
"Repressive Tolerance"
Critique of Pure Tolerance

Liberating tolerance, then, would mean intolerance against movements from the Right and toleration of movements from the Left. As to the scope of this tolerance and intolerance: ... it would extend to the stage of action as well as of discussion and propaganda, of deed as well as of word. [109]



Herbert Marcuse 109

the revamping of the old order or the emergence of the new.

Liberating tolerance, then, would mean intolerance against movements from the Right, and toleration of movements from the Left. As to the scope of this tolerance and intolerance: . . . it would extend to the stage of action as well as of discussion and propaganda, of deed as well as of word. The traditional criterion of clear and present danger seems no longer adequate to a stage where the whole society is in the situation of the theater audience when somebody cries: "fire." It is a situation in which the total catastrophy could be triggered off any moment, not only by a technical error, but also by a rational miscalculation of risks, or by a rash speech of one of the leaders. In past and different circumstances, the speeches of the Fascist and Nazi leaders were the immediate prologue to the massacre. The distance between the propaganda and the action, between the organization and its release on the people had become too short. But the spreading of the word could have been stopped before it was too late: if democratic tolerance had been withdrawn when the future leaders started their campaign, mankind would have had a chance of avoiding Auschwitz and a World War.

The whole post-fascist period is one of clear and present danger. Consequently, true pacification requires the withdrawal of tolerance before the deed, at the stage of communication in word, print, and picture. Such extreme suspension of the right of free speech and free assembly is in-

As the citizens of Europe slowly wake up to the realization that Europe is far along the path of its own destruction, they would be well served to take Hayek's observation to heart -

> *"We are ready to accept almost any explanation of the present crisis of our civilization except one: that the present state of the world may be the result of genuine error on our own part and that the pursuit of some of our most cherished ideals has apparently produced results utterly different from those which we expected."*[24]

Sabaditsch-Wolff's conviction should be a call to action from all discerning citizens: their rights, in fact, their very identities, are being deliberately targeted for destruction by their own leadership elites. She was convicted by a court for saying things known to be true.

One should be extremely suspicious of free-expression regimes that criminalize speech known to be true while still insisting that it is free expression. This raises the question Bertrand Russell posed in the context of the same dialectical nightmare that continues to haunt Austria:

> "*Do the citizens exist for the sake of the State, or the State for the sake of the citizens?*"[25]

For Austria and for all people in Europe and the wider West, this is a question that can no longer be deferred.■

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24 F. A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, George Routledge and Sons, LTD, London, 1944, 8

25 Bertrand Russell, "Hegel," *History of Western Philosophy and its Connection with Political and Social Circumstances from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1947 [1946], 757-773, Christopher Richard Wade Dettling, editor, The Philosophy of Hegel, Bertrand Arthur William Russell, 31.

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