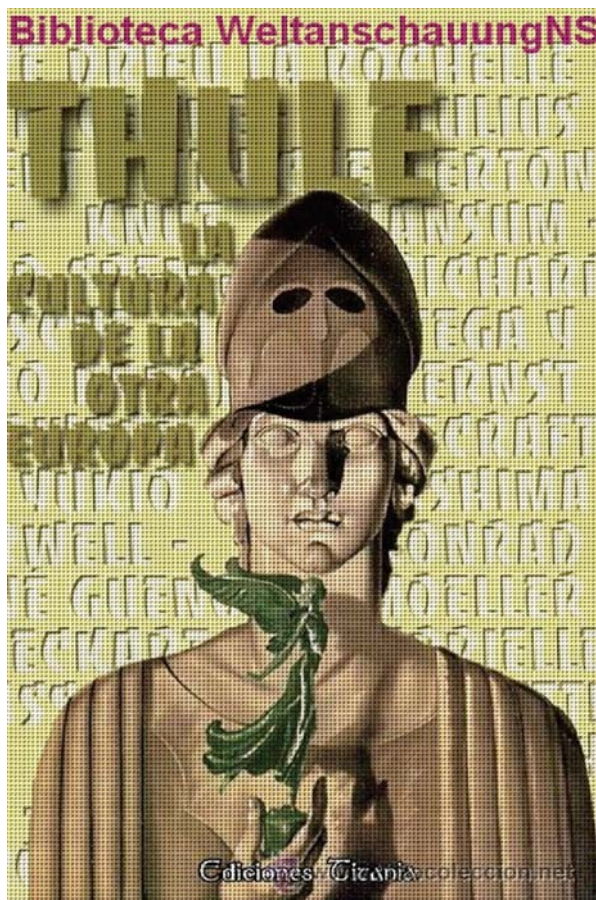


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Note on this version:

This version, which you now have on your PC, is the version edited in 1979 by CEDADE. An updated edition was only made a few years ago, Those updates are not present in this version, among which are the Portuguese ones. I could also make an addition about Argentine writers such as Ceresole, Adrián Salbuchi and Alberto Buena, to name a few. I will possibly make that addition later, when I delve deeper into those authors, whose positions are far from identical, although they do share a number of elements.

The complete version can be found on the Librería Europa website.

I am grateful to Mr. Ramón Bau for providing me with these texts for dissemination.

FOREWORD: CULTURE AND EUROPE

JUSTIFICATION OF THE TOPIC

Traditionally, political parties have viewed their role in history as fighting to achieve political advances and, at most, to implement economic and social measures that would enable society to progress. Without exception, all of them have made their economic or strictly political postulates their banner, without conceding to any other issue. And these parties end up differentiating themselves from one another by the measures they adopt to solve each social and economic problem, with nothing else serving to separate them. Christian democracy, social democracy, liberalism, the conservative right, socialism and even communism all play at parliamentarianism, each putting forward their own points of view to resolve the crisis of the moment, or devising campaigns that will allow them to win a few more seats in the next elections. But, deep down, their worldview, mentality and community aspirations are the same, with no radical difference separating the right and the left at their core and not even a conception of culture justifying a particular position on either side.

Culture has always been, perpetually, the great forgotten, the great marginalised by politicians. The rules of the game in democracies impose such rigid competition rules that, in practice, each of the contenders (even the one who is theoretically in power) can think of nothing more than outdoing the others in the promises they make to voters and preparing parliamentary moves to discredit the other parties in the race. Anything that is not immediately profitable in political terms is ruled out, due to time constraints, from the tactics of any party with minimal chances of coming to power.

Anything that involves an interest in creating a strong, reasoned, consistent and new ideology, slowly matured, experienced and assimilated, based on years of elaboration and discussion, must be rejected in principle by the very mechanics with which political parties in democracies are currently organised. The outdated clichés developed in the 18th and 19th centuries by the theorists of today's parties continue to be repeated, and the words they coined when the world was nothing like it is today continue to be copied. Worse still, these parties are considered progressive and advanced. Until very recently, Marxist was synonymous with progressive, when Marx was a contemporary of figures as distant in time as Beethoven, Goethe and Napoleon. Because in reality, parties are now nothing more than cumbersome administrative machines that must keep a pressure group in power so that

ensure that their financial, class or 'popularity' interests do not lose points in the periodic statistics that are each of a country's elections.

Culture is thus marginalised. Brief references in programmes and short answers in interviews are all that any democratic political leader (whether right-wing, left-wing, far-right or far-left) can respond with, and it is not uncommon for interviewers to end up, for lack of a topic, asking how many books that leader has in their private library or who their favourite film directors are...

Faced with this state of affairs, the national revolutionary position, the only one that has no place in the democratic parliaments of Europe, breaks not only with appearances but with the very roots of party conceptions, with all the "bluff" that keeps the unsustainable afloat. The triumph of a national-revolutionary alternative, as demonstrated in 1933, would mean, in addition to profound social and economic change (which in itself is important enough: destruction of finance, abolition of class struggle, dissolution of parliamentarianism, establishment of socialism, etc.), a total transformation of the very conception of the world. Politics, like economics, would then lose the dominant role it now plays in a society enslaved to consumption, and would be subject in all its measures to a single purpose: service to man, whose higher activities are directed towards the intellect, sensitivity, the brain, that is, art and science or, if you want to sum it up in one word, culture.

Culture thus acquires — far from being the Cinderella of human activities, lacking in ministry budgets, absent from party programmes, forgotten in any "revolution", unrepresented in any parliament — the position of undisputed hegemony that it deserves as the primary activity of free man or, rather, as the activity through which, essentially, the new man born of the new revolution acquires full consciousness of his personality and his freedom.

If only knowledge, if only self-confidence and confidence in one's own convictions, if only the constant enrichment born of an awakened and creative sensibility, make one truly free, then there is no doubt that the first consequence of this is that modern cities governed by democracies are nothing more than immense overcrowded slave camps. Slavery to the interest of money, to banking, to the constant need to consume, to the demand to produce more and more, slavery to the demagoguery imposed by parties, to pressure groups and politicians interested only in keeping their jobs, slavery to the lack of a higher reason to live and fight for, to feel part of a living community, to the absence of sensitivity and brilliant artists, slavery to a culture of mediocrity that is terrified of the value of an outstanding personality, slavery to constant negative criticism that does not prelude any creative endeavour, to the commercialisation of man's most animalistic instincts without any body being able to oppose it, that tremendous and absolute slavery is true and real slavery, worse than that which requires shackles and chains, of the "free man" that democracies — progressive or right-wing — proclaim in their empty words.

Hence, culture, culture as life, as a force that will give strength and momentum, a *raison d'être*, to our revolution, is the key to the only possible alternative to the current state of affairs. Hence, only culture is, in truth, revolution.

CULTURE AND EUROPE

By culture, we mean the body of knowledge, achievements, ideas, and concepts that a people or race harbours within itself. Culture is something alive that must always maintain its human scale: in contrast to the culture of thick volumes of text, kept in hibernation by true specialists, the great revolutionary measure must essentially be to bring all that culture to the people, thus making it human. It is in this sense that culture comes to be understood not only as a past of indisputable achievements, but also as the sensitivity of the moment, the interests, knowledge and concerns of each instant extended to the entire people. It is in this sense that culture is as alive as the people who sustain it, practise it and constantly enrich it.

Europe, in our conception of the white race, possesses a vast culture which, at the current crossroads, sets the standard in the world. All this culture that European peoples have developed over centuries of history, and which now constitutes a universe of sensibilities and knowledge, is and will always be a walking corpse as long as new generations do not constantly transform it, just as sensibilities themselves are constantly changing, making it a living and, above all, human entity. It is in this sense that Shakespeare or Calderón, Goethe or Tolstoy, can only be considered living culture within a people for whom their names are not just dead letters in textbooks, but whose works are read, remembered and felt as something alive and real, as something of their own. Until Europe feels that vast culture created by each of its peoples as something alive and with its own consciousness, it will be incapable of imprinting character on that cold empire of numbers that it exercises over the rest of the world.

Culture, in its current state, is absorbed into a rigid scheme of community life, rigid only because of rules created by vested interests that make spiritual expressions a mere game for intellectuals with no practical impact on the working people. It is in this sense that culture is entering a period of decline, because its very activity is reduced to formal speculations with no real impact.

All contemporary art is, in effect, a huge financial operation that robs it of all vital expressive capacity, turning it into yet another means of production at the service of class interests; and, as such, its manifestations end up being formal pirouettes performed by a minority of pseudo-initiates who call the people ignorant because they simply do not understand them. Contemporary literature, equally reduced to dalliances to win prizes and more prizes, awarded with overwhelming monotony to works of no value or at least without any trace of genius, or music now composed by computers for which harmony and tonality have completely disappeared, are further examples of a decadent art that has lost all purpose in itself, absorbed by a consumerist society that demands more and more, more quantity at the expense of quality, more consumption at the expense of taste, more...

And so artists and performers, writers and poets follow one another at an alarming rate, and no sooner have they been honoured than their names are forgotten by others, and others, and others... without any of them contributing anything really new to the previous one (even though novelty is the only word used to justify their "art") and without culture finally ceasing to depend, in a perpetual state of slavery, on politics and economics.

Ultimately, this state of cultural decline is nothing more than a logical manifestation of a general state of decline in modern society. That is also why a true cultural revolution will only come about with a total revolution of man himself, whereby the worldview of our commercialised societies is

transformed into a new desire to exalt creative values and personality, as opposed to the cult of sheep-like behaviour practised by democracies.

The conception of culture as a consumer product is the great postulate of a world in decline. And in this idea, the right and the left come together in a cordial embrace. Any programme of violence or any manifestation of snobbery becomes "cultural". A few years ago, at the first culture conference organised by a Marxist magazine in Barcelona, a conference attended by the most prominent figures of revolutionary communism, the slogan of the meetings revolved around the following idea: "To change the way we produce, to change the way we consume, to change life," in a lamentable and obvious recognition that, for them, the theorists of the consumer society, culture is also just another product in that immense wheel in which man (in New York and Moscow) produces in order to consume and consumes in order to continue producing, without any higher reason justifying either one or the other.

THE ABRUPT CUT

Without a doubt, we can pinpoint 1945 as the crucial date marking the beginning of the total manipulation of culture. The crushing and overwhelming victory, with no possibility of negotiation, whose first tragic consequence would be (to the dismay of democratic sensibilities) the plain and simple execution of the political leaders of the opposition, would organise a repression unlike any other era has known, which continues to this day, preventing the details of it from coming to light and being truly disseminated.

1945 was the fateful date when financial power, riding on the back of the war impositions that still govern the territory of a so-called 'free' Germany, would definitively impose its weight on all cultural initiatives. 1945 marked the beginning of the blatant imposition of all that pseudo-culture that American soldiers carried with them as a by-product of an industrial superpower. 1945 marked the end of a European consciousness, the curtailment of white national pride, the capitulation of art to business, of romanticism to dollars. With 1945, art dealers, large publishing trusts in literature, awards linked to political interests in the arts, the promotion of mediocre musicians, and the creation of consumer cinema and theatre that broke completely with a clear trajectory of human significance were definitively imposed.

A clear example of this "innovation" (Americanisation or, rather, Judaization) in European culture is the Bayreuth Theatre, created by Wagner a century ago to perform only his own dramas, which has maintained the trajectory desired by the maestro, except between 1946 and 1948, when, under American occupation, its hall was opened to offer musical dances to the troops. This is a clear and significant symptom of what separates a pseudo-culture considered as entertainment, as a pastime, from a traditional and at the same time revolutionary culture, but in any case, a distinctly European one. 1945 effectively marked a total change for authors who emerged or produced after that date. But it also marked a total change in the way previous authors were judged and considered: with the curious innovation of applying laws and concepts with retroactive effect, many names were erased by decree from their well-known positions and reduced to silence, their works destroyed and, in some cases, even they themselves persecuted. The list of names would be endless, and in all of them the "mercy" of democracies proved relentless.

Architects who saw their buildings barbarically dynamited, sculptors who saw their works destroyed, painters who witnessed the storage of their paintings, storage that continues to this day, writers and thinkers who were suddenly branded enemies of humanity, who were sentenced to death or who ended up committing suicide, eminent musicians interned in concentration camps, filmmakers shot or who ended up committing suicide in the face of the campaign unleashed against them... A veritable catastrophe that would seem like a science fiction novel were it not for the fact that it already appears—or, rather, will one day appear—in the history books.

The compilation we now present aims to provide a brief overview of the writers and thinkers of that "other" culture that the financial powers have tried in vain to absorb and have persecuted to the point of making it disappear. Other similar volumes will cover artists, musicians, filmmakers, scientists, researchers... that immense legion of authors who, one day, when they become known and recognised, will completely change the vision and history of our tormented century. And then this century will go from being the triumph of abstraction and materialism to that of the most brutal repression against European culture.

In contrast to the characteristics of the mass culture of the modern world, this 'other' culture has very different features. The new conception of the world is based on these features. The entire present volume is based on them, and while it does not claim to be exhaustive in its account, it is broadly indicative. J.T.

THE CULTURE OF THE OTHER EUROPE

AN INTRODUCTORY STUDY

If cinema is a barometer of society, it is curious that during the 'roaring twenties' European cinema produced films such as 'Nosferatu', a vampire as expressionistic as the German doctor 'Caligari', 'The Parade of Monsters' or the Doctor Mabuse cycle, not to mention the first versions of Frankenstein and his monster, the wide range of vampires (à la Lon Chaney, à la Lugosi, etc.) and that unforgettable M, the Vampire of Düsseldorf, all films that revealed the true state of European society beyond the unconscious joy and consumerist delirium that was already looming on the horizon.

It was Jaspers who, in his 'Origin and Goal of History', hit the nail on the head by showing that the horrible drama of the First World War had not yet been overcome: 'After the war, twilight fell on all civilisations. The end of humanity was sensed at that crossroads where all men, all peoples, merge again to disappear or be reborn. It was not yet the end, but everywhere that end was already accepted as a possibility. We all lived in dreadful anguish or resigned fatalism'.

The millions of dead at Verdun and the Marne, the men who were buried by the thousands in the trenches, those who succumbed in senseless bayonet charges, were an excessively terrifying vision for that generation and those to come. The monsters, the aberrant beings that cinema recreated, were nothing more than the sublimation on celluloid of that state of mind.

To make matters worse, in the East, communism was plunging Russia and Hungary into bloodshed, communist revolts were breaking out almost everywhere in Eastern Europe, and soldiers' councils were ravaging Germany. Long queues formed daily at rationing centres, and millions of people, as ghostly as the spectres that appeared in horror films, roamed the cities of Europe. Gigantic political upheavals were unleashed in all nations, even those that had not participated in the war. And that was when the miracle happened.

Little by little, those ghosts began to dissipate.

That generation, which had found itself alone in the face of nothingness, the generation of the trenches, chose the path of action. André Malraux, in interpreting the phenomenon of fascism (1), was right when he said, "An active and pessimistic man is or will be a fascist." And those men, who had no reason to be optimistic, overcame their frustrations and the calamities they had to endure through action. Fascism was born. The expressionist and naturalist vampires, the alienist doctors and the sadistic murderers of the cinema were replaced in that domain by other films that exalted the positive forces of nature, the cult of love and action, healthy living, militancy and voluntarism, honour and loyalty, sacrifice and heroism.

In 1945, the cinematic monsters were reborn, most of which were nothing more than remakes of those from the previous post-war period. And so it continued until the Emmanueles saga, with and without the 'H', and the more or less slick Travoltas...

It was precisely in this period between the end of the First World War and the atomic bomb in Hiroshima that the West watched in amazement as a new culture dawned. The vitality and energy of that culture is attested to by the fact that more than thirty years after Soviet tanks occupied Berlin with blood and fire

, young people continue to make it a reason to live and a cause to fight for. They stand in opposition to the Europe of democracies and Marxism, to the 'legal' Europe, which is why when we talk about this cultural movement we refer to the 'culture of the other Europe'. This is its synthesis.

OVERCOMING RATIONALISM

At the end of the 17th century, a caste was about to fall. The Middle Ages and the early Renaissance had been marked by the dominance and preponderance of the warrior aristocracies. Divine power, represented by the clergy, was closely linked to earthly power, represented by the aristocracy. The Renaissance and humanism heralded the definitive break between the two powers and ultimately paved the way for the French Revolution, that is, the seizure of power by the Third Estate, the bourgeoisie. The fall of the deeply degenerate and corrupt aristocracies began with the dethronement of Louis XVI and the stormy and demonic period of the French Revolution.

But such an event would not be exclusively political or social in nature; rather, like any mutation, it would have been preceded by a long ideological gestation, because at the root of the French Revolution we must find Cartesian rationalism and its most immediate derivatives: Jacobin nationalism and liberal democracy.

To speak of rationalism is to speak of the dominance of reason, and the dominance of reason ultimately implies the denial of everything that cannot be proven by it. Down with instinct, down with values beyond those that are strictly measurable and classifiable, down with everything that has been consubstantial with the history of the West, down with traditions and, above all, the liquidation of everything that is superior to man and to what he should strive for: such were the objective slogans that, acting underground in the halls of European palaces, hand in hand with what was called the 'republique des lettres', resulted in the revolutionary outbreak of 1789.

And fascism and revolutionary nationalisms said no to this. For them, man is more than just a developed primate with a superior brain, and life is much more than the pursuit of well-being and the most hedonistic happiness. It is not surprising that revolutionary nationalisms rejected democracy and liberalism; this rejection was not so much due to their repugnance for the political formulations of these systems – party politics, bureaucratisation, the breakdown of national unity, class struggle, etc. – as to objections made at the ideological level. Just as liberalism and democracy were based on philosophical rationalism, modern European thought had to be based on a critique of that rationalism and, more importantly, on its overcoming.

The first political and cultural movements that can be linked to Italian fascism already focused their ideas on criticising reason. The Futurists' own political manifesto espoused this idea, declaring that "instinct must replace reason". But as a pre-fascist movement, Futurism had not yet achieved ideological or aesthetic perfection: its worship of some of the most unpleasant aspects of the modern world—remember Marinetti's senseless poem to a locomotive or the reverential references to modern technology in the Futurist Political Manifesto itself—made it more of a belated and final appendage. Having overcome rationalism, it had opted for a technological irrationalism which,

by singing the praises of a heroic and "wild" life, came to adopt positions of extreme nihilism.

Around the same time in France, Drieu La Rochelle, a young intellectual who had just left the trenches of Verdun, was individually adopting similar positions. Interested first in the Surrealists, then in the Dadaists, his works from this period show a struggle to escape the coordinates of reason, but escape to what? In the case of the Futurists, Drieu and many others, the only valid excuse for their ideological vacuum is nihilism. It will be later, when they have declared their adherence to the ideology of fascism and have grasped and assimilated its doctrinal framework, that we will be able to truly speak of a "culture of the other Europe"; for now, these are just babblings.

Little by little, all nationalist and revolutionary intellectuals will realise that human existence is dominated by instinctive forces that are much more deeply rooted than reason. In a way, psychoanalysis, which emerged at that time, albeit with a subversive and disruptive orientation, reached similar conclusions. Perhaps the fundamental difference between psychoanalytic schools and the culture we are trying to define lies in the fact that, while the former limit themselves to noting the existence of forces that act in the lower layers of the mind—the subconscious—fascist culture speaks to us and shows us forces that strive to create and maintain values and concepts that tend to ennoble man and make him himself. Evola has defined psychoanalysis as a neo-spiritualist current that revels in the basest instincts of modern man. Fascism, on the contrary, is the affirmation of the person in his dual nature: human and spiritual.

In the fight against rationalism, the notion of "myth" finds its meaning. In the Sorelian sense of the term, a myth is an unquestioned belief that arouses enthusiasm and is indisputable. Fascist literature, as well as the political trajectory of all revolutionary nationalist movements, is riddled with myths: Italian fascism elevated the mystique of Latin culture to the status of myth, while French fascism elevated the events of 14 February 1934 to a supra-historical and mythical dimension; the myth of blood, homeland, and national unity became the pillars of the ideology of the new Europe. The difference between myth and utopia lies in the possibility of realising the former. Curiously, we observe that the ideologies that have most deeply rooted themselves in reason have ultimately become unattainable utopias. Thus, for example, Marxism is nothing more than extreme rationalism (2) which, in its deterministic logic, raises the utopia of a classless society and an earthly, proletarian paradise. The weakness of rationalism becomes apparent when nationalist and revolutionary ideologies, based on myths, build realities: as long as it arouses enthusiasm, myth shapes realities; as long as it is Cartesian, positivist and dialectical, rationalism ends in utopia by ignoring the forces of instinct and spirit.

National Socialist propaganda mythologised its heroes. Hans Johst wrote the biography of Albert Leo Schläteger and elevated him from his human dimension, transforming him into the archetype of a Nietzschean hero. The same thing happened with Horst Wessel. It was Johst who, through one of the characters in "Schläteger", uttered the famous phrase falsely attributed to Goering: "When I hear talk of culture, I reach for my revolver." Indeed, within the context of the work, one had to conclude that rationalist culture is not to be discussed, but fought against.

Other authors reach similar conclusions: Céline is perhaps the one who arrives at the most extreme aesthetic positions. The essence of all Céline's work must be sought

in his absolute suprarationalism; each of his novels shows us characters who are outside the realm of the formal; dreams, hallucinations, surprising and anti-dogmatic positions are a constant that, although characteristic of all the literature of 'the other Europe', finds its most qualified representative in Céline. Boutros, the protagonist of Drieu's "A Woman at Her Window", despite representing the figure of a Greek communist, adopts typically Nietzschean positions. His love for Margot arises unexpectedly. Semmelweis, the protagonist of Céline's work of the same title, although he conducts his research on puerperal fever empirically, cannot help but sink into an unthinking and instinctive universe. The same is true of Gustav Meyrink (3), who concocts two curious novels in the laboratory of his brain: "The Golem" and "The Green Face", in which beings that are "impossible" because they do not exist rebel against their own destiny. "The Golem", a monster created by a rabbi in Prague, ends up turning against its creator. The novel, set in the realm of the dreamlike, manages to create an obsessive atmosphere of premonitions and disturbing and unsettling aesthetic compositions.

French writers had to build their new literature while facing two obstacles that seemed insurmountable at first glance: on the one hand, traditional French Cartesianism, which Brasillach, for example, was unable to shake off until his final works, practically until the "Poems of Fresnes"; and, on the other hand, we must not forget that French revolutionary nationalism was largely influenced by Charles Maurras, who practised a neo-classical cult of reason. Perhaps it is because of this desire to overcome both handicaps that Chateaubriand, Céline, Drieu and the late Brasillach adopt more extreme anti-rationalist positions.

In any case, there is no doubt that all these authors and their Italian, French, German and English colleagues, mainly, had they not found in fascism 'an illusion', to paraphrase Hamilton's book on the fascist intelligentsia, would have fallen into a neo-anarchist nihilism that was already evident in the early futurist writings and in the manifestos of the first French 'fascists' and even at the dawn of Spanish fascism: are not the early writings of Giménez Caballero and the first issues of "La Conquista del Estado" comparable to Futurist productions and manifestos?

"Overcoming nihilism"... This notion has been experienced by many revolutionary nationalist militants of yesterday and today: nothing in the world deserves to be saved (Drieu writes in *Le Jeune Européen*: "All the values we lived by are disappearing," and later continues: "I strive to get close enough to touch the characters of my era with my finger, and I find them so abominable and so domineering that man, weakened, will no longer be able to escape the fate they proclaim"). A "revolt against the modern world" (the significant title of Evola's magnum opus) is necessary, but in order not to fall into nihilism, pessimistic criticism of today's world must be accompanied by activism and voluntarism that make the militant heroic. When the post-war generation in Europe turned its eyes to a millennial tradition, to eternal and immutable values, and decided to reconcile them, through action, with the achievements of the 20th century, it overcame nihilism and arrived at fascism.

If there is anything radically removed from the bourgeois and conservative spirit (understood in the right-wing and obscurantist sense of the term), it is fascism and its desire for global change. Part of the failure of Italian fascism was precisely due to the fact that some of its tendencies overvalued the 'corporate' aspect over the cultural and moral. This created a new trend within the social movement in Italy, but at certain moments the imposition of a cultural line was not sufficiently valued.

ethics. When a fascist blurts out to a bourgeois: "We hate the comfortable life," the latter may look at him with surprise, just as the intellectuals of Burgos could not interpret Millán Astray's phrase "Long live death," a cry that, far from being morbid or unconscious, has great ethical significance: long live death against those who say long live comfort and luxury; long live death because man's life is, ultimately, a struggle and a challenge with death; and long live death, in short, because, inspired by the immemorial tradition of the West, fascism constantly recalled that phrase that became the motto of the Greek city of Sparta: "Only contempt for death gives freedom." It would be worth quoting this excerpt from Henry de Montherland's "Carnets" to demonstrate the attitude of the men of the "new European culture" towards death: "The last act by which a man can show that he has mastered life, and that he has not been mastered... the two best ways to leave this world are to be killed or to kill oneself... not by hasty and irresponsible suicide, but by thoughtful suicide"... It is logical that when a representative of the "third estate" or the "fourth estate" reads these words, he thinks they are playful delusions or stylistic boasts. Mishima and Drieu thought otherwise...

"In the spiritual sense, there is indeed something that can serve as a guide for our forces of resistance and uprising: this something is the legionary spirit. It is the attitude of those who know how to choose the hardest path, of those who know how to fight even when they are aware that the battle is materially lost, of those who know how to revive and validate the words of the ancient saga: 'loyalty is stronger than fire'."

Evola, "Orientations," Chapter III

THE CULT OF ACTION

Before political doctrine existed in historical fascism, it was already manifesting itself and inflaming young hearts. Action preceded theory, and it is not uncommon to find in revolutionary nationalisms across the globe a certain hostility and contempt for ideologies and an absolute rejection of intellectualism and 'academicism'. It can be said that this political tendency, in its short existence, had to combine revolutionary practice with theoretical elaboration; indeed, in most cases, the former preceded the latter. The example of the young editors of *La conquista del Estado* is significant; with each new issue, there was a greater ideological approximation and greater theoretical precision, but from the very first issue, the newspaper sellers had to sell it on the streets, often hearing the sound of gunfire.

The image of the young fascist militant is the furthest thing from that of the intellectual tortured by his thoughts and perpetually considering the possibility of having been wrong. The vagueness of liberal democracy is replaced in fascism by the conviction that intuitions are always true. Moreover, those we might call "fascist intellectuals" are very far removed from the cliché of the classic intellectual. Jünger had spent a long time at the front and was awarded the "Pour le mérite"; Marinetti and D'Annunzio participated in the world war in the same way that Mussolini and Hitler experienced the trenches; Drieu and Céline were mobilised in 1914 and always claimed to have fought not out of obligation but out of conviction; "Combat for Berlin" by Joseph Goebbels, a classic National Socialist intellectual, recounts his direct experiences in the struggle to conquer Berlin for the new European ideals. The vision of the political leader,

Anti-intellectual ideologue, Goebbels completes the picture in Michel, a German Destiny, where he describes the characteristics of the archetype that constituted the new man of National Socialism: entirely devoted to action, it is in action that he finds justification for his existence and meaning for his life: willing to fight for his community, his example is what should awaken the deceived, dormant masses. Goebbels' own life and his militant experience in Berlin are good examples of the activist conception of National Socialism.

But in the words of José Antonio, action devoid of thought is "pure barbarism". Hence, it is necessary to remember that, although activist delirium precedes theorisation, when the latter occurs, it does not fall into intellectualism but is a "living doctrine" (Mussolini, "Fascism"). Action alone is not enough in the long term; it is, at best, an illusion of a present that cannot last long. The mission of ideology is to systematise intuitions, coordinate ideas and assumptions, and find the ultimate reasons for the struggle.

When militants transform their initial concerns into political thought, they become the ideal type of fascist, as defined by Drieu in "A Man on Horseback": "Men of action are only important when they are sufficiently men of thought, and men of thought are only valuable because of the embryo of men of action they carry within them." In short, it is a question of finding the true balance between the two poles: Gentile, the official ideologue of the fascist regime, wrote something similar in one of his articles: "In fascism, thought and action coincide perfectly: no value is attributed to thought when it has not been transported or expressed in action. This explains the anti-intellectualist controversy, which is one of the favourite themes of fascists... Intellectualism is thought separated from action, science separated from life, the brain separated from the body, theory from practice."

In the same vein, the "Captain's men", the Romanian legionnaires of the Guard

In their 'fundamental laws', possibly without knowing the opinions of other similar movements, they wrote: Speak little, say what is necessary when necessary. Let your speech be that of deeds. Act: let others talk. Walk only the path of honour. Fight, never stoop to vileness." In another of their basic texts, the "Book of the Chief," they complete this criterion: "The legionnaire does not argue with anyone. He despises politicians and does not allow himself to be drawn into discussions with them (...) He loves death because his blood will serve to build a legionary Romania."

All these opinions are enough to give us an accurate idea of the role that thought and action played in the fascist worldview.

Action prevails over thought, but ultimately it is important because it ends in a thought that is not rationalist but instinctive and perceptible. Evola has noted in many works that the essential difference between East and West, from a traditional point of view, lies in the fact that the West values action more than contemplation, while in the East the opposite is true. As the quintessence of Western tradition, revolutionary nationalism could only revalidate this opinion.

Nothing is placed higher than action. Gilles, a character in Drieu's novel of the same title, enjoys castigating academics and their incredible habit of talking incessantly: "What are words compared to sensations?" he concludes. In Céline, this rejection is even more extreme: Semmelweis and Destouches, both doctors and characters in his novels, do not believe in experimental methods at all, preferring instinctive and poetic knowledge. Their drama lies in the fact that they find themselves

prisoners in a society that rejects anything that is not positivist. Brasillach, in his "Letter to a Soldier of the Class of '60," agrees with the above opinions: "Ideas are born for me only from contact with earthly realities, all of them close to what I have felt and experienced." Contrary to some renowned anti-fascist authors, we do not believe that this 'primacy of action' was the cause of fascism's supposed ideological deficiency. The ideology was complemented and refined over the years. The José Antonio of 1931 is not the same as the one who spoke for the first time on behalf of the Spanish Falange at the Teatro de la Comedia, much less the one who would speak to an ever-growing number of young people at the Cine Madrid. The Mussolini of the twenty-year period is not the same as the one who gave his last speech at the Teatro Lirico in Milan, and in strictly intellectual terms, Drieu's pre-fascist, Dadaist and surrealist musings make him a different intellectual from the one in "L'Homme à cheval", "Gilles" or "Le Jeune Européen". There is a consistent evolutionary line in all of them, with practically no traumas or discontinuities.

At all times, they have been approaching an understanding of the meaning of the "eternal values" that José Antonio spoke of, assimilating them and incorporating them into their thinking. They have usually done so amid the clamour of street demonstrations, behind barricades, amid the roar of artillery, or simply by emerging from their inner struggle to overcome their human condition.

The activist nature of fascism immediately leads us to consider two other characteristics that are natural derivatives of this: the cult of youth, the sense of violence, and a certain "activist view of history," in which the "theory of the elite" finds its place in the fascist phenomenon. This brings us to Pareto and the French collective of L'Ordre Nouveau...

One final caveat should be made: militarism and fascism. Fascist intellectuals also addressed this militaristic element in their writings, although not always to the same extent: Céline, in "Case Pipe", treats military societies with contempt. At times, he even goes so far as to express contempt. His criticism focuses on the fact that the medieval warrior has become a soldier (from the Italian *soldi*, meaning 'soldier', i.e. a man who fights in exchange for a salary) and that discipline has turned military life into pure routine. Céline may not have fond memories of the army, just as many of our young people, having gone through military service, remember this or that rank with antipathy. Céline approaches the problem from a subjective point of view. Montherlant, Evola, Drieu, and German intellectuals in general, do so from a more measured point of view. Many of them even experienced their finest hours in uniform. Jünger, in order to escape the politics he detested, even National Socialist politics, rejoined the Wehrmacht. The military experience cannot be separated from the context of Evola's work, just as Marinetti and D'Annunzio saw the army as an instrument for the consummation of Imperial Italy.

For Evola, for example, military societies are the only reference point that the Western world can hold on to, as they at least *sensu stricto* maintain a series of values that have disappeared from 'civil societies'. In 'Men and Ruins', he writes: "The taste for hierarchy, relationships of command and obedience, courage, feelings of honour and loyalty, certain forms of active impersonality that can go as far as anonymous sacrifice, clear and open relationships between men, between comrades, between superiors and subordinates: these are the characteristic values that live on in 'societies of men'. Everything related to the domain of the army and war represents a particular aspect of this value system."

Drieu himself saw military societies as the quintessence of a restoration of Western values, precisely because it was in them that there was the greatest possibility of achieving absolute sacrifice: "Nothing is done without blood," he wrote in *Le Jeune Européen*, and "I trust in a bloodbath like an old man about to die." When he joined Doriot's French Popular Party, he did not think of it as just another party, but as an order of believers and combatants, a civil militia. Claudel saw war as the most primitive and therefore natural form of communication and problem-solving: "The sword is the shortest path between two hearts." He then went on to defend a virile, aristocratic and warlike type of society. Gustav Meyrink did the same in *The Green Face*: "Vigilance is everything: remain on guard..." Why continue? The constant is repeated in all of them.

The army as the highest representative of Order in a time of chaos, War (struggle) as an element that sublimates wills. Action as a daily, creative and original task, as opposed to the routine of "work" (alienation). All of this is linked to the struggle against rationalism and its overcoming: where reason calls for caution, action calls for heroism; where reason seeks security, action responds with honour and loyalty. Where reason points to carelessness, action responds with responsibility, hierarchy: Order, in a word, and from Order to Revolution: it is time to note a fragment by Arnaud Dandieu, from the doctrinal collective "*L'Ordre Nouveau*": "When order is no longer in order, it must be in revolution, and the only revolution we think of is the revolution of order". ("*La révolution nécessaire*").

AESTHETICS IN THE SERVICE OF ETHICS

For the intellectuals of the "other Europe", literary creation per se had no value. Moreover, it was considered an intellectualist characteristic and a reflection of bourgeois society, always eager to find entertainment for its leisure time. Aesthetic expression is only valid and positive insofar as it serves an ethic: creator and work thus merge into a uniform whole, such that each character in the novels of Drieu, Junger, Céline, etc. represents an aspect of their inner being. This is literature that is lived and felt, not a mere abstract construction.

It is curious to note that all authors and researchers who were attracted to the national revolutionaries, with few exceptions, did not declare themselves to be either fascists or national socialists. Céline, although he showed sympathy for national socialism, never declared himself to be one, while Drieu and Brasillach maintained different positions throughout their lives, but in general, when they accepted the label of fascists, it was as a challenge. Drieu wrote in *Revolution National* on 20 November 1943: "We have received the word fascist from the mouths of our adversaries, from the entire democratic and anti-fascist clique, and we have taken this word as a challenge." The label dear to Jünger was 'revolutionary conservative'. Johst and Kolbenheyer, on the other hand, were members of the NSDAP. Evola, however, never joined the Fascist Party. Neither Montherlant nor Brasillach were members of any league, nor were Hamsun or Benn. In any case, there is a clear tendency not to become overly involved with the fascist parties that were operating at the time.

(4). This confirms our thesis that these authors were, above all, men who expressed a particular ethic that coincided and overlapped in the political arena with that propagated by revolutionary fascism throughout Europe, which greatly influenced our authors.

When studying all the nationalist and revolutionary movements in Western Europe, and even their most refined external manifestations (such as Yurio Mishima), it is striking to note that beyond the different positions on national problems and the different solutions to social problems (corporatism, trade unionism, organicism, anti-Marxist socialism, etc.) what gives them coherence and uniformity and what allows us to speak properly of revolutionary nationalism is precisely the ethics common to all of them. If this is true of political movements, the same can be said of the intellectuals who agreed with them from within or without.

At the top of the entire scale of values is the Person and their Freedom. The Person, the concept of the Person, emerges as a rejection of the liberal conception of the 'individual': the individual is an undifferentiated atom placed within a mass, no quality distinguishes them from others, they are simply a number which, placed alongside other numbers, lacks personality and 'cause of its own'. The concept of the Person, on the other hand, is eminently qualitative: there is a dual nature within the name, material, subject to biological and physical laws, and spiritual. The person differs from other units that are in principle analogous in terms of the degree of spiritual development they achieve. Man's life, understood in this way, is a constant path of spiritual fulfilment and self-formation, and freedom must be understood as the possibility of following this path. The hierarchies of law, in turn, represent nothing more than the different degrees of inner fulfilment, while the rest of the values inherent to European beings (honour, loyalty, sacrifice, courage, service, etc.) represent 'social guarantees' and unwritten laws that in mythical times should ensure the smooth running of social relations and regulate the interrelationships between two Persons.

Such is, in general terms, the gradation and situation of the different ethical values that fuelled the various revolutionary nationalisms. Such are also the sources of inspiration for the authors who adhered to them.

With this interpretative model, we can understand certain fragments of literature from the other Europe that have not been fully assimilated by later commentators, who are now disconnected from the same ethical reference. Paul Claudel, for example, expressing his conception of man in "Memoirs Improvised", says: "Man is a raw material that needs to be asked the necessary questions in order to get everything it can give. Consequently, it is foolish to censure the exploitation of man; on the contrary, man is a thing that asks to be exploited." Drieu would complete this vision of man as "a being perpetually in search of himself" in many other novels and essays; the protagonists of "La Jeune Européenne", "El hombre a caballo" (The Man on Horseback, a significant title), "El Dictador" (The Dictator) and even the most frivolous of them all, Alain in "Fuego Fatuo" (Will-o'-the-Wisp), constantly ask themselves questions about their own existence and constantly rethink their daily tasks until they find the definitive direction of their lives and become themselves, to express it in Nietzschean terms. The outcomes of each of these novels are very diverse: from Alain in "Fuego Fatuo", who ends up committing suicide in despair at the human misery that surrounds him and his inability to overcome his environment, to the "Young European" who, after a search for himself, comes to Spain to fight alongside the national forces during the Civil War. All of them pulverise Marx's famous and depersonalising phrase, in which we must seek the origin of all ideologies that free man from his responsibilities (psychoanalysis, certain sociological schools, etc.): "Man is what men are." For Drieu and his colleagues, "Man is what he wants to be, what he is."

ready to become through their freedom." Carrel expressed similar ideas in "The Unknown Man": "Human beings must be given back their personality, which is standardised today by modern life. The sexes must be clearly defined once again. It is also important that man develops in the specific and multiple richness of his activities." And a commentator on Jünger believed he was interpreting his thinking when he wrote in *La Table Ronde*: "The revenge on an era that claims to count only for the masses is that some individuals remain as impregnable as fortresses. Nothing can stand against them." Finally (many more could be cited), in the "personalist" magazine with the significant title *La liberté de l'Esprit*, Emmanuel Mounier, who was neither a fascist nor even a para-fascist, but simply a personalist, anti-capitalist and anti-communist, wrote: "The only commitment that counts is the one one makes to oneself, to oneself alone, lucid fulfilment of oneself and one's solitary, irreplaceable destiny."

Evola places the Person above any other value, including the State, and in "Men and Ruins" he categorically assigns primacy to the former over the latter, and it is in this "searching for oneself" that he finds the highest significance of the values of "fidelity" and "style". He writes in *Orientations*: "Faced with a rotten world whose principle is: 'Do what you see others doing', or 'First the stomach, then the skin, then morality', or 'These are not times when one can afford the luxury of having character', or finally 'I have a family to feed', we oppose this firm and clear rule of conduct: 'We cannot act otherwise, this is our way, this is our way of being'." That fidelity to oneself is the only guarantee that man deserves respect. Once the fascist man has begun his adventure, he must "burn his ships", like Cortés in Mexico. Evola goes on to state the value of style: "The 'style' that must prevail is that of someone who remains faithful to himself and to an idea, with a combined intensity, a repulsion for all convenience, a total commitment that must be manifested not only in political struggle, but also in every expression of existence: in the office, in the workplace, at university, in the street, in one's personal life of affections and feelings. We must reach the point where the type of person we want is unmistakably recognised and it can be said of him: 'He is someone who acts like a man of the Movement'."

In fascism, the term loyalty has become inextricably linked to the term 'honour'. Spengler noted in this regard: 'Honour is a matter of blood, not of understanding'... 'One does not reflect on it; if one reflects, one is already dishonoured'. Alphonse de Chateaubriand, in "*La gerbe des forces*", marvelled at the ever-vigilant, unquestioning attitude of the young Hitlerites, as well as Hitler's personal guard, with their belts bearing the motto: "Our honour is called loyalty". Evola despised those who had made honour a matter of the bedroom, reducing it to a mere utilitarian and bourgeois dimension. Honour is something more: he who is faithful to himself and his comrades, he who is a stranger to betrayal and servility, he for whom life is a service, not a servitude, he is a man who knows the value of honour. Of a supra-rational nature, Honour and Loyalty cannot be understood by those who have made rationalism a fundamental law. For them, fidelity is servility, honour pure fiction. A society that has renounced these values tends progressively to become, like a society that has relegated them to the role of mere instrumental rhetoric, a society in dissolution in which chaos begins to prevail over order.

It is these values that affirm a particular and distinctive ethic, that differentiate men from one another, and in which we must seek one more reason for the

Rejection of egalitarian democracy (one man, one vote) and Marxist socialism (one man, one atom of the collectivist state). For fascist writers, there is no equality except among "free" men, freedom being understood as we have already defined it. This concept had been carried over from Athens and Sparta by the whole of Western civilisation, and the authors we refer to merely incorporated it and gave it new aesthetic formulations. It is in these same values that we must find the "social meaning" of revolutionary nationalism: to reconvert the undifferentiated masses into a people, that is, into a structured collective personalised in its individualities, as Ortega y Gasset expressed it in similar terms. What role, then, does the mass play in the fascist phenomenon? With Nietzsche, the fascist despises the masses, not the People!

'I do not believe that the masses deserve attention except from three points of view: as a diffuse copy of great men, as resistance encountered by the great, and as an instrument of the great. Otherwise, let the devil and statistics take them away'.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST LIBERALISM

Evola writes in *Orientations*: "Liberalism, then democracy, then socialism, then radicalism, and finally communism or Bolshevism have historically appeared only as degrees of the same evil, as stages that successively prepared the complex process of a fall." Just a few lines later, he completes the idea: "Without the French Revolution, without liberalism and the bourgeois revolution, constitutionalism and democracy would not have come about. Without democracy, socialism and demagogic nationalism would not have come about. Without the preparation of socialism, neither radicalism nor, ultimately, communism would have come about." It is clear that for Evola, and in this he agrees with the opinion of absolutely all representatives of this cultural trend, liberalism is at the root of all evil.

Perhaps the most unpleasant effect of liberalism was to elevate the bourgeoisie to the status of 'ruling class'. In effect, liberalism and democracy are nothing more than manifestations of the "revolution of the third estate" which, for two centuries, practically since the Renaissance, had been putting pressure on the European warrior aristocracies, which were progressively more degenerate and, by various means (Machiavelli, Humanism, the Protestant Reformation, the Encyclopaedia, and the Enlightenment, etc.), had pushed the last and unworthy European monarchs into the dustbin of history. With liberalism, the bourgeoisie rose to prominence, and with it its vices. A fascist intellectual, a militant "of the other Europe", can be considered the antithesis of bourgeois thought.

A certain 'neo-fascism' (sic) is striking when it adopts hyper-conservative positions and gestures, when it presents itself as nineteenth-century conservatism disguised as national Catholicism on some occasions, right-wing parliamentarianism on others, or simply as political reactionism. Fascism and revolutionary nationalism transcend all this, including the bourgeois spirit, insofar as they transcend their ultimate consequences, Marxism and Bolshevism, not through reactionary and conservative means, but through revolutionary ones. Ramiro Ledesma was not only the founder of the first Spanish national revolutionary period worthy of the name, "La Conquista del Estado" (The Conquest of the State), he was also the most important Spanish theorist of this movement and the archetype of a militant. He was a man of thought (as evidenced by his contributions to 'La Revista de Occidente', his philosophical essays on Unamuno and

German existentialist philosophy), and also of action (founder of the "Conquest", founder of the JONS, front-line activist, etc.). Ramiro understood that competition with Marxism had to be on strictly revolutionary ground, and in his early days (until 1933) he looked sympathetically on radical Marxist movements because they fought bourgeois liberalism. Only later

-and there is the formidable monument to Spanish revolutionary nationalism, his "Discourse to the Youth of Spain" - he observed the spurious consequences of liberal errors.

To delve into these thinkers' critique of liberalism, democracy and capitalism (as the economic conclusion of both) is to enter into the heart of their attack on the social engine of these phenomena: the bourgeoisie. For this reason, it is worth pausing for a moment to examine something that, in principle, would not be of excessive importance, as it is too obvious: anti-liberalism.

Active and energetic, revolutionary nationalism could not help but express a profound rejection of the characteristics of bourgeois morality: greed and usury (Ezra Pound revives the Western tradition that placed everything related to the cult of profit on a lower plane. In this regard, Pound's little book, "My Country," in which he harshly criticises American society, perhaps the one that has best assimilated the liberal-bourgeois and capitalist character of the era, is noteworthy. In one of its pages, he writes: "The Egyptian monarch despised the individual slave as effectively as the American despises the individual dollar." The bourgeois becomes the prototype of the man who, faced with activism and the desire for risk and adventure, takes refuge in security, in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures; for the bourgeois, there are no values other than those of the stomach. Today, the prototype of the bourgeois (bourgeois-worker, bourgeois-aristocrat, bourgeois-young-rebellious, etc.) is defined by his business acumen; he is a digestive tract that gobbles, swallows, defecates and, in between, makes love (the very fact that the role of sex has replaced that of love in the very definition of the sexual act is already symptomatic). This type of man could only be a consequence of the rationalist view of existence: if there are no values or realities other than those that can be seen and touched, the satisfaction of the spirit must be relegated and reduced to the satisfaction of the senses. It is not in vain that the possibility of perception in human beings passes through the senses and their stimulation...

The man born of this value system could only be defined in relation to others by his "external signs". The type of man that liberalism enthroned and standardised is mediocre par excellence, and such mediocrity is cloaked in such smugness and arrogance that his mediocrity stands above other mediocrities. Consumer society (although its birth was initially due to strictly economic causes) fulfils a vital differentiating function for modern man: whether he uses this or that lotion before or after shaving is what distinguishes him from his office colleague who, like him, works at the same synthetic desk, who eats the same, usually equally adulterated products, who breathes the same polluted air and travels the same streets in identical cars built on endless assembly lines where identical workers tighten identical nuts, while humming the latest hits and attending the same film screenings... The difference between them all lies solely and exclusively in their purchasing power, and they devote all their senses to increasing it, while all commercial propaganda is geared towards stimulating it. All this is deformed and monstrous, and against it, which was already foreseeable and largely experienced in the interwar years, the intellectuals of the other Europe rose up. Boris

Vian wrote in his notebooks: "I detest everything that is slow and mediocre. I want to live intensely." In the 1920s and 1930s, all those young people who wanted to live intensely did not need to drink cognac "for men" or wear "a dry cologne for strong men"; it was enough for them to join the nearest nationalist and revolutionary organisation. Those who did so were undoubtedly attracted by Mussolini's words: "Fascism abhors a comfortable life." 'Michael', the character in Joseph Goebbels' novel of the same title, puts Mussolini's words into practice: he abandons his studies to join the working class and works as a miner until he dies in an accident. Throughout the novel, he constantly stigmatises Mammon (the god of greed): "Money is the measure of the value of liberalism () Money cannot be placed above life. A people that evaluates everything in terms of money begins to decline (). While during the world war soldiers offered their bodies for the protection of their homes and two million of them died, speculators minted coins with their noble red blood (). Money has no roots; it is above races. It slowly absorbs them, entering the spirit of nations and gradually poisoning their creative force."

But beyond these ethical values, we can find in the various nationalist and revolutionary writers a structural critique of liberalism and its derivatives, especially its systems: universal suffrage, parties and systems of representation.

It should be added that criticism of these elements is not new. If there were precursors to revolutionary nationalism, they were so insofar as they were anti-liberal thinkers. Maurras's criticism of democracy, for example, could be endorsed by any fascist: parties break the unity of the nation, divide and fragment the people, and represent particular interests, not global ones... But it would be unfair to deliberately forget the programme of the Italian Combat Fasci, which exceptionally defended "universal suffrage", proportional representation and demands that were so "advanced" and "left-wing" at the time, such as the right to vote at 18 and equality for women... In fact, this is an exception in the entire history of this trend; only in this programme are these 'neo-liberal' demands defended. It is true that this was Mussolini's first document; he had been expelled from the Socialist Party only a few months earlier. It was 1919. Two years later, this 'archaeo-fascism' would definitively find its anti-liberal and anti-democratic character: 'The nation is not the simple sum of living individuals nor the instrument of party ends, but an organism comprising the indefinite series of generations of which individuals are the passing elements; it is the supreme synthesis of all the material and spiritual values of the nation'... Fascism's liberal dalliances were clearly over.

But fascism is a profoundly aristocratic movement. This word should not mislead us; it means 'the rule of the best', and the 'best' are called the 'elite'. On the ashes of liberalism's eminently quantitative egalitarianism, fascism, and especially the intellectuals who claim to belong to this tendency, place special emphasis on the 'theory of the elite'. The protagonists of their works are men—or groups of men—who deliberately distance themselves from the social collective, acquire a superhuman dimension, and transform their environment. In this regard, it is curious to note how absolutely all the novels, comedies, and adventure series by fascist intellectuals are built around a central character beside whom all others pale; he is the only protagonist and wants

representing in fiction what revolutionary nationalist groups represent in politics. However, the theory of the elite does not represent, as in Nietzsche's case, hatred towards the rest of the population. Kolbenhayer, for example, when paying tribute to Adolf Hitler in "Dem Führer", recalls that Hitler 'lives for his people' (...) 'is the supra-individual embodiment of the Nation'. The people are thus complemented by the image of the leader or, in a broader sense, by a ruling political class. Likewise, when Gustav Le Bon analyses the female characteristics of the masses in 'The Psychology of Crowds', he cannot help but show a certain admiration for those who know how to 'seduce the masses' and, with obvious morbidity, compares the conquest of the masses by a leader to the seduction of a woman by a Don Juan. The sociological school closest to fascism (Burham, Pareto, Michels, even the old Max Weber) considers that history can be explained through the 'circulation of elites'; that is, when an elite has lost its dynamism, its internal energy, it falls: at which point it is replaced by another, which was undoubtedly already exerting pressure. Monnerot and Raymond Aron add to this theory. Monnerot writes in *La guerre en question*: "Revolution means a global upheaval in the circulation of elites... revolutions express the fact that elites are ineffective." Viewed in this light, revolutionary nationalism represents a overcoming of the liberal and Marxist elites, and its demand to be both a replacement and an overcoming leads it to adopt a consistently revolutionary path.

Now, the notion of elites (who, by their example, should guide the nation and be complement to the people) implies the rejection of the notion of equality. It should be remembered that liberal and quantitative democracy is based on the postulate of equality. Evola writes aptly in "Men and Ruins", drawing on philosophical axioms from ancient Greece that have not yet been surpassed: "It is superfluous to recall the fundamental inequality of beings from an existential point of view (...) The notion of 'plurality' (of a plurality of individual beings) is logically contradictory to that of 'plurality of equal beings'. This results primarily, ontologically, from the 'principle of the indiscernible', by virtue of which 'a being that would be perfectly identical to another in all respects would form with it only a single being'. The concept expressed by the word 'several' implies a contradiction in terms. From this follows immediately, deontologically, the principle of 'sufficient reason', which is expressed as follows: 'For every thing there must be a reason by virtue of which it is that thing and not another'. A being absolutely identical to another would be devoid of 'sufficient reason': it would be a copy totally devoid of meaning. These arguments may seem outdated, almost like the dialectical tricks so common in Greek philosophy. But they regain their eternal meaning when modern science reaches similar conclusions: it is thanks to modern technology that we know that, at the cellular level, no two beings are alike, just as the potentialities of their progenitors are also unequal. It is thanks to Konrad Lorenz that we know that in all of nature there is no notion of equality, not even in the lowest animal species, much less in higher mammals, among which, zoologically speaking, man is included.

But the importance of destroying the egalitarian myth does not lie solely in the fact that it corrodes the foundations of inorganic and quantitative democracy, nor solely in justifying and explaining the "theory of the elite". As an ideology (or rather, a worldview), revolutionary nationalism finds within itself an internal articulation that allows concepts to be perfectly linked: rejecting egalitarianism means rejecting the realm of quantity in order to immerse ourselves in that of quality; "it is here that the concepts of individual and person differ (see previous chapter): "the individual,

indeed, belongs to the world of the inorganic rather than the organic" (...), "the person is the individual differentiated by quality, with their own face, their own nature and a series of attributes that make them 'themselves' and distinguish them from anyone else, making them fundamentally unequal'.

As for parliamentarianism, the political-bureaucratic construct in which liberal democracy is articulated, absolutely all revolutionary nationalisms, both in their intellectual and political formulations, are unanimous: neither right nor left. Dozens of quotes could be cited in this regard, but we believe that the most graphic, in that it tends to 'position' fascism in relation to parliamentarianism, is the one written by Arnaud Dandieu in 1933 in 'La révolution nécessaire':

"We are neither right nor left; but if it is absolutely necessary to position ourselves in parliamentary terms, we repeat that we are halfway between the extreme right and the extreme left, behind the president, with our backs to the Assembly."

AGAINST COMMUNISM

One of the most characteristic external aspects of revolutionary nationalism, at least in the eyes of the masses, is its anti-communism. What is more, in some cases the 'revolutionary mission' of nationalism has been distorted by its visceral anti-communism, which has placed it alongside the most blatant reactionary forces. To avoid this phenomenon, Ramiro Ledesma spoke of overcoming Marxism by revolutionary means. His message was not always understood, let alone followed.

Ramiro, like Drieu and Céline, could not help but express a certain admiration – or at least a certain respect – for communism. There was something about this movement that appealed to him. Not its ideology, of course, but partly its style. Around 1933, Stalinist purges had not yet manifested themselves in all their orgiastic cruelty; communism was the heritage of workers, of young activists who longed to fight against capitalism and who had little more than themselves to carry on their struggle. Communists, unlike liberals or capitalists, degenerate aristocrats or inept bourgeois, had a cause to live for, ideals of freedom and social change.

While the struggle against capitalism and bourgeois morality was the exclusive heritage of communism, it was not surprising that its movement capitalised on much youthful energy. From the time Ramiro Ledesma wrote in *La Conquista del Estado*: "Long live Hitler's Germany, long live Mussolini's Italy, and long live Stalin's Russia!" until May 1968, when some young nationalists and revolutionaries decided that their place was on the barricades of the Latin Quarter in Paris ("The leftists want to make the revolution, we want to make the revolution: let's make the revolution with them"), a broad debate between Marxism and revolutionary nationalism had been the ideal theme for some intellectuals.

No one has questioned that revolutionary nationalism is anti-Marxist insofar as it considers Marxism, as we have already seen, to be a by-product of demoliberal society. However, this anti-communism must be qualified. We are not dealing with the typical visceral anti-communism of the reactionary and classical right. Obviously, today in particular, revolutionary nationalism finds its main enemy in the streets in communism (and today more specifically in progressive leftism). The absence of militancy, the conformism and the lassitude of the right-wing and centrist parties means that the competition for political dominance in the streets, universities, schools and workplaces is between nationalists

and Marxists of all kinds. The anti-bourgeois spirit, the anti-liberal and anti-parliamentary character, the activist and militant vocation, the direct confrontation with the structures of the modern world (although Marxism is an extreme consequence of this, while fascism represents its rupture), extreme voluntarism and a certain sense of violence make typological coincidences more abundant than normal among such distant political adversaries. But let us not be fooled, these are only typological coincidences; otherwise, at the ideological and doctrinal level, any coincidence is pure fiction.

All of this is reflected by national revolutionary intellectuals, who often portray characters with communist ideologies in their works as "likeable" and almost always full of life. This tendency can be clearly seen in "The Woman at Her Window", in which Boutros, a Greek communist leader under the Metaxas dictatorship and the protagonist of the novel, loses interest in Marxist doctrine, and if he is a communist, it is because "I believe that communists are as rotten at heart as capitalists, but at least they have a spark of virility and health left in them; they want combat, the decisive test, and from this struggle I expect a profound rebirth of the planet and a fruitful death." In no case do the traits of all these characters come close to the "official man" of communist doctrine.

When Goebbels, Drieu, Brasillach, the first Doriot, even Céline and the German intellectuals of the time speak of "socialism", it is clear that they are referring to a de-Marxist socialism, to "true socialism". But we need to qualify this a little further, as this is one of the points on which this cultural trend shows greater diversification and on which not all opinions coincide. The only point of agreement is the need to fight against communism, and more specifically against Soviet communism and the parties that claimed to be within its orbit.

Goebbels, in Michael, a German Destiny, clearly defines the concept of socialism: 'True socialism means doing freely and willingly what international socialists do out of compassion or for reasons of state. Moral necessity versus political calculation'. Rather than 'true socialism', we should speak of 'Nietzschean socialism'.

Likewise, Julius Evola, a man hardly suspected of "plebeian" tendencies (see 'Orientations': "many weeds that have grown in our ranks must be uprooted. What else can be meant by talk of a 'Workers' State', 'national socialism', 'humanism of labour' and the like?"), has given rise among his followers to a tendency that can very well be aptly described as "national communism". This tendency took shape in Italy in 1969 in the phenomenon that, in its grotesque and spectacular form, has been called "Nazi-Maoism," but whose reality has nothing to do with this absurd label, which stems from the fact that these neo-fascists (grouped essentially around "Edizioni di Ar" and circles more or less close to the "Lotta di Popolo Organisation") viewed the "style" of the Chinese communists with a certain sympathy: anti-American, anti-Soviet, austere, enthusiastic, disciplined, extremely politicised and voluntarist, they were seen as a factor in the "destabilisation" of the superpowers' domination born of the Yalta conference. This Evolian tendency has been studied and defined by Bernard Paquetteau in his thesis "Idées politiques de Julius Evola", which has come down to us thanks to its review in the French Evolian magazine "Totalité". The term "national-communist" arises from the need, for Fredda and his comrades in Ar, to destroy the private nature of law and property, which would be something of a means to an end, a kind of 'emergency therapy' that would open up a new space in which unprecedented forms of organisation could manifest themselves.

politics totally free from the commercial residues of the bourgeois-proletarian era. Within this panorama, Fredda maintains the opinion, contrary to the irredentist right, that property is not an important value and that collective and communal property at certain levels is acceptable. The members of the political ruling class of a possible "new order", for example, should not have private property.

Without going to such extremes (which both Evola and his later interpreters consider to be of extremely secondary importance: 'Everything that is economics and economic interest as mere satisfaction of animal needs has had, has and will always have a subordinate function in a normal humanity' ('Orientations'), Jünger and Céline reach similar conclusions. Jünger has sometimes been accused of being a Leninist, just as Drieu was said to have died a communist... As before, this is also a case of exaggeration: the Drieu of *Memoirs of Dirk Raspe* is even less 'socialist' than the Drieu of Genoa or Moscow, and Jünger's only similarity with Lenin is his eagerness to use the latest advances in political technique to convince and conquer the masses.

The sociological school, on the other hand, is not very inclined towards all these concerns and nuances: it is unambiguously anti-communist. Pareto, for example, writes: "As for determining the social value of Marxism, knowing whether the Marxist theory of surplus value is true or false is almost as important as knowing whether baptism erases sin when it comes to determining the social value of Christianity. It is of no importance whatsoever." Monnerot bases his analysis on the observation that Marxism is a new religion for the hyper-materialised man of the 20th century: "The communist enterprise is a religious enterprise." And a neo-socialist thinker, Henri de Man, agrees with this assessment: "There is no socialism without some form of religion." Toynbee goes even further: "Marxism is a Christian heresy" (...), "the transposition of the Jewish Apocalypse"...

A TRAGIC OPTIMISM OR A HEROIC PESSIMISM

Having abandoned the futuristic optimism of earlier times, which extolled the virtues of speed and locomotive smoke, revolutionary nationalists became deeply pessimistic. This trend intensified after 1945, with nationalist and revolutionary intellectuals offering analyses that could not be more despairing: politically, Europe had fallen into the clutches of a great imperialist superpower, movements representing a third way had been swept away, and liberal democracy had excreted them. On the cultural level, the defeat of fascism has revitalised everything that burned in the bonfires of German universities; on the social level, Americanism has invaded Western Europe and is doing the same in Eastern Europe, and with it the mass production that has generated the consumer society, turning the working class into alienated producers and integrated consumers. The once revolutionary parties have ceased to be attractive to radicalised youth, they have ceased to be alternatives to the system and have become "alternatives" to power. The system has gradually been reinforced and revitalised: the European democracies that seemed dead and buried in 1939 have been resurrected and imposed thanks to the weapons of extra-European invaders. The West has assimilated aberrant rhythms, its youth wanders the streets drugged, without direction, ideals or purpose, the usual frustrations accumulate on top of new problems: immigrant overpopulation, pollution, social neuroses... "all the values that have nourished us until now are disappearing," says Drieu...

It could be said that for many, the mentality is the same as that which prevailed in 1919, at least among the most conscious strata of the West. It is difficult to see a way out of this civilisational stagnation: the power of the great superpower is excessive, the gentrification of the theoretically most revolutionary strata and the policy of fait accompli are bringing about the phenomenon that René Guénon predicted in the 1920s in the pages of *The Reign of Quantity and the Signs of the Times*, namely, that a process is taking place that we could call the 'solidification of humanity', that is, a period in which changes, especially those designed to overcome the current crisis, are becoming increasingly unlikely or, if we want to represent it with another image, also Guenonian, the world is changing from a sphere to a cube: from the voluptuously perfect to the strictly angular and immobile. What is worrying today is not that the struggle at street level is between materialism and traditionalism or spiritualism, but that it is between two forms of materialism and, in reality, between two forms of Marxism. Moreover, when people talk about the "third way" in certain circles, they are talking about social democracy, Eurocommunism, progressivism, anti-racism, etc. The despair and nihilism of the "new left" also stems from the observation of this phenomenon, which Marcuse was able to expound at length in "The End of Utopia": the bourgeoisified revolutionary forces, "no one forces me to sit in front of the television, and yet the coercion of the System over the entire population, the solidity of the

Western bureaucracies beyond their cyclical but limited crises, the enormous means of coercion available to the state to crush all opposition, the lack of optimal objective conditions for popular uprisings. And in the streets, the joy, an unconscious joy undoubtedly produced by the illusion of consumption: life is beautiful on Friday afternoon. and horrible on Monday morning. It is not surprising that John Travolta

captured the reality of the youth of an era by playing tacky roles (*Grease*, *Saturday Night Fever*). His success has been due to the real possibilities

of his role: he has elevated to the level of idol characters who in real life go completely unnoticed - the shop assistant in "Saturday Night Fever", the pimp in "Grease". They are grains of sand in a mass "all so alike, so small, so round" (Nietzsche). It is the unconsciousness of the modern world.

In contrast, the fascists of the 1930s, like the neo-fascists, present themselves as a new reincarnation of the myth of Cassandra: that beautiful woman who was punished by Zeus with the gift of foresight into the future. but she was doomed to have no one

believed his visualisations. All fascist literature is devoted to denouncing the vices of society, both past and present, but this has not always been taken into account. The dire predictions that revolutionary nationalism makes for Europe sometimes lead it to fall into a disheartening pessimism. Drieu, for example, calls this pessimism "the tragic" and, in an essay entitled "The Meaning of the Tragic", writes: "It is necessary to reintroduce the tragic into French thought, into the philosophy of the French people", and in the prologue to a novel by Hemingway: "Reread *The Birth of Tragedy*: the stronger man is, the more life penetrates the heart, and I can find nothing but a tragic vision." Thomas Molnar, another figure who could be included in the sociological current, recognises the myth of Cassandra in nationalism, which he, as a good conservative, calls 'the counter-revolution', and in the book of the same title he analyses the figure of the 'conservative': He concludes by defining this type of person as 'tragic', 'pessimistic' and a harbinger of the Apocalypse that always inevitably arrives.

Evola, Guénon and the entire traditionalist school do not harbour excessive illusions about the West. Inspired by the Hindu doctrine of 'caste regression',

They conceive of human history as a gigantic march towards spiritually inferior states. The priestly nobility of mythical times was replaced and fell definitively when Christ said, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." In this way, secular and divine power were thus separated, authority was deprived of all higher ties, and the torch of the priestly nobility (the priests-emperors) gave way to the rule of the warrior caste, the warrior aristocracy. Towards the Renaissance (with the emergence of Humanism) and later with the formation of large urban centres and the growth of the merchant caste, the warrior aristocracy gradually degenerated until it finally fell under the guillotines of the French Revolution. Finally, even that same mercantilist and merchant caste was overthrown by those who possessed nothing but the strength of their labour, the proletariat. The turning point can be placed in 1917, with the triumph of the Russian Revolution and the formation of the First International. This entire involutionary process takes place within what the Hindu tradition has called the 'kali yuga' and what the Roman tradition called the 'Iron Age' ('Age of the Wolf' in the Nordic traditions), a time when telluric and gynocratic forces will prevail over solar and Uranian spirituality. For a new dawn to occur, the involutionary circle must close, and that closing implies that the circle must reach its ultimate consequences. This analysis, which may seem excessively mystical and enlightened, has a terrifying internal coherence: little by little, the forces of global subversion are gaining ground on those of liberal democracy, just as the latter gradually gained ground on the corrupt conservative aristocracies (à la Metternich). This process, which in political and geostrategic terms has come to be known as 'the struggle for world hegemony', is becoming increasingly dramatic: what will happen when the immigrant masses overwhelm a complacent and cowardly West, when finite energy resources (hydrocarbons and other heavy oils) run out, when hyper-technification definitively breaks the ecological balance of the planet in the mad race for production and consumption, when multinationals try to impose their money on everyone else in an absolute way, the future of humanity is not at all promising when put in these terms. Progress has led us to a dead end. The cardinal sins of civilised humanity, as studied by Konrad Lorenz and the ethnologists of his school, suggest that either urgent rectification is needed, or our civilisation will be in internal crisis within a few decades. Certainly, one cannot be optimistic. But where is the origin of all these evils? Evola answers us: "In our days, we find ourselves at the end of a cycle. Over the centuries, first imperceptibly, then like the movement of a collapsing mass, multiple processes have destroyed in the West all normal and legitimate order among men, falsifying even the highest conception of living, action, knowledge and combat. And the movement of this fall, its speed, its vertigo, has been called 'progress'.

Progressivism stands at the apex of the modern triad. If Christianity spoke to us of a mythical Trinity composed of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the modern world has consecrated another new one in which the role of the Father is embodied by progress, the Son is evolutionism, and the Holy Spirit is Marxism. One cannot exist without the others. Progress, the mystique of progress understood as the belief that everything new, by virtue of being new, must be accepted and assimilated, immediately engenders the belief that we are always moving towards higher states of culture and civilisation, that there is no possible regression: only with such a mentality, imprinted in the middle of the 20th century, when the proliferation of scientific discoveries

could engender the evolutionist mentality, and only the combination of all these elements, together with an economic analysis of history and the philosophy of becoming (Feuerbach, Hegel), could lead to one of the most demonic ideologies in history: Marxism.

If we believed in psychoanalysis and modern psychiatry, we would say that revolutionary nationalism had (and perhaps has even more so today than before, insofar as it has been able to refine its postulates over time) typically Oedipal impulses: for him, murdering the 'father', denying progress, represented the destruction of the notion of evolution and, therefore, the elimination of Marxism. Maurras, stammering this tendency, had already written something that, without being entirely true, approximated Guénon's conception of history: 'The train of the world is not a regular upward current, nor is it a downward one; it is a broken line, with ups and downs'. Drieu came a little closer in 'Fascist Socialism': 'Man is an accident in a world of accidents. The world has no general meaning. It has no more meaning than we give it, a moment for the development of our passion and our action.' In 'Notes for Understanding the Century', this negation goes much further, and in 1944 he writes in his 'Journal': "It is claimed that the most current civilisations start from a 'savage', 'barbaric' or 'primitive' state; the broad historical perspective opened up to us by palaeontology and other sciences allows us to imagine, before the antiquity of our scientific legends of yesterday, a series of preceding civilisations (...) (which) could have been the bearers of very elevated notions and very pure intuitions, as the occultists teach. Taking the problem even further, if man 'descended from the monkey', one can imagine that this monkey was a state of degeneration that followed higher states." Céline was on the same level of denial of progress: "...humanity has not discovered a single cereal in two million years..." and the quotes could go on.

All this is very well, the end of a culture is prophesied and the mechanisms of the decline that some consider inevitable, but "it is not enough to say no, unless one truly indicates in whose name one must say no, what precisely justifies the no" (Evola). And that justification is the Person and the values that have been defined as a "new order". If we have defined the nationalist and revolutionary tendency as "heroic pessimism" and "tragic optimism," it is because this apparent contradiction is overcome when we analyse the role of the person at this particular moment in history, or rather, when we analyse the role of the intellectual and the nationalist and revolutionary militant.

Fascism and its followers fought to win, to impose themselves politically. But they managed to make the end and the means one and the same as the militant developed his struggle (at another time we can talk about the protagonists of the works of intellectuals) little by little he was acquiring and developing all those values referred to in his ideology: without struggle there can be no camaraderie, loyalty, sacrifice, voluntarism, heroism; we would even dare to say that without struggle there can be no beauty. These values are not mere abstractions, but living realities within the militant: and that is the means and the end in itself. Before power, before the realisation of a new political order, revolutionary nationalism puts the internal order of the human person first. Just as there is no sculpture without an artist, there is no state without a ruling political class that takes on those elements that it claims to be the organisers of the nation. For some neo-fascists of the traditionalist school, the "knight of the Grail" sums up this conception: the search for the Grail wrought a transmutation within the knight

in such a way that finding the stone or the cup of the Grail took on another meaning, similar to that of the search for the philosopher's stone for alchemists.

Thus we can understand the reason for the "heroic pessimism" we mentioned earlier: if, on the one hand, it is recognised that the struggle of revolutionary nationalism and its final triumph must take place in this historical period, in which negative and materialistic forces dominate everything to the point of exasperation, on the other hand, this is no reason to abandon the fight. The old maxim "more enemies, more honour" is the fundamental law for this conception of the world. Drieu La Rochelle could not have defined this tendency better: "It is time, my friends, to raise our cry. We, the young men of today, are new, and our greatness has not been known by those who lived before us (...) We have rejected the stone of infamy."

This pessimism is evident in the writings of all the intellectuals of the "other Europe", but it is also overcome by a heroic stance, adopted by those who know what their duty is. One of Drieu's protagonists says: "If a man stands up and throws his destiny on the scales, he will do whatever he wants." Semmelweis's struggle throughout Céline's novel is a battle against fate and destiny, a battle that is known to be lost in advance: "Both good and evil are paid for sooner or later, but good is inevitably more expensive." Even Céline's anti-Semitism is pessimistic: "If an anti-Semitic association were to be created in France, I am sure that the president, the secretary and the treasurer would be Jews," yet he takes his anti-Semitism to the extreme. Likewise, in the epilogue to a biography of the National Socialist hero Albert Leo Schlategger, these pessimistic yet heroic impulses are once again evident: "The waves are rising in the Fatherland. Eager hands are raised, seeking the gold that flows in the form of paper. This is nothing. Don't listen to it. Live life! Peace above all! The peace of Versailles! Only one man listens: Albert Leo Schlategger. He hears the underground roar of the Ruhr mountains. The savages, miserable and seduced by the Reds, rise up. The bourgeoisie only tremble. They don't even see the yellow mask of *Moscow*... Leave us in peace! Let's be civilised! In the rear, the Marxists, the Communists, the Jews and a conciliatory Reich government smile. But there is one man who does not smile: should we rest? Is Germany calling again? Yes, but only for those who listen to it near the Reich capital, never behind. Schlategger is completely dedicated to his mission...". But is there anything more to modern neo-fascism than this struggle to be oneself, to hold high the banner of revolutionary nationalism? In a curious (and ominous) book entitled *Hitler and the Cathar Tradition*, the author wonders why, if Hitler knew that the forces fighting for a restoration of traditional values in the West could not achieve absolute victory because the cycle of decadence (the "Dark Ages") had not yet come to a complete end, why did he undertake the most formidable battle of the present century? Although the question is somewhat childish and formulated from an environment fond of the occult progressivism so in vogue today, it ties in directly with what we were trying to express earlier: the final outcome of a struggle and its contingent nature must always be separated from the inescapable moral necessity of undertaking that struggle and what its material outcome may be. Today, the role of the nationalist and revolutionary militant is to take up the baton passed on by previous generations: he may not reach the goal, but that baton, which embodies the values of a civilisation dating back several millennia, must be held until others take it up. Or, to put it in the words quoted by Evola in "Riding the Tiger": "When those who have remained awake in the dark night meet those who have emerged in the new dawn." The concept would remain merely

testimonial plane if we were to separate it from the combative and self-fulfilling nature of revolutionary nationalism. Alphonse de Chateaubriand expressed it in these words: "Combat must exist. Combat gives birth to and develops the vigour of the heart. Through combat, each person strives towards their highest human expression." This is the only reason why revolutionary nationalism (whether called fascism, national socialism, national syndicalism, etc.) felt the need to act politically, to give a pragmatic formulation to its political ideology, and why so many young Westerners gave their lives: for the most noble and just cause for which no one has ever fought. E.M.

<p>THE CULTURE OF THE OTHER EUROPE: THE PRECURSORS</p>
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"The day will soon come when Shakespeare, Wagner, and Quevedo will be banned as 'incorrect', for with them as teachers, the anti-culture of Miró and Freud will never be able to prevail."

We must not look for our National Socialist roots in the 1930s, but rather in a permanent struggle between traditional, spiritual values, which tend to elevate Man, and the values of materialism, selfishness, pleasure and individualism.

Honour and ethics versus money and pleasure. A struggle between quality and quantity that ranges from Heraclitus or Calderón to Shakespeare, from Renan to Goethe, and which has always been opposed by usurers and gold owners.

This tendency is what has generated the great European culture of all centuries, in opposition to the powers of economics and interest.

In this sense, National Socialism is nothing more than the ultimate temporary manifestation of an eternal struggle. Already in Calderón and Dante, the values of honour, race and anti-materialism are presented with the same precision as in Hitler. And one need only read the text "150 Geniuses on the Jews" to see that Hitler was a moderate in his treatment of racial or Zionist issues.

But it was undoubtedly German Romanticism that crystallised the absolute struggle, the complete cultural confrontation with that putrid secretion of usury called 'rationalism'. Romanticism is a reaction of human values against the values of money. Rationalism, born of the French bourgeois revolution, created the basis for the values of economics and individualistic selfishness as the centre of society. Less than a century later, the artistic and cultural elites were already in absolute confrontation with the capitalist economy and the bourgeois mentality that had invaded the world in the wake of this 'rational' philosophy. Romanticism is an explosion of

feelings and Nature in opposition to Usury and commercial Reason. It is a return to the People and the Community in opposition to individualism and 'rights without duties' in the pursuit of personal pleasure. A search for traditional Popular origins that would lead to the rediscovery of Race. Love and feelings in opposition to economics and Usury.

German Romanticism was the most flourishing of the Romantic movements. And from that origin came the first two of the three great precursors of the NS worldview: Schopenhauer and Wagner. The third, Nietzsche, is precisely an attempt to overcome Romanticism through the Will to Power, but within the same essential spirit.

In this sense, writing about the 'Culture of the Other Europe' would simply mean talking about all European culture, eliminating the few that we can point to as precursors of trash. It would be quicker to point out those who are strangers to true culture, first and foremost rationalism and economic materialism, with Marx as their standard-bearer, but above all the trash, from Sade and his neuroses to the even greater ones of Freud, passing through the entire Zionist subculture created in recent decades, a veritable fauna of wretched, sexist, corrupt and cretinous individuals.

For obvious reasons of space, we have decided to limit our study of the precursors to those closest to us in time. Of these, we will review in this issue only the best-known French ones, which are therefore a tiny sample of our culture compared to Chillida's mammoth contraptions or the pornographic novels brought to the cinema by the homosexual Almodovar.

THE CULTURE OF THE RUBBISH DUMP

Aznar was very funny at a conference on 3 February when he said that the generation of '98 is an example of democracy? It seems that they have not read Unamuno, Baroja, and a dozen others... and even less so when he showed a photo of Ortega in his speech...Ortega? They no longer remember 'The Rebellion of the Masses', the most anti-democratic of the works of a Spanish thinker. The fact is that people DON'T READ, they know nothing, they believe what the newspapers say as if it were gospel truth, and politicians lie with total aplomb.

No, to find the intellectuals of the moment, we have to resort to the most unpresentable examples.

An example of someone who wants to succeed now: Jordi Mata, a literary prize hunter, writes 'The Second Death of Shakespeare', winner of the Nestor Lujan Prize (now that was an interesting person. Nowadays, prizes are named after good writers in order to reward rubbish), in which he calls Shakespeare a faggot, saying that 'it is not known whether Shakespeare was homosexual', but what sells and wins prizes is to say that he was...

Arthur Koestler is one of those ultra-awarded modern philosophers, Jewish, ex-communist, he was in Israel, he supported communist espionage but then switched to the anti-communism of the CIA. His books are rubbish and full of sex and sick psychology, but he was always awarded and a sculpture with his bust was dedicated to him. However, his bust at the University of Edinburgh has been removed when it became known that, in addition to being a spy (which is forgiven), he had raped several women.

Dozens of cases like this use their fame to divorce their wives and take a new young woman who will go along with their fame and money. Sexist and obsessed with fame and applause, they sign up for all the vulgarities of the mentality that the System supports. They will never disagree with anything 'progressive', even if it is outrageous, as long as they continue to enjoy favourable press coverage (after all, the press is a business owned by Capital). They have stopped 'educating' and have become parrots of the demoprogressive mentality.

favourable press (after all, the press is a business owned by Capital). They have stopped 'educating' to become parrots of the demo-progressive mentality. And if anyone strays from this path, as happened to Solzhenitsyn, they cease to have influence and are hidden and undervalued from that moment on. The press and the predatory nature of a legalistic and economistic mentality mean that geniuses such as Unamuno or Ortega would now be unable to make themselves known or be accepted. Not only is there a boycott in the capitalist mass media, but also in this society those who are predisposed to lying, making money, taking advantage of others and having a total lack of scruples will normally succeed in crushing the honest man.

"If you like utopian plans, I will tell you that the only solution to the political and social problem would be the despotism of the wise and the just, of a pure and true aristocracy, obtained through the union of men with the most generous sentiments and women with the most interesting and sharp minds." This sentence sums up the categorical opposition of Schopenhauer's entire philosophy to democratic equality.

"My work is aimed at a minority: I will wait patiently for this small group of people to rise up, whose unusual disposition of mind enables them to understand."

Arthur Schopenhauer was born in the free city of Danzig in February 1788, the son of a renowned merchant whose wisely managed inheritance, despite his mother's wishes, provided him with sufficient resources to live on, allowing him to devote himself fully to philosophy. After the family moved to Hamburg five years later, Arthur received a careful education while travelling through various European countries, which is undoubtedly a good reason for the total absence of patriotic chauvinism in his work: France in 1799, Czechoslovakia in 1800, Germany, Holland, England, Switzerland, France, Austria and Switzerland in 1803, and a long list of others that would last his entire life.

Upon the death of his father (1805), his mother founded a literary salon in Weimar. Schopenhauer met, among others, Klopstock and Goethe himself, with whom he maintained an interesting relationship based on their respective theories of colour. In 1807, he had to leave Gotha, where he was living, because of the enemies he had made with his scathing satires. He himself fulfilled what he would later write: "Man must, in a sense, be his own work." Lonely to the core (his friend Gwinner would say, "There has never been a man who felt as lonely as Schopenhauer. The Indian anchorite is a sociable being compared to him, for in the latter case isolation is due to practical reasons. For him, on the other hand, it was the result of knowledge." His philosophical work, profound and highly personal, is the work of youth, perhaps like that of no other author: At the age of 25, he completed "On the Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason"; at 28, "On Vision and Colours"; and at 30, his magnum opus, "The World as Will and Representation", which was published in the same year (1818) and ended up being sold by weight due to its lack of success. Few authors have highlighted how young Schopenhauer was when he wrote his most important works, which, on the other hand, explains why his philosophy lacks the

academic heaviness of others and instead focuses on the direct analysis of natural and even everyday phenomena.

In 1820, he publicly confronted Hegel, "that intellectual Caliban," whose "pseudo-philosophy" he had recently written was "only fit to corrupt and brutalise minds." His philosophy clashed directly with that of Hegel, which was undoubtedly a good reason for his contemporaries to forget him. For eleven years, true to his motto that "there is no victory without struggle", he tried to get permission to teach courses in opposition to Hegel, but no one attended his classes and he did not gain a single disciple.

It was not until 1839, when the Royal Norwegian Academy awarded him a prize for his work "On Free Will", that our philosopher received his first and only public recognition. He attempted to win a similar prize from the Danish Academy with his "Foundations of Morality" but, despite being the only contestant, he failed because he insulted the philosophers whom the academy considered "supreme" in his text. Schopenhauer was too proud to back down, speaking of the "extremely pernicious, brutalising and pestilent" influence of Hegelianism. Critics welcomed his texts with very unfavourable comments in all his works. In 1843, he managed to publish the second edition of "The World", which, like the first, aroused negative criticism and did not sell. Only a year before his death did he see the third edition of his main work; with his "Parerga and Paralipomena" (1851), he received some favourable comments. When Schopenhauer died in September 1860, he could feel satisfied that he had not had to modify anything in a philosophy developed in his youth and which, with historical perspective, we can well consider to be the first truly modern one, which still has a long way to go to be done justice. "The system of conspiracy of silence may prolong its effects for a good while, at least for as long as I live, which is something. If from time to time some indiscreet voice is heard here and there, it is soon drowned out by the clamour of professors who know how to entertain the public with a serious countenance, with many other things. However, I advise them to adhere more unanimously to their system and particularly to keep an eye on young people, from whom serious indiscretions are to be feared."

Branded as pessimistic, as 'negative', these descriptions are based on a superficial reading of his work. A truly profound work, it brings up a series of postulates that a century later would become the cornerstone of philosophical evolution. Voluntarism, existentialism and other contemporary trends were born from Schopenhauer, just as the music of our century was born from Wagner in an unflinching way.

Compared to other philosophies, which are nothing but words and are limited to endless theoretical disquisitions ("Explaining words by words or concepts by other concepts —and this is what most philosophical discussions boil down to—is nothing more than a game in which the spheres of notions are compared to see whether or not they fit into each other"), the eternal loner develops a monolithic whole, outside of academies and schools, in which each part is necessary and related to the others, contributing a new conception of the world. He defines his work as follows: "The given theme of all philosophy is none other than empirical consciousness, which breaks down into consciousness of the self and consciousness of other objects. For all this is the immediate, the really given. Any philosophy that, instead of starting from here, takes its starting point from abstract notions, such as the absolute, absolute substance, God, the infinite, the finite, absolute identity, being, essence, etc., will be a construction on sand and cannot lead to any real result."

The fundamental idea of his thinking revolves around the will, thereby anticipating his most illustrious disciple. 'The first step in understanding the fundamental principle of my metaphysics is to recognise that the will, as each being carries it within itself, does not come from knowledge, is not a mere modality of knowledge, nor a secondary phenomenon derived from and conditioned by the brain, such as intelligence, but is the primus of knowledge, the essence of our being, the primitive force that created our body and preserves it'. Confronted equally by the materialism that his contemporary Marx would later structure and by Christian mysticism, Schopenhauer seeks that eternal something that underlies nature, that gives life to animals and drives man to act, that pulsates in plants and gives cohesion to glass, that directs the needle to the magnetic north and gives strength to the attraction of some planets to others, and he calls that something will. In that indescribable but intuitively perceptible force, in that will, lies the most intimate essence of the world.

Hence his decisive criticism of materialism, which ranks him among the most prominent idealist philosophers. Matter as such is not a principle; it is simply a representation, an apparent phenomenon of the intimate will that moves everything. Matter is the external appearance through which we perceive the world, but it has no purpose in itself; nothing can be born or end in it. "The fundamental absurdity of materialism consists in taking the objective as a starting point, as the first principle of explanation. It finds objective reality either in matter in the abstract or in substance, that is, in matter determined by form and given empirically as we find it in the simple bodies of physics and in their elementary combinations. It admits the absolute existence of this matter as a thing in itself, deducing from it all organic nature and the knowing subject and explaining them in their entirety, even though everything objective is vainly conditioned as an object by the subject and its forms of knowledge, and presupposes it in such a way that if we eliminate the subject with our thought, the object disappears completely."

It is absurd ideology to make matter or time a philosophical basis; by criticising the Hegelian system whereby an evolution in time (the process from thesis to synthesis) could give rise to a philosophical basis, when it does not change what things essentially are, Schopenhauer is already creating the most genuine philosophical current opposed to Marxism, a current that is still poorly studied today. Against Hegel's disciples, who make history the main subject of philosophy, he states: "Those who thus construct the march of the world or, as they say, of history, have not understood the fundamental principle of all philosophy, according to which birth and becoming or coming into being are nothing more than phenomena; only Ideas are eternal and time is ideal."

At a time when reason seems to triumph, Schopenhauer outlines a highly personal theory of irrationalism. In contrast to logic, which only perceives the appearance of phenomena, he proposes Inspiration as the only way to truly know the essence of things. "Intuition is not an opinion, it is the thing itself, whereas with abstract knowledge, with reason, doubt and error arise in the theoretical realm, and in the practical realm, restlessness and regret." Intuition provides a resounding, unquestionable, absolute perception, without the possibility of error. Through it, man manages to detach himself from his own selfishness and enters into contemplation, identifying with the being contemplated: this is where the phenomenology of Art begins.

Schopenhauer conceives of life as a constant struggle, as a permanent effort, as pain. That struggle is a consequence of the compulsion of the will to live in every being

being, which compels them to follow the interests of their species. "Life does not present itself in any way as a gift that we should enjoy, but as a duty, a task that we have to fulfil by force of labour."

By placing the life of the species at the centre of the world's development, the philosopher from Danzig can be considered a pioneer of all subsequent genetic studies. For him, life is the constant struggle of each individual to perpetuate their species, even going so far as to outline an entire theory of sexual love. "The force of the genital instinct, in which every animal being is concentrated, also demonstrates that the individual is aware that it is a transient creature, which must devote itself completely to the care of preserving the species, since this is where its true existence lies."

Schopenhauer turns his eyes, as all Romantics would later do, towards Nature, "never sufficiently admired". He is excessively concerned about health and throughout his life he will try to apply as many measures as possible, as he affirms that without health there can be no happiness. An eminently hierarchical philosopher, he believes in the absolute and necessary inequality between men and proclaims it. The differences inherent in men permeate his entire work; from his lengthy comments on genius, for example, we extract the following: "These individuals, capable of judging the work of genius, are always isolated personalities, for the masses, the multitude, are and always will be stupid and imbecilic because they are composed of mediocrities." That aristocratic sense, that immense pride in knowing himself to be superior, distances him from his contemporaries and pits him against them. It is in his solitude, far from the masses and the applause, that the philosopher feels strongest and most self-assured.

Schopenhauer believes in human freedom, although he combines it with the existence of a strong will that conditions everything, in an extreme fatality. "Philosophy must be able to reconcile the most inflexible fatality with freedom taken to omnipotence; and this can only be done without diminishing the truth by attributing all fatality to action (*operari*) and all freedom to being and essence (*esse*)".

When his work delves into the subject of the pain of the world, of man's descent into boredom, his writings seem to become pessimistic; in contrast to the positive nature of pain, happiness is presented to him as something negative whose essence is nothing more than the absence of pain. A rational being, he asserts, cannot pursue pleasure but avoids pain. But it is at this starting point that Schopenhauer seeks ultimate consolation in the denial of the will to live: 'Pain can be the path to salvation and will then be respectable when it takes the form of pure knowledge to lead us to true resignation as a calming of desire'. At the moment when the philosopher diametrically separates himself from the path that Nietzsche will later follow, and undoubtedly influenced by his knowledge of the Upanishads, to which he had been introduced by the Orientalist F. Majer, Schopenhauer sees in the overcoming of individuality the only possibility of reaching the contemplation of the Idea. Many will be surprised to find him talking about asceticism, heroism, self-denial, compassion and renunciation of the self at this point in his work. Because only by renouncing one's own interests, only in that consoling "nothingness" that only he has been able to describe as the absence of all pain, can definitive peace be achieved. At this point in his philosophy, it takes on a tinge of transcendent consolation in total self-denial. Schopenhauer believes in the metaphysical need of man, in something after death that is not necessarily paradise or hell, but rather a desire for annihilation in nothingness, confusion with that will as a principle that he has so masterfully described throughout his work.

After a century and a half, his words, written in the prologue to the second edition of *El Mundo*, are still remembered, justifying his entire body of work: " ... An era such as this no longer has crowns of glory to bestow; its praise has been prostituted and its censure is meaningless. I speak seriously, and proof of this is that if I had the slightest intention of obtaining the applause of my contemporaries, I would have deleted from my works many passages that openly clash with their opinions and that will rather annoy them. But I would consider it demeaning to sacrifice a single word of my writings in order to obtain their approval. My guiding principle has always been the truth; in pursuing it, I have sought nothing but my own satisfaction and have turned my head away so as not to see a generation that has fallen so low in terms of intellectual aspirations. J.T.

"The Jews are, according to them, God's chosen people. That may be so, but tastes differ, for they are not my chosen people. The Jews are the chosen people of their God, and their God is tailor-made for such a people. One thing leads to another."

"The most sociable of all men are usually black men, as they are also the most intellectually backward."

Ah! If quantity in society could be replaced by quality! Then it would be worth living in this great world, but unfortunately, a hundred madmen thrown together do not make one reasonable man.

"Without firm principles, once immoral instincts are set in motion by external impressions, they would completely dominate us. To stand firm in one's principles, to follow them in spite of opposing motives that appeal to us, is what is called self-possession."

Arthur Schopenhauer

"The free man begets himself." Wagner

Richard Wagner, the great, the greatest romantic of all time, the man who created a philosophy of life and death that today, 96 years after his death, has still not been surpassed by anyone, whose powerful personality and magnificent work have influenced the greatest personalities of recent times, was born on 22 May 1813 in Leipzig, into a middle-class family, without excessive luxuries or great needs, but with cultural interests, essentially literary, which from an early age must have had a powerful influence on little Richard.

Orphaned by his father at a few months old, it was his stepfather, the actor Ludwig Geyer, who died when Wagner was eight years old, who awakened his passion for art. Wagner's artistic inclinations initially focused on literature and poetry, and it was not until 1828, when he heard Beethoven's music for the first time, that he realised that both arts could be perfectly united as they complemented each other. He discovered his true vocation as a poet and musician and, throughout his life, he wrote the librettos for all his dramas himself, unlike the vast majority of composers who set music to librettos written by others.

His eagerness to learn was boundless, and from this period onwards he began to produce his own musical compositions. His first opera, *Las Bodas*, composed in 1832, was destroyed by the composer himself and was never performed; his second, *Las Hadas*, was not premiered until 1888, five years after the Maestro's death.

In 1834, while serving as Director of Music at the Main Theatre in Magdeburg, he met the singer Minna Planner, with whom he fell in love and married in 1836. The marriage brought him only one year of happiness, and he would bitterly regret it for the rest of his days. In the same year as his marriage, one of his operas, "*La Prohibición de Amar*" (*The Prohibition of Love*), premiered for the first time, but it was a resounding failure.

The following year, he began composing his first great work, *Rienzi*, the liberator of a people oppressed by a noble minority and later betrayed by everyone, even by the very people to whom he had given freedom. From this opera onwards, and in all his subsequent works, Wagner uses poetry and music to convey, either overtly or subtly, a series of ideas, thoughts, feelings and realities that elevate us above everyday material life to a higher world, where goodness reigns over evil. But to do so, he first shows us the evil of this world and its inhabitants in all its consequences.

Richard Wagner, surrounded, like any good romantic, by crushing poverty, moved first to London and later to Paris, the "capital of art", where he hoped to achieve success for his works. All to no avail. Of his drama "*The Flying Dutchman*", only the libretto was accepted, and an unknown composer set it to music, premiering as "*The Ghost Ship*", a name by which many people still mistakenly know it today. This work already features the leitmotif that would be a constant throughout his life: Redemption through Love, which would demonstrate that the material world can always be overcome by the spiritual world.

In 1842, he returned to his homeland, where he successfully premiered his *Rienzi* in Dresden and devoted himself to fruitful composition, including *Tannhäuser*, the struggle between good and evil

evil, between spirituality and sensuality, with the eternal leitmotif of Redemption through Love and an exacerbated mysticism.

In 1849, the Revolution broke out in Dresden, in which Wagner participated passionately. The artist also became a politician, revealing his revolutionary spirit that rebelled against the tyranny imposed by the wealthy classes, who were devoid of any sense of spirituality. It was a time when he advocated the abolition of privileges that were not individually deserved, but simply inherited by belonging to a certain social class. It was a time of struggle against the power of money, against speculation and dishonesty. It was a time of defending democratic rights, of obtaining universal suffrage (neither of these two terms with the acceptance they are given today), and the acquisition of a freedom that would introduce true popular art. It was a time when the creation of a national army and the colonial issue were advocated.

Wagner defended all these ideas in word and deed. He later wrote *Art and Revolution*, *The Artwork of the Future*, *Judaism in Music*, as well as numerous articles. He gave speeches and wrote pamphlets, and personally took part in the street riots that broke out.

As a result of all this, the Maestro was banished from Germany, as even at that time, saying that all power was controlled by Jews could not go unpunished. The press, undoubtedly, as Wagner stated, 'almost exclusively in Jewish hands', turned completely against him and systematically boycotted his activities. Wagner took refuge in Switzerland, where he continued to give free rein to his musical talent.

In this country, he befriended the Wesendonck couple and fell in love with Mrs Mathilde Wesendonck with a passion that is difficult to imagine. These were difficult years for the Maestro, during which, however, his creative talent continued to flourish. *Lohengrin*, *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre* and the *Lieder* to Mathilde Wesendonck, in which he set poems by his beloved to music.

As the situation becomes untenable and Wagner does not wish to destroy the Wesendonck marriage, he leaves for Italy, where the love and passion he feels are translated into the beautiful pages of *Tristan and Isolde*, the most brilliant work ever created dedicated to human love (just as *Parsifal* is dedicated to divine love), a constant exaltation of the feelings of the two protagonists who merge into one another and cease to be two to become one, ending with their death, which is not really death, but an awakening to a spiritual life where mutual contemplation heralds supreme happiness.

It was during the composition of *Tristan* that Wagner and Mathilde Wesendonck exchanged letters, correspondence that gives us a glimpse of all the tenderness, love and passion in Wagner's heart, and the enormous sacrifice he was capable of making: "Yes, I hope to heal for you! To keep you for myself means to keep you for my art! To live with you, to console you, that is my goal, that is what harmonises with my nature, my destiny, my will, my love. Just as I am for you, so you will also find healing through me. Here *Tristan* will end, despite the storms of the world. And with him, if I can, I will return to see you, to console you, to make you happy. That evokes in me the most beautiful, the most sacred of desires. Come, brave *Tristan*, come, brave *Isolde*! Assist me, come to the aid of my angel! Here your blood will cease to flow, here your wounds will be healed and closed.

Thanks to his love for Mathilde, he remains standing, as the failures of his works continue unflinchingly. It is at the end of this period of deep demoralisation, of

loss of hope, of ceasing to believe in humanity, that Wagner befriended his great protector and unconditional admirer: Ludwig II of Bavaria, who from that moment on would provide him with the material comforts necessary for him to devote himself without worry to his great work.

Under his protection, *Tristan and Isolde*, the death of love, premiered, followed by *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, in which he expounds on what a work of art, the heritage of the people, should be, *The Rhine Gold* and *The Valkyrie*, a contrast between materialism and idealism.

This was the period when he read Schopenhauer and formed a friendship with Nietzsche, based on their shared agreement with the former's philosophy. Their bond became intimate but was ultimately destroyed when Nietzsche rejected the idea of redemption through compassion outlined in *Parsifal*.

In 1869, Wagner married Cosima Liszt, daughter of the great composer, who gave Wagner the happiest years of his life and who, after his death, survived him by 47 years, during which she devoted herself tirelessly to promoting her husband's work.

Wagner continues with his "Tetralogy" cycle. He composes "Siegfried", the ode to the pure hero, and devotes himself to the project of building a theatre dedicated entirely to his works. To this end, he chooses the small town of Bayreuth, where he settles permanently. He finishes the cycle with "Götterdämmerung" and in 1876 the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth is inaugurated with the complete "Tetralogy", a masterpiece of Redemption through Love, of the opposition between Idealism (Love) and Materialism (Gold), demonstrating that reason is on the side of those who act for idealistic reasons and that the blame lies with those who pursue particular and material interests, that what really matters is the intention, not the result. Everything in the "Tetralogy" has a meaning, every detail has its *raison d'être*.

He has only one work left to compose, *Parsifal*, but it is the greatest of all, for if *Tristan* represents human love, *Parsifal* is divine love, Faith, where all of Wagner's knowledge comes together, where he puts all his knowledge to work, which is nullified in a spiritual song of infinite love that brings him as close as possible to God.

In Venice, where he had retired due to his poor health, after writing his last great work in prose, *Religion and Art*, and the premiere of *Parsifal* in Bayreuth, which was a resounding success, his soul departed from his body on 13 February 1883 to merge with the divine eternity that he had already sensed so closely in this world.

His mortal remains were transferred to Bayreuth, where they were buried under a simple slab that the years would cover with ivy and where squirrels would stroll peacefully. There, year after year, when summer arrives, his spirit receives visits from his faithful followers who pay homage to the Master of the Artwork of the Future and who, today, almost 100 years after his death, remains perfectly relevant.

Richard Wagner's work, both musical and literary (in poetry and prose), reflects a series of ideas that deserve to be taken into account and observed carefully.

First and foremost, it must be noted that Wagner was a revolutionary genius, eminently an artist, and as such he devoted himself to all facets of life. In other words, even when Wagner was involved in politics, he did so from the point of view of a revolutionary artist and not as just any politician. Wagner felt and lived everything he did, and for him, politics entered his life insofar as it allowed him to demonstrate his own way of being, his

non-conformism in the face of certain situations that he publicly acknowledged and offered possible solutions to remedy some of them.

Wagner was a man of many facets: composer, poet, philosopher, man of letters, playwright, theorist and thinker, his mental activity was constant. A great lover of animals to the point of becoming a vegetarian exclusively for this reason, a staunch enemy of vivisection, he wrote deeply reasoned works on this subject.

His worldview is socialist, but very different from socialism as it is understood today, and he is a staunch enemy of communism, which he claims would, if it "took root and imposed its rule, also exterminate, without a trace, the work of two thousand years of civilisation". At the same time, he is racist, which in our day is in contrast to socialism, which advocates equality among all individuals. Wagner acknowledges: "We cannot deny our knowledge of the thesis that the human race is composed of irreconcilably unequal races, the noblest of which have managed to dominate the less noble, but, by mixing with them, have not raised their level, but have made themselves less noble".

Wagner is a socialist insofar as he believes that money is the curse of the world because it is accumulated in the hands of a few who use it to exploit the vast majority of the people. He argues that work can and should replace money when he states: "We must recognise that human society is preserved by the activity of money." This struggle against money is constant throughout his life and is particularly evident in his wonderful "Tetralogy", where Gold (symbol of money) is opposed to Love (symbol of the spirit). Gold brings misfortune wherever it goes, while Love, naive and spiritual, triumphs unflinching.

This money, the cause of all evil at all times, is, according to Wagner, in the hands of the Jews, who therefore rule the world, for all effort and activity crashes against money.

Wagner advocates that the people should live Art and that it should even be the source from which all artists draw inspiration for the creation of their works. This is very clear in "The Mastersingers of Nuremberg", in which Walter's composition, which comes straight from the heart, without him having the status of Master, is unanimously accepted by the whole town. Here, the definition of what art should be is clearly defined: a feeling expressed by the artist and understandable to all. Both are important: the one who receives inspiration and transmits it to the people, and the receiving people who must be able to grasp this feeling and assimilate it for themselves. This is a true socialist vision of art, and this is the vision that the genius of Bayreuth had. And this is why he encountered opposition from critics even in his own time: because, as he claimed even then, the press was in the hands of the Jews and because his socialism truly and wholeheartedly embraced the entire people, whereas the critics considered themselves superior beings with extraordinary abilities that the common people could not dream of possessing.

Moving purely to the level of his theatrical work, we must emphasise that for Wagner, all the elements that made up each of his works were of equal importance, that is to say, he valued the music, the text and the set design equally. Wagner was a true poet (and an admirer of great poets such as Shakespeare and Calderón) and it was he himself who composed the verses of his works, to which he then added the appropriate music. But he was also a true set designer and left detailed descriptions of all the sets that should accompany each of his works, sets which, moreover, are another clear example of the Romanticism he embodied.

Finally, we must say that all of the Maestro's works are deeply imbued with symbolism. All of his works want to tell us something, and where the text fails to say it clearly, the music suggests it with vivid clarity.

The heroes of the "Tetralogy" represent the struggle between the great powers of Good and Evil: Siegfried, the pure hero, versus Alberich and Mime, who are totally materialistic. This struggle between the forces of Good and Evil, Idealism versus Materialism, Parsifal versus Klingsor, is a constant theme in the Maestro's life and work. The heroes of all his works are described from a purely human point of view, with their weaknesses and qualities, such as Tannhäuser or Elsa. All the feelings that develop throughout his work are purely human feelings, such as the whole story of "Rienzi". The human soul becomes the protagonist and, united with the element of Tradition (like the Fire that surrounds the Valkyrie), begins its journey towards higher regions, towards Redemption through Love, with which most of his works end, for even Parsifal is redemption through divine love, no longer human love.

The moral is clear: everything material is temporary, it decays and disappears, gold has a fleeting existence. Only after death does man begin a higher life. Accumulated material wealth is useless; it is the spirit and, ultimately, Love, that is the true victor in all battles. M.I.

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche was born in Röcken, Thuringia, on 11 October 1844. His father was a Protestant pastor, from which it can be deduced that he was familiar with Christian morality from an early age. In July 1849, when he was five years old, his father died and his family, his mother and sister, moved to Naumburg.

At the age of 15, he entered the school in Pforta and studied secondary education there; he gained admission to this school through a scholarship. Nietzsche's intellectual superiority, which had been apparent since childhood, was now evident; his classmates recognised this despite the "pathos of distance" he maintained from them, which would be his fate throughout his life. Even at the end of his studies, he exclaimed in *Ecce homo*: "Above all, do not confuse me with others!" It was a time when his studies absorbed him completely, and it is admirable to see the multitude, variety and depth of Nietzsche's reading. At the age of 18, he already had his own philosophy, influenced by Emerson and Fichte - later, he would receive the definitive influence of Schopenhauer. But the subjects in which he excelled most were Latin, ancient Greek and romantic Christianity. In Greek culture and Christianity, he focused his attention on the moral problem, which he would continue to analyse and which would be his PROBLEM to solve throughout his life. At the same time, his love of music grew, both as a performer and as a composer. He played the piano brilliantly and was also a great improviser. Wagner later said of him that "he was too good a musician to be a teacher".

Despite his efforts to be sociable, he does not seem to have been very successful in this endeavour. His best friend, who would remain so throughout his life, was Paul Deussen, who later became a renowned Orientalist due to his work on the Vedanta, which remains a classic. In 1864, after completing his secondary education in Pforta, he enrolled at the University of Bonn to study classical philology and theology, but he soon abandoned the latter subject to devote himself entirely to philology and physiology, where he found essential points of support which, together with his intuition of the moral problem, would give his philosophy the classification, if it can be fitted into a single mould, of VITALIST philosophy (in Spain, Ortega y Gasset, with his rational vitalism, would be its greatest exponent).

His faith had already been shipwrecked during this period. In 1865, he decided to move to Leipzig to continue and perfect his studies in classical philology alongside the leading German figure in this field, Professor Ritschl. These were years of total dedication to his studies; he founded a philosophical association where he gave lectures, which would be decisive for his immediate future.

But what was decisive for him was his encounter, in a bookshop in Leipzig, with Schopenhauer's masterpiece, *The World as Will and Representation*. He himself tells us: "I don't know what the devil possessed me to go home with that book. As soon as I was in my room, I opened the treasure I had acquired and began to let this sombre and energetic genius work on me." It is said that for a fortnight he was absorbed in reading it, rereading it ten times.

Although Nietzsche's originality and depth have proven to be incomparably superior to those of Hegel's old rival, there is no doubt that Hegel's work paved the way for the devastating wind of "Zarathustra" to later blow through.

In 1868, through Wagner's wife Cosima, he met the famous composer, who believed he saw in the young philosopher the ideal theorist for his monumental musical dramas, as would indeed be the case, in part, with *The Birth of Tragedy*. That same year,

Professor Ritchls, who held him in high esteem, succeeded in getting the University of Basel in Switzerland to offer him the Chair of Classical Philology. He accepted, and when he was only 24 years old, the Faculty of Leipzig awarded him, without prior examination and without a thesis, the title of Doctor, as a reward for his outstanding studies and lectures on philology. The speech he gave as his inaugural lecture to the audience at the University of Basel, who eagerly awaited the words of the 24-year-old scholar Nietzsche, focused on the personality of Homer and satisfied even the most demanding listeners.

From this point on, his life was eventful and full of ups and downs. From the Franco-Prussian War, in which he enlisted in an ambulance corps (Swiss law prohibited him from bearing arms), to his love affair with Lou Salomé, his break with Wagner, his visions and his bitter mental decline, and finally his physical death, his enormous body of work can be chronologically summarised as follows:

1871: "The Birth of Tragedy in the Spirit of Music".

1873: First of the 'Untimely Meditations': 'David Strauss, the Confessor and the Writer'.
 'Second Untimely Meditation': 'On the Use and Disadvantage of Historical Science'.
 'Third Untimely Meditation':
 "Schopenhauer as Educator".

1876: "Fourth Untimely Meditation": "Richard Wagner in Bayreuth" (his break with Wagner). "Human, All Too Human" (antithesis of Wagner's "Parsifal").

1881: "Aurora. Thoughts on Moral Prejudices".

1882: The "Eternal Recurrence" cycle begins, with "The Gay Science" as its first work.

1883: Writes the first and second parts of Thus Spoke Zarathustra, now fully immersed in the cosmic vision of the "Eternal Return".

1884 and 1885: Writes the third and fourth parts of Thus Spoke Zarathustra.

1886: Final part of the "Eternal Return" cycle; he writes: "Beyond Good and Evil" (Preludes to a Philosophy of the Future).

1887: He writes "The Genealogy of Morals" (A Dissection of Religion and Morals). 1888:

This is his most prolific year; he is in a hurry to capture his thoughts; he notices the first serious symptoms of the illness that would eventually kill him. He writes: "Wagner. A

Problem for Music Lovers". To delve into what

what would become his magnum opus: Transvaluation of All Values. As a prologue to this work, he writes Twilight of the Idols (Or How to Philosophise with a Hammer). (We advise those interested in Nietzsche's work to avoid studying his works in chronological order and to start precisely with this one, Twilight...). He then wrote the first part of "Transvaluation...", which is his famous "Antichrist". He finished "Dionysian Dithyrambs" and immediately wrote his philosophical autobiography "Ecce Homo" and "Nietzsche contra Wagner".

What is known as "Will to Power" is actually a collection of posthumous writings compiled by his sister Elisabeth and his publishers. These notes were intended to form what would have been his magnum opus: "Transvaluation of All Values". (A summary of the content of all these works by Nietzsche can be found in the book "Hitler and His Philosophers").

On an autumn day in 1889, the great philosopher, seized by a stroke that would end his life, embraced a horse in the suburbs of Turin to protect the noble beast from the abuse of a cart driver. From this point on, Nietzsche the philosopher no longer existed. He was 45 years old, the golden age of maturity and experience

experience. Finally, unable to recover from this last attack, he died on 25 August 1900 at the age of 56.

NIETZSCHEAN THOUGHT

Nietzsche lived in a crucial period in Western history; after having devastated the remnants of feudalism with the French Revolution, the bourgeoisie, through pure social dynamics, tended to imitate and re-establish, albeit unconsciously, the old norms. But these were based on the sacredness of all their forms and were therefore accepted by all consciences. The bourgeois order, on the other hand, is based on democratism and, logically, on economic power; therefore, all the rules of coexistence that invoke morality can be—in this case, yes—dialectically discussed, then become irreversibly wounded, until they are demolished.

It is in these moments of conventionalism that Nietzsche exclaims: "God is dead!" This exclamation, which our clerical right wing has considered at best a capricious and eccentric statement, if not blasphemy, actually expresses something much deeper and at the same time dramatic. As we have seen, with the advent of the economic factor as a shaper not only of social life, but even of "worldview," the idea of God, which until then had permeated all human existence, disappears. The old order must therefore give way to a new order. But what kind of order will this be? This is the fundamental problem that Nietzsche confronts and tries to clarify throughout his life and work. The enormous effort he makes to divine the new era that is to come leads him to say in his final days: "It is not doubt, it is certainty that drives one mad."

For a better understanding of his thinking, we will divide his philosophy into three points that we believe to be fundamental:

- A) Criticism of the old order and of morality in general.
- B) The inevitable and transitory advent of nihilism in the interregnum between the two eras and the definition of the "Superman" and the "Will to Power".
- C) Metaphorical and physiological description of the Law of the "Eternal Return of the Same".

A) CRITIQUE OF THE OLD ORDER AND MORALITY.— Nietzsche sees in the Christianity, the ferment of the West's weakening. According to him, Christianity has done nothing more than revive, in disguise, the themes of Judaism, hatred of the aristocratic classes, hatred of superior individuals. Christianity revives all the traumas of a Jewish community dominated by priests, who, in order to remain perpetually influential, need a mass of oppressed, failed and paranoid people. Rather than this group of Jesus' apostles, Nietzsche directly accuses St. Paul of this poisonous transfusion of Judaism transformed into Christianity and transplanted to the West.

What, then, is Christianity? Nietzsche responds: "It is the decadent form of the ancient world." But in order to reach its ultimate consequences, Christianity has had to engender weakness in space and time, as he goes on to say: "Because the French Revolution is the daughter and continuator of Christianity... it has that same instinct hostile to castes, to aristocracy, to the last privileges. As a result of the French Revolution, socialism, extreme tyranny exercised by fools and mediocrities, poorly conceals its desire to deny Life."

Thus, everything is linked: from Socrates to Christianity, from Christianity to the French Revolution, and from the French Revolution to socialism, in different forms and guises, it is the same phenomenon of weakening—in a word: DECADENCE.

B) WILL TO POWER, NIHILISM AND "SUPERMAN".

One of Nietzsche's most profound concepts is the "will to power". But the German expression "der Wille zur Macht" seems to have more force, meaning the tense will towards active power.

What does power consist of? Nietzsche says: "The struggle for existence, that formula designates a state of exception. The rule is rather the struggle for power, the ambition to have more and better, and more quickly and more often".

Throughout his work, Nietzsche does not reason simply as a philosopher or philologist; he also contributes his profound knowledge as a physiologist and biologist. He thus conceives of history as a biologist but rejects both scientism and religion for their partiality and reductionism. For him, life is neither a combination of elementary particles nor the whim of a supernatural being. In his aforementioned posthumous fragments, compiled by his sister and editors, he concludes in the work entitled "Will to Power" with the following: "Life must be seen as a qualitative organisation that can only be grasped from within. The influence of 'external circumstances' has been wildly exaggerated by Darwin. The essence of the life process is precisely that immense force that creates forms 'from within', that uses and exploits external circumstances'. He continues: '...I adhere to the mechanistic movement that reduces all problems of morality and aesthetics to problems of physiology, these to chemical problems, these to mechanical problems, but with the difference that I do not believe in matter'.

If he rejects both the materialistic mechanism that describes phenomena from the outside without clarifying them, and also the simplistic religious expositions of Christianity that use and abuse FAITH as the only path to knowledge, it follows that in order to explain the evolution of humanity, there must necessarily be an internal force that obeys a logic. For Nietzsche, this internal force is none other than the Will to Power (see also Schopenhauer), of which life is but a particular form. Decadence is therefore a psychological phenomenon, not an accident, but a "necessary" moment in the entire manifestation of life. Nothing can be done against decadence; "a society is not free to remain young".

Decline cannot be prevented, just as a plant, an animal or a human being cannot be kept in perpetual youth. In this certainty about transience, throughout Nietzsche's work there are similarities with Gobineau in terms of the death of societies due to the effects of racial mixing. In a few paragraphs of "Aurora," Nietzsche establishes these principles, as well as the possible rebirth through racial PURIFICATION: an arduous and time-consuming task.

A TASK FOR THE FUTURE! But we have also seen that, on the phenomenon of degeneration due to racial effects, he adds—if everything does not come from the same source (we note)—psychological effects. What can be done then? Instead of resisting inevitable decline and working against the tide, we must hasten it, or at least stay well out of the way and let the tide pass (see Julius Evola's "Cavalcare il tigre"). When values are no longer valid, it is preferable that they disappear as soon as possible, but this is a task for nihilists, Marxists and other rabble.

Destroy! That is their tragic role.

Put this way, one might believe that Nietzsche's tragic vision leads to suicide and nothingness. But at this very moment, he quickly moves on to another plane. From

critical Nietzsche, biologist, physiologist, he moves on to the visionary: "What I am telling you is the history of the next two centuries. I am describing what will come, what must inevitably come: the advent of nihilism. That history can already be told, for necessity itself is at work."

But this chaos needs to be overcome, and the same necessity will also be at work at the right moment. Nietzsche concludes his thought with two grandiose visions: the "superman" and the "eternal return".

WHAT IS THE SUPERMAN?

Something so complex to define and even more difficult to understand means that Nietzsche can only explain it metaphorically, as Saint Augustine said when speaking of dogmas: "When I think about it, I understand it perfectly, but not when I try to explain it. However, it can be deduced that, for Nietzsche, man is an unfinished being, who can tend towards both improvement and regression. In "Zarathustra" he says: "The superhuman is the meaning of the earth. I conjure you, my brothers, to remain faithful to the earth... The meaning of the earth is the acceptance of the will to power, the taking of responsibility for the strength that is in man." This "superman," devoid of gods, will in the future have to rely solely on his own strength, without expecting supernatural actions (guardian angels) for himself. However, for every man thus placed before the cosmos, there is a possible "salvation": to accept one's own situation, to give an energetic YES to the facts and to assert oneself through action, struggle and the "will to power".

THE ETERNAL RETURN OF THE IDENTICAL

In a famous parable, Zarathustra describes the three metamorphoses of the spirit, which clearly coincide with the different states that man has adopted in each of the historical cycles: the spirit becomes a camel, in this case a beast of burden that kneels down to carry the heaviest load, which crushes and subjugates it (this stage may coincide with the period from the French Revolution to the beginning of our century, although it is not a question of giving an exact chronology, only a situation of place). Then the spirit of the camel becomes the spirit of the lion. This is the enemy of the last year and the last God: it wants to measure itself against the "great dragon". The name of the great dragon is "you must", but the soul of the lion says "I want". All values have been created in the past, and the sum of all of them is 'me' (the 'great dragon' signifies the old rules that endure and in which no one really believes: religion, ethics, morals, etc.). The lion rebels, frees itself, and this attitude of denial and destruction corresponds to the nihilistic attitude. But while the lion is capable of destruction, it does not create new values (see what we said earlier about the tragic role assigned to anarchists and Marxists today). The creation of these new values will be the work of the CHILD.

"Because children are pure innocence and forgetfulness, a new beginning, play, a wheel that moves

alone, the first mobile and holy affirmation." Thus, returning to childhood will be the true evolution, with the overcoming of man by the "superman."

It is not possible to truly approach Nietzsche's philosophy by forgetting this theory of "eternal return," which was essential to him. On the contrary, there are many who do not take it into account, thereby reducing his entire philosophy to simple criticism and destruction. Thus, it is understandable that nihilism has been able to "claim" it.

Nietzsche had attempted to give this theory a physical and metaphysical foundation and, in 1882, he had wanted to undertake new studies for this purpose. This was not possible because the illness that would eventually kill him was already weakening him. However, in the magnum opus he was preparing, "Transvaluation of All Values", the first part of which he managed to write in "The Antichrist" and the remaining notes - posthumous - that make up "The Will to Power", there are several attempts to give it solidity and continuity: "The world would be a cycle that would have already repeated itself an infinite number of times and whose game would unfold infinitely". "Circular motion is not a development, it is the original law, just as the mass of forces is the original law without exception, without possible infringement."

As you might guess, this is a cosmic theory. Here we must distinguish between a cosmic theory and a scientific theory. A scientific theory only concerns certain phenomena in many isolated cases, without any connection to the essence of existence. In contrast, a cosmic theory encompasses being in its entirety. The pre-Socratic philosophers, whose thinking so influenced Nietzsche, were not scientists in the modern sense of the word. "The sage is a figure alien to this age, which also ignores the specialisation of the sciences. What appears are attempts to master the universe through thought."

But what is perishable and what is eternal in this cyclical law? Nietzsche responds: "That which is foreign to the self, that which is transitory, the phenomena of degeneration, decay, and expiry. Its mass may cover the forces of the will to power for a certain time, but it does not alter them. The eternal return of the same is nothing other than the promise of the eternal emergence of youth."

At a time when, in Europe and the West in general, all literature and essays were reduced to criticism, Nietzsche went beyond this trend and asserted that life and thought could only be saved by returning to the ancient sources (pre-Christian, of course) of Western thought.

This idea was later taken up by Martin Heidegger, among others. Spengler, when writing his monumental "Decline of the West", could not help but keep it very much in mind. It is also the basic law of esotericists, with René Guénon and Julius Evola as its leading exponents. Vintila Horia, the great Romanian thinker based in Spain, is currently the man who has taken this idea furthest in our country, albeit from a Catholic fundamentalist perspective, which may seem contradictory at first glance. But where this current is gaining the most momentum is undoubtedly among French thinkers - formerly Marxist "intellectuals" - with what is now a thinking force of considerable importance, THE NEW PHILOSOPHY, and especially, prior to them as true "precursors" in this century and in France, the contributors and collaborators of the prestigious French magazines *Nouvelle Ecole* and *Etudes et Recherches*. From the latter, and as a synthesis and conclusion to what we have just outlined, we quote a paragraph from an article by Alain de Benoist: 'There is no longer any absolute, but we cannot live without the absolute, without something that transcends us and motivates each of our behaviours. No one is free from the problem of transcendence. But above all, for the first time, we are aware of what it is: aware of the relativity of norms and aware of their necessity. Hence, a new objectivity can only arise from a 'heroic' subjectivity, from a subjectivity consciously affirmed as a norm for some, with such power that it ends up seeming natural to everyone. Is the resolution of such a contradiction truly superhuman? Undoubtedly. THE TIME HAS COME TO SURPASS MAN BY THE HIGHEST DEGREE'. J.L.T.

The Count of Gobineau is his work: "Essay on the Inequality of Human Races". A single work of essay on a racial worldview but which, evidently, fulfils the intellectual aspiration of a lifetime. For it is more than a book, it is a whole Chair. The Count of Gobineau, a French diplomat in several Asian countries in the first half of the last century and an eminent orientalist, saw the first edition of his work printed in 1854 and dedicated it to His Majesty King George V of Hanover.

Gobineau thus lived through the socio-political upheavals of 1848, which shook the foundations of almost all European states and left a deep impression on him. Thus, in his dedication to the King of Hanover, he says: "The grave events, revolutions, wars, and legal upheavals that have long agitated the European states easily incline the imagination towards an examination of political facts. While the common people consider only the immediate results of all this and merely admire or disapprove of the flashes that wound their interests, the most serious thinkers try to discover the hidden causes of such terrible upheavals... and seek the key to the enigma that so deeply disturbs nations and spirits."

"... from induction to induction, I had to accept this evidence: that the ethnic question dominates all other problems in history, that it is the key to them, and that the inequality of the races that make up a nation is enough to explain the entire chain of events in the destinies of peoples."

Paradoxically, after two centuries of rationalism, enlightenment and mechanisation, in the middle of the 19th century, the rationalist and egalitarian utopia culminated in the dogma of scientific materialism, whose ideological vehicle was socialism, also "scientific". A new interpretation of the meaning of history emerged, not as a reaction but as a conviction: *raciology*.

He has raised two objections to his theories: one, that of the eternal progressives with their eternal "It's outdated!" without further reasoning, because they have none, as is usual for them; the other, that of the Catholics, "more papist than the Pope", who pitifully confuse equality before God with the intellectual and creative equality of different men as they pass through earthly existence. For them, Gobineau is a biological materialist, when the correct definition is biological realist.

There is no doubt that works on worldview, especially given the great scope of the insights and reasoning they contain, are not without gaps—which should not be confused with errors—nor can they succeed in maintaining an exact parity of all the physical or metaphysical phenomena that pull the strings of human life, whether individual or collective. Depending on the Schopenhauerian representation with which the subject views phenomena, one aspect or another will stand out more: race, religion, the environment, the will to power, etc. For the scholar, this apparent multiplicity of aspects should not lead him to see contradictions.

Let me explain: we understand REALITY to be what it is, even against our will, and that we cannot change it because it belongs to supra-human entities, to realities that obey cosmic or divine laws (cosmic or divine entities are not a source of competition or contradiction, they are simply different "representations" of the same UNITY); we understand UTOPIA, or rather, it is UTOPIA, to be the conscious or unconscious avoidance of this cosmic or divine Order, which is not recognised as reality because it does not fit in with pre-formed "ideal" thinking. Utopia, being a source of illusions, can exert its dominance in the individual and collective lives of men during certain periods of time; but it is precisely when they try to put it into practice that they lose all their charm and the prestige they had "a priori". Hence

thinkers of the stature of Schopenhauer, Gobineau, Spengler, and many others, are considered pessimists, while Marx is considered an "optimist". We considered these clarifications necessary in order to understand that Gobineau's work, as a work of worldview, must be known—it is imperative to know it—as a starting point for the "New Knowledge" that will introduce us to the study of Le Bon, Nietzsche, H.W. Chamberlain in particular, Evola and, above all, for the "correction" of Spengler's magnum opus. Although we may be surprised if, when studying Gobineau to complement the works of the aforementioned authors, we encounter Gobineau again, that is: as a principle and synthesis.

For his theories are of a solidity that grows with each new historical and archaeological discovery. Many of them, because of their significance, even surpass him in their anti-egalitarian conceptions.

We have already mentioned that Gobineau lived through the liberal and socialist upheavals of the first half of the last century, which culminated in the revolutionary outbreak of 1848. While utopians see these events as "progress" for humanity, which, according to them, develops linearly: tribalism, feudalism, bourgeoisie, and finally the liberation of the proletariat until its dictatorship (I have always wondered over whom, since, as a premise, the suppression—read annihilation—of the other classes is required), Gobineau sees that this process is nothing new, that it has occurred dozens of times in known historical times; he sees the flourishing of a culture and its gradual or sudden degeneration, until its end; here and there, however, the constants repeat themselves inexorably.

An original Aryan core, whose supremacy consists of its creative and organising energy, forms states, harmonises social life, softens the tribal customs of the conquered and establishes a caste system, more or less rigid depending on the subjugated people. The system of government, therefore, will be aristocratic, but limiting as much as possible the concentration of power in a single person or class. Contrary to the opinion of vulgar or superficial people, autocracy does not exist; power is shared and regulated by military, theological, and civil signatories.

Subsequently, the castes begin to mix; the splendour of the culture and civilisation will obviously depend on the quantity and quality of the resulting miscegenation, but at the same time, as miscegenation reaches the upper classes, its energy and vitality degenerate. The beneficial organic action of the division of society into castes, on which general harmony depends, is no longer understood. Henceforth, these will only be preserved in name and as an external ornament. Logically, in the face of this progressive levelling – and all levelling always lowers the best elements, without this effect compensating, by any means, for the relative rise of the inferior elements – the desired regime is democratic; the bourgeoisie, being the determining economic factor in these times, considers itself equal or superior to the prince and the priest.

When the economy becomes an end in itself, all traditional values are shattered: the bourgeoisie dreams of wealth and power; the artisan is no longer understood or respected for his worth; the same is true of small farmers; no longer seeing their trades as offering superior and transcendent prospects, they become proletarians in fact or in spirit; the socialism that finally triumphs in Phoenicia, Athens, Greco-Roman Rome and so many others are shining examples of this process. The multitude of evidence on which Gobineau bases his theories is so extensive and compelling that it would be impossible here to even outline the cycle in which he presents them, one by one, culture by culture, civilisation by civilisation. This is Gobineau's

true merit of Gobineau: to capture in his essay historical facts and evidence that have been intuitive in all healthy periods of society, but which in his time, and even more so today—as we "progress"—are obscured and blurred by so much egalitarian theory.

However, in support of Gobineau, we cannot resist pointing out and drawing attention to the constant archaeological discoveries in South America. The more excavations are carried out, the more evidence there is of several periods of civilisation; and the older the civilisation, the greater its splendour and the more indelible the traces left by white men; the existence of the blond God is evident everywhere. The state of prostration into which the Incas and Aztecs fell—definitively, it seems—until they 'evolved' into the savage state in which they find themselves today in many cases, is definitive proof of his theories.

We were reluctant to provide evidence because of its weightiness, but there are such overwhelming examples of anti-progress and degeneration that they deserve to be highlighted again and again: Five thousand years ago, Egypt had already built the first pyramids, and Sumeria had done the same. Egypt and Mesopotamia radiated their splendid civilisation throughout the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. Pythagoras and Plato, among others, were inspired by the wisdom contained in the Egyptian temples. Today, however, technical engineers and specialised foreign workers have to build everything for Egypt, from a simple irrigation canal to the Aswan Dam. Indefinite progress?

How absurd! Modern ethology is demonstrating that, in a moment of carelessness, the whole of humanity could return to a state of barbarism without the need for atomic wars.

In summary, today it is essential to have a deep understanding of the racial phenomenon; by grasping it, we can immediately comprehend what the ultimate goal really is, the 'metaphysical' goal that the centres of anti-Western subversion are trying to destroy in us: the awareness and racial pride of our origins. Everything else—human rights, class struggle, etc.—are merely stepping stones and operations of attrition prior to their intended final victory, or rather, to culminate their secular revenge of inferior races or races against ours.

One last piece of advice for detecting such "distorters of reality". Those who shout the loudest about the equality of all races are always the most extreme anti-white racists: Zionists, black leaders and, above all, our own racial detritus who, either through interbreeding with the two aforementioned groups or through a conscious inability to continue our tradition of order, of conquest, our Gothic tradition, end up submerging themselves in Marxist uniformity. J.L.T.

Ernest Renan was born on 28 February 1823 to a humble seafaring family in Tréguier, with no one imagining that one of Europe's great thinkers was beginning his life there. After his father died at sea, Renan lived in almost constant poverty. In 1838, he entered the ecclesiastical school of Treguier; he was destined for the Church, and this would provide him with the path and opportunity for intellectual training. He immediately stood out for his outstanding intelligence, which earned him a place at the seminary in Paris. He studied Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabic... he showed a passion for philology, of which he would be a great master throughout his life and to which he would devote several books.

At the seminary, he discovered his other great passion: knowledge and reading (a "vice" that Unamuno also complained about when he said that he read even the backs of matchboxes when he had nothing else to read). He devoured all philosophy, particularly German philosophy (he would remain a devoted lover of all things Germanic throughout his life), his favourites being Fichte, Kant, Herder, Hegel, etc. For Renan, God is knowledge, ignorance is death.

During his years at the seminary, he began to experience the great internal struggle between the Logos and the Messiah, which would obsess him throughout his life. Christian dogmas are a mixture of evangelical faith and Greek metaphysics. They are a mixture of the Jewish idea of the Messiah and the Logos (a rational contribution that would attempt to varnish everything so that it could be assimilated by the Greeks and Romans). Renan soon came to the conclusion that the Logos was incompatible with the Messiah and that scholasticism appeared as an immense, convoluted framework that proved nothing and confused everything.

In 1845, he left the seminary, convinced that dogma is "unprovable". All that remains is the path of faith, of the Messiah, but this is not the path of Renan, who was enamoured with the Greek Logos.

From then on, his main work would revolve around the religious problem (once again, like Unamuno) that would obsess him throughout his life. His first important work was *Ensayo psicológico de Jesucristo* (Psychological Essay on Jesus Christ), in which he contrasted the person of Jesus with the idea of Jesus Christ as a character, a moral figure, and an idea of the Gospel. It marked the transition from the historical person of God to religion as an idea. But his great work of historical research was his monumental *Historia de los orígenes del cristianismo* (History of the Origins of Christianity), in seven volumes, which took him a lifetime to complete.

In 1860, he travelled to the East and began writing the first volume ("Life of Jesus"). He concluded that Jesus was an "incomparable man" in every respect. "Religion is false in its dogmas, but just in its aspirations." He criticised the Jewish origin of the original dogmas and principles, which led to his expulsion from the Academy by the clergy. The book was praised by Taine, Marimée and Georges Sand, but it led to his inclusion in the ecclesiastical "Index".

He followed in Voltaire's footsteps, but replaced the irony of Voltaire's religious criticism with Renan's historical rigour: "We reject both frivolous scepticism and scholastic dogmatism; we are critical dogmatists, we believe only in the truth."

His search for truth will be successful in 1864, when he makes his trip to Greece. At the Acropolis, he will convert to Arianism and meet Gobineau (who was consul in Greece). Renan effusively congratulated Gobineau on his "Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races," saying, "You have written one of the most remarkable books, full of vigour and spiritual originality."

In his "General History and Comparative System of Semitic Languages," he followed Gobineau in stating: "The diversity of races is the cause of the diversity of languages." For him, "Inequality is written in nature."

His racism will be permanent: "The death of a Frenchman is a moral event... that of a savage is no more significant in the grand scheme of things than the breaking of a wristwatch, and sometimes the latter event has greater consequences."

He will support the policy of white colonisation: "Colonisation is a political necessity of the first order; a nation that does not colonise will be irrevocably dragged into misery."

Politically, Renan had democratic beginnings after leaving the seminary, but he quickly abandoned democracy to become a lifelong supporter of a hierarchical and elitist system of the best. After the Franco-Prussian War, he wrote "Intellectual and Moral Reform", a political work that led Gobineau to leave another work he had already prepared unfinished, believing that Renan's work had said it all.

This work is a manual for anti-democrats: the reform of France requires the abandonment of democracy and egalitarian demagoguery. It requires austerity and obedience to the best. "Turgot considers parliaments to be the main obstacle to all good. Was this admirable man, totally devoid of self-love, mistaken? NO, he saw correctly." "The masses are clumsy, rude, dominated by the most superficial view of interest."

"Selfishness, the source of materialistic socialism, and jealousy, the source of democracy, will only create a weak society, incapable of resisting powerful neighbours. A society is only strong if it recognises the fact of natural superiorities."

A rationalist, he was never a materialist. "Rationalism is far from leading to democracy." He sought a system that would allow the best to govern, but he failed to find it. He cited Prussia as an example because of its austere education system and obedience to a disciplined nobility without luxuries or softness.

Renan already glimpsed the possibility of a United States of Europe when he stated: "Europe is a confederation of states united by a common idea of civilisation."

Renan is therefore a great thinker, a precursor in many ways of the ideologies of our century. Obviously, his anti-Christian, or rather anti-clerical, writings were used by Zionist agents to attack religion – Renan was called an atheist and anti-Christian. Nothing could be further from the truth. He never ceased to express his admiration for the sublime and spiritual aspects of Christianity, or to support the religious meaning of life.

As with Darwin, Renan's doctrines were sometimes manipulated by Jews (some of his publishers were even Jewish, such as Michel Levy), but both Darwin and Renan show us another path: the renewal of thought towards tradition, forgetting superstitious errors and entering into racism (Darwin) or orienting religion towards Greek religious humanism (Renan). R,B.

Taine was born on 12 April 1828 in the Ardennes. After some difficult early years and physical weakness, having completed his normal studies at university, he became aware, already in Paris, of his interest in history and philosophy, which would form the basis of all his work. With an enormous culture, recognised by his contemporaries, his studies respond to a genuine vocation, and it can be said that he poured his entire personality into his most outstanding works. Mainly, "History of English Literature" (1864) and "Origins of Contemporary France" (1871-1894). Other decisive works that deserve to be remembered include *Philosophy of Art* (1865), *Philosophy of Art in Italy* (1866), *The Ideal in Art* (1867), *Essays on Criticism and History* (1855), etc.

His main thesis is that the history of a people is not something fickle and random, but is clearly determined by certain fixed constants: race, soil and geography. From his *Philosophy of Art* comes the statement: "The productions of the human spirit, like those of Nature, can only be explained by the environment that produces them"—the environment is the cause of the characteristics of the race and the historical moment. Studying disconnected facts leads nowhere, but studying race and its characteristics and the geographical conditions in which it develops will give rise to immediate and profound knowledge of history and provide a basis for guessing the axis of its evolution. Contrary to the trends in vogue, even outside of Hegel, Taine turns to the investigation of the specific laws that condition the development of events and the evolution of men. He thus arrives at blood and soil. He starts from positivism but accepts metaphysics.

Based on this approach, Taine conducted studies of various peoples (Greece, the Netherlands, the Renaissance, etc.), establishing himself as a leading historian. Sainte-Beuve said of his method: "In Taine, everything has the regularity of a positive science, of an exact and rigorous analysis, dominated and crowned by an inexorable logic; if he observes and collects details, it is only to be able to formulate laws."

In his lesser-known work, "On Universal Suffrage and the Manner of Voting" (1871), he questions the possibilities of the voting system, without rejecting it outright. In his "Origins" he would write: "Ten million ignorant people do not make knowledge." Taine would not vote or make use of his vote, as none of the parties convinced him. Disillusioned with politicians and voting, he would tell himself that they prove nothing, and he would write that in order to determine the constitution of a people, what is important is not that a vote endorses it, but that it is adapted to the idiosyncrasies of the race, the history and the conditions of the people who are to uphold it. "The social and political form in which a people can govern itself is not subject to its arbitrariness, but is determined by its character and its past."

"Taine was held in true veneration," wrote Rodríguez Aranda, recalling his influence on French thought and literature. Well known during the author's lifetime, his influence on thinkers and historians at the turn of the century was enormous, and he can be considered a precursor of the contemporary conception of history and the philosophy of history. Taine died in 1893 and became one of the most renowned and studied teachers throughout the first half of our century. His merit—only silenced by the tragic consequences of the repression that began in 1945—is that of having understood the importance of genetics, race and geographical environment in the evolution of peoples. J.T.

E. Schuré was born in Strasbourg on 21 January 1841, the son of a doctor and the daughter of the dean of the city's Faculty of Law. He received a bourgeois and Protestant education, beginning a career in law but apparently abandoning it to devote himself to philosophy and, in particular, the study of comparative religions.

He travelled through Germany and Italy, attending the universities of Bonn, Berlin and Munich. There he met Richard Wagner, to whom he undoubtedly owes the first and main inspiration for the development of all his subsequent poetic and esoteric work. In 1865, Schuré attended the first performance of *Tristan and Isolde* in Munich. There he spoke with the great composer, who shared with him his concern for harmonising religion, art and mythology. From then on, his admiration for Wagner grew, and upon his arrival in Paris, he became his great defender when Wagner was still unknown in France, mainly through two books, *Souvenirs de Richard Wagner* and *Drama Musical*, in which he presented new artistic theories. These two books were translated into Spanish and were also among the first works on the maestro to be published before the end of the century.

However, Wagner was not the only one who influenced Schure; historians all agree on the importance of his lifelong companion, Margarita Albana Mignaty, 'a theosophist'.

It seems clear that Schuré himself was a theosophist (and we all know that theosophy is a derivation of Freemasonry). However, when reading his magnum opus, "The Great Initiates" – translated into Spanish – one immediately notices the enormous ethical and spiritual difference between Schuré and other theosophists of the time, who were abundant in the last century and at the beginning of this one, such as Blavatsky and Besant, for example. In addition, two very important facts to bear in mind are that very few theosophists have endured the heroic and chivalrous spirit inspired by Wagner's works, and almost none of them adhered to fascism. Schuré, on the contrary - we have already seen his devotion to Wagner - died in Paris on 7 April 1929, having been a great admirer of Mussolini since he came to power.

Father Tusquets acknowledged in his work, "Theosophism," that he preferred a positivist to a materialistic sceptic to a theosophist. For in theosophical schools there was and still is an atmosphere of decrepitude, pathology, and mediumistic hysteria. In contrast, Schuré's work, addressing the same themes as the theosophists of the time, treats them with a spiritual height and a critical and synthetic spirit that is non-existent among the latter.

Schure clearly sees that, due to the materialism and positivism prevailing at the end of this century, a false idea of Truth and Progress has been reached. Truth was something very different for the philosophers of the East, Greece and Egypt. They knew, of course, that they could not attain it without a sober knowledge of the physical world, but they also knew that authentic Truth resides in our education and inner balance, and in the spiritual life of the soul. For them, the soul was the only divine reality and the key to the universe. That was what it was all about: developing the latent faculties of the soul and thus attaining that supreme intuition they called God. But were these philosophers, these mystics, simply contemplative? No. The world will continue to draw on their teachings. In *The Great Initiates*, Schure makes a profound and detailed study of them and their doctrines. We are presented with unblemished intellectual honesty with the following decisive figures from history and mythology: Rama, Krishna, Hermes, Moses, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Plato, and Jesus. Most importantly, through this wonderful story, which is sometimes even somewhat fantastical, it must also be said, we see the connection between the high philosophies and religious beliefs

, the beliefs adopted by this or that race at a given moment, and the intensity with which they have been accepted or fought against. (To truly benefit from this work, it is extremely important to have read Gobineau's Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races).

He shows us the history of religions in its two aspects, the external or apparent and the internal or esoteric. The external aspect consists of the dogmas and myths taught publicly in temples; we could call it "superstitious." The internal aspect is what was only taught to initiates, showing us how hard the path was for those who, in principle, were accepted as chosen ones.

As "otherworldly" as Schuré's thinking may seem to us, he was, first and foremost, a great idealist; he believed with all his might in the supremacy of spirit over matter, but maintained his contact with real life ("its representation"). His ultimate aspiration is for religion and science to cease viewing each other as enemies, or at best, with suspicion, and to join forces for the great metaphysical synthesis that humanity needs. The same synthesis that, in a more 'positivist' order, if you will, Vintila Horia and his school are currently attempting. Among his main works we will mention: 'Vercingetorix' (Drama), 'Les chants de la montagne', 'Santuaire d'orient', 'Les grandes légendes de la France', 'Précurseurs et Révoltés', 'Femmes inspiratrices et poètes innovateurs', 'Evolution Divine', 'La Légende des siècles', 'La Druidesse', 'L'Ame Celtique et l'agenie de la France'. J LT

Eduard Drumont was born in Paris on 3 May 1844. After a period of working to make ends meet, he decided to become a journalist, working at *Le Contemporain*, *Maurras*, and *L'Action Française*. He wrote: "The nationalist formula was born almost entirely from him, and Daudet, Barrés, all of us began our work under his influence."

His first books were historical in nature: *Les fêtes nationales de la France* (1879), *Mon vieux Paris* (1879), *Les derniers des Trémolin* (1879), *Papiers inédits de Saint Simon* (1880), and *La mort de Louis XIV* (1880).

In 1886, he published the book that made him famous, the two volumes of *La France Juive*. The book was not a success and copies remained unsold in bookshops, but it was an article published by Magnard, editor of *Le Figaro*, attacking the work that broke the silence surrounding such an explosive book. In a short time, 100,000 copies were sold (the edition in my possession, from the 20th century, bears the indication: 141st edition). Drumont was aware that Jews formed a separate nation and of the danger they posed to countries. In "The Testament of an Anti-Semite" (1894), he states: "This book is purely and simply the personal testament of an anti-Semite, the diary of the thoughts and struggles of a man who has been the initiator of a great movement in France and who realises that the inevitable execution will probably be carried out by someone else rather than by him". Arthur Meyer, a Jew and journalist, challenged Drumont to a duel, during which Meyer held the Frenchman's arm with his left hand and stabbed him in the thigh with his sabre; it was a national scandal. Drumont's attacks became, one after another, the reasons for his popularity.

Drumont's little-known masterpiece is *La fin d'un monde* (1888), in which he levies his accusation against the upper middle class and the system born in 1789, built on the Jacobins' plundering of national assets.

La dernière bataille (1890) denounces those who defrauded French taxpayers in connection with the Panama Canal issue. Having failed to be elected to the National Assembly, he stood in the 1898 legislative elections in Algiers, forming an "anti-Semitic" group in the chamber with 19 members under his leadership.

His other works include: "De l'or, de la boue, de la sang" (1896), "Les juifs contre la France" (1899), "La tyrannie maçonnique" (1899), and a series up to his last work, "Sur le chemin de la vie" (1914).

Drumont edited a newspaper called *La Libre Parole*, which was anti-Semitic, anti-capitalist and socialist. He was the first to use the term "National Socialism" in this newspaper, referring to an anti-Marxist and anti-capitalist form of socialism rooted in the principles of race, land, homeland and religion. It was 1892. Drumont had been convicted and even imprisoned. "We want the formation of a Chamber of Justice," he wrote in *La Libre Parole* in 1893, "to judge the operations carried out by the leaders of international high finance and to restore to the community everything that has been stolen from it."

During the Dreyfus Affair, Drumont became a leading figure, rallying the common people and organising a revolt against the rotten state of the French Republic. *L'Humanité* insinuated that Drumont was of Jewish origin, to which he responded with a study of his ancestors dating back to 1605, among whom there were no Jews. Having founded the "Anti-Semitic League

, he always had to fight against numerous enemies, who even vetoed his admission to the French Academy.

Drumont died on 5 February 1917, and, perhaps because of the bloodshed, his death went almost unnoticed. From his enormous body of work, published at the time in hundreds of editions, we can glean examples of what nationalist culture should be, characteristic of European peoples, and free from any Judaization. J.T.

GEORGES SOREL

Georges Sorel was born in Normandy, specifically in Cherbourg, in 1847, into a bourgeois family whose business, however, was not doing very well. Well-versed in science, he obtained an engineering degree and worked for the French state in various parts of the country. At the age of only 45, he abandoned this profession to devote himself to public life. Not long before, he had published his first book. He settled on the outskirts of Paris, where he would live until his death in 1922.

Talking about Georges Sorel's work is no easy task. And this is not just a hackneyed cliché intended to elevate an author. It is the absolute truth. To begin with, he was never a systematic author. But above all, he was a man whose positions changed dramatically. Isaiah Berlin describes his career as follows: "... legitimist in his youth, and still traditionalist in 1889, by 1894 he was a Marxist. In 1896 he wrote about Vico with admiration. In 1898, influenced by Croce and also by Eduard Bernstein, he began to criticise Marxism, falling under the spell of Henri Bergson at around the same time. He was a Dreyfusard in 1899 and a revolutionary syndicalist during the following decade. By 1909, he was already a staunch enemy of the Dreyfusards, and in the next two or three years, he became an ally of the monarchists who published *Action Française* and a supporter of Barrés' mystical nationalism. In 1912, he wrote admiringly of Mussolini's militant socialism, and in 1919 with even greater admiration of Lenin, ending up expressing unconditional support for Bolshevism and, in the last years of his life, undisguised admiration for Il Duce. Who would not be tempted at this point to abandon the study of Sorel's work, accusing him, with such facts in hand, of being reckless, inconsistent, and fickle?

However, the reality is quite different. The very shifts he made demonstrate that He always knew exactly what he wanted, and that the same idea guided his every step. Sorel never pursued a political career. He did not seek office, and his changes of position were therefore not intended to gain any advantage. What Sorel pursued, from one end of the political spectrum to the other, but without ever settling in the middle ground where everything he fought against dwelled, was to find the men and ideas strong enough to crush the bourgeois world. "Sorel complained," says Hamilton, "about the lack of heroism that prevailed in modern society." He sought the type of person capable of developing that heroism, and he knew that he could only find it in those groups or ideologies that were radical and extremist, alien to the democratic game of the bourgeoisie. Ultimately, he was not so much interested in the ideas (very diverse among themselves) advocated by the various groups he supported, as in their scale of values. What he wanted was to fight the bourgeoisie, for which he felt a "violent and constant revulsion". He hated its values, its "stupefying humanitarianism", its faith in the "rational harmony" that governs the world, its intellectualism, its anthropological optimism... Sorel fought tirelessly against all these fallacies and did not allow the fear of ridicule typical of the petit bourgeois to prevent him from moving meteorically from one position to another, whenever he found that it was from the new position that he could adequately defeat his enemy. Otherwise, Sorel's case is not unique; on the contrary, he was a man very much of his time, perfectly integrated into his era. Uscatescu says that "Sorel's influence on the most important revolutionary movements of our century, and in a special way on the revolutionary personalities of Lenin and Mussolini, demonstrates the enormous effectiveness of his doctrine and its great connection with the reality of our time". The same author places Sorel within what he has called the "rebellion of the minorities". Another

Sorel's doctrine is undoubtedly an expressive vindication of the principle of political and social "elites" as promoters of major contemporary transformations. Berlin says that his work "lies at the heart of that great rebellion against rationalism and the Enlightenment". There is nothing capricious, arbitrary, or snobbish about Sorel's work, and however disconcerting it may be, it is clearly animated by a central idea on the one hand, and perfectly responsive to an *era and an intellectual tradition on the other*.

Nietzsche has taught us that history should be read like an oracle, and that we understand the past as the blueprint for the future we aspire to build. For that very reason, both Sorel and Nietzsche (the former of whom, incidentally, was a great admirer of the latter) place classical Greek civilisation as their prototype. Until the great perverter, Socrates, appeared to cast doubt on all the values that had given life to a people, introducing "the lethal seeds that would lead to the glorification of abstractions, utopian schemes, academies, contemplative or critical philosophies, and with them the decline of Greek vitality and genius," says Berlin.

With reference to this world of higher values, there is no doubt in Sorel's mind that we are living in a state of decline, and that it is this decline that must be fought against. We cannot rely on the simple passage of time, for Sorel, as a good pessimist, criticises what he called "the illusions of progress", which he believed were due to the confusion between technical progress (which does exist) and cultural and human progress. Rather, the opposite is true: history shows us how heroic civilisations and creators have collapsed.

It was through his historical analysis of how cultures fought and resisted that he arrived at the discovery and formulation of what constitutes the most original part of his doctrine: the function of myth. But what is a myth? Normally, this word is highly discredited and tends to be assimilated purely and simply with lies. "Men who take part in great social movements," writes Sorel in his "Reflections on Violence," "present their forthcoming action in the form of images of battles that will ensure the triumph of their cause. I proposed to call these constructions 'myths', whose understanding presents such difficulty for the historian." Thus, myths are not so much rational as effective; they are more beliefs in something (ancestors, traditions, symbols, etc.) than about something; they are intended to bring people together and provoke the deployment of energies; they are almost spontaneous and natural. "A myth is composed of 'warmly coloured' images and affects men, not as reason, education of the will or the command of a superior does, but as a ferment of the soul that engenders enthusiasm and incites action and, if necessary, disorder. Myths do not need historical reality; they direct our actions, mobilise our will, and give meaning to who we are and what we do." Another scholar of myths, Mircea Eliade, has told us that myths provide models of behaviour and thus give meaning and value to existence.

But not everything lends itself to being transformed into myth: "Experience teaches us," says Sorel, "that certain constructs, with an indeterminate future in time, can be highly effective and have few drawbacks when they are of a given nature. this occurs when it comes to myths that embody the strongest tendencies of a people, a party, or a class, tendencies that present themselves with the force and insistence of instincts in all circumstances of life and that give an appearance of full reality to certain hopes for imminent action." Given all these characteristics of the myth we are quoting, we can understand what Uscatescu says when he states that "a revolutionary movement without myths is inconceivable".

In short, and using Sorel's terms, we would say that myth, which is irrational in nature, has the function of creating "an epic state of mind".

And this will be Sorel's main contribution to fascism, of which he has rightly been identified as a direct precursor. Simone de Beauvoir says that fascists "have learned from Sorel that myth is a dynamic force that can be measured, not intellectually, but in terms of its effectiveness". This is so true that when talking about fascism, we could almost talk more about "mythology" than "ideology"; all fascism revolves around myths: the myth of youth, the myth of race, the myth of action, etc. It is not false to say that fascism is irrationalist. Rationalism is in crisis, and it is in crisis because it is unnatural. The Sorelian myth fits much better with the nature of the "fascist furnace" and the fighting man in general than the world of laws and abstract concepts so dear to the good bourgeois.

Berlin says that "fascist propaganda would find useful ammunition in his writings: the mockery of liberal democracy, violent anti-intellectualism, the appeal to the power of irrational forces, the calls for activism, violence, conflict as such, all of which feed fascist currents".

Let us look at an example: "In the social studies written by Sorel today, excessive importance is attributed to questions of numbers. This illusion is greatly fuelled by prejudices derived from universal suffrage. Electoral flocks can transform any mediocrity into a head of government. But such flocks cannot withstand a solidly organised moral force, just as the barbarian masses could not defeat the armies of Alexander or Caesar." As for Marxism, it is true that barbarians could not defeat the small ones who for a long time defined themselves as Marxists, but their Marxism was very peculiar. Observing that only the working classes could destroy the bourgeois world, he long believed that Marxism could be a "myth" for these classes, "a doctrine of struggle for strong peoples that reduces ideology to the role of a mere instrument," as he himself said, but he did not fail to point out its limitations, which began from the moment it was adopted as an ideology. Berlin writes on this subject: 'Sorel rejects the deterministic phraseology of "tendencies operating with iron necessity towards their inevitable results" and other statements of the same kind, which abound in *Das Kapital*', and also: "Marx's economism is exaggerated; it may have been necessary to counteract idealistic or liberal individualistic theories of history, but such theories run the risk, in Sorel's view, of leading to the belief in the possibility of predicting the social formations of the future. This constitutes a dangerous and fallacious utopianism. Such fantasies may serve as a stimulus to workers, but also as a weapon for despotisms."

"Everything I am, I owe to Sorel," Mussolini told a French newspaper. It has been argued that what Mussolini was really seeking was to give himself some intellectual prestige. The reality is that Sorel, like almost all precursors, was not a man of such social prestige as to claim it for this reason. On the contrary, he had many critics and a very small circle of followers. This could not have been Mussolini's motive. He felt genuine admiration for the French thinker. Sorel, in turn, also had the highest opinion of Il Duce, whom he described as a political genius of a "dimension that surpasses that of all current statesmen," who "has invented something that is not found in my books: the union of the national and the social, which I have studied but not explored in depth. This discovery of the national-social synthesis, which is the basis of his method, is purely Mussolinian, and I have not been able to inspire it either directly or indirectly." C.C.

The French physician, ethnologist, psychologist and sociologist Gustave Le Bon was born on 7 May 1841 in Nogent-le-Retrou (Eure-et-Loir department) and died on 15 December 1931 in Paris. He studied medicine, obtaining his doctorate in 1876. He first devoted himself to hygiene and physiology, later turning almost entirely to ethnology and archaeology. We are therefore dealing with a man who possessed all the basic theoretical knowledge necessary to carry out scientific and objective work on psychology in all its particularities; To become the best, the genius—that is to say, to be consciously ignored today—he only needed to possess innate intuition and be free from the progressive and egalitarian prejudices that prevailed at the time, since without both of these requirements, all his theoretical knowledge would only have earned him the adjective "cultivated philistine," in Nietzsche's fortunate expression. To his glory, and to the glory of psychology, he was as rich in the former quality as he was free from philistinism.

Reading the Count of Gobineau and Gustave Le Bon, we get the feeling that the very essence of the French spirit is right there with us: reasoned thoughts; no subjectivism, so dear to the German Hegelian spirit of the time; and a sharpness of observation and analysis that impresses with its objectivity.

The profound political and military upheavals of the second half of the 19th century that France suffered (the Franco-Prussian War, the proclamation of the "Paris Commune", etc.), France had the honour of having a historian and psychologist who, far from speculating on useless theories for world peace and harmony, described the futility of such assumptions, if not the opposite effect they produce from the letter that inspires them (we have not said from the spirit).

LE BON'S PHILOSOPHICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL THOUGHT

Le Bon's basic concept is his belief in the prominence of feelings and passions over reason in human actions, especially collective ones. His concept of the soul of the race is linked to the theory – Law – of the collective soul. His reasoning on the socio-psychology of races is noteworthy. Regarding the first concept, he highlights the importance of the concept of race in explaining social phenomena. Each race has its own soul (Spengler would say, confusingly, that each culture has its soul), a set of inherited characteristics, thereby establishing a hierarchy among the different races (scale of values). Our era is rightly described as the age of the masses, in that the advent of the masses (third and fourth estates) into political life and their transformation into 'ruling' classes is the characteristic feature of our time. He sees in them an immense force because of their dead weight, not because of their qualifications, for although they are not very apt at reasoning, they are extremely easy to manipulate for the benefit of the "falsifier of culture", in Yockey's apt expression. He also assigns a collective soul to the masses, noting that, as they form, conscious individual personality fades and unconscious individual feelings are oriented in the same direction. The feelings of the crowd are invariably impulsiveness, irritability, suggestibility and, along with exaggeration or simplistic thinking, tolerance or dogmatism. The opinions and beliefs that decisively influence crowds are those that are deeply rooted in the soul of the race and in its traditions. But above all, he considers that there is an instinctive need in every crowd of beings to obey a

agitator or a "leader" (which is the same thing, although arbitrarily confused), meticulously studying their means of action, particularly categorical affirmation, repetition and the embodiment of the ideal image.

From his voluminous literary-historical-psychological output, the following works stand out for their importance and rigorous relevance: "Psychology of Crowds" and "Psychology of Socialism", which address topics of the utmost general and everyday interest, but we do not underestimate the value of works such as the following: "The French Revolution" and "Psychology of Revolutions" in a single book, "Psychological Laws of the Evolution of Peoples", "The Imbalance of the World", "The Current Evolution of the World", "The Civilisation of the Arabs", "The Civilisations of India", etc. In "Psychology of Crowds," he uses clear examples to show us the behaviour adopted in this state by masses of different peoples with heterogeneous racial compositions; he demonstrates the superfluity of "standardised" constitutions and theories about the state and system of government that do not truly embody the soul of their respective peoples. However, the most significant aspect of this work is the psycho-pathological description of demagogues, parliaments and assemblies. The paragraph we have selected summarises Le Bon's thinking on the above: "Decisions of general interest taken by an assembly of distinguished (but democratic) men, dedicated to different specialities, are not significantly different from the decisions that would be taken by a meeting of imbeciles". He continues: "What accumulates in crowds is not talent, but stupidity." For us, living here (in Spain) and now, with all the parliamentary and partisan revelry, Le Bon's work seems like a snapshot of reality. But remembering Nietzsche, we must say: "The most obvious things are the ones that need to be continually demonstrated..."

As for "The Psychology of Socialism," the eminent psychologist's clear vision of its nature is surprising. At a time when socialism could still be believed to be an aspiration of the proletarian masses for their redemption, Le Bon, after examining the common character of the apostles of socialism, notes the same constants in all of them: creative impotence, envy and revanchism. And, like Gobineau, he points to other moments in history when these tendencies have prevailed. He then makes a clear distinction between the socialist systems that are developing in different countries: in Germany, it prevails among teachers, previously influenced by Hegel, who are always so eager for philosophical abstractions; in England, on the contrary, it is completely impossible for it to prevail, as long as a national catastrophe of great proportions does not alter the national character, entrepreneurial and with a great sense of self-responsibility, consequently rejecting any collectivist attempt and (although it may seem paradoxical) for that reason, not at all individualistic and very patriotic (but today, England is already suffering from national catastrophe: it won the World War, gave up its colonies and is home to the largest Asian-Negroid population in Europe).

Continuing with this work, Le Bon's diagnosis of the evolution of socialism in Latin countries is extremely accurate. With few elites (see Gobineau and Ortega y Gasset in his "España invertebrada" [Invertebrate Spain]), Latin peoples, lacking the entrepreneurial spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, expect the state to solve everything. Private initiative, when it actually exists, is always at risk of being stifled by the envy of the masses or by the ossified state bureaucracy (regardless of the system of government). Here, the desire to level the playing field, with the masses in control, shapes everything. Even those who profess the most opposing ideologies, such as those who call themselves "National Socialists", not to mention National Syndicalists, cannot tolerate

individuals with their own ideas and initiatives, who are therefore unsuitable for working in common "fraternity", however "brown" it may be. Their true ideology, unconscious of course, is none other than National Communism, however much they proclaim their Nordic illusion (I did not say spirit).

If Latin American countries have not had consolidated socialist governments to date, it is solely because the sheer incompetence of their leaders at all times has led to anarchy from within the government itself. But the fact is that the Latin American people, with all their inherent socialism, are ultimately very conservative. After all, like socialism itself...

In support of all that has been said, I would not want anyone to think that I am exaggerating or distorting Le Bon's ideas, and since what he wrote at the beginning of the century remains valid, I reproduce the following paragraphs from "The Psychology of Socialism" as a reminder and a final touch:

ON "SOCIALISM": "All the promises of happiness made by socialism must be fulfilled on Earth. However, the fulfilment of such promises inevitably clashes with psychological and economic needs over which man has no control, and for this reason the advent of socialism will also mark its inevitable decline. Socialism may triumph for a moment, as the 'humanitarian' ideas of the Revolution (the French Revolution) have triumphed, but it will soon perish in bloody cataclysms, because the spirit of the people does not rise up in vain. It will therefore be one of those ephemeral religions that a single century sees born and die, and which only serve to prepare or renew others better suited to human nature and the needs of all kinds. Considering it from this point of view, as an agent of dissolution destined to prepare the emergence of new dogmas, it is perhaps how the future will judge socialism not entirely disastrous. (See Nietzsche's exposition on this in his reference to the "Law of Eternal Return"; it should be noted that Le Bon and Nietzsche had not read each other's works at this time).

ON LATINOS: "A Latino considers freedom to be nothing more than the right to persecute those who do not think like him. Latino peoples have always shown great courage. But their indecision, their lack of foresight, their lack of solidarity, their lack of composure, their fear of responsibility, render these qualities of courage useless when they are not well directed." He then goes on to observe: "When Latinos have had men of genius at their head, they have shown themselves to be very brilliant; but they have only shone at these moments."

Finally, we must say that all racial science, from Gobineau to Jacques de Mahieu, has agreed that the supremacy of one race over another does not lie in abstract or contemplative intelligence (see the Socratic Greeks or the current Hindus), but in CHARACTER, that is, in creative energy. Le Bon also states this when he says: "It is important to note here what I have observed many times in my recent works: that it is never due to a decline in intelligence, but rather to the extinction of character, that peoples fall into decline and disappear from history. This law was verified in the past with the Greeks and Romans, among others, and today it is being verified once again." J.L.T.

Werner Sombart was born in 1863 in Ermsleben am Harz, in central Germany. He soon excelled in sociological and economic studies, taking a particular interest in capitalism and its development within what later became known as the free market economy.

But Sombart was much more than an economist, because, unlike other writers who dealt and continue to deal with economic issues, he always insisted that all economic activity had a human driving force, whose motivations were not always, and even less primarily, driven by economic or utilitarian impulses. Sombart was undoubtedly one of the strongest personalities in Germany at a time when such personalities abounded. First at the University of Breslau, and then at the University of Berlin, his courses were followed with interest, especially since he abandoned Marxism, which he had professed in his early years as a professor, to gradually become one of its most bitter adversaries. Sombart was an artist, and he was as much or more of an artist than he was a professor, combining reason with imagination to a degree that was truly rare among German writers, and possessing a lucid, clear and eloquent style.

The birth and growth of modern capitalism was a subject that particularly attracted Sombart, and his masterpiece in this regard is *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, published in Leipzig in 1902. He had previously published *Socialism and the Social Movement*, which contained numerous criticisms of Marxism. Sombart was, in fact, one of the first writers to find surprising points of contact between Marxism and capitalism. Later, in 1906, *Jewish Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* and *The Proletariat* appeared.

But his most notable work, or at least the one that attracted the most attention, despite being less profound than *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*, was *Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*, which in the English, American and French versions has been translated as *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*. In this work, Sombart asserts that there is an indisputable connection between the religious ethics of the Jewish people and the birth of capitalism. For him, the capitalist organisation was created by a spirit that began to develop in the High Middle Ages, combining economic rationalism with the exclusive direction of economic activity seeking to "maximise" profits, converted into money, that is, into an abstraction. This simple, but precisely because of that, extremely difficult assessment by Sombart, regarding the fact that money is an "abstraction", would later be taken into consideration by Gottfried Feder, who would describe Sombart as "the most brilliant of German economists of all time".

The most controversial aspect of Sombart's studies is the role he assigns to Jews as the creators, inspirers, and ultimate benefactors of capitalism. He divided it into three stages: primary capitalism, spanning from the 15th century to the mid-18th century; high capitalism, from 1760 to 1914, when the European war broke out; and late capitalism, or the period of disintegration, which began with the First World War. According to Sombart, National Socialism marked the beginning of the overcoming of capitalism.

But Sombart, a great economist, profound thinker and fluent writer, forgot that politics—and with it, its most agonising point of expression, war—prevails over economics. And it was precisely the adverse fortunes of arms that prevented a confirmation of Sombart's theories, even though from 1933 to 1939 the spectacular achievements of the German economy of the time proved him overwhelmingly right.

In 1934, incidentally, he published his last work, *Deutscher Sozialismus*, an apology for National Socialism from a purely economic point of view. And it is curious, but in general, Sombart was always well treated by his Jewish friends. It is generally accepted that the best translation of Sombart's best-known work is the English version by Maurice Epstein, and the best introductory prologue to his works is that by Bert F. Hoselitz, both of whom were Jewish. Henry Ford himself, in his well-known "The International Jew", describes Sombart as a "wise philo-Semite". He never makes value judgements about the attitude of Jews towards the problem of the origins of capitalism, that is, towards the emergence of money as a commodity and no longer as a mere instrument of exchange or measurement. For Sombart, if Jews behave in a way that Westerners or Christians would describe as unethical, this is not due to any specific evil on their part, but to their different concept of things and their personal ethics. It is surprising how extraordinarily moderate and neutral Sombart is in judging the various attitudes of the Jewish people in their economic and financial journey. For him, only the facts count.

His study of, for example, the emergence of Jews as great merchants and risky capitalists in their modern heyday, that is, in the large Dutch colonial companies, of which many Jews became leaders, even though they were often converts, both to Catholicism and Protestantism, is fascinating. Also very curious is the parallel that Sombart draws between the concepts of Noradism and Capitalism. For him, Capitalism must be stateless by definition; it always seeks its level, regardless of any other factor, and the concept of homeland cannot be taken into consideration.

Sombart influenced numerous social and economic writers, such as Max Weber, R.H. Tawney and, above all, Gottfried Feder. Sombart can be criticised for avoiding the topics of finance and high politics in his studies, topics which Feder would later explore in depth, based precisely on many of the premises established by Sombart. But perhaps the most fundamental criticism that can be levelled at him is his belief, expressed in "The Jews and Modern Capitalism", in a supposed animosity between the Sephardim, or Jews originating from Spain, Portugal and the south of France, and the Ashkenazim, originating from Central Europe. This animosity has never been seen anywhere and is refuted by such an authoritative figure on the subject as Disraeli in his highly important work "Conningsby". Starting from the false premise of a Sephardic-Ashkenazi dualism, Sombart casts doubt on the coherence of the Jewish capitalist movement, which, according to him, is purely instinctive but does not respond to any plan, not even an "instinctive" one. This point of view is, incidentally, in flagrant contradiction with the rest of Sombart's theses, including his central thesis.

As a purely anecdotal example, but one that demonstrates where an abusive interpretation of the facts can lead, we would point out that in Chapter X of "The Jews and Modern Capitalism", Sombart goes so far as to assert that "... Jewish money served to finance many great achievements of the 17th century, for example, Columbus' expedition to America, which would have been impossible if the wealthy Jews of Spain had left the country a generation earlier... for, upon being expelled, these Jews took their wealth with them and Spain's decline ensued." Any history textbook teaches us that the expulsion of the Jews took place almost simultaneously with the discovery of America in 1492, and that it was from then on that the splendour of the Spanish Empire began, and not its decline, as Sombart asserts. Perhaps it is "errors" such as this that have led to the unusually favourable treatment Sombart has received from official critics.

Otherwise, this excellent writer and profound economist will undoubtedly go down in history for the originality and soundness of his ideas. J.B.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, from a noble English and Scottish family, was born in Southsea (England) on 9 September 1855. He was the son of a Royal Navy admiral and nephew of a Prime Minister. Unable to pursue a military career due to his delicate health, he devoted himself intensely to his studies. After completing his higher education in Cheltenham and Paris, he took courses in natural sciences in Geneva and Vienna, then lived successively in the south of France, Switzerland and Germany. There he became an ardent admirer of Richard Wagner, although during his time in France he published "Notes on Lohengrin" in French. Once in Germany, he also wrote "The Drama of Richard Wagner," a biography that emphasised the Teutonic element in Wagnerian thought. In 1908, he settled in Bayreuth and married Eva Wagner, the daughter of the brilliant musician.

Chamberlain's most important work is undoubtedly *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, a summary and historical analysis, written with elegance, depth and style, of European thought and culture. This monumental work appeared in 1899. In it, Chamberlain masterfully explains what he understands by 'Germanism', which he considered to be the source and inspiration of everything noble that Europe has produced. Naturally, by "Germanic" he did not simply mean the geographical area of Germany and Austria, but extended it to the whole of post-Romantic Europe, that is, to the heritage of the ancient Roman Empire, taken up by the Visigoths. Chamberlain, a pure-bred Englishman, educated in France, an admirer of all things Scandinavian, as well as all things

wise, and who wrote in German, is, strictly speaking, a European. A great European and not a cosmopolitan, as some narrow-minded critics said, for cosmopolitanism is the very antithesis of nationalism. His supposed Germanic "provincialism", which some reproached him for, did not prevent Chamberlain from feeling deeply European, even more so than German... which was saying a lot for this Englishman, raised in France and educated in Paris and Geneva.

For Chamberlain, the history of Europe proper begins around the year 1200 at the dawn of the 13th century, when the Germans, that is, the racially predominant element throughout Europe and especially in its northern areas, began to develop the role "they are destined to play in the world, as founders of an entirely new civilisation and culture" ("Fundamentals", p. 18). Perhaps that "entirely" is debatable, for there is no doubt that, as Chamberlain himself recalls in other passages of his monumental work, we have inherited very important contributions from previous cultures, Indian, Egyptian, Roman and classical, in particular. In the 13th century, "when the world is covered with a beautiful mantle of new churches", our culture even spreads as far as Cyprus and Syria, where it is introduced by the Crusaders. It is also in the 13th century that the first entirely secular university is founded in Bologna (its faculty of theology would not appear until two centuries later). And it was also in the 13th century that Gottfried Von Strassbourg, Walter Von der Vogelweide, Chrestien de Troyes, and Wolfram von Eschenbach lived; admirable artists such as Giotto, Niccolò de Pisa, Dante Alighieri, Saint Albert the Great, the monk Gerbert, Saint Francis of Assisi—the most Aryan of saints, as Vacher de Lapouge would "baptise" him—or when the Venetian Marco Polo made his fantastic voyages that cemented the knowledge we have about the surface of our planet. Vácher de Lapouge—or when the Venetian Marco Polo made his fantastic voyages that cemented our knowledge of the surface of our planet.

In the first part of "Fundamentals," Chamberlain deals with the "heritage" bequeathed to us by the Ancient World; he then moves on to the heirs and, finally, to the struggle between the heirs for control of the inheritance.

With regard to the legacy, he strives to demystify the clearly exaggerated importance given to the Hellenistic and, above all, Jewish cultural contributions. For him, the Greeks were brilliant propagandists who exaggerated their artistic achievements ad nauseam and, even more so, their supposed military successes. Marathon and Salamis were nothing more than skirmishes, Chamberlain asserts, and his arguments do not seem particularly convincing on this point. On the other hand, his assertion that the almost sudden collapse of the culture of the Greek 'polis' was caused by racial mixing with Semites and Blacks, generally slaves imported from the Phoenician colonies and the Greek overseas colonies Greek trading posts overseas, is fully in line with the opinion of renowned ethnologists, such as the Count of Gobineau in his celebrated "Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races", and that of Vacher in "The Aryan".

As for the Jews, after protesting against the tendency to make them the scapegoat who had to pay for all the vices of the time, he admits, describing it as "profound", the reality of what was then called the "Jewish threat". For Chamberlain, Jews are not necessarily worse or better than Europeans, but they are, politically speaking, enemies. Moreover, they are "the" Enemy. Chamberlain says that Jews are not responsible for this danger, as we ourselves—Europeans—have created it, and therefore we ourselves must solve this problem. No one ordered us to grant citizenship to a foreigner, in the sense given to this word by the Latin language: stranger, outsider; "alienus", alien, mad, and, by extension, adversary. After demonstrating that the modern Jew, despite the zealous vigilance of the rabbis, which today would be described as "racist", is in reality a mulatto of black, Semitic, Bedouin and white descent, he rejects the theory, already widespread at the beginning of the century, of the contribution of the Jews to our Western culture, after analysing, and we might almost say dissecting, the supposedly brilliant creations of the much-vaunted figures of Jewish intellectuality and art.

Chamberlain was historically the first to study in detail and depth the circumstances surrounding the entry of the Jews into world history, and he was also the first to question whether Christ was, from a racial point of view, an authentic Jew. The curious thing is that to reach this conclusion, he relies on both Aryan and Jewish testimonies.

After the inheritance, Chamberlain, as we have already said, deals with the heirs, that is, Europeans and, by extension, Westerners, even if they are not geographically European. He studies the achievements of their development from the 13th to the 18th centuries, up to the 19th century. His studies of some prominent Europeans, such as Goethe, Napoleon, Kant (to whom he dedicated an entire book in 1905), Galileo, Copernicus and Newton, are insightful and profound monographs. His study of Ignatius of Loyola is particularly noteworthy. He asserts that "Loyola is the symbol of anti-Germanism," a "semi-Jewish intellectual," and prophesies that his masterful creation, the Society of Jesus, would gradually become an anti-religious power within the church, which it would eventually completely undermine.

Finally, after discussing inheritance and heirs, Chamberlain refers, rather briefly, to the struggle between heirs for inheritance. For him, the principal heir, the elder brother of the European family, is the Germanic man. By Germanic, he means the populations rooted north of the Lyon-Milan line to the Baltic; the others are younger brothers, who must strive to emulate their elder brother and

who sometimes do great things and from whose ranks exceptional beings emerge, such as Dante, Napoleon, Cervantes, Calderón, Velázquez, Molière, etc.

Two main criticisms have been levelled at Chamberlain's work: his alleged anti-Semitism and his atheism. In reality, Chamberlain was only anti-Semitic in the literal sense of the word, according to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, that is, "a person who opposes the excessive influence of Jews in the affairs of his country". But he never descended into political jokes or banter. As for his "atheism", he has been criticised by Bergson, Portoriche, Maritain and Maurras, among others. The first three were Jews, and the last was a minor nationalist – even more so a French chauvinist, enamoured of the "Midi" and a "Latin" culture opposed (?) to the "Germanic" one. In reality, Chamberlain was deeply religious. What has been superficially taken for atheism was nothing more than anticlericalism, which was perfectly understandable in his time, especially in Germany. This anticlericalism, mixed with a deep distrust of Rome and his dignified contempt for Judaism, may certainly have been a trigger for right-thinking people, but the work of men like Chamberlain transcends his era and today he would be considered a "reactionary religious" by the pseudo-intellectual progressives with their beards, sandals and ringworm. We have already said that the main criticism levelled at Chamberlain has been the so-called "closed Germanism" of almost all his writings, and especially of his "Fundamentos". We consider this assessment to be unfair. Or, at least, exaggerated. It is true insofar as Chamberlain, who spiritually wanted to be German and even adopted German citizenship in 1916, when Germany was at war with England, could not escape the very human tendency to believe that converts or adoptees are stricter than those of German origin—what in Spain we call "being more Catholic than the Pope". For a super-European like Chamberlain, Germany, or more precisely, the pan-Germanic, constituted the core of Europe, and there is no reason to assume that he was not right even in that. But for him, Germany, or "the Germanic peoples," as he repeatedly states in the chapter entitled "The Formation of a New World," could aspire to nothing more—and nothing less—than to be a "primus inter pares," or, as he says in the chapter "Race," the "elder brother."

It has been claimed that Chamberlain influenced the ideas of Hitler and his fellow founders of National Socialism. This is true. Perhaps the concept he influenced least was that of 'race'. Chamberlain had little regard for anthropological studies based exclusively on cranial measurements and other criteria, which he considered excessively materialistic. For Chamberlain, the existence of a "moral Aryanism" was evident, even more exclusive than the purely somatic one, inasmuch as to access it, it was necessary, from the outset, to belong to the white world.

Chamberlain, who, apart from the works mentioned, also wrote a "Wagner", a "Kant und Goethe" and "Lebenswege meines Denkens", died in Bayreuth on 9 January 1927. Without a doubt, his name will be remembered much more in posterity than that of some philistines of the so-called "Enlightenment" of our *unfortunate* 20th century. J. B.

"Spengler's work was great and good. It fell like a stormy rain, breaking rotten branches, but it also bore fruit on eager, fertile ground. If he is truly great, he should rejoice in this: for being fruitful (even if by mistake) is the highest achievement possible."

Alfred Rosenberg: "The Myth of the Twentieth Century." Book II, III-5

Here is the most illustrious case of an intellectual who, after seeing his system of thought and his conception of the world firmly established and beyond controversy, was subsequently anathematised and condemned to oblivion. Unlike many who experienced failure in life only to triumph after death, he was recognised for his enormous contribution in the long period between the end of the First World War, when "The Decline of the West" was published, until the end of the Second World War, nine years after his death, when the victory of regressive and obscurantist ideologies over the traditional heroic worldview led to the implicit condemnation of his work and the disappearance of his name and any reference to him from the history of philosophy, however extensive it may be.

Spengler was not exactly a National Socialist, and he is usually ascribed to the group of the "conservative revolution", with exponents such as Ernst Jünger, Alfred Schuier, Gottfried Benn, Ludwig Klages or Max Scheler himself, rather than to the group of National Socialist thinkers formed by Rosenberg, Darré, Baumler and others. However, while the former have survived intellectually after the disaster of the Second World War, Spengler has seen his fate linked to that of the latter. Why is this? Because Spengler committed the only "intellectual crime" which, like the "sin against the Holy Spirit" in the Roman Catholic religion, is unforgivable: racism. Spengler could be 'forgiven' for his attack on liberalism, rationalism, Marxism and progressivism, but not for his clear warning that the very existence of the white race is in question, in a danger that must be averted first and foremost. We will see this later.

The work that earned Spengler his well-deserved prestige among conservative revolutionary circles

and the "völkisch" movement was "The Decline of the West". In it, Spengler, following in the footsteps of those same thinkers, proclaimed himself – and indeed was – the heir to Nietzsche, brilliantly applying his radical thinking to the morphology of history, which he himself inaugurated.

There are only two theories of history, broadly speaking: one, the most widespread, even more so today than yesterday, is the progressive theory, which tells us of an inexorable upward transformation of man, accepting as positive every technical act of culture and disdaining spiritual conceptions that maintain a rhythm of life different from that of apparent progress.

But Spengler, demonstrating this with a profound analogical system and an almost empirical methodology, affirmed the cyclical conception of cultures, which are plural, although they follow an identical development in accordance with pre-established biological laws, comparable to those that govern the structure of any living body. Each culture is born, if not spontaneously, then at least mysteriously and unknown, and reaches its splendour before inevitably and fatally entering into decline and dying out. It is not history, Spengler also says in one of his most important conclusions, in each of the cultures he lists precisely, that is the result of a mistaken sense of solidarity between peoples

and others, between one race and another, but rather the struggle between them for universal dominance, on which the very existence of their antagonists depends. And even further: this struggle, a true agonising transfiguration of peoples and races, is positive, intrinsically good, and especially necessary for the formation of historical and cultural development: it is development itself, the action that produces acts. The death of a culture is, yes, an inexorable axiom of its life process, but it is also the precedent for the birth of another, which inherits its values as Tradition and fulfils its own development with a common structure: these are the cycles that repeat themselves and shape history, or at least the history of superior peoples.

In later essays, Spengler would develop these themes and focus mainly on the study of the factors of political decline in the modern era, as well as the construction of an ideal society. In "Prussianism and Socialism" (1919), he already advocated verticality and hierarchy over democracy, a state structured by professional corporations rather than bourgeois political parties, made up of soldiers and peasants rather than professional politicians. They would give life to a new socialism, Prussian socialism. In "Rebuilding the German Reich" (1924), he affirmed authority, power and the success of a new German nation as favourable values as opposed to internationalism and pacifism.

But it was in "Decisive Years" (1933) that he most fully formulated his great critique of the decadent society created by encyclopaedism and the Enlightenment and complemented by the chaotic global ideologies of liberalism and Marxism, finally articulating the great danger looming over the white world: the struggle of races.

Spengler saw in the genesis of rationalism the end of the predominance of non-discursive knowledge, based on intuition and perception, over the culture that had engendered it through a long historical process. For him, rationalism was "the pride of the uprooted urban spirit, no longer guided by any strong instinct, which looks down with contempt on the blood-filled thinking of the past and the wisdom of the old peasant races. It is the age when everyone can read and write and therefore wants to intervene in everything, and understands everything better. This spirit is possessed by concepts, the new gods of this era, and criticises the world: the world is worthless; we can do better: let us therefore get to work and formulate a programme for a better world. Nothing could be easier when you have ingenuity. It will then happen by itself. In the meantime, we call this 'progress of humanity'. It has a name, therefore it exists. Anyone who doubts this is a limited being, a reactionary, a heretic and, above all, a man without democratic virtue. Let's get rid of them. Fear of reality has been overcome by intellectual arrogance, by the presumption born of ignorance of all things in life, of poverty of the soul, of disrespect and, finally, of foolishness that turns its back on the world, for there is nothing more foolish than urban intelligence without roots. For the great German thinker, rationalism did not oppose a spiritual system to traditional knowledge, but rather dogmas and prejudices inconsistent with reality and with the Idea: 'it is, in essence, nothing more than criticism, and the critic is the opposite of the creator: he analyses and synthesises, but conception and birth are alien to him. That is why his work is artificial and kills when it encounters real life. All these systems and organisations were born on paper, methodical and absurd, and are only valid on paper.'

An inseparable by-product of rationalism will be liberalism, through which the qualitative value of man gives way to the quantitative value of the masses—'Only principles that come from theories. Above all, the plebeian principle of equality, that is, the

replacing the hated quality with quantity and the envied capacity with numbers. Modern rationalism replaces the people with the masses." And the first consequence is the replacement of the hierarchy of values with the dictatorship of the ballot box: "The most disastrous thing is the ideal of government by the people 'for themselves'. A people cannot govern itself, just as an army cannot command itself. It must be governed, and it wants to be governed as long as it has healthy instincts. But what this means is something very different: the concept of popular representation immediately plays the leading role in each of these movements. People arrive who appoint themselves as 'representatives' of the people and recommend themselves as such. But they do not want to 'serve the people'; what they want is to use the people for their own ends, more or less dirty, among which the satisfaction of vanity is the most innocent. They fight the powers of tradition to take their place. They fight the order of the state because it hinders their peculiar activity. They fight all kinds of authority because they do not want to be accountable to anyone and evade all responsibility themselves. No constitution contains a body before which parties have to justify themselves. Above all, they fight against the form of culture of the state, which has slowly grown and matured, because they do not embody it themselves... Thus is born the "democracy" of the century, which is not a form, but an absence of form in every sense, as a principle, and thus are born parliamentarianism as constitutional anarchy and the republic as the negation of all forms of authority. The sign of democracy is, as history has shown from the storming of the Bastille and the Terror to the present day, chaos, and it contains within itself, despite all the excuses and accusations, the factor of destabilisation of society: "Such is the anarchist interregnum that is today called democracy and which, since the destruction of the monarchical sovereignty of the state, and through plebeian political rationalism, leads to the Caesarism of the future, which today begins to announce itself quietly with dictatorial tendencies and is destined to reign without limits over the ruins of historical traditions."

Spengler knew even then, several years before the criminal collusion of the Second World War, that liberalism and Marxism have an identical substratum, and he is referring not only to the criminal *modus operandi* common to both, but also to their ideological essence, which lies in the subversion of the traditional order and their alliance in the fight to the death against its defenders: "Capitalism and socialism are the same age, they are closely related, they have emerged from the same way of seeing things and are flawed with the same tendencies. Socialism is nothing more than capitalism of the lower class." From the outset, the socio-cultural dialectical arguments of Marxism were nothing more than a variation on those of liberalism, with a special emphasis on their nihilistic characteristics: "All the 'rights of the people', a deceptive rationalist flattery launched by those at the top, the product of their sick conscience and incontinent thinking, are then claimed below as obvious by the 'disinherited', but never for the people, for they were always granted to those who had not thought of demanding them or knew what to do with them. And indeed they should not have been granted to the 'people', for they were not intended for them, but for the dregs of those who call themselves 'representatives of the people', who then form a hotbed of radical parties, making their profession the struggle against the structuring powers of culture and emancipating the masses with the right to vote, freedom of the press and terror. Thus nihilism is born, the abysmal hatred of the proletariat against all kinds of higher forms, against culture as a whole and against society as its substrate and historical result... This is the tendency of nihilism: there is no thought of educating the masses by raising them to the level of authentic culture; this is an arduous and painful task, for which certain prerequisites may be lacking."

On the contrary, the edifice of society SP"91" must be razed to the level of the plebs. General equality must reign: everything must be equally ordinary... Bolshevism has its home in Western Europe, precisely because the Anglo-materialist conception of Voltaire and Rousseau, who were frequent students, found effective expression in the Jacobinism of the continent. Nineteenth-century democracy is already Bolshevism. Bolshevism no longer threatens us, it rules us. Its equality is the levelling of the people to the plebs, its freedom is the liberation of culture and society.

The deceptive nature of Marxist social theory, the plot of its empty dialectic, lies in the demonstration that the masses are not the object of social redemption, but merely the means for the destruction of culture: "The ideal of class struggle is the famous subversion: it is not the construction of something new, but the destruction of what exists. It is an end without a future. It is the will to nothingness. Utopian programmes have no *raison d'être* other than the bribery of the masses. The only thing that is taken seriously is the purpose of such bribery, the creation of class as an element of combat, through methodical demoralisation. Nothing unites more or better than hatred... Thus is born the artificial division of 'Humanity' into producers and consumers, which, in the hands of the theorists of class struggle, becomes the perfidious opposition of capitalists and proletarians, bourgeoisie and workers, exploiters and exploited.

Marxism claims to be an economic revolution, but for Spengler, "this revolution has nothing to do with 'economics' in its background. It is a long period of decomposition of the total life of an entire culture, including culture itself as a living body," in which "the individual, with his private existence, follows the march of the whole." Our culture has been weakened by this long process, not only spiritually, but also quantitatively. Even then, Spengler denounced something that has now been statistically proven: the decline of the white population in proportion to the growth of other races at a time when "the abundance of children, the first sign of a healthy race, becomes annoying and ridiculous". The culmination of the "struggle against the ruling class and all its traditions," initiated by rationalism, liberalism, and Marxism, is thus the global revolution of colour, which "crosses the 'horizontal' struggle between states and nations with the vertical struggle between the ruling classes of the white peoples and the others, and in the background, the second, much more dangerous part of this revolution has already begun: the attack on whites in general by the combined mass of the coloured population of the Earth, a population that is slowly becoming aware of its community."

In summary, Spengler warned that "Western civilisation in our century is threatened, not by one, but by two world revolutions of the first magnitude. Neither of these has yet been assessed in terms of their true scope, depth and effects. One comes from below, and the other from outside: class struggle and race struggle." If "the first is already largely behind us," the second did not begin decisively until the world war, and is rapidly taking shape and gaining momentum. In the coming decades, the two will fight side by side, perhaps as allies, and this will be the most serious crisis that white peoples will have to go through together—whether they agree or not—if they want to have any future.

We said at the beginning that Spengler was not exactly a National Socialist thinker, yet his warning found only one valid interlocutor: National Socialism, which supported parallel theories and took up arms in its defence, even unto death. Their actions were also parallel: Spengler had supported the war of 1914 as the means by which Germany and Europe could liberate their most

deep national and racial instincts and fight against the decline brought about by the liberal-Marxist world; he had spoken of the defeat and revolution of 1918 as the "betrayal inflicted by the lower part of our people on the vigorous and intact part that rose up in 1914 because it wanted and could have a future"; he had fought against the Weimar Republic; he had participated in the Munich Putsch of 1923; he had praised Italian fascism to the skies. He repeatedly voted for the NSDAP, met with Hitler on occasion and, without losing an ounce of individuality, said in 1923: "No one could have wished for this year's national subversion more than I did," and also, among many other positive judgements, that "The national subversion of 1933 was something great and will continue to be so in the eyes of the future, because of the elemental, supra-personal impetus with which it was accomplished and the spiritual discipline with which it was carried out. It has been something totally and absolutely Prussian, like the uprising of 1914, which transformed souls in an instant. The German dreamers stood up serenely, with impotent evidence, and opened a path to the future."

For its part, National Socialism identified with Spengler's doctrine.

fully, when it stated: "It is time for the 'white' world, and Germany in particular, to remember these facts, for behind the world wars and the first proletarian world revolution lies the greatest danger of all: the danger of colour, and all that is still 'racial' in the white peoples must be necessary to face it." Spengler died in 1936, National Socialism succumbed in 1945, facing it like that Roman soldier the thinker speaks of at the end of "Man and Technology," who died at his post in Pompeii because when Vesuvius erupted, they forgot to discharge him. Since then, Spengler's predictions have been fulfilled one by one in terms of the struggle between races. But the important thing is to know that only through the analysis of Spengler's doctrine and the revitalisation of the National Socialist conception of the world will it be possible to achieve the great goal of our time: the revolutionary liberation of the white peoples. J.M.

CHARLES MAURRAS

The distressing feeling of emptiness and impermanence that the strict application of the universal suffrage system caused in many towns led to an interest in studying the monarchical form of government. It should be borne in mind that, until well into the 1920s, the monarchy was considered the only alternative to the republic, which was understood to be the expression of majority rule.

The theorist of the monarchy, in its modern form, not only in France but throughout the world, was Charles Maurras, a writer, journalist and politician, born in Martigues (Provence) on 20 April 1862. Suffering from almost total deafness from a very young age, he abandoned the Catholic faith despite having been educated at a Catholic school in Aix-en-Provence. After finishing high school, he moved to Paris, where he soon began contributing to prestigious magazines such as *La Revue Blanche*, *La C Gazette de France*, *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, *Le Soleil* and *La Révue Indépendante*. Later, he also began contributing to *La Revue Encyclopédique Larousse*. He soon became friends with Maurice Barrés and Anatole France, who gave him advice on the art of writing.

The famous Dreyfus Affair, which so dangerously divided the French into two irreconcilably antagonistic factions, deeply affected Maurras. Convinced, on the one hand, of the need to oppose the monarchist doctrine to the republican one and, on the other, of the dangers to France resulting from the exaltation of Russian Pan-Slavism and German Pan-Germanism, he founded the magazine *L'Action Française* together with Pierre Larousse (the grandson of the creator of the encyclopaedia of the same name), Jacques Bainville, Maurice Pujo and Henri Vaugeois. Over time, *L'Action Française* became the mouthpiece of so-called "integral nationalism", i.e. traditional, hereditary, anti-parliamentary and decentralised monarchy.

In 1900, he published his magnum opus, "*Enquête sur la Monarchie*" (Survey of the Monarchy), which would become the bible of neo-monarchism. After an interesting pamphlet entitled "*A New Debate on the Republic and Decentralisation*", he published another very important work in 1905, "*The Future of Intelligence*", in which he argued that, in a democratic regime, writers are almost always subject to the most degrading of despotisms: that of money.

His studies "*La Política Religiosa*" (Religious Politics) and "*L'Action Française y la Religión Católica*" (*L'Action Française and the Catholic Religion*), published in 1913, in which, despite affirming his agnosticism, he expressed his respect for the Catholic religion due to its beneficial influence on society, created difficulties for him with Rome. Although Maurras defended the Vatican's policy during the First World War in his book "*The Pope, War and Peace*", published in 1917, tensions between Maurras and his followers in *L'Action Française* reached their peak in 1926 when a violent indictment by the Archbishop of Bordeaux against Maurras and *L'Action Française*, reproaching them for their excessive nationalism, was answered with a curt "*non possumus*" by Maurras. Despite the secret jubilation of the French Left, excommunication did not occur, but it was decided in a secret consistory to refuse the sacraments to those who did not renounce their membership of *Action Française*. Between 1926 and 1928, Maurras wrote "*Letter from Maurras to His Holiness Pope Pius XI*", "*The Documents of a Trial: Action Française and the Vatican*" and "*The Politics of the Vatican*". These books further worsened the situation.

One thing is beyond reasonable doubt. The condemnation of *Action Française* was based, in large part, on reports and pressure from the Catholic democrats of the "*Le Sillon*" (The Furrow) movement, whom Maurras could never tolerate. In any case, the liturgical sanction was not lifted until 1939, on the eve of World War II, by His Holiness Pius XII, yielding to pressure from the monks of the Carmelite monastery in Lisieux.

Maurras fiercely opposed France's entry into World War II for various reasons, the main one being that he did not believe France was in a position to win it. For him, it was a war pushed by the forces of money ("*les puissances d'argent*") and the communists. He would later be reproached for this and pay the price.

This was not the first time Maurras had had differences with the political justice system. In 1929, he was sentenced to one year in prison (a sentence that was not carried out) for "conditional death threats" made against the Minister of the Interior, Abraham Schramek, whom Maurras reproached for not opposing the attacks against patriots. In 1936, he was sentenced to eight months in prison for threatening reprisals against the 140 parliamentarians who demanded a declaration of war against Italy because of the invasion of Ethiopia. In reality, the threats came from both sides, but parliamentarians, as is well known, enjoy immunity. Only Maurras went to

prison, where he wrote the "Political and Critical Dictionary". Later, he would write "Before Eternal Germany", in which he explained the reasons for his anti-German sentiment. When, in 1937, he published "My Political Ideas", in which he declared himself to be staunchly monarchist, he was publicly disavowed by the French royal family. This is perhaps a unique case in the world of being a supporter of an institution whose legal holders disavow the supporter in question. The reasons for the Orleans family's attitude were never a mystery to anyone: Maurras was too "right-wing" for the family's tastes.

A year later, in 1938, Maurras entered the French Academy. And at the start of the Second World War, despite maintaining his opposition to the politicians who had declared war on Germany, he waged an anti-Nazi campaign from his newspaper, *L'Action Française*, whose violence was unsurpassed. The newspaper retreated successively before the German advance to Poitiers, Limoges and Lyon, where it remained until the Liberation. A passionate supporter of Marshal Pétain's policies, his articles created numerous difficulties for him with the occupying forces' war censorship; the Gestapo arrested the editor of *L'Action Française*, Maurice Pujo, and its satirical cartoonist, Georges Calzant. Maurras' books published at that time, *France Alone* (1941), *From Anger to Justice: Reflections on a Disaster* (1942), and "For a French Rebirth" (1943), are more or less anti-German and undoubtedly anti-Nazi, despite the fact that in certain theses he agreed with the rejection of universal suffrage and a certain anti-Semitism, more or less nuanced but certainly less absolute than that of the National Socialists.

In August 1944, the last issue of *L'Action Française* appeared. Arrested after the Liberation, Maurras was sentenced on 27 January 1945 to life imprisonment and national indignity for "collaboration with the enemy". In 1952, at the age of 90, he was taken from Clairvaux prison and admitted to the Saint Symphorien Clinic in Tours, where he died a few days later.

Apart from his political works, Maurras also wrote numerous books on poetry, philosophy, travel, literary criticism, the Greco-Latin classics, and Provençal regionalism (he was a member of the *Felibrige*). The best known are: "The Lovers of Venice", in which he refuted the romantic ideas of Musset and George Sand; "The Avenue of the Philosophers", "Mar e Lono" (in the Provençal language); "The Inner Balance", "The Road to Paradise", perhaps the best; "Antinea, from Athens to Florence", which is a report on the Olympic Games; "The Inner Music", "The Good Judgement of Mistral" and others.

Maurras will also go down in the history of political journalism of his time as a combative and upright man, perhaps stubborn in his views, and possessed of a vast culture. He was the head of a school—which was *L'Action Française*—where prestigious names such as Thierry-Maulnier, Robert Brasillach, Michel Déon, Kléber Haedens, Henri Massis, Xavier Vallat, Jean de la Varende, Georges Bernanos, Pierre Gaxotte, Luchaire, Rebatet, and Pujo collaborated and learned journalism and, in a way, literature. With the exception of the latter, the others gradually distanced themselves from him: Brasillach and Rebatet because of his doctrinal rigidity. Something similar can be said of Luchaire. Others, such as Bernanos and La Varende, because they lost interest in politics. Others, finally, because they opportunistically changed their opinions, such as Gaxotte, Déon and Thierry-Maulnier.

But one thing is undeniable: from *L'Action Française*, almost exclusively Maurras's personal creation, emerged *Je Suis Partout*, with Rebatet, Brasillach and Gaxotte, although the latter later 'evolved' towards more accommodating positions. And *Je Suis*

Partout" was the newspaper whose fascist tendencies were related to the ideas of Jacques Doriot and Joseph Darnand. J.B.

Writer and political polemicist, he was born in Paris on 16 November 1867 and died in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, during the German occupation, in 1942. He was the son of Alphonse Daudet and married the granddaughter of Victor Hugo; these literary precedents had a strong influence on his education. At first, he was a true "Hugo fan", a democrat, radical and anti-religious; anticlerical and left-wing.

He studied medicine under the renowned Charcot, but abandoned the practice at the age of twenty-seven and immediately wrote "Les Morticoles", a violent satire against doctors and their customs. In this work, he advocates a return to natural medicine, based on observation of the patient and the rediscovery of Hippocrates' hygienic, natural and ethical principles, as opposed to those of Galen. Almost immediately afterwards, his book "Shakespeare's Journey" appeared, in which he demonstrated his prophetic gifts regarding the future of France under the political party system.

Influenced by Edouard Drumont, he contributed to the latter's magazine, *La Libre Parole*, and soon began to frequent Barrès and Maurras. In 1903, he underwent a political and religious conversion and became a traditional "right-wing" politician, although he would later gradually move towards positions that were precursors of revolutionary nationalism, while remaining deeply opposed to Marxism and parliamentarianism. It was at this time that he divorced Jeanne Hugo, to whom he had been married only civilly, to marry his cousin, Marthe Allard, and joined *L'Action Française*.

From that moment on, his activity became overwhelming. He wrote *L'Avant-Guerre*, *L'Hécatombe* and *Au temps de Judas*, the latter being markedly anti-Semitic, although not as much as *Panorama de la III République*, in which he claimed that the three most serious financial scandals of the regime were attributable to three Israelis, Stavinsky, Hanau and Oustric.

While during the First World War Daudet was violently anti-German and attacked Clemenceau in Parliament (he was elected deputy for Paris) for his anti-militarist attitude and Malvy for being in favour of a "white peace" with Germany, in 1938 he vigorously defended the Munich Agreement and mercilessly attacked the warmongers in his book 'The Franco-German Drama'.

Retreating to Lyon with *L'Action Française*, he unconditionally sided with Marshal Pétain's government and published Saviours and Arsonists in 1941, a few months before his death.

Like many other writers of his "stripe" in France, Daudet had problems with the political justice system. The Home Office, whoever its current head might be, cordially hated Daudet for his journalistic campaigns. In 1923, Daudet's son, Philippe, was found dead in a taxi, and the police concluded that it was a suicide. Daudet claimed that it was murder, as he himself had been threatened that his son would be killed if he did not stop his campaigns against certain politicians. Sentenced to six months in prison for defamation against the taxi driver Bajot, whom Daudet had accused in writing, Daudet locked himself in the offices of *L'Action Française* and only surrendered to the Prefect of Police, Chiappe, in person, to avoid bloodshed. A few weeks into his imprisonment, he escaped from the Santé prison in bizarre circumstances and managed to flee to Holland, from where he sent his article to *L'Action Française* every day for two and a half years. Taking advantage of a general pardon, he returned to France in 1926.

Léon Daudet was a prolific writer who, apart from his political and social works, wrote an impressive "Paris vécu" and some interesting "Memoirs", as well as numerous books in which he evokes the figures of various characters with whom he lived. J.B.

"Nothing to do, nothing to learn from those who have led us to the current situation; it is charitable to ignore them. It is on other grounds, with totally different ideas, that we should start again." M.B.

Maurice Barrés, a name that will mean little or nothing to readers, for whom the late 19th and early 20th centuries remain a nebulous period, in many cases lacking in interest. Barrés has disappeared from political books and literary histories, despite his profound influence and many followers. "For nearly twenty years," wrote Boulanger, "until the war, he was the god of youth... Almost the entire elite of that youth that left in 1914 was exalted by him, and we will never know what a powerful influence he had..." Anatole France himself recalls: "Barrés has exerted a profound influence, a kind of fascination, on the young people of recent generations."

Perhaps the fact that he never definitively affiliated himself with any party or movement (meaning that no one would take up his cause as their own), together with the totally unclassifiable and unlabellable nature of his work, are good reasons for this temporary oblivion of Barrés.

He was born on 19 August 1862 in the Vosges and studied at the Lycée de Nancy, writing his first articles at the age of 19. His childhood in a boarding school left a deep mark on his work *Les Deracinés*: in it, he acknowledges that the lessons received stimulate the ambition of young people, but do not give it any purpose, tear them away from the warmth of their families, uproot them from their own land and are a good reason for the imbalance of modern man; and, more seriously, they uproot them from their traditions by transplanting them into an artificial and false world, where the words family, race and land no longer mean anything. "If the school, instead of creating a homeland of reasoning in these minds, had taught them to live and develop according to their race and under the influence of the land, if Bouteiller (the teacher) had not insisted on interrupting their native sap, they would have lived happily serving the community."

Barrés has been influenced by, among others, and mainly, Taine and Renan; from First, he learned the concept of life based on race and tradition; second, he learned a dilettante and ironic education.

At the age of 20, he moved to Paris, determined to follow his own destiny. He travelled to Italy and, in 1884, founded *Les Taches d'Encre*, given the impossibility of finding a publisher for his writings. *Les Taches d'Encre* was to be a monthly magazine in which Barrés was the sole contributor, editor and administrator. The first issue was not successful, and critics ignored it despite the ingenious publicity campaign, which involved sandwich board men carrying the slogan: "Morin (Morin had recently been murdered in the Palace of Justice) will never read *Les Taches d'Encre*". Only four issues of the publication appeared before its founder decided to abandon the venture.

In 1886, he founded *Les Chroniques* and, finally, in 1887, he published *Sous l'oeil des Barbares*, in which he condensed five years of experience as a dreamy and subtle young man into rich prose. This work is the first in the trilogy that he would describe as the *Culte du Moi* (Cult of the Self). The purpose of this Cult of the Self is to provide a rule of inner life that replaces systems incapable of generating certainty in man through immutable principles. The world is divided between the Self and the Barbarians (others who have a different sense of life). Barrés rises up

against vulgarity, against the pre-established, against "modern mediocrity" ("the magnificent balance of imbeciles", "the notion of ridicule against all those who are different"). The self is governed and develops according to predetermined laws, mainly the instincts of the race, of which the soul of the self summarises the highest values. "My current self is but a moment of an immortal thing."

Sous l'oeil des Barbares brought Barrés' name to the attention of the general public, and in 1889, the year of the second volume, *Un homme libre*, he was elected deputy for Nancy. Albert Garreau wrote: "The author of *Sous l'oeil des Barbares* and *Un homme libre* has created more than just a fashion, a style. His attitudes are slavishly imitated by a youth that did not always deserve praise; and not only his ways of thinking and expressing himself, but even his behaviour and his manner of dressing, his hairstyle and the lock of hair falling over his forehead, the cut of his moustache, his high collar, his ties... Several generations will be influenced..."

According to Maurras, Barrés coined the term 'nationalism' in France and decided to fight in politics as well, convinced that it was as suitable a medium as literature for spreading his ideas.

In 1890, he published the third volume of the trilogy, "*Le jardin de Bérénice*" (Bérénice's Garden), which, thanks to its profound delicacy, was able to reach a wide audience. For some, Bérénice is the representation of the popular soul. Barrés, who believes that national instinct is the only truth for the nation, wants to use his poetic sensibility to confront the cold intellectuals of speculation, opposing them with the concepts of land and blood. "And our mission, young people, is to return to the abandoned land, to rebuild the French ideal... All it will take is a little blood and a little greatness in the soul." For him, restoring the cult of the self to the individual will mean returning to the cult "of their land and their dead".

After *L'Ennemi des lois* (1892), in which he glorifies the "perpetual and necessary" revolution, a new success awaits him with *Du sang, de la volupté et de la Mort*, considered by many to be his masterpiece.

Director of the nationalist newspaper *La Cocarde* since 1894, he effectively defended his decentralising ideas from its pages. Leon Daudet wrote: "Barres has shown how a federal France, more vibrant internally, would necessarily be greater and stronger externally, to the point of becoming the arbiter of peace in Europe. He put forward the eloquent formula: 'Families of individuals, behold the communities; families of communities, behold the region; families of regions, behold the nation...'

His motto is close to a fusion of individualism and solidarity, preaching a form of socialism in which, far from being opposed, the individual and the collective form the social basis. Politically, he defends this socialism with clearly nationalist overtones; organisationally, a federalism in which small regional interests are respected. Rather than new laws, the remedy can only lie in a "state of mind": what is needed is "a mental reform rather than a material reform". He is a socialist candidate (although he ends up sympathising with no current form of socialism). From the socialist systems he knows and analyses, he concludes: "You offer slavery to those who do not conform to the definitions of beauty and goodness adopted by the majority. In the name of humanity, as in the past in the name of God and the City, how many crimes are being prepared against the individual?" And also: "I foresee that they will impose a moral rule, just as they propose an economic rule. For matters of the belly, each having the same needs, a rule composed according to the needs of the majority will advantageously replace the current economic disorder. But will not these socialist empires also place authority in the hands of

service in the way most people see things? Will the achievements of the past then be destroyed... will the avant-garde spirits be excommunicated...?" He failed in the elections of 1893, 1896 and 1898, in which he stood. In 1899, he founded La Patrie Française, and his political doctrine took shape in two fundamental works: Roman de l'Energie Nationale and Scènes et Doctrines du Nationalisme.

While the protagonist in his early works was the self, this term is transformed in these works into "we". The collective self is discovered at the root of one's own being, in the dead, in the race, in the land: egotism gives way to patriotism. It is love of the land that speaks to our conscience. "Through their influence, our ancestors pass on to us the entire heritage accumulated in their souls ("Les Deracinés"); this action of the race on the individuals who form it is an active force that Philippe, the protagonist of "Un homme libre", observes at every moment: "Each individual has the power to relive all the emotions that have stirred the heart of his race throughout the centuries"...

René Jacquet, friend and biographer, wrote in 1900, during Barrés' lifetime: "Barrés entered the Chamber to help destroy parliamentarianism. But he has been defeated. He has managed to keep his personality intact in this catastrophe. He has contributed powerfully to the anti-parliamentary movement with the publication of his paintings on political life. And he has developed the most significant part of the doctrine of nationalism."

A member of the Académie Française in 1906, and elected deputy for Paris in the same year, his activity as a French nationalist nevertheless led him to ignore the problems of German nationalism. During the Great War, he saw one of his dreams come true: French troops entering Metz and Strasbourg. He himself had written: "I have never wished for the terrible lessons of war, but I have called with all my strength for the French to unite around the great ideals of our race."

In 1917, he published Les diverses familles spirituelles de la France, a collection of letters from combatants on the front, letters from soldiers, in the same way that Benoist-Mechin would do years later. In 1920, he gave lectures on Le Génie du Rhin at the University of Strasbourg. On 4 December 1923, he died suddenly at his home; a funeral service of the highest honour was held for him at Notre-Dame Church. His life was true to his motto: "The only noble task is, through constant effort, to create oneself to the point of replacing conventional reality, accepted by most men, with one's own conception of the world; in a word, to recreate the universe." J.T.

"You have to be tall and tough, made of bronze and above all else. Without that, you'll be a dog that everyone kicks."

"The Catholic environment is where my ancestors developed and prepared me... What I have of other blood (from Lorraine) strengthens me in my repugnance for Protestantism (a secular education different from mine) and Judaism (a race opposed to mine)."

"Every living being is born of a race, a soil, an atmosphere, and genius manifests itself as such only insofar as it is closely linked to its land and its dead."

Maurice Barrés

A staunch supporter of collaboration, Beraud suffered the consequences of the "liberation" of 1945, being sentenced to death, although his sentence was later commuted.

He was born in Lyon on 21 September 1885 into a family of bakers. He worked in various trades and jobs (draughtsman, office clerk, wine seller, antique dealer and insurance agent), while cultivating his literary interests. In 1903, at the age of eighteen, he published his first book, "Le second amour du chevalier des Grioux". A follower of the Symbolists, whom he would later abandon, he published *L'Héritage des symbolistes* at the age of twenty and joined the editorial staff of the magazine *La Depeche de Lyon*. But it was not until 1913, when he founded his own magazine, *L'Ours* (The Bear), that he revealed himself to be an exceptional pamphleteer.

He participated in the First World War and, upon his return from the front, founded an association of ex-combatants in collaboration with two highly qualified leftists, Henri Barbusse and Paul Vaillant-Couturier, from whom he would later distance himself. Without abandoning his journalistic work, he continued to cultivate literature and in 1922 won the Goncourt Prize for his novels "The Martyrdom of Obeso" and "The Vitriol of the Moon". He also published anthologies of his journalistic reports in book form, such as *What I Saw in Berlin*, *What I Saw in Moscow*, *Tumult in Spain* (1931) and *What I Saw in Rome*. Gradually, the political polemicist replaced the chronicler and reporter. He contributed to "Gringoire" alongside men of the stature of Georges Suárez, André Billy and Brasillach. His pamphlet "Faut-il réduire l'Angleterre en esclavage" caused a sensation and was promptly criticised after the Liberation in 1945.

Indeed, having become the most sought-after and, at the same time, most feared pamphleteer in the French press, he accumulated much hatred against him. As Galtier-Boissière, editor of the famous *Le Crapouillot*, said, when all the skilled writers changed sides, Henri Béraud refused to recant. At the request of the prosecutor, Commissioner Lindon (a Lindenbaum (the same man who secured the conviction of the Pétainist writer Jean Luchaire), he was sentenced to death by a jury two-thirds of whose members were affiliated with the Communist Party. Following an appeal for clemency filed by his lawyer, which Béraud himself refused to sign, his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment and later to twenty years of hard labour, which for a sixty-year-old man was tantamount to a slow death.

The relentless efforts of his lawyer and the deterioration of East-West relations, with the consequent discrediting of leftist ideas at that time, succeeded in reducing his death sentence to ten years' imprisonment, until he was granted amnesty in 1950, after almost six years in prison that ruined his health. He died, paralysed, in 1958 on the Île de Ré, where he had retired after his prison ordeal.

Henri Béraud's literary work is important, even though he achieved fame as a polemicist and pamphleteer. In addition to the works mentioned above, it includes "El Bosque del Templario Ahorcado" (The Forest of the Hanged Templar), "Cielo de Cenizas" (Sky of Ashes), "Au Capucin Gourmand", "Les Derniers Beaux Jours" (The Last Beautiful Days), "Les Lurons de Sabolas" (The Lurons of Sabolas), etc. In *Fifteen Days with Death*, he recounts his differences with political justice. He wrote this work in prison, and it was published by Plon shortly after his release. Together with *Les derniers*

beaux jours", the last work published by this great writer and man of integrity who, before a jury of communists and the neo-French Lindenbaum, uttered these words:

"I can stand before you with my head held high. I never attacked states or men who were not at the height of their power. I always stood by the weak and the defeated. In politics, I have only been concerned with love for France and I have always refused to obey foreigners, whoever they may be..." J.B.

*'What would I do if I did not do what others fear to do? Beyond our homeland, there is another homeland, that of all beings who are out of the ordinary'.
Montherlant*

Undoubtedly one of the best French-language writers of the century, Montherlant is unclassifiable. A novelist, essayist and playwright, his prose is among the cleanest and most agile in contemporary literature. His conception of literary creation makes him forget the rest of the world. For him, life is something useless, a "useless service" that has no immediate purpose. "I don't know the usefulness of my sacrifice, and deep down I believe that I am sacrificing myself for something that is nothing... After believing that I had ambition, and I did not, after believing that I feared death and I do not, after fearing suffering and never having suffered, fearing waiting and waiting for nothing, I will die believing that my death serves a purpose, but convinced that it does not and proclaiming that everything is fair," he wrote in "Le Songe".

Montherlant wants to live intensely, to reaffirm life in the face of all superstitions, in the face of all beliefs. A worthy follower of Goethe and Nietzsche, this Frenchman believes above all in life itself, in the joy of living. "Everywhere there are things and beings waiting to be taken. For me, everything that is not pleasure is pain. Resolution: Never give up on myself; go to the end of myself." And alternation is the very essence of life, the rhythm of nature itself. ".... It is here that we see that nature and man have come together to make this world a corner of delights, for the use of the intelligent, while the cretins see only a valley of tears" (L'Equinoxe de Septembre).

Born on 21 April 1896 in Paris, Montherlant began writing at the age of ten, taking an early interest in Spain and North Africa, where he continued to travel throughout his life, mainly to Algiers. He was greatly influenced by his knowledge of Roman history, to the point of identifying with it and resorting to historical parallels to try to explain contemporary phenomena. He read Barrés, Chateaubriand and D'Annunzio, and also some Gobineau, but above all Nietzsche. Spanish themes appear constantly in his works, many of which are set in that country.

Seriously wounded in 1918, his first work, L'Exil, had been written before the Great War. The plot was about the triumph of friendship over filial love, or, in D'Orcival's words, "the spirit of war over the spirit of peace". It was not until 1920 that his "La Relève du matin" was published, with 750 copies printed by the author himself, after being rejected by eleven Parisian publishers.

After Le Songe, he wrote Les Olympiques, a collection of writings on sport published in 1924 and one of his most accomplished works, extolling the human body, health, sport and strength, paying tribute to 'the bare-legged adolescents playing the harmonica' in the sovereignty of their triumphant youth. After the war, sport became a way for Montherlant to rediscover true meaning. "The world is full of ghosts. But on the sports field, there are no ghosts, none whatsoever." As Pierre Bouchet-Dardenne has written, 'most of the youthful values that constituted the mystique of fascism and National Socialism are extolled in Les Olympiques, and this at a time when fascism did not yet exist or barely existed. Life in the open air, dangerous life, order, willpower, discipline, the purity of girls (no coquetry,

no jewellery) and of men's relationships with them, anti-bourgeoisie; *Les Olympiques* is a book about Europe in 1942... written in Europe in 1920."

Hero worship. "If there were a revolution in France worthy of the name," writes Montherlant, "I mean a revolution in the way of feeling, thinking, judging and acting, one of its features should be that man should seek and find poetry in life, and not in the long-dead forms that official stupefaction stubbornly offers him."

Throughout Montherlant's work, there is an ode to war, to effort, to heroic sentiment, to the value of one's own will. In 1919, he founded an Order, based largely on medieval Spanish orders. War – "the most tender human experience I have ever had" – is the opposite of the selfishness and softness of peace. For Montherlant, war is the basis of creativity and self-improvement. Emüe Lecerf has stated that "all of Montherlant's ideas and books are the expression of a warrior ethic. It is from the perspective of a warrior that Montherlant conceives and expresses man. A warrior of the front, of the stadium, of life, of thought. It is a warrior's morality that will lift up the soldier, the athlete, the lover, the sage. And all will be solitary, for they will have first learned to obtain their freedom from themselves. And all will be excluded in the modern world, for they will seek an elevated life, among beings who tend only towards ease and compromise."

Enlisted in World War I, he was unable to serve in World War II due to illness, although he eventually managed to reach the front and participate in the war. His "Chant funèbre pour les morts de Verdun" is an exaltation of the principles that inspire war. Pierre Sipriot has written: "All the texts that Montherlant wrote on this subject between 1932 and 1939 (Address to German Students, How Good is 1938, The Samurai's Umbrella, etc.), beneath their mythical or anecdotal appearance, are totalitarian, historicist texts that mix war with human destiny; War is as normal as peace."

In 1930, he spent three years in Algiers, writing *La rose de sable*. This was the period (the 1930s and 1940s) of his best works: in 1934, *Les Célibataires*, which was a huge success, winning the Grand Prix de Littérature de l'Académie Française and numerous foreign editions; in 1935, *Service inutile*; in 1936, the series "Les Jeunes Filles", one of the greatest publishing successes of the interwar period (600,000 copies sold in 1945), translated into 12 languages, thousands of articles; in 1938, "Equinoxe de septembre"; in 1940, he began "Port Royal"; in 1941,

"Le solstice de juin"; in 1942, "La reine morte", which was a resounding success in the theatre of German-occupied Paris.

Among his theatrical works (twelve major plays between 1942 and 1965), the following are particularly noteworthy: *Fus de personne* (1943), *Le Maître de Santiago* (1948), *Demain il fera jour* (1949), *La Ville dont le prince est un enfant* (1951), etc. His "Camets" have become famous, in which, year after year, the author notes his own impressions, as have the "Textes sous une occupation", written between 1940 and 1944. Threatened with imprisonment, his name would be silenced for a time – he never participated in the Resistance – and overwhelmingly linked to that of Maurras and Barrès. In 1941, he had written: "Civil heroism. Its many forms. However, I am attracted to only one of them. That of the individual who, out of loyalty to his ideas, his beliefs or his lifestyle, accepts, in the France of 1941, to remain isolated: that of the group which, for the same reason, accepts to be a minority."

In 1960, he was elected a member of the Académie Française. These words are his: "To remain deliberately alone, in a society in which it is increasingly

obvious convenience would be to become gregarious, is the form of heroism that I invite you to embrace here."

True to his own ideas and his principles of enjoying life intensely, Montherlant committed suicide with a pistol on 21 September 1972. One of his thoughts, which he took as a rule of life, was: "It is less about having life than about having a superior life." J.T.

"Film producers and newspaper editors justify themselves by saying, 'What can you do if that's what the public wants?'. Under a good government, that phrase alone would be enough to bring them to trial."

Henry de Montherlant (Le Solstice de juin)

"Everything that is good, everyone who does something well, or makes an effort, is always in the minority. And members of a minority always feel in exile. I even think that it doesn't bother them."

Montherlant (Service Inutile)

"The warrior spirit is not related to materialism, nor is it synonymous with the glorification of the brutal use of force and destructive violence. The patient, conscious development of one's inner self and behaviour, love of distance, hierarchy, order, the ability to subordinate one's passionate and individualistic side to higher principles and ends, especially under the sign of honour and duty, are essential elements of this idea and the foundation of a precise "style" that was largely lost when militaristic states, in which all this corresponded to a long tradition, almost a caste, were succeeded by nationalist democracies, in which the duty of military service replaces the right to bear arms.

Montherlant

Two philosophies vie for dominance over the world, in which they have established their empire. One, feminine in spirit, is based on the unverifiable. Born in the East, it has given birth to the utopia that has caused disorder. Alexandrianism, Messianism, Christianity, Byzantinism, the Reformation, concepts of freedom and progress, the French Revolution, humanitarianism and its by-products (liberalism, cosmopolitanism, pacifism), Bolshevism... The other, virile, is based on nature and reason: spirit and body. It reached its fullest expression in ancient Rome, after the conquest of Greece. It inspired Roman Catholicism, the Renaissance, concepts of tradition and authority, classicism, nationalism, and material and moral protectionism.

Montherlant (Les Olympiques)

In this era in which what endures is what has been previously decided by those who control the reins of advertising, a writer of the stature of Abel Bonnard must inevitably be silenced by the mass media. A "jongleur" of prose like Malraux, or a good writer like Romain Roland, can be accepted by advertising tribunes on condition that they are "left-wing" or, at the very least, can be pigeonholed as such.

This is not the case with Abel Bonnard, considered a "right-wing man", even though he hated that label, which in fact no longer means anything in our century.

Abel Bonnard was born in Poitiers on 19 December 1883. At the age of 22, he won the first National Poetry Prize; in 1909, the Archon Desperousses Prize for Fiction; and in 1925, at the age of 42, the Grand Prize for Literature from the French Academy. Seven years later, in 1932, he was admitted as a member of the French Academy. Author of "The Love Life of Henry Beyle," a biography of Stendhal, and a wonderful "St. Francis of Assisi," as well as a large number of travel stories, he wrote, in 1936, a political work, "The Moderates," which caused a sensation. An excellent journalist, he was a regular contributor to the generally non-partisan *Le Figaro*, as well as *La Revue de Paris* and *Le Gaulois*, but he also wrote for Georges Valois's fascist newspaper *Le Nouveau Siècle*. In 1937, he was one of the founders and leaders of the "Rassemblement National", a right-wing and notoriously anti-Marxist group. Alongside Bonnard, this movement included figures such as General Weygand, Ambassador de Billy, Professor Bernard Fay, Gaston Le Provost de Launay (President of the Paris Municipal Council), General Emüy, Georges Brabant, etc.

For this reason, he would certainly have had many problems after the liberation of France by the Western Allies if he had not taken the precaution of taking refuge in Spain. Tried in absentia, he was sentenced to hard labour for life, a sentence he obviously did not serve as he never returned to France, living until his death in 1975 in Madrid, where he worked for the newspaper of the same name.

He was blacklisted by the National Writers' Confederation, and his works were withdrawn from bookshops. He was also excluded from the French Academy for having belonged to Marshal Pétain's government – in which he was Minister of National Education from 1942 to 1944 – and for having maintained excellent relations with Jacques Doriot, the leader of the "Parti Populaire Français".

If, among modern French prose writers, Céline has been the force and Drieu La Rochelle the depth, Bonnard has been the elegance, allied with the classic and old French clarity, the only one capable of making distinctions between very subtle nuances without getting confused. It would be worthwhile to publish an anthology of his contributions to the newspaper *Madrid*, which are truly admirable in their grace and style, as he was as fluent in Spanish as he was in French.

J.B.

Born at the beginning of our century, and after a brief career as an embassy attaché, Fabre-Luce devoted himself entirely to literature and journalism. His mission always seemed to be one of controversy, getting along with and confronting each of the trends and parties on the political spectrum. Unclassifiable, he was as much on the right as on the left, but always in opposition.

In 1924, he published *La Victoire*, antagonising Poincaré. With regard to the Treaty of Versailles, he rebelled against a pact that placed all the blame on Germany, arguing that "it was believed necessary to maintain this myth in order to secure reparations payments".

Persecuted in 1936 for an article on the devaluation of the franc, he was arrested in 1943 by the German services and in 1944 by the French resistance. In his work *Au nom des silencieux* (In the Name of the Silent), he denounced the excesses of the Resistance.

In 1942, he published his *Anthologie de la nouvelle Europe*, whose motto was: "Realism: This is the first virtue of the rebuilders of a national, aristocratic and revolutionary Europe." For him, this new Europe was shaped by the ideas of Proudhon, Valéry, Drieu La Rochelle, Kolbenhayer, Grimm, Renan, Machiavelli, H.S. Chamberlain, Nietzsche, Wagner, Napoleon, etc. Fabre-Luce stood up against all forms of "censorship": that of the Resistance, that of Gaullism, and that of the extreme left.

A European nationalist, he has confronted small-minded national patriotism and spoken out in favour of an entente between France and Germany as the basis for a united Europe. Unafraid to tackle taboo subjects, Fabre-Luce displays his culture in a multitude of works: he publishes several against De Gaulle ("*Gaulle deux*", "*Le plus illustre des Français*", "*Haute Cour*", etc.). A staunch supporter of sexual politics, he speaks out in favour of birth control and abortion, but also of euthanasia to avoid unnecessary suffering. Intellectuals, the Church and a multitude of other topics feature in the pages of this prolific author's countless books. J.T.

JEAN ANOUILH

Born in Bordeaux in 1910, he was undoubtedly the leading French playwright of his time.

Being the personal secretary of the great actor Louis Jouvet allowed him to begin his career as a playwright with *L'Hermine*, which premiered in 1932. An author of romantic reminiscences, although rather sceptical and pessimistic, with a very French sense of "moderation", he soon achieved worldwide renown. The fact that he was included on the blacklist drawn up by the National Writers' Council damaged his reputation, as critics clearly did not treat him as an author of such extraordinary value deserves. His main works are: "The Traveller Without Luggage", "The Dance of the Thieves", "Ornifle, or the Draught", "Antonio, or Failed Love", "The Savage", "Antigone", "Leocadia", "The Lark", "Becket", and "Poor Bitos", a true theatrical masterpiece in which, by transposing an episode from the Reign of Terror during the French Revolution to another from the Liberation in 1944, he shows the abject passions of the so-called "patriots" on such occasions. This play created many difficulties for him with critics and resistance movements. *Les Poissons Rouges* (The Red Fish), using a similar technique, caused him difficulties with the

L.I.C.A. (International League Against Anti-Semitism).

This prolific and brilliant playwright, with his highly original and brilliant expository technique, stands out for his sarcastic yet cautious spirit, having successfully weathered the storms of various anti-racist and resistance movements that sought to bring him down. J.B.

MARCEL AYME

He was born in Joigny (Yonne) on 29 March 1902. He soon devoted himself to literature, standing out for his independent and non-conformist character. During the occupation of France, he opposed certain measures against Jews, although in particular cases, out of friendship with those concerned. As the magazine *Le Crapouillot* recalled in one of its editorials, Marcel Aymé demanded that a letter of his be published, in which he said: "I deeply regret that you have honoured a confidence from my friend Jeanson about my supposed 'extraordinary courage' during the Occupation. It seems, therefore, that I am being cited in the Resistance agenda, which I do not find pleasant at all, and in the Israeli agenda, which is perfectly ridiculous." After the Liberation, he protested against the infamous "blacklist" of collaborationist writers, which in turn earned him a place on the list himself.

Aymé wrote in Chateaubriant's "La Gerbe" and in "Je Suis Partout", and is a member of the "Association of Friends of Robert Brasillach". Even though he is classified as right-wing, he does not accept its reactionary ideas, its resentments or its hatred. A prolific writer, he refused admission to the Académie Goncourt when the prize awarded by that academy to the writer Vintila Horia was withdrawn due to pressure from the left, and in particular from the Romanian Jew Schwartz-Bart. Sharp-tongued and profound, his most important works include: "La tête des autres" (The Heads of Others), a satire on the abuses of the Liberation; "E] The Students' Way", "The Green Ass", "The Clandestine Ox", "Luciana and the Baker", "Clérambard", "The Minotaur", "Dad, Mum, My Wife and Me", etc. J. B.

JACQUES BENOIST MECHIN

Benoist-Mechin Born in Paris on 1 July 1901. He was director of the International News Service press agency from 1924 to 1927. Member of the France-Germany Committee. He joined the Parti Populaire Français on the same day as Drieu La Rochelle. Marshal Pétain's government appointed him Head of the Diplomatic Service, Prisoners of War Section, in Berlin. In 1942, he was Deputy Secretary General of the Government in the Darlan Cabinet, then Secretary of State in the Presidency of the Council, and Ambassador Extraordinary in Ankara (June and July 1941).

He was President of the Franco-Italian Negotiations Commission and Secretary General of the Laval Cabinet. He was also President of the School of Political Science.

Main works: History of the German Army; Comments on Mein Kampf; Ukraine; The Harvest of 1940; What Remains, Sixty Days that Shook the West; Mustafa Kemal; Ibn Saud; Arab Spring; King Saud; Arabia, Crossroads of the Centuries; Alexander the Great; Cleopatra; Bonaparte in Egypt; Lawrence of Arabia; and translations of Nietzsche, etc. J.B.

LA VARENDE

Jean de la Varende (1887-1959), a traditionalist yet non-conformist writer, displays a profound sense of patriotism and renewal in his works, many of which have a historical background. Aristocratic, deeply opposed to universal suffrage and realistic, without falling into so-called naturalism. Although he never intervened in politics, in 1945 he resigned from the Académie Goncourt because he was criticised for his Pétainist sentiments. He was included in the famous "blacklist" of the National Council of Writers because of his collaboration in "Je suis Partout" (where he published a serialised novel) and in "Le Petit Parisien". He was one of the first to join the "Friends of Robert Brasillach" Committee. His main works are: "Nez de Cuir", "El Centauro de Dios", "La Tormenta", "Man d'Arc", "Indulgencia plenaria", "El tercer día", "Al gusto español", "Seis cartas a un joven príncipe", "San Juan Bosco", "Amor Sagrado y Amor Profano", etc. J.B.

PIERRE BENOIT

A prolific writer, born in Albi on 16 July 1886. A novelist whose well-crafted works were apologies for honour, fidelity, bravery, patriotism, friendship and love. He frequented right-wing political circles and wrote articles in L'Action Française and Nouveau Siècle (fascist). He entered the French Academy in 1931, but was expelled in 1945 for being a "collaborator". He was criticised for being a "Pétainist" and for writing in "Le Petit Parisien" during the occupation of France. He joined the "Association for the Defence of the Memory of Marshal Pétain". He died on 3 March 1962. His main works were: Koenigsinark; La Castellana del Libano; La calzada de los gigantes; Los compañeros de Ulises; La Atlántida; La Señorita de La Ferté; El lago salado; El rey leproso; Por Don Carlos; El Desierto del Gobi; El sol de medianoche; La isla verde, etc. J.B.

ALPHONSE DE CHATEAUBRIANT

An excellent writer, born in 1877. At the age of thirty-four, in 1911, he won the Goncourt Prize for his book *Monsieur des Lourdines*. In 1923, he won the Grand Prix de l'Académie Française for *La Brière*.

A polished writer, outstanding in his study of characters, capable of describing powerful and scandalous situations without resorting to words, or even circumlocutions, that were out of place, Chateaubriant was a true aristocrat of literature. Shortly before the war, he published a book, "*La Gerbe des Forces*", which was extremely favourable to Franco-German social and political friendship. In Paris, during the occupation, and from 1940 to 1944, he edited the weekly newspaper "*La Gerbe*" (The Sheaf), which supported the policy of collaboration with Germany, "in the interests of Europe as a whole, and France in particular".

Indeed, *La Gerbe* was one of the best-written weekly magazines. Although it did not have the combative tone of *Je Suis Partout*, it was of excellent quality and had an impressive list of contributors: alongside well-known fascists, national socialists and simple believers in a new Europe, there were great writers who were not specifically considered to be , although certainly not opposed to it, such as Montherlant, who wrote the war chronicle; Marcel Aymé, who published his novel *La Vouivre* in the magazine; Marcel Lherbier; pianist Adolphe Borchard, who ran the music section; Professor Montandon and Georges Claude, Georges Blond, Clement Serpeffle (Gobineau's grandson), Jean Anouilh and others, as well as the "engagés", Jean Hérold-Paquia, editorialist for Radio Paris (who was executed after the Liberation), Abel Bonnard, Bernard Fay, Saint-Loup, Camille Fégy, ex-communist and then Doriot's "right-hand man"... Chateaubriant was in charge of editorials and literary criticism. Although this excellent writer could not remotely be accused of "treason", the so-called "National Writers' Committee" placed him on the "Index" of cursed authors, alongside the cream of modern French literature. Then, unusually, the Seine Court issued an arrest warrant against him for "collaborationism". He managed to flee to Italy where, a fervent Catholic, he took refuge in a convent, where he died in 1951. J.B.

PIERRE-ANTOINE COUSTEAU

Pierre-Antoine Cousteau, popularly known as "PAC", was an excellent French journalist and polemicist, born in Saint-André-de-Cubzac, near Bordeaux, in 1906.

In 1933, he joined the editorial staff of *Je Suis Partout*, becoming editor-in-chief in 1941 and, after Robert Brasillach's departure, political editor in 1943. His caustic writings earned him many enemies, despite his kind nature. For this reason, when Liberation came, he was imprisoned and sentenced to death, but he benefited from an amnesty in 1947, with his sentence being commuted to life imprisonment. After spending eight years in Clairvaux Penitentiary, he was released in 1955 under a special pardon.

He rejoined the press, which was labelled "anti-democratic" and "anti-communist", contributing to *Rivarol*, *Lectures Françaises*, *Dimanche Matin*, *C'est-à-dire*, and *Charivari* for four years, until his death in 1958, which was the result of the damage to his health suffered in the prisons of the "liberators".

Cousteau's literary work began with the book *L'Amérique Juive*, a portrait of American life, which appeared in Paris during the war. Upon his release from prison, he published *Mines de rien*, in which he recounted several hoaxes in which he was involved during his eventful life, as well as *Hugoterapia*, *Después del Diluvio* and *Las Leyes de la Hospitalidad*.

"This militant with a sharp pen and sarcastic spirit had a heart of gold. He had adversaries, but apart from four resentful individuals, he had no known enemies," said his good friends, the Costons, editors of his works, about this fine writer and exceptional journalist. J.B.

CHACK, Paul

A notable writer, head of the Navy Historical Service, author of several successful books, notably "Pavilion haut" and "Branlebas de combat". Before World War II, he wrote for right-wing publications such as "La Revue de France" and "Gringoire". After the Armistice of 1940, his anti-communist sentiments pushed him towards the nationalist movement. Accepting Franco-German collaboration as a necessity, following the line drawn by Marshal Pétain, Commander Chack founded the "Anti-Bolshevik Action Committee" and participated in the creation of the "National Revolutionary Front". After the Liberation, he was tried and sentenced to death. With barely any time to consider the pleas for clemency that had arrived on his behalf from all over the world, notably from the United States and the Vatican, he was hastily shot seventeen days after the sentence was handed down.

DE BRINON, Fernand

Journalist, son of Marquis Robert De Brinon, from whom he inherited his noble title. Decorated in World War I. Conservative deputy for Puy-de-Dôme. In 1935, he founded the "Comité France-Allemagne". After the Armistice, Laval officially appointed him ambassador to the Occupied Zone, taking advantage of his friendship with Otto Abetz. Later, Laval appointed him Minister without Portfolio and honorary president of the "Légion des Volontaires Français" against Communism. After the collapse of Germany, he was arrested and imprisoned in Fresnes, where he underwent two surgical operations, performed in highly questionable hygienic conditions. Very ill and weak, he appeared before the High Court and was sentenced to death, a sentence that was carried out nine days later.

GAXOTTE, Pierre

A leading historian, his books on the French Revolution and his monumental History of Germany are a constant source of reference for scholars. A fervent monarchist, he was a member of Action Française and edited *Je suis partout* until 1940. During the German occupation, he was a staunch supporter of Marshal Pétain, which earned him a place on the blacklists of Madeleine Jacob, the infamous "Hyena," during the Liberation. The Purge Tribunal sentenced him to one year in prison, which he did not serve. It seems that he had many powerful supporters, possibly based on the abundant information he possessed about Pétainists who became Gaullists. after Stalingrad.

HEROLD-PAQUIS, Jean

Journalist, contributor to several right-wing newspapers. When the Spanish Civil War broke out, he sided with the Nationalists and fought alongside them as a volunteer in 1937. Wounded, he worked as an announcer on Radio Zaragoza. Upon his return to France, he participated in the war until the Armistice. President Laval appointed him Propaganda Delegate. He joined Jacques Doriot's "Parti Populaire Français". He worked at "Radio Patrie" in Bad-Mergentheim, and it was there that he attracted the most solid

hatred: the man who, for years, had tirelessly repeated the famous phrase of the Bonapartist general Hoche: "England, like Carthage, will be destroyed" could not escape the fate he himself seemed to have foreseen when he said to his listeners: "We prefer the death of the partisan, soldier or not, to the death of the bourgeois." He escaped an attack by the "Resistance" in 1944, in which two of his secretaries were seriously injured, but not the firing squad. Sentenced to death, he was executed in October 1945.

LAFITTE, Paul

A member of the "National Socialist Militia" in the 1920s, he joined Jacques Doriot's "Parti Populaire" in the mid-1930s. A staunch supporter of Marshal Pétain, who appointed him Secretary General of the Centre d'Action et de Documentation (Secret Societies Service) from 1941 to 1944. Arrested and tried as a "collaborator," he was sentenced to ten years in prison, which he did not serve, as he died—according to his relatives, as a result of ill-treatment—one month after being admitted to Fresnes prison.

MAUCLAIR

Literary pseudonym of Camille Faust. A universal and curious spirit, he joined the Symbolist Movement at a very young age. Passionate about painting and music, he wrote more than twenty-five essays on classical and modern art. His reverence for the masters and his integrity as a critic led him to vigorously denounce, in the 1930s, the actions of the great art dealers—fictitious sales, compulsory introductions to museums, etc.—and the usurped reputations that resulted from them. His articles, which earned him terrible hatred, were compiled in volumes under the titles *La Farce de l'Art Vivant* (The Farce of Contemporary Art) and *Les Mètèques contre l'Art Français* (The Metics Against French Art). For having written, during the German occupation of France, an unkind pamphlet about Jews in art, he was blacklisted by the Conseil National de la Résistance (National Council of the Resistance) at the Liberation. When the gendarmes went to arrest him at his home, they found him dead. According to some accounts, it was a natural death; according to others, it was suicide.

MONTANDON, Georges

Professor of Ethnology at the School of Anthropology in Paris. He wrote *Au pays des Ainoul* (Masson Ed.; Paris, 1927), in which he demonstrates the Aryan origin of the inhabitants of northern Japan; *L'ologenèse humaine* (Felix Alcan; Paris, 1928) and his magnum opus: "La Race - Les Races" (Payot Ed; Paris, 1933), which caused great controversy in its day and would cost the author dearly today, and we use the conditional tense deliberately, as he was murdered by "uncontrolled elements" during the Liberation.

QUINSON, Aimé Henri

If our classic author Tirso de Molina wrote *El condenado por desconfiado* (The Man Condemned for Being Distrustful), Quinson could star in a tragicomedy entitled *El condenado por confiado* (The Man Condemned for Being Trusting).

A postal inspector, son of a shoemaker and a seamstress, socialist activist and member of parliament, he was a man of singular honesty, though so naive that on two occasions he voted against his party in the National Assembly "because his conscience was more important than his party," which led to his expulsion from the party's Executive Committee. Not only did he refuse to hand over his deputy's certificate, as he was repeatedly asked to do, but on 10 July 1940 he voted for constitutional powers for Marshal Pétain.

When the German troops withdrew from occupied France and the Gaullists arrived, Quinson went to the Socialist Party headquarters with his deputy's certificate in his pocket, and that same day he was assassinated, by persons unknown.

The history of "Je suis partout" is more than that of a newspaper; it is that of the group that produces it, which has had a powerful influence on French cultural life. Launched by publisher Fayard on 29 November 1930, it evolved, without sudden changes but steadily, from a vaguely nationalist and reactionary stance to a clearly national-revolutionary attitude, overcoming its initial chauvinism, until its last issue, which appeared on 16 August 1944.

Among the nationalist newspapers more or less linked to the spirit of Action Française, *Candide* (340,000 copies printed in 1939) and *Gringoire* (640,000 in the same year), *Je suis partout* emerged as a necessity to focus mainly on international news: 90 per cent of its pages were devoted to news from all European nations. This had a notable impact on the newspaper's editorial line and, in the long run, even on the mentality of its team, which managed to move away from French patriotism towards a sense of European identity. The emergence of various fascist movements (Rex, Falange, Iron Guard, etc.) would have a greater impact on the pages of *Je suis partout* than even on many newspapers in their respective countries.

Pierre Gaxotte is the editor-in-chief and the man most closely linked to the history of the newspaper. In the early years, the team's admiration was directed towards Italy, which was celebrating the tenth anniversary of the March on Rome; the editorial team was taking shape: alongside Pierre Villette and Claude Jeantet, Lucien Rebatet and Pierre-Antoine Cousteau stood out; in November 1931, Robert Brasillach began contributing, with some commentary on D.H. Lawrence. Rebatet, a Wagner fanatic, devoted himself to music and painting, which were the reasons he came to Paris, but his position (he would become a specialist in racism and anti-Semitism, with an exact vision of the world) was clear from the outset. As early as 1924, he wrote to a friend: "Since the Revolution, we have suffered from a serious imbalance because we have lost the notion of the leader... I aspire to dictatorship, to a severe and aristocratic regime."

"There are undoubtedly lessons to be learned from the fascist example," wrote Cousteau in 1932, "which young people of his generation are tempted to consider more as a promise than as a threat." The concepts that were beginning to emerge within the team in 1932 (corporatism, racism, anti-Semitism, anti-democracy, opposition to both the right and the left, the need for revolution, praise for culture: cinema, music, literature, theatre, art) became fully apparent with the change of ownership of the newspaper: Following the victory of the Popular Front in the French elections of 1936, Fayard stopped publishing a newspaper that was too compromising for a simple right-winger. But the editors, determined not to close down what was more than just a means of subsistence for them, agreed with Gaxotte to ask Fayard to hand over the newspaper. The actual ownership of *Je suis partout* thus remained – uniquely in the journalism of the time – in the hands of a 'soviet', a cooperative of the writers themselves, although they had to issue shares to finance it. As a result of this, awareness of their own ideology became more evident, and *Je suis partout* became as distant from traditional French nationalism as it was from any other reactionary tendency.

Interest in all European movements meant that, in the eyes of its opponents, *Je suis partout* became "something like the official organ of international fascism". Friendship united the twenty or so members of the editorial team, in addition to their work: Rebatet was friends with Ralph Soupault, Brasillach and Bardeche with Cousteau... Important decisions were taken collectively, with Gaxotte having the final say, until Brasillach was appointed editor-in-chief in 1937 (in Rebatet's words, "Brasillach will run the newspaper as head of our friendly soviet"). With Brasillach, *Je suis partout*, already at the forefront of political struggle, became a literary avant-garde (Virginia Woolf and Hans Carossa contributed, and there was talk of Rilke and Yeats, etc.). Gaxotte emphasises: " ... we have put it together as we do everything at *Je suis partout*, as a team, amicably, each doing their job, in a community of doctrine, will and struggle".

Travelling throughout Europe, always in search of reports, brought the team closer together: Cousteau has become enthusiastic about the Dutch fascists. Brasillach is welcomed by Degrelle, and Rex finds ample and constant coverage in the newspaper. In 1938, a special issue is published in homage to Franco, the Falange, and Spain. J. Lassaigue has been to Romania, and the Iron Guard is another of the movements often mentioned. In 1937, Brasillach travelled twice to Italy. Trips to Germany were frequent, and reviews on the evolution of the neighbouring country followed one after another. Cousteau travelled through the Saar and Germany in 1936, Jeantet was sent to the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, and a delegation attended the 1937 Nuremberg Congress, from which Brasillach and Cousteau returned amazed. Then, in 1943, Cousteau would recall all those trips from the "good old days", when he and his friends "travelled around Europe in search of fascist truths".

Je suis partout distanced itself from the Maurras school because of its revolutionary spirit, which was alien to the Action Française group. "If there was a time when the tide was in favour of democracies," wrote Gaxotte in 1937, "it is now with fascism. Parliamentary and socialising democracy is something outdated that no longer survives except in very backward or very primitive countries."

In 1938, P.A. Cousteau devoted a series of articles to ten politicians under the title "The solemn cretins of democracy", as symbolic figures of the ruin of a system; they were Count Sforza, Kerensky, Alcalá Zamora, Count Karolyi, Lloyd George, Titulesco, Gil Robles, Winston Churchill, Benés and Milioukov. "*Je suis partout*" constantly proposes a National Revolution, in the words of Gaxotte: The decline of the country, thanks to democracy, is all too visible; it is therefore the entire structure of the country that must be changed in a genuine revolution. Brasillach lists the seven internationals that must be fought: the Communist, Socialist, Jewish, Catholic, Masonic, Protestant and Trust internationals. *Je suis partout* becomes fully aware of the Jewish problem: it incorporates texts by Céline into its pages and publishes (in 1938 and 1939) two special issues, "rigorously objective", entitled "The Jews" and "The Jews and France", presented by Brasillach and written by Rebatet.

"We must proclaim the laws of blood defence against the Jews. Our definition of the Jew must be racial," Rebatet finally writes. And Brasillach comes to the poetic conclusion that fascism is the only definitive solution (1942) as follows:

"It is because fascism has taken the form of both practice and poetry, the form of politics that carries the most exalted images of our time, that youth can devote themselves to fascism. It is because fascism is the doctrine of national friendship, and it is the doctrine of peaceful rivalry in vitality with the

other nations, it is because fascism is youth, so France cannot be an old nation, and must become a fascist nation in order to remain young. And it is on condition of being fascist that France will endure and that France will live."

The war temporarily halted the publication of *Je suis partout*. Its members were enlisted. But in February 1941, the newspaper reappeared, becoming the main political and literary organ of the occupation (while Drieu La Rochelle produced the *Nouvelle revue française*, the best literary magazine of the occupation). *Je suis partout* was a resounding success, with a circulation of 300,000 copies: it was a well-produced publication, of high literary quality and brimming with talent, as P.M. Dioudonnat recently wrote. Literature, cinema, theatre and the arts alternated with political commentary in a global conception of the world.

On 21 March 1941, *Je suis partout* published an article by Brasillach from a prison camp in Germany, before he was released. The newspaper's editors were very popular in Paris: Brasillach was a renowned and acclaimed young writer; P.A. Cousteau was appointed editor-in-chief of *France Soir*; Laubreaux, Lesca, Blond, Bardeche, Brasillach, Cousteau and Rebatet saw the best reviews of their books published in the French press; Rebatet's *Les décombres* was a resounding success, selling over 100,000 copies. Theatre, film and literary criticism is dominated throughout the press by members of the editorial staff of *Je suis partout*.

At the same time, a clear evolution is taking place: if fascism is the historical truth of the moment, "*Je suis partout*" is seen as the purest embodiment of the example set by National Socialist Germany. The evolution towards the strict doctrines of the NSDAP, distancing itself more and more – in Brasillach's words – from Vichy's "immense farce of the national revolution", is evident. Germany takes on the mission of European regeneration, and intellectual collaboration begins: French delegations attend the congresses of European writers in Weimar in 1941 and 1942; Brasillach Bonnard, Drieu La Rochelle, Blond, etc. participated in these congresses. Friendship united them with the director of the German Institute in Paris. And *Je suis partout* threw itself into promoting the "Legion Volontaires Français", which would fight in Russia under German uniform. Lucien Rebatet went so far as to say: "I have only one thought: I want to go to the Russian front... Our war, that of the nationalists, we understand now more than ever that it is the German armies that are fighting it. And I want to participate..."

In August 1943, Brasillach left the editorial staff of *Je suis partout* and was replaced by Cousteau. In January 1944, in view of the developments in the war, the newspaper's editors organised a large rally in the Wagram hall. "The men of Douaumont, those of the Alcázar of Toledo or those of Stalingrad, did not seek to know who would win and who would be defeated. They fought. If they had lost heart, they would have been deserters." Cousteau, Soupault, Lèbre, Jeantet and Laubreaux took turns speaking, with Rebatet concluding: "Death to the Jews! Long live the National Socialist revolution! Long live France!"

In the 28 July issue, Rebatet insists on his "loyalty to National Socialism" and his admiration for Hitler, but "*Je suis partout*" has already had its day; the following month, it will cease publication for good.

The next chapter is the application of "democratic" measures to the members of the editorial staff of "*Je suis partout*": Brasillach will be imprisoned and shot, after finding himself in prison, among many others, with Benoist Mech and Béraud. Georges

Suarez, a journalist, is shot on 9 November. Lesca and Laubreaux manage to escape to Spain, while Rebatet is arrested in Austria and sentenced to hard labour for life. The trial of Je suis partout is one of the most important of the "liberation", and its assets are confiscated. The history of a revolutionary, political and at the same time strongly cultural journalism is thus cut short. It is up to a more objective future to do justice to this incomparable literary and creative initiative. J.T.

"Brasillach is less a biography than a destiny," wrote his biographer Bernard George. Indeed, the life of Robert Brasillach, a Catalan born in Perpignan on 31 March 1909 and shot at the age of 36, takes on poetic tones that make his profound life drama a myth and an example to follow. "One must not be afraid to do something great," he once wrote; and, of course, he was not afraid, even when, upon hearing the death sentence, a voice from the crowd shouted "It's a disgrace!" and he replied "It's an honour!"

His first literary collaborations date back to the age of 15, in his homeland, but he would soon enrol in Philosophy and move to Paris (1925). He wrote for various publications until he was appointed editor of the literary section of the newspaper *Action Française*. It was 1930, and by then he had already finished several novels and was working on *Le voleur d'étincelles*. He also contributed to *Candide* and finally to *Je suis partout*, where he became editor-in-chief in 1937.

He wrote prolifically, and his works followed one after another: the monumental "History of Cinema", written with Bardèche, plays such as "Domrémy" (1933) and novels, among which "Comme le temps passe", "Le marchand d'oiseaux" and "Les sept couleurs" stand out, as well as essays such as "Une génération dans l'orage" and "Journal d'un homme occupé". In the pre-war years, Brasillach was a brilliant young poet, gifted with an obvious talent for writing, who was already making a name for himself in Paris. "It's not artists that are lacking. There's never a shortage of artists! But what is lacking are people who need artists." Along with Cousteau, Rebatet, Bardèche... he was the most prominent representative of a restless, fiercely young and determined generation, unafraid of political commitment.

More poet than philosopher, he differs from Rebatet in that he does not seek so much a global conception of the world as a poetic vision of it. Although his own evolution and the development of events will lead him to positions as or more committed than those of the others...

A tireless traveller, he travelled around Spain several times by car. "The dry, red roads of our Spain" (as he wrote in his "Testamento de un condenado" [Testament of a Condemned Man]), in the company of his friends, made it the setting for many of his works. "The men of our time will have found in Spain the place of all their audacity, all their greatness and all their hopes," concludes the volume on the "History of the Spanish War," which he personally experienced in the trenches of Madrid. From his travels in Germany, he gathered his impressions ("I don't remember ever seeing a more prodigious spectacle," he would say of the Nuremberg Congresses) of the National Socialist revolution in various reports and books, such as "Cent heures chez Hitler" (1937). In Belgium, he sympathised with Rexism, writing his book on Leon Degrelle. This is how he was able to write: "We knew very well that no one has ever built anything without struggle, without sacrifice, without blood. We have no interest whatsoever in the capitalist universe... This is how the fascist spirit is born."

But it was above all around "Je suis partout" that an entire generation became aware of its own philosophical and political stance, in line with fascism around the world, but at the same time reaffirming its French nationality. Brasillach recalls it thus: "Fascism was not, however, a political doctrine for us, nor, of course, an economic doctrine. It was not an imitation of foreign models, and our comparisons with foreign fascisms only served to convince us more of the originality of our own national model. But

fascism is a spirit. It is above all an anti-conformist, anti-bourgeois spirit, and disrespect played its part. It is a spirit opposed to prejudice, both class prejudice and any other kind. It is the very spirit of friendship, which we would have liked to see elevated to national friendship."

An eminent literary critic and a man of profound culture, poetry flows through all his works ("... this new politics, we would rather say this new poetry...") and even permeates his own life, in almost novelistic ways. In "Je suis partout", he sees fascists as follows:

They are here, in any case, and by force of circumstance they are young. Some of them have suffered war as children, others the revolutions of their country, all of them the crisis. They know what their nation and their past are, they believe in their future. They see the imperial call shining before them incessantly. They want a pure nation, a pure history, a pure race. They like to live together in those immense gatherings of men where the rhythmic movements of armies and masses seem like the beating of an enormous heart. They do not believe in the dictatorship of profit, they have no money and do not want it, they ignore banking and interest. They do not believe in the promises of liberalism, nor in the equality of men, nor in the will of the people."

Enlisted in the French army in 1940, he was held in a German concentration camp after the defeat, upon the arrival of the armistice, until March 1941. There he realised that France and Germany were fighting for the same thing; in June of that year, in "Journal d'un homme occupé", he wrote: "No, this war must have a meaning. It has one for Germany. It will have one for Europe. It will also have one, it must have one, for us, on condition that the fight against Marxist communism becomes the fight for French National Socialism".

After two months as head of the Film Commission in the French Provisional Government, he returned to Je suis partout. In occupied Paris, his activity grew, until he finally left the newspaper in 1943. As he wrote: "The culture of a people is not about knowing more or less: let's leave these false ambitions to Soviet Russia or America. It is about establishing a broad current of immediately understandable symbols; it is about understanding oneself." In 1944, when the Allied troops entered, they imprisoned Brasillach's mother and other relatives to force him to surrender. On 19 January 1945, a strange trial began in which Robert Brasillach was accused of who knows what: collusion with the enemy, writings in favour of Germany... vague phrases based on nothing concrete. The trial records (published later) are a continuous joke for anyone with even a modicum of objectivity. In the end, he could only be accused of his own ideas, which he certainly held, and democracy condemned him to death for them and them alone. One might recall at this point his words: "I feel that my existence, since I am risking it, may have a certain interest, a certain value. In short, I may be saved."

De Gaulle himself rejected a plea for clemency signed by almost all French intellectuals from both sides (notably Valéry, Mauriac, Claudel, Maulnier, Cocteau, Camus, Honnegger, Vlaininck, Aymé, Colette, Marcel, Derain, etc.). In prison, while awaiting death, he wrote his last works: "Letter to a Soldier of the Class of '60," his "Letters from Prison," and the immortal "Poems of Fresnes," the authentic testament of the unforgettable poet.

"Because even before judging the criminal and the innocent, it is the judges who must first be summoned. They who will rise from their graves, from the depths of the centuries, all together under their military stripes or their blood-coloured robes, the colonels of our lanterns, the prosecutors whose backs tremble, the bishops who,

looking up to heaven, have judged as they wished, will also one day be on the dock."
J.T.

The extravagance of fascism's opponents lies above all in their total ignorance of fascist joy. Joy that can be criticised, that can even be declared abominable or infernal, but which is, after all, joy. The young fascist, based on his race and his nation, proud of his vigorous body, his lucid spirit, despising the goods of this world, the young fascist in his field, among his comrades of peace who may be comrades of war, the young fascist who sings, who marches, who works, who dreams, is first and foremost a joyful being. Before judging it, one must know that this joy exists and that sarcasm will not silence it. I do not know if, as Mussolini has said, "the 20th century will be the century of fascism," but I do know that nothing will prevent fascist joy from having been and from having awakened spirits through feeling and reason.

Robert Brasillach.

This is not a subjective assessment, but a proven fact: Lucien Rebatet, under the pseudonym François Vineuil, has been the best music critic of the last fifty years. He was born in 1903 in the Drôme department and made his journalistic debut as a music and film critic for *L'Action Française*. He was then editor of this magazine until 1939, when he resigned, along with the popular PAC (Pierre Antoine Cousteau). But in 1935, he joined the staff of *Je suis Partout*, then edited by Pierre Gaxotte, and contributed to the magazine until it ceased publication in 1944. He also contributed regularly to widely circulated magazines such as *Candide*, *La Revue Universelle*, *Le Petit Parisien* and *Le cri du Peuple*.

His literary work, apart from his journalistic writings, consists of five books, all of them very long and dense: "*Les Décombres*" (1942), "*Les Deux Bannières*" (1952), "*Les Épis Mûrs*", "*Mémoires d'un Fasciste*" and a monumental "*Histoire de la Musique*".

Les Décombres (The Rubble) is, along with Céline's books, the most notable and controversial work written in French during the Occupation. It has been described as the most pertinent satire of the last war and the Vichy regime. Rebatet, who lived in occupied Paris, would certainly have had problems with the Vichy police if he had decided to move to the unoccupied zone after writing that book. Leaving aside the almost mythical figure of Marshal Pétain, all the characters in the Vichy regime are treated as deluded and incompetent, with the worst predicted for them, both in the event of an Allied victory and in the event of a German victory, and it is taken for granted that the beneficiaries of their 'double jeu', i.e. the Anglo-Saxons and the Communists, will be the ones who will treat them the worst. The prophecy would come true two years later with resounding accuracy.

Les Décombres is a work of rare vigour. The author takes advantage of his unique insight into the inner workings of French political life, gained through his work as a journalist, and describes the pro-war intrigues of figures he paints in a cruel light, such as Mandel and Daladier. He also denounces the ambiguous attitude of Maurras, torn between his pathological anti-Germanism and his ultra-nationalism of "*La France d'abord*"; He calls the *L'Action Française* of recent times "*L'Inaction Française*" and denounces the futility of the war that has been declared on Germany, in the wake of England and its politicians bent on finance, for the love of some Poles whom he describes as "incredibly grotesque". His ultimate concern, in any case, is the so-called "great immortal principles" of the French Revolution, and the essential thing is France, which he calls the real France. Rebatet is also, in this highly controversial book, one of the first Europeanists. Starting out alongside Maurras, like so many others, he abandons him when he sees that everything has come to a standstill in France. If for Maurras, France is everything, for Rebatet it is the immediate essential, but he goes further: he believes in a European community of interests and feelings.

Perhaps it is in the last part of the work that Rebatet surpasses himself with a series of sharp, almost scathing criticisms that even at times politically favourable to his ideas caused controversy. For example, when in one of his "little meditations on big issues" he talks about the Christian religion, he says:

"As locally emancipated Judaism gained ground, it found its natural support in democracy, which it soon came to dominate. The Catholic Church, as an earthly organisation, could not help but suffer contamination. This was initially latent and slowed down by clerical anti-Dreyfusism or by "Dreyfusard" anticlericalism. In the last ten years, the evil has worsened, in close relation to the physical Judaization of the West...

Medieval Christianity, that of the Crusades, of the guilds, of the cathedrals, the only era of truly triumphant faith, was fundamentally Aryan, both in its works and in its thinking, and moreover, it never missed an opportunity to remind the people of Israel of this fact. But what an immediate observation shows us is that the new exegetes have wanted to find in the Gospel an ideal vehicle for the Jewish virus. It has developed in this field with a speed and harmfulness that cannot surprise us. The Jewish bacillus is fast. It inserted itself into a singularly degenerate body: tuberculosis attacking a smallpox patient."

Rebatet is no less tender when he speaks of his colleagues who have found it useful to join a kind of clan of "Christian" literature in France...: "that affected hyena Mauriac". . . "that aberrant and gloomy beggar Bernanos", "that mythomaniac Louis Gillet, dirty kitchen rag, always stained with printing ink, on whom all the little Jews of Pourri-Soir (Paris Soir, obviously) have wiped their feet". . . "Only one writer truly healthy in Catholic obedience, Paul Claudel, but politically a monumental imbecile."

In another of his meditations, entitled "The Ghetto," he attacks the Jewish spirit that has crept into the West: "All the great centuries, all the great movements in the arts and thought of our era have developed, from Giotto to Renoir, from Gregorian chant to Wagner, from the Chanson de Roland to Balzac, without the Jews appearing, except for a couple of accidents, such as Spinoza. The Middle Ages, Classicism, Romanticism, cathedrals, Florentine frescoes, Van Eyck, Brueghel, Tintoretto, Titian, El Greco, Poussin, Velázquez, Rubens, Rembrandt, Watteau, Corot, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Racine, Goethe, a hundred thousand more, did perfectly well without Jewish participation. The pleasant Mendelssohn is a tiny drop in the ocean of German music. But Meyerbeer and Halevy are enormous macaques. . . We wanted to know if the ghettos harboured unknown geniuses whose genius would rejuvenate our old world. Soon our curiosity was satisfied. The doors were opened and a flock of pigs and monkeys dirtied and degraded everything they could touch...

Because of "Les Décombres", Rebatet would be sentenced to the ultimate punishment after Liberation. His sentence was later commuted to hard labour for life, ultimately resulting in ten years in prison, of which he only served six, thanks to Ramadier's pardon, prompted in turn by the intensification of the Cold War.

In "Memoirs of a Fascist", Rebatet recounts a thousand and one colourful and instructive anecdotes about his political life and, above all, his colleagues. He concludes – as Marshal Pétain did – that the French have short memories. "Of course," he adds, "their intelligence and willpower are nothing extraordinary, far from it..."

Los Dos Estandartes (The Two Standards), a symbolist work, is perhaps his best-constructed book, although it is often misinterpreted.

Until his death in 1977, he contributed regularly to Rivarol, the so-called "weekly of the national opposition", and to a couple of music magazines, as well as to Les Ecrits de Paris, perhaps the most intellectually prestigious magazine currently produced by so-called fascists in Europe. J.B.

Jean Mabire, if not the foremost then certainly the most passionate of the authors who have studied the figure and work of Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, has written that he was a "fascist to the end". Coming from whom it comes, this assertion should be enough to refute certain absurd insinuations about Drieu being an anarchist or communist, disillusioned with fascism.

Drieu la Rochelle is perhaps today the intellectual, among those who were active in fascism, who enjoys the greatest and most solid prestige (the prominent specialist Armin Mohler calls him "the most important figure of the French fascist generation"), not only among the forces that have come to be called "neo-fascists", but also outside this field. Thanks to his great human and intellectual qualities, he is managing to break the silence that the "witch hunt", made official after the Allied victory, had imposed on "non-conformist" authors.

There is a resurgence of interest in Drieu. Serious studies have been devoted to him, such as those by the American Frederic Grover, the Belgian Vandromme, the Finnish Tarmo Kunnas and the German Alfred Pfeil. He has been the subject of thoughtful university theses, such as those by Alexander MacLeod, Giulio Plazy, and Pierre Veit. From positions more akin to those of Drieu himself, the studies by Serant and the aforementioned Mabire (with "Drieu parmi nous", a book that predates any of the studies we cite) stand out, and the monographic issues dedicated to him by two prominent publications, "Defense de l'Occident" by Bardèche and "Cahiers Européens" by Duprat, and even some Cahiers by DLR.

Within his country, a large number of his works (almost all of them literary) have been republished. A film based on one of his texts has been made... And yet all this is curious, because before the war, during Drieu's lifetime, his books had only been published in small print runs, and the notoriety he achieved was due to his political militancy. This aspect of his life is now being concealed, and his political and essayistic texts ("Geneve ou Moscou", "L'Europe contre les patries", Notes pour comprendre le siècle, Le français de l'Europe) or decidedly fascist (Avec Doriot and, above all, Socialisme fasciste, which according to Marco Tarchi is "a lucid, enlightened act of faith") cannot be found anywhere and the chances of them being republished are remote.

In Spain, where Drieu had not been published until now, "progressive" publishers have offered the public three works: "El fuego fatuo" (The Will-o'-the-Wisp), published in 1975, a story based on the experiences of a drug addict who ends up committing suicide; Estado Civil (Marital Status), published in 1978, an interesting book in which Drieu offers his opinions on various topics, but which is basically biographical in nature (a characteristic common to all his work); and Relato secreto (Secret Story), also published in 1978, which also includes Diario 1944-45 (Diary 1944-45) and Exordio (Exordium). This is the most thought-provoking of the published texts, but reading it in isolation can lead to many errors since, due to the times in which he lived and his always critical temperament, Drieu makes statements which, taken out of context and superficially and in bad faith, can give rise to "arguments" that Drieu rejected fascism.

But we have not yet said anything about who Drieu la Rochelle really was. He was born in 1893 in Paris, but to a Norman family, which is an important fact because he was always extremely proud of his ancestry and Drieu is a true "Nordicist" (Mabire writes: "Even more than a fascist, Drieu was a racist"); his

His parents belonged to the petty bourgeoisie; he fought heroically in the First World War, as evidenced by his decorations and wounds; and this is another interesting fact because the experience of that war had a decisive impact on many of the men who would make up the fascist generation throughout Europe. At the end of the conflict, he felt more attracted to politics. He had little contact with Action Française, unlike most French fascist intellectuals. Instead, he maintained relationships with surrealists and communists. This characteristic of being a "loner" separates him from Brasillach, for example, who was closely linked to the "Je suis partout" group, and brings him closer to Céline. However, all three belong to the same generation and personify the three most clearly defined positions within it. In this regard, M. Paltier, commenting on Kunnas' work (which, like Serant's, is a joint study of these three intellectuals), writes: "Can three men as different from each other as Drieu, Céline and Brasillach 'commune' at the same altar? The path of Nietzscheanism allows Kunnas to make us believe so." Within this generation, Drieu undoubtedly plays the role of the "left-wing fascist". This is due to his ideological origins, his writings and his affiliation with the most representative party of French fascism, Doriot's Popular Party. Previously, Drieu had supported the "Front Commun", another para-fascist organisation organised by the also former leftist Bergerey. Mabire has pointed out how Drieu was a "committed" intellectual well before Céline and Brasillach, while Duprat has highlighted other important aspects, defining Drieu as "a vigilant guardian of revolutionary purity who adopted the most advanced positions within the French Popular Party" and describing how he was not content with being a columnist for the PPF newspaper and speaking at rallies; Drieu, like any grassroots activist, attended his section's meetings and went out to sell the newspaper on the streets. Finally, Duprat has shown that the accusations levelled at Drieu regarding his successive membership of various political organisations, as a manifestation of his political inconsistency, are false, since "Drieu appears as the revolutionary intellectual who seeks, without finding it, the party necessary to realise his aspirations".

When Germany occupied France, Drieu became one of the most vocal advocates of collaboration with the National Socialist power as a means of achieving European unity; for Drieu, it would have been a sin to sacrifice this historic opportunity for the sake of absurd chauvinistic prejudices. Throughout the war, Drieu was a propagandist for European unity based on national socialism; these were his usual themes: "Opposition to capitalism," writes Abstaïr Hamilton, "was his primary theme. The idea of a federation of European states was his second."

As the tide of war turned, Drieu's political writings began to undergo a transformation, shifting from propaganda and manifestos to critical commentary. Faced with the imminent defeat of his aspirations, Drieu was not content to blame the power of his adversaries, and with clear-sighted critical spirit he devoted himself to analysing the mistakes that fascism itself had made and which had contributed to its defeat, grouping them into two categories of causes: the social revolution of fascism had been halted, and fascism had failed to adequately and fully grasp Europeanism. Drieu conceived of that war as a revolutionary war, a conflict from which a new order would emerge, and at the moment of defeat he reflects bitterly, concluding that he has greatly contributed to the

defeats fascism's inability to understand the revolutionary dimension of this war. But his criticisms are always constructive, and today any fascist would rectify them. Furthermore, Drieu describes how, in his opinion, the revolutionary war should have been conducted; he does not reject his past, although he regrets his mistakes. And the very fact of his suicide in 1945, on the date of the defeat of his European and socialist ideals, shows that he was not thinking of changing sides: "When one embarks on an adventure," he wrote, "it is necessary to see it through to the end and suffer all its consequences."

Michel Schneider describes Drieu as "an avid reader of Peguy, Barrés and Maurras, whom he considers his first teachers, complementing his youthful readings with works by foreign authors such as Nietzsche, Dostoevsky and D'Annunzio", and these are the influences that predominate in his important literary and essayistic work, as well as in politics. Other authors establish their literary affinities with authors such as Céline, Montherlant, Mishima, Saint-Exupéry, Muraux...

The most remarkable aspect of Drieu's literary work is how it has become increasingly relevant over time. But this is not surprising, given that Europeans have more and more reasons to feel dominated by pessimism. Drieu, like all geniuses, is particularly clairvoyant and ahead of his time; hence, an author who was little known in his day is now being re-evaluated. "The main thrust of Drieu's work," says Mabire, "is pessimism. He belongs to the world of solitary warriors and sailors setting out in pursuit of the sun. He does not belong to our time, but to the world of yesterday and tomorrow." For his part, Mohler, comparing him to Sorel and Barrés, writes: "Drieu's work may not have the same importance as that of the other two, but nevertheless the charm full of pain of his figure and his exemplary way of living modern nihilism balance this difference," adding that "his written work is ultimately nothing more than a commentary on Drieu's main work, his own life." Drieu stands up to the old world, responding to it radically, hence his charm and his enduring relevance. In Drieu's case, it is clearly not a matter of simplistic pessimism. Mabire writes that "Drieu the pessimist is not an ordinary despairing man. Despite the twilight aura that exudes from his work, it is a lesson in energy." It is a profound anthropological pessimism caused by his awareness of the general decline of Europe and Europeans: "For Drieu la Rochelle," writes Jacques Laurent, "obsessed like all Barresians with the empire of decadence, fascism was salvation." Drieu himself is explicit: "I have come to fascism because I have appreciated the progress of decadence in Europe... and rejecting the intrusions of the foreign empires of Russia and America, I have seen the only salvation in the genius of Hitler and Nazism."

Laurent is quite right when he attributes this pessimism in the face of decadence to Barresian influence. It is through this lens that Drieu understands Nietzsche, his other great intellectual father, and thus writes: "Nietzsche was nothing more than the first conscious decadent in Europe."

This decadence is not limited to a specific aspect. It is a general decadence. But Drieu is fundamentally concerned with Man, the decadence of European man, which is why his work is predominantly autobiographical and, for the same reason, fundamentally ethical in nature. Ultimately, this is the cause of the poetic style of all his work, since, as José Antonio said, only poetry moves man (Mabire would add that "poets are the worst enemies of merchants").

What is the main manifestation of this decline of man? The abandonment of a taste for action, camaraderie, sacrifice...: "Modern man is decadent," writes Drieu. "He cannot wage war, but there are many other things he cannot do, while, with his ignorant arrogance, he condemns what he cannot do, what he cannot bear." The origin lies in the spread of materialistic values, personified in a metallic object, money: "Drieu's political ideas, his temptations towards communism, his links to Nazism, his anti-Semitism, which increasingly invades his books, his articles and above all his Diary, are undoubtedly the result of his hatred of money." Drieu is aware that this decline is directly favoured or, better still, directed by political superstructures: "Communism and capitalism, intertwined, are the inseparable agents of the ruin of civilisations... It is necessary, from now on, to take our meditation beyond capitalism and communism." And this "beyond" has a name: fascism. "What is fascism after all?" says Drieu. "The name given in our century to the eternal human need: to live faster, to live more intensely; this is what it means to be a fascist today." And that is why "totalitarianism offers the possibility of a double restoration, both physical and spiritual, of the man of the 20th century." The "fascist furnace," on the contrary, is the prototype of the human being to which Drieu aspires: "The new man has brought together virtues that had long been dissociated and often opposed: the qualities of the athlete and the monk, the soldier and the militant." With men like these, it is possible to carry out the revolution proposed by Drieu, "the reunion between a healthy people and a new elite." For this to be possible, the correct diagnosis must be made, and Drieu, who has learned from his readings of Spengler that decadence always has internal causes and does not come from outside, has correctly pointed out that decadence resides in the heart and body of modern man. He has one hope left: all decadence brings with it a rebirth. He believes in the rebirth of European man and that is why he enlists in the fascist ranks. He believes in the rebirth of his homeland, France, and he believes in the rebirth of Europe. More specifically, he believes in the rebirth of France in the New Europe. He himself has written: "I have always been a nationalist and an internationalist at the same time, not an internationalist in the peaceful and humanitarian sense. Not a universalist, but in the European sphere. From my first poems, written in the trenches, I declared myself a French patriot and a European patriot".

A special role in the fight against decadence must be assigned to youth. Like all fascist intellectuals, Drieu is a staunch defender of youth, its values and possibilities, its enthusiasm and selflessness. "When I was a teenager, I promised myself I would be faithful to youth," wrote Drieu. And he was.

Drieu was predestined to join fascism. However, he did not do so until the popular riots of 6-9 February in Paris, provoked by the famous "Stavisky affair", a phenomenal case of fraud involving numerous politicians. The popular uprising was nevertheless curbed by the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left, fearful of triggering a revolution. Nevertheless, Drieu, like almost all French fascist intellectuals, saw in those demonstrations, where patriots and communists mingled indiscriminately, the emergence of a social and revolutionary nationalism, far removed from the precarious "Action Française": "I know perfectly well that since 6 February I have been a fascist". He had thus abandoned any Marxist leanings. But the truth is that Drieu, like many other fascists who came from the left, was not attracted to Marxism as a philosophy, but rather to the discipline and spirit of sacrifice of the communist militant, to his honest desire to transform the world. And

also because, like the Spaniard Ramiro Ledesma, he equated communism with the national revolution that Lenin had unleashed in Russia, which was transforming that country with a praxis that had little to do with Marxist philosophy. Mabire says that "When he talks about communism, Drieu, sensitive to the magic of race, talks much more about the Russian people than about Marxism." This explains certain notes he wrote at the end of the war, in which he expresses his hope that the Russians will carry out a great racial work by absorbing the whole of North Asia into European blood.

Neither his style nor his inclinations brought Drieu closer to orthodox Marxism as officially understood; on the contrary, they led him directly to fascism. Drieu was able to see how the predictions of Marxism failed, thus proving that its theses were false. "Mussolini has 'betrayed' Marx. Hitler never believed him. But even Lenin," Drieu La Rochelle will assert with certainty, "has abandoned him. The one who has triumphed, who has demonstrated true prophetic gifts, has been Nietzsche."

The historian of European fascism Ernst Nolte asserts that French fascists were among the few who renewed the themes developed in Italy or Germany. Responsible for this renewal was the brilliant generation of intellectuals to whom we have so often referred. And within it, especially Drieu. Almost all specialists agree with Nolte's opinion. Duprat writes that "In his articles, Drieu preaches a 'French way' to fascism that is closer to the National Socialist 'myth of blood' than to Mussolini's statolatry," an opinion endorsed by Mabire, who writes: "Drieu was undoubtedly the only French writer to intellectually get to the bottom of National Socialist ideas."

Drieu was a tireless critic of all those who called themselves fascists but were incapable of uniting in a single party to bring about revolution. Drieu was an accurate critic of the intellectual and political fossilisation of the once-inspiring 'Action Française'. Drieu is the man who did not hesitate to leave the P.P.F. when, in his view, it had slipped from being a revolutionary party to being a mere anti-communist party. Drieu is the intellectual who would launch the harshest invectives against the Pétainist Vichy regime. The tireless Drieu also went beyond criticising all the myths, sophistry, deceit and prejudices of the right and left. He went so far as to criticise the internal contradictions of European fascism, which contributed so much to its military defeat, and by extension: "from military defeat," says Drieu, "comes the defeat of an economic, social and political revolution".

No one else had believed as strongly as he did that Europe would emerge from the war. In 1943, he wrote: "More than ever, Hitlerism seems to me to be the last chance to defend Europe's freedom, or what can be safeguarded of Europe's freedom, in the face of Russia's rise and the irreparable disasters that a final conflict between America and Russia on European soil would cause." A year later, he wrote: "This revolution was not carried through to its ultimate consequences in any field... It has shown exaggerated respect for the personnel of the capitalist regime and the Reichswehr... It has proved incapable of transforming a war of conquest into a revolutionary war." Who betrayed Hitler if not the generals and the capitalists? Who was responsible for the often disastrous occupation policy that even sought to harm the interests of the national-revolutionary groups in the occupied countries? Yes, Drieu is quite right... But he does not blame Germany or National Socialism: "I was surprised by the lamentable failure of German policy in Europe, the lamentable inability

policy that demonstrated... European incompetence, German incompetence, fascist incompetence, is European incompetence.

Drieu, the racist, although he had decidedly sided with the fascist powers in this war, did not fail to point out, given his racist perspective, that it was a fratricidal struggle that benefited none of the peoples involved: "I have always been a nationalist who believed in Europe, a philosopher of force who believed less and less in its usefulness in internal relations between Europeans." In 1944, he wrote: "Yesterday, on the Champs-Élysées, I saw the young SS on their tanks. I love this race to which I belong, but to which the English, Russians and Americans also belong." On the contrary, he dreamed of the peaceful unity of Europeans, which would allow them to concentrate on external endeavours: "The SS would have been the nucleus of a European army, the meeting point of the warrior youth of Europe." As Adriano Romualdi confirms: "Drieu's Europe was to be a nation led by the white race, not in combat but in collaboration with America and Russia..."; this is what it should have been, but the war imposed realities: "Drieu's Europe," writes Romualdi again, focusing on the war period, "is the one stretching from Brest to the Elburz, from Narvik to Crete, determined to defend its revolution against Yankee capitalism and Russian Bolshevism. It is that of the French and Scandinavian volunteers who come to defend Berlin. It is that of the European volunteers of the SS divisions..." This was his Europe, but he himself wrote: "It matters little whether the Europe I propose is achieved; what matters is that it invites you to think as Europeans".

But Drieu's Europe was defeated. With that defeat, the world lost its meaning for him: "What will become of me?" he wrote on the last day of 1944. "I don't know, and I don't care. Between democracy and communism, I believe there is nothing left that can interest me." Drieu, who refused to follow the Germans in their retreat, committed suicide: "... we have played, and I have lost. I demand death." Mabire says that "he died as he lived, alone. But he left those who can read him a final message: lucidity, nobility, bitterness and, above all, fidelity to youth." It seems as if the very manner of his death increased his prestige.

Drieu is increasingly among us. "The revolution of the new generations can find its outline by following the teachings of Drieu la Rochelle," writes Mario Agostinelli, and Mabire emphasises: "Socialism and Europe... No, Drieu is still relevant today." But more than political programmes, what Drieu has left us is an ethical teaching. Fundamentally two things. The first is that "it is necessary to remain here, shouting the truth, until it appears; it is necessary not to give up." The second: "One is not a victim of this desire (the desire for greatness). One is not a victim on one's own altar. One is not a victim when one is a hero." He teaches us this not with words, but with his very life. C.C.

There is an immense bourgeoisie that absorbs everything and swallows up the aristocrats, the peasants, the workers: the bourgeoisie, instrument of democracy, that immense putrid swamp outside of which nothing can be found.

Drieu La Rochelle.

"Ferdinand Céline, the most brilliant of the Nazi fascist writers..." (1) This is how a notorious anti-fascist has defined him. A bit strong to start with. But it puts us in the right place to understand the man. Céline the genius. Céline the fascist. These are the two facets we are going to look at here.

Before writing these lines, I reviewed Céline's works published in Spanish among my books and almost came to the conclusion that I should say nothing about Céline's "literary genius". Because everything had already been said, and because there seems to be no controversy on the subject. All the prologues sing the praises of his literary excellence, which is recognised despite the revulsion that his political militancy never fails to provoke.

Louis Ferdinand Céline (whose real surname was Destouches) was born in 1884 and died in 1961. With a degree in physics and a doctorate in medicine, he devoted his life to books, travel and the practice of medicine. He spent a long time at sea, travelling around Africa and America. He fought in the First World War, where he was seriously wounded. Four major works define his oeuvre: *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (1932), *Mort à crédit* (1936), *Bagatelles pour un massacre* (1937), and *L'école des cadavres* (1938). Other works include: "Simmelweis" (1937), "Mea Culpa" (1936), "Les Beaux Draps" (1941), "Guignol's Band" (1943), "Casse Pipe" (1949), *Feerie pour une autre fois* (1952), *D'un château à l'autre* (1957), *Nord* (1960), *Rigodon* and *Entretiens avec le professeur Y*, which are, if I am not mistaken, his last. In 1953, in France, Gallimard republished his works. Four controversial works were left out: "Bagatelles", "Mea Culpa", "L'école des cadavres", and "Les Beaux Draps"... which "are still banned," wrote J.M. Infesta, "paradoxically 40 years after they were written, in a country that prides itself on being a bastion of freedom" (2).

The least that can be said about Céline's literary style is that it is original and highly personal. It is often referred to as "spoken writing". "From spoken French, badly spoken French, he distilled a system of breaking with language, in which all his glory resides. The innovation, fracture and conflagration of the stagnant literary language suggest a structuralist Céline 'avant la page', writes Juan Garcia Hortelano, adding: 'He created a language that was meaningful and beautiful in its anarchic expressiveness, its deranged spelling and its ravishingly pictorial punctuation marks. He sometimes uses capital letters with a breath of untranslatable anxiety, or ellipses like streams of bile. Naturally, he had to invent a few more words and syntactic forms than those contained in slang when he needed to convey the levels of a shocking reality for which the order and decorum of philatelic literature were useless" (3). A compatriot of Céline's, Etienne Lalou, said that: "Céline has restored spoken French to its noble status, and without him, a part of modern literature would not be what it is."

But it is not just a matter of his peculiar style. It is also about what he says, the message itself: "absolute cynicism", "radical pessimism", "total rejection of established values", "his prose is a trial by fire for every reader", "he wrote so that no one would like him, but he hurts everyone"... These are some of the things we have read in the introductory notes to his books published in our country. As there does not seem to be much controversy about Céline's literary side, let's move on to his political side.

Regarding Céline's great appeal to left-wing intellectuals, Marco Tarchi wrote in *L'Italiano*: "... perhaps an essay by some progressive intellectual will soon appear, intended to make Céline, as they have already done with Nietzsche, a prophet of the proletarian masses." In fact, the idea of Céline as an anarchist is becoming increasingly widespread. And without perhaps going to this extreme, it is easy to claim that he was "instrumentalised" by politicians. Neither of these things is acceptable. Céline's political thinking is sufficiently clear. And his style is directly related to what he seeks to demonstrate, which is nothing more and nothing less than the decline of Europe. Because Céline is a prophet of European decline. And his work is a denunciation of this decline and a search for solutions. His pamphlets are "the most lucid testimony to the desperate reaction he wants to oppose to the invasion of the myths of his time," says Tarchi.

In 1937, *Bagatelles pour un massacre* was published, a highly violent and inspired work in which

denounced Jewish power: "France is a colony of international Jewish power... any attempt to expel a Jew is doomed from the outset to the most ignominious failure... I would like to ally myself with Hitler. Why not? He has said nothing against the Bretons or the Flemings... Nothing at all... He has only referred to Jews, because he does not like Jews... Neither do I... Taking things to their logical conclusion, since it is not my habit to distort them, I say quite frankly what I think: I would rather have a dozen Hitlers than one omnipotent Blum. At least I can understand Hitler..." The work caused a great stir. It had been a long time since such an original anti-Semitic work had been written. And it should also be borne in mind that Céline, who had already won the Renaudot Prize in 1932 for "*Voyage au bout de la nuit*", was an established author. The left immediately denounced this shift towards fascism, while French fascist circles, then in full swing, realised they had found an ally. Céline himself had written: "We are heading, flying, towards fascism..." Regarding the book, Brasillach wrote: "Instinctive anti-Semitism found its prophet in Louis Ferdinand Céline. *Bagatelles pour un massacre* is a torrential book, fiercely joyful, naturally somewhat excessive, but immensely vigorous. It does not reason. It presents the 'revolt of the natives'. Its success was prodigious."

From this point onwards, his works became increasingly political in content, and were followed by his post-war autobiographical works, in which he recounted in heart-rending detail how he was persecuted and banned. It is in this group of works, then, that we must seek to identify Céline's thinking and political alternative.

We said that Céline is obsessed with decadence and the fight against it. It is not just a question of general decadence, but also of the real decadence of each individual, even physical decadence. Céline the doctor describes this reality perfectly, and never ceases to marvel at the successes achieved in this field by fascism. Social thought is also present in his work. But there is no demagoguery, quite the contrary, it is fundamentally a critique of demagoguery, of that demagoguery that flatters the worker by making him believe that he is the centre of the world, that only he is good and pure. As we shall see, in *Les Beaux Draps* he puts forward a real programme of social measures. As for his criticism of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois values, this is a constant theme throughout his work. His denunciation is fundamentally specific to the values of the bourgeoisie; his books forcefully dismantle the liberal democratic-capitalist universe of the bourgeoisie, and this is precisely why many leftists

read Céline and admire him. But Céline is also a radical anti-communist; after visiting the USSR, he writes: "only three things work well: the army, the police and propaganda". Anti-democratic and anti-communist, the trait that most characterises Céline, however, is his virulent anti-Semitism.

The theme reappeared starkly in "L'Ecole des cadavres". "Personally, I find Hitler and Mussolini admirably magnanimous, infinitely more to my liking, outstanding pacifists, in a word, worthy of 250 Nobel Prizes. Fascist states do not want war. They have nothing to gain from it and everything to lose. If peace can be prolonged for another three or four years, all the states of Europe will become fascist in the simplest way, spontaneously... why...?" Because fascist states are progressing before our eyes, among Aryans, without gold, without Jews, without Freemasons, and are carrying out the famous socialist programme that they and the communists always proclaimed but were never able to carry out... "The person who has done the most for the workers is not Stalin, but Hitler." Céline, who has been searching for a way out of European decline, believes he has found it in the movements of the New European Order. He vigorously sets out to fight alongside them, allowing himself only the margin of personal freedom that every intellectual and artist must possess. But his words are unequivocal: "I have never voted in my life!... I have always known and understood that imbeciles constitute the majority." Class consciousness? For him, it is a myth: "Every worker seeks only to leave the working class and become a bourgeois." His pacifism has often been mentioned as a trait that distances him from fascism. Nothing could be further from the truth. A volunteer in the First World War, from which he emerged severely mutilated, he volunteered for military service in 1940 but was rejected. He criticises war, but the war that the Jews were plotting, as he clairvoyantly denounced, was going to be a bloodbath among Europeans and would plunge us into decline, as indeed has happened. He knew perfectly well that the enemy designated by the Zionist power was Germany. Consequently, he insistently called for a German-French alliance, thus becoming the prophet and forerunner of "La Collaboration". But war broke out. The Germans occupied France. Many millions of French people believed that a beautiful future could emerge from this adversity. Collaborating with the Germans was not surrendering to the obvious. It was taking advantage of the historic opportunity presented by the destruction of the bourgeois republic to build a new France in a new Europe. Many were lukewarm collaborators, but not Céline. "Céline committed himself more deeply" (4), says Hamüton, thus continuing the process begun before the war. He did not limit himself to generalities, but made concrete proposals: "It is necessary to work, to fight alongside Doriot, a man who has always done his duty," he declared to the organ of the P.P.F., the party most directly involved in the Collaboration, and in the same year, to "Je suis partout", he said: "I want to be the most Nazi of all the collaborators".

As might be expected from a radical like him, he did not support Vichy, quite the contrary: "Vichy does not exist, it is smoke, shadows." It is not surprising, then, that Vichy banned the publication of *Les Beaux Draps*, the last of the pamphlets, written in an attempt to contribute to the struggle for the New Order. A "progressive" Céline, who advocated a single wage and pointed out that schools "must become magical or disappear", twenty years before May 1968! In short, it was a question of carrying out a radical socialist revolution without Jews. "Apart from his recommendations that banks, mining, railways, insurance companies and department stores, as well as heavy industry in general, should be nationalised, Céline's 'communism'

Céline's "communism" was more akin to Maurras' doctrine than to "Marxism" (5).

Céline's political militancy in favour of the New Order is crystal clear. Without denying the freedom of criticism that he maintained. Because that is something that an artist, intellectual or creator can never renounce. Because it is also linked to his special clairvoyance. This allowed him to say as early as 1940 that "The truth is that the Germans have lost the war." To the astonishment of Rebatet, who was listening to him, he argued: "An army that does not carry the revolution with it, in a war like this, is finished." Who does this not remind of Drieu's bitter reflections in 1944, when he analysed the causes of the German defeat? Céline, with his unquestionable prophetic gifts, already announced the inevitable end, while at the same time formulating a profound and accurate critique of fascism: fascism lost the war because it had failed to radically purify its own ranks. By largely understanding a revolutionary war as a classic war. There was a lack of Europeanism and a lack of socialism. There was too much chauvinism and too many reactionaries. Hence the bitterness towards fascism that appears in his last texts and which, logically, has been skilfully manipulated.

The Resistance would not forgive Céline. Radio London officially announced that there was a price on his head. He did not remain in France, but withdrew with the Germans. However, his luck was not much better. In Denmark, where he ended up, he was sentenced to death and imprisoned in particularly humiliating conditions. Meanwhile, in France, his publisher, Denoel, was assassinated. He was only able to return to his homeland in 1952, to find that his entire work and life had been destroyed. Little by little, he was able to regain the literary prestige that belonged to him, but it was only reluctantly returned to him, and always with the duly noted reminder that he had been and was a damned man; the first "samizdat" of the "advanced liberal society". C.C.

NOTES

- (1) María Antonietta Machiochi. "Elements for an analysis of fascism". Volume I, p. 116. Ed El Viejo Topo
- (2) In "El Martillo" no. 5.
- (3) In Preliminary Note "Simmelweis", Alianza Editorial
- (4) Alistair Hamilton. "The Illusion of Fascism". Published by Luis de Caralt
- (5) Idem.

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO

On 16 May 1919, Fiume came under the protection of the League of Nations. Italian nationalists, including the then minority group of fascists, rose up against this decision, which meant lifting Italian sovereignty over the city. After a summer of rumours of a coup d'état, unorganised nationalist fervour and articles in *La Stampa* that exasperated the military, on 12 September a column of legionnaires seized Fiume and proclaimed its annexation to Italy. They were led by an exceptional poet: Gabriele d'Annunzio.

D'Annunzio, whom some would proclaim the "Saint John of Fascism" for having preached a certain Mussolinian verb, published the "Statutes of the Quarnero" on 30 August 1920, a kind of constitution for Fiume with a certain futurist tinge. But when he began his Fiume adventure, he was a very popular man in Italy... those who followed him in his endeavour knew him more for his heroic actions during the First World War than for his books.

Gabriele d'Annunzio was the pseudonym of Gaetano Rapagnetta, a name that was obviously much less poetic and less romantic than the highly rhetorical pseudonym of D'Annunzio. Born in Pescara in 1864, he was Prince of Montenevoso. He became a socialist member of parliament in 1898 and abruptly shifted to the more interventionist right wing in the run-up to the European war.

Despite being over fifty years old, he volunteered and participated both in the trenches and in the first air detachments. His most famous feat took place when, piloting a fragile aeroplane, he flew over Vienna dropping leaflets. From then on, his reputation as an adventurer was only surpassed by his fame as a writer.

D'Annunzio cannot be described as a moralist, much less an ideologue. His language was sometimes crude, the subject matter of his arguments often scandalous and morbid, and he was obsessed with sexuality at a time when everything related to sex was considered shameful and heretical. But perhaps that was the reason for his unusual popularity among the masses. His concept of life was essentially vitalistic and Nietzschean, but we should talk more about his sense of sensuality than his Apollonian impulses.

He joined the fascist movement, albeit with certain reservations and conditions. His excessively personalistic character seemed to prevent him from collaborating continuously with anyone other than his own ego. But, again, perhaps this was the secret of his success and the charm of his personality.

His political ambiguity in the early years of the twenty-year period led left-wing trade unionists to consider him the man who could preside over the project of unifying the class-based trade unions. D'Annunzio did not disagree with this idea. Mussolini warned him of the consequences and dimensions of such an initiative and especially of the dangers that his hesitant and easily manipulated attitude could have for fascism. Mussolini skilfully struck a chord with D'Annunzio: the mere possibility of being manipulated, however remote, horrified him. He quickly distanced himself from the trade union project, which faded into obscurity, especially when, shortly afterwards, the class-based trade unions were dissolved to make way for the corporate regime.

D'Annunzio did not have an ideology per se, only a voluptuous concept of aesthetics and a series of ethical intuitions that he repeated invariably in his works. When compared to his contemporary Marinetti, the difference between the two is immediately apparent: while philosophical concerns and the search for a revolutionary aesthetic constantly entertain Marinetti, D'Annunzio feels little emotion for ideological reflection. He has the advantage over the other of being able to penetrate more deeply into the Italian people. Marinetti works for the intellectual and militant class, D'Annunzio for the common people; on another level, in the political sphere, Mussolini knows how to create ideology and translate it into popular slogans and catchphrases.

In the second half of the 1920s, D'Annunzio retired from political life and the hustle and bustle of the world. From his palace in Victoria I, he was able to contemplate the achievements of the regime and the history of the ventennio. For the young squadristi, D'Annunzio's life was an example to be emulated. His past fame gave him access to the presidency of the

Royal Italian Academy. It was 1937. A year later, he would die at the age of seventy-four. Today, D'Annunzio is one of the rare authors considered to be close to fascism who still enjoys a certain popularity. Not only have some of his novels been recently made into films (*The Innocent*), but he also makes brief appearances in others as an illustrator of early 20th-century Italian society (*My God, How I Have Fallen So Low*, for example). In truth, D'Annunzio was more of a writer of the previous century than of the 20th century. From 1904 onwards, it could be said that his literary genius visibly waned and the quality and quantity of his work declined. At the same time, his reputation as an adventurer and man of action grew. Among his most celebrated novels are: "*The Virgin of the Rocks*", "*Virgin Land*" and "*The Triumph of Death*". As a playwright, he wrote several dramas, some of which are still occasionally performed. These include *The Triumph of Sin*, *Sebastián*, *Rienzi*, and *Phaedra*. Poetry brought him much of his fame, with his sensual and passionate verse, especially his *Canto Nuevo*. Nowadays, various film directors like to use "D'Annunzio references" in their productions. The setting of early 20th-century Italy, with its spas, its women who could barely conceal their ardour beneath gauze and crinolines, lovers who encounter no obstacles in their path, and Don Juans ready to penetrate the hymen of any naive virgin, are nothing more than "remakes" taken from D'Annunzio's context. And if today the "poet" (as he was generically called by Italian society at the turn of the century) is remembered again, it is more for this than for his exploits... E.M.

F.T. MARINETTI

Among the precursors of Italian fascism, we cannot forget the Futurist movement, which was cultural at first and later became political. Futurism itself is not yet fascism; some of its manifestations still recall nihilism. National Socialism, for example, considered it "decadent" and "subversive" and included it among the degenerate schools. But it would be unfair not to pay a brief tribute, even if only in the form of a review, to the Futurist school and to the man who was its soul: Filippo Tommaso Marinetti. Marinetti was born in Alexandria in 1876. From 1909 onwards, he became the driving force and founder of the Futurist movement. On 20 February of that year, the Parisian newspaper *Le Figaro* published the first Futurist manifesto: "We want to sing the love of danger, the habit of energy and recklessness. The essential elements of our poetry will be courage, audacity and rebellion. Since literature has until now magnified thoughtful immobility, ecstasy and dreams, we want to exalt aggressive movement, feverish insomnia, gymnastic steps, dangerous leaps, slaps and punches." After these lines, it is not surprising that Marinetti was called "the caffeine of Europe". But the Futurist aesthetic was not complete without taking into account the notion of war and "the modern"; in the same manifesto, it was stated in this regard: "We declare that the splendour of the world has been enriched by a new beauty: the beauty of speed... There is only beauty in struggle. No more works without an aggressive character. Poetry must be a violent assault on unknown forces, to force them to yield to man... We want to glorify war - the only hygiene of the world - militarism, patriotism, the destructive gesture of

anarchists, beautiful ideas that kill, and contempt for women." This was coupled with a certain "anti-formalist" nationalism: "It is in Italy that we launch this manifesto of subversive and incendiary violence, through which we today found Futurism, because we want to rid Italy of its gangrene of professors, archaeologists, Ciceros, and antiquarians... For too long, Italy has been the great market for junk dealers. We want to rid it of the countless museums that cover it with countless cemeteries."

This first manifesto (signed by Papini, Palazzeschi, Govoni, etc., among others) was followed a few weeks later by the "Manifesto Against Moonlight", the "Manifesto Against Venice" in 1910 and the "Manifesto of Futurist Literature" in 1912, which were written almost entirely by Marinetti himself. The movement managed to broaden its scope when other Futurists launched new manifestos in other fields of culture: Boccioni, for example, published his "Manifesto of Futurist Sculpture" and Carra, Russolo, Balla and Severini did the same in the "Manifesto of Futurist Painting". Somewhat later, the "Manifesto of Futurist Women" appeared, penned by Valentine de Saint Pont. By then, Marinetti was already thinking of entering politics and was actively seeking contacts with nationalist associations. Marinetti was present as a special envoy during the conquest of Libya at the beginning of the century. In his "African novel" *Mafarka*, he extolled nationalist expansionism and war as a task of individual and collective exaltation.

In September 1918, the first issue of *Roma Futurista* was published, a weekly magazine edited by Emilio Settimelli, Mario Carli and, of course, Marinetti, which was subtitled "spokesperson for the Futurist Political Party". Its first issue published the "Manifesto of the PPF", which in reality was nothing more than a transposition of the various manifestos that had previously appeared in political life: nationalism (the PPF "wants a strong, free Italy that is not subject to its great past, to overly appreciated foreigners or overly tolerated priests: an Italy without guardianship, master of all its energies"..... extinction of dangerous and unpredictable foreign industry"), activism ("preparation for complete industrial mobilisation - weapons and ammunition which, in the event of war, will be carried out at the same time as military mobilisation" ... "everyone ready, with the least wear and tear, for a possible war or a possible revolution"), social avant-gardism ("patriotic education of the proletariat" ... "abolition of marital authorisation. Easy divorce. Progressive devaluation of marriage to gradually achieve free love and children of the State"), new conception of the State ("radical reform of the bureaucracy, which has today become an end in itself and a State within the State" ... "transformation of parliament through fair participation of industrialists, farmers, engineers and merchants in the government of the country"... "Abolition of the Senate" ... "Technical government without parliament, a government composed of 20 technicians elected by universal suffrage"), praise for youth and violence ("We will replace the Senate with a control assembly composed of young people under the age of thirty, elected by universal suffrage") ... ("We will uphold this political programme with the violence and futurist courage that have characterised our movement in theatres and on the streets until now") and militant anti-clericalism ("Replace the current rhetorical and quietist anti-clericalism with an anti-clericalism of action, violent and resolute" ... "the only religion: the Italy of tomorrow").

Although this manifesto demonstrated what united and separated Futurism from Fascism, their similar worldview facilitated immediate political collaboration. On 23 March, Marinetti participated in the assembly in Piazza Santo Sepolcro, where the manifesto of the first Fasci was drafted. And in April, Fascists, Nationalists and Futurists

stormed the offices of the socialist newspaper *Avanti!* in Milan. In May 1920, differences between the impassioned Marinetti and the thoughtful politician Mussolini on religious matters led the former to resign from the party. However, most Futurists remained staunchly committed to Fascism and joined many of its famous squads, where they found the activism and violence they had preached so much before the war.

Futurism dissolved into fascism and would probably have dissolved into nothingness had Mussolini not taken on part of the futurist concept of life and eliminated what was banal and sensationalist exaltation. Marinetti, despite his aggressive academicism, ended up becoming a member of the "Academy of Italy" in 1925.

Futurist aesthetics were an immediate reaction against the quietism that was driving the arts at the beginning of the century. In painting, for example, Futurism reacted against Pre-Raphaelite and Symbolist styles, and although some have likened its forms to Cubism, it differs from the latter in that it takes figures from reality and mixes and distorts them within their own reality, without turning them into unrecognisable abstractions, as Cubism does. Sironi, Fortunato Depero, Ardengo Soffici, Giacomo Balia, and Severini were the best-known Futurist painters.

In 1944, Marinetti died in Milan when the military defeat of fascism was already looming. In his later years, he adopted a position of "critical external support" for fascism. Undoubtedly, if his death had been delayed a few more months, he would have shown his support for the Italian Social Republic, in which Mussolini got rid of the bourgeois, monarchist and corrupt elements that had restricted him during the second half of the "ventennio". Marinetti would surely have judged that Mussolini had followed the advice he gave him at the end of the Futurist Congress of 1924: "The Italian Futurists, the first interventionists and soldiers, the first among the first diciannovisti, more devoted than ever to their ideas and their art, far removed from politics, say to their old comrade Benito Mussolini: 'Get rid of parliament with a coup as necessary as it is violent! Restore to fascism and Italy the spirit of diciannovismo, wonderful, selfless, bold, anti-socialist, anti-clerical, anti-monarchist!'

Refuse to allow (the monarchy) to stifle or anaesthetise the Italy of tomorrow, which will be greater, brighter and fairer! Imitate the great Mussolini of 1919! Put an end to clerical opposition through a dynamic aristocracy of thought, which must replace the current demagogy of arms without ideas..." E.M.

GIOVANNI GENTILE

Just four years ago, Giovanni Gentile returned to the spotlight on the occasion of the centenary of his birth (29 May 1875). The Encyclopaedia Institute, together with the Giovanni Gentile Foundation and the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, organised a month of 'Gentile studies'. A hundred prestigious intellectuals debated all aspects of Gentile's intellectual work, a debate from which his figure emerged once again revalued and updated.

It is difficult to approach Gentile's figure, due to its very dimensions. His output is so vast and diverse that we hardly know where to begin. Born on the aforementioned date in a Sicilian village and an outstanding student throughout his academic career, in 1896 he became friends with Croce, a friendship that would last a long time despite the famous liberal philosopher's opposition to fascism. In 1899, he published a work dedicated to Marx: "This writing caught the attention of Lenin, who gave it a relatively favourable review," wrote Toussaint. "Rosmini and Gioberti" is another work from these years; it is a study on

history and clearly reveals the "Risorgimento" character of his philosophy, which we will discuss later. In 1906, he published another text on educational reform, an issue that always fascinated him. As is well known, on 10 November 1923, he was appointed Minister of Public Instruction by Mussolini, carrying out a reform of Italian education. As president of the National Fascist Institute of Culture, he was responsible for the development and publication of the Italian Encyclopaedia, a masterpiece of the culture of this century. He was Professor of Philosophy at the University of Rome from 1935 until Badoglio's "putsch", leaving because his loyalty to his convictions led him to side with Mussolini in the new Italian Social Republic, for which Mussolini rewarded him by entrusting him with the presidency of the Academy. His faith in Fascism had not diminished, and in March 1944 he proclaimed in a speech that "Mussolini's resurrection was necessary, just like every event in the logic of history. The German intervention, unexpected by the traitors, was equally logical. Because of it, Italy found itself in Mussolini and was helped to stand by the Führer of Greater Germany, whom Italy wants at its side... to fight in the formidable battle for the salvation of Europe and Western civilisation, together with a courageous, tenacious and invincible people. Mussolini has revived the Italy of Vittorio Veneto... the voice of the leader still resounds because it is the voice of immortal Italy. He paid for his loyalty with his life: the communist partisans assassinated him in March 1944. But the deadly blast could not erase Gentile's decisive contribution to European thought, it could not make his work disappear... "Reform of Hegelian Dialectics", "Summary of Pedagogy as a Philosophical Science", "General Theory of the Spirit as Pure Act", "System of Logic as Theory of Knowledge", "The Philosophy of Art", "The Reform of Education", "Genesis and Structures of Society" are some of his most significant works. Regarding the respect Gentile deserves, these words by Umberto Bosco (who could hardly be suspected of being a fascist) are significant. They opened the debates of this month of Gentilian studies that we have mentioned: "If Gentile the philosopher and politician can and should be discussed, when it comes to Gentile the man, no reservations, no criticism, no discrimination are possible in the face of his character, so human and so full of boundless love for culture and scholarship. And it must be added that his Encyclopaedia was never an ideological instrument or an irrational monument, but an instrument of high culture, open to all directions." At the same conference, Eugenio Garin defined him as "the greatest historian of contemporary Italian thought, a man of the Risorgimento, to whom Italian culture still owes a debt". In a book recently published in our country, virulently anti-fascist, the author responsible for analysing Gentile could not fail to acknowledge: "Until today, I had only studied Gentile in his writings as a historian of philosophy... I have always held his work in this field in the highest esteem. And we will still find value in reading what he has published on Renaissance thought."

It seems, then, that Gentile's intellectual and human merits are almost universally recognised. This is tremendously significant, given that he is considered the "official philosopher of Italian fascism". The attempt by rabid anti-fascists to ostracize him was doomed to failure, due to Gentile's very personality.

Gentile owed the main part of his philosophical training to two German philosophers, Fichte and Hegel. Armando Plebe, professor at the University of Palermo and a leading scholar of Gentile, has highlighted the Nietzschean influence on his work; despite this, no one doubts that he is basically a Hegelian, or rather a Fichtean-Hegelian. This basic root of his thinking means that he does not fit in well with the rest of the European fascist intelligentsia

. In an intellectual current that derived basically from Nietzsche, Gentile's "actualism", which is ultimately a form of Hegelianism, stood out sharply. Today, it is common for neo-fascists to reject Gentile's contributions to fascist ideology. Thus, M. Veneziani wrote: "He was never the theorist of fascism, which fed more on irrationalism than on Gentile's actualism." But this is nothing new. Even during the early years of the Ventennio, Gentile's status as the 'philosopher of fascism' had been disputed. Ledeen says: 'In fact, very few had read the variations on Hegelian idealism developed by this philosopher of Italian fascism, and even fewer were in a position to understand him'. Gentile already supported fascism before it came to power, but he could not be said to be fully fascist. In 1923, he was given the Education portfolio, but he was still not a decisive figure. It was after the 1925 Congress of Fascist Intellectuals that "Gentile emerged as the official philosopher of fascism (...) It was Gentile who drafted the standardised definition of fascist doctrine, which appeared with Mussolini's signature in the Italian Encyclopaedia. But (...) there was a notable lack of unanimity among fascists in their acceptance of Gentile's views," according to Hamûton. In May 1933, an anti-idealist congress was convened to demonstrate that opposition to idealist doctrine was widespread in Italy.

Where does this contradiction come from? It is not difficult to explain. Gentile was a man of bourgeois education, and this is where he acquired certain principles that would always surface in his thinking. His adherence to fascism can be explained by the specific circumstances Italy and Europe were going through at the time, which showed Gentile how inadequate the existing situation was and forced him to seek a new path. In his search, he came across fascism. It was a fledgling movement that had not yet defined its doctrine, and in which he believed he could find positive features. He threw himself into it wholeheartedly, with a loyalty and dedication that he maintained until his death. But ultimately, he did not understand the essence of the new movement. He remained a slave to his education, which was Enlightenment-based, optimistic and rationalist. As for the fascist movement, it had not yet carried out the necessary cleansing of its ranks, presented an entirely eclectic composition, and was not going to waste the support of a renowned intellectual such as Gentile, quite the contrary. Gentile tried everything for fascism, and in return it granted him honours and respect, but they never achieved perfect synthesis. The high degree of ambiguity that always existed in the official philosophy of Italian fascism is a clear example of this. The opposition of all radical fascist intellectual youth to Gentile was well known. And as for the main part of his political achievement, educational reform, despite being defined by official propaganda as the most fascist of reforms, it was widely contested, and scholars have shown that, in reality, it was detrimental to fascism.

The attacks on Gentile from within his own camp have been very harsh. From his peculiar perspective, Evola wrote: "Gentile came from a certain intellectual bourgeoisie, patriotic and at the same time enlightened, that is, anti-traditional. It is no coincidence that he exalted the 'prophets of the Risorgimento' and that in his last book, *Genesi e struttura della società*, he professed the same theses, not only of Masonic-Enlightenment historiography, but even of Marxist historiography. Thus we read: 'The humanism of culture, which was a glorious stage in the liberation of man, is succeeded today and will be succeeded tomorrow by the humanism of work'. This is exactly, Evola continues, the thesis of progressive Marxist historiography: first the anti-traditional bourgeois revolution, then the socialist revolution'. Indeed, in terms of his philosophy of history, Gentile's conception would justify the very end of fascism because, as

As we have seen in the paragraph from his 1944 speech, for him, every event in history is necessary and responds to an internal logic. This historical progressivism, together with an evident anthropological optimism and an equally palpable cult of rationalism, make Gentile unassimilable for the majority of fascists.

"In Gentile's philosophy, the idea of the 'Risorgimento' was of primary importance. For Gentile, the 'Risorgimento' was the revival of a spiritual tradition, that is, more evolution than revolution, and with that it equalled fascism. Thus, in Gentile's eyes, fascism was not revolutionary," writes Hamilton. All authors agree with him on this point. Toussaint Desanti, for example, writes: "In 1929, in a collection of articles entitled 'Origins and Doctrine of Fascism', he again describes it as a 'Risorgimento' faithful to the spirit of Mazzini and Gioberti. In the fascist state and ideology, he sees the moment of conquest, by the Italian people, of the form and content of their own consciousness: the realisation of the unity that Gentile always sought

— from the beginning, between philosophy, religion and politics — found its ideal in fascism." This liberal heritage would weigh heavily on Gentile's entire contribution.

One point is particularly interesting when analysing Gentile's ideas, and that is his conception of the relationship between the individual, society and the state. Firstly, because it illustrates the great effort Gentile made to imbue fascism with a profound philosophical thought, and secondly because it sheds light on the much-debated topic of the 'totalitarian state'.

"The core of Giovanni Gentile's philosophical conception," says Dr. Gestano Rasi, "and essentially of his entire philosophy, lies in the concept of 'societas in interiore homine'. In this concept, individual morality, social ethics, and political philosophy coincide, and the corporate structures of the state are founded on this basis." This statement is one hundred per cent accurate, and this fact alone gives us an idea of the subsequent development and consequences. Gentile himself had defined his thinking in this way in the *Discorsi di religione*: "The state, as we must all begin to understand today, is not inter homines, but in interiore homine. It is not what we see above us, but what we do within ourselves, with our daily and momentary actions." This is, of course, almost a deification of the state. But Gentile's argument is constructed with complete logic and derives from his conception of the individual as an entirely social being, of whom we can only say that he exists when he is in society, when he works, suffers, struggles, thinks with others; equally, the existence of 'others' is dependent on the existence of the individual. The interrelationship is so intense and defining that Gentile does not shy away from stating that "In this process, the individual strictly speaking does not exist, but becomes the State." From Gentile's conception, liberal and Marxist conceptions are overcome, and the State conceived as a mere bureaucratic structure, without its own "ethics," is definitively condemned. The contractual conception of the state has never had a greater enemy than Gentile.

Developing this basic idea of Gentile, Dr. Gaetano Rasi writes: "If responsible and competent action

responsible and competent action—the essence of the corporate conception—is intrinsic to the development of Gentile's thought, two other concepts, that of consensus and that of hierarchy, are also inherent in corporate foundations. If society and the state are identified in the consciousness of the individual, there can be no conflict between the two terms. On the contrary, when the state oppresses the individual or the individual acts against the state, there is no consensus. In this way, society and the state are not only complementary and intertwined terms, but antithetical and conflicting terms." Thus, it is not enough for the state to exist in order to achieve perfection. As long as there is struggle between the individual and the state, it will be a clear sign that

that the level of an 'ethical state' has not been reached and that it continues to be a structure external to man and oppressive to him. We must fight, Gentile would say, against this contractualist State from which little or nothing can be salvaged, as it is flawed from the outset, since it conceives of the community as a field of perpetual struggle, rather than in the Gentile manner, that is, based on a conception of man as an entirely social being, who exists only in relation to the community.

The state conceived in the Gentile manner is endowed with an ethical character, its own personality and will, and a mission to fulfil. In Gentile's own words: "If the state exists by realising itself and does not realise itself unless it wants to, and it cannot want unless it is aware of what it wants, it is clear that to say agnostic state is tantamount to saying dark light".

It is worth noting that Gentile is ahead of a growing trend in sociology and politics that seeks a way out of the massified and anti-human life of industrial society, in which utilitarian ethical values are no longer capable of consoling anyone, tending towards "a conception of man that views the individual, society and the state as contributing to an organic unity in which the interests of the individual and the community are harmonised", as Professor James Gregor points out. It is a question of seeking an 'affective community', achieved through participation in cultural values common to a given social group. Gregor goes on to say that 'Gentile and contemporary social philosophers, such as Wolff, have argued persuasively that social values, the value we find in love, family life, voluntary associations and national identity, cannot be reduced to demands of private interest and personal gain.' Utilitarian and materialistic morality is thus set aside and denounced as the source of profound human dissatisfaction.

We have already seen how, for Gentile, the fundamental dimension of the human individual is the social one. This is possible because of the existence of this affective community we are talking about, which in turn is what allows for the existence of a "community of rational persons," since "without the family, without a human associative feeling," says Gregor, "we would find no basis for a communal participation in common rationality." It is obvious that such a conception is vigorously opposed to bourgeois morality, which is calculating, materialistic and antisocial; on the contrary, "for Gentile and those who belong to this tradition, these convictions provide the normative basis for a corporate conception of society". Gentile's conception of the Corporate State must be placed within the Hegelian tradition: 'In general, Gentile agreed with Hegel. Both conceived of the life of the individual as closely linked to that of the community. Both conceived of the fullness of social life as embodied in the nation-state'. The state, as an entity with its own ends and whose power is legitimised by being the result of human sociability itself, cannot allow social life to develop according to the antisocial rules of individualism, and must therefore tend to adopt a corporate structure. on the other hand, the individual himself, who exists only in relation to society, must also tend towards a form of association in accordance with this nature, which cannot be individualism, but corporatism.

We have already seen the genesis of the Ethical State in Gentile's thinking. To that quality we must now add that of the Corporate State. And from these two concepts, we can now understand the Totalitarian State. Nothing against the State, nothing outside the State, because the State is ourselves, it is the concrete embodiment of human sociability. This State, which by its ethical nature has a mission to fulfil, must consequently have full powers, powers which, moreover, are not conceived against the community but at its service.

All these ideas seemed very acceptable to Italian fascists who were not particularly critical, but others did not fail to notice that, beneath the surface, the substratum of egalitarian ideological formation appeared in Gentile's work. Veneziani writes: "Totalitarianism, seeking to resolve individuality and individual will in the State and Universal Will, ends up making all men equal and all human activity equivalent." For his part, Evola has made clear what ethics can be deduced from his philosophy of history (events are necessary according to a historical logic): "Thus, the only ethics that can be coherently deduced from that philosophy is one that is ready to sanction any internal capitulation, any conformism, any recognition of the given fact, but with equal readiness to give the same to a given fact opposed to the previous one." We see, then, how the basic elements of the liberal-bourgeois worldview are ultimately present in Gentile's philosophy: egalitarianism and the linear-progressive conception of history. None of this should detract from his status as a great thinker. Nor should his permanent relevance. For example, during the aforementioned "Conferenza Centenaria sul Pensiero di Giovanni Gentile" (Centenary Conference on the Thought of Giovanni Gentile), several scholars cited Gentile as a "precursor" of "contestation," comparing him to Marcuse and contrasting him with the latter. Victor Mathieu said: "The real, concrete contestation, with Western solutions for political change, is Gentilian and not Marcusean. Young people have become convinced that their theorists are those of the Frankfurt School or Sartre or Marcuse; on the contrary, it is in fact Gentile who proclaimed in his 'Genesis and Structure of Society'... 'eternal self-criticism', 'eternal revolution'. It is Gentile who said: 'Freedom, only if it is absolute freedom'. This comparison with Marcuse has been developed by Professor Armando Plebe. He points out how, while Marcuse sees alienation as imposed, Gentile fundamentally observes that one falls into it because of an inner predisposition, and it must therefore be fought within each individual. Thus, starting from an identical purpose of fighting against human alienation, each one reaches very different conclusions, opposing Marcuse's 'rejection' with Gentile's 'recreation'. 'Nothing could better express the contrast between the struggle of initiative and life advocated by Gentile and that of rejection and destruction advocated by Marcuse than to take the terminology of Nietzsche's phrase, pointing to Gentile's ideal of struggle as the answer of yes, as opposed to Marcuse's answer of no,' writes Plebe. Above all, Gentile's merit lies in his human qualities, his dedication and his loyalty. His philosophy was widely contested by the fascists themselves. But he remained loyal and did not take advantage of this situation to change sides. Evola writes that: "It must be said to Gentile's credit that he remained a fascist, even when 'history' was clearly turning fascism 'anti-historical'... This demonstration of courage of character, even though it involved doctrinal inconsistency, cost Gentile his life." C.C.

LUIGI PIRANDELLO

Luigi Pirandello was born in Sicily (Agrigento) on 18 June 1867. He studied in Palermo, Rome and finally in Bonn, where he obtained a doctorate in philology. Returning to Italy in 1892, he began producing an extensive literary oeuvre, which established him as one of the most political authors of our century: seven books of poetry (between 1889 and 1912), four essays, seven novels, a multitude of short novels and collections of short stories,

repeatedly published in various languages, and finally, the most characteristic of his work, theatre, which he began in 1910 and in which he wrote more than thirty plays, all of them in the purest Pirandellian conceptualism.

Vincenzo Joria has highlighted three fundamental points in the philosophical foundation underlying all of the author's works, notably influenced by his repeated reading of Schopenhauer: Relativism, according to which what each person is differs greatly from what they believe themselves to be or their appearance, making it impossible to reach one's own individual essence. The inability of human beings to communicate with one another, as each person finds it impossible to reveal their true self to others, each speaking their own language. The multiplicity of human beings, each one different from the others and different from themselves at every moment of their existence.

In his novel "The Late Matías Pascal", he feels the impossibility of man living intensely; the self-limitation of one's own freedom is an attempt to get closer to others. Democracy, "the cause of all evils", does not fare well in this novel, which dates back to 1904: "... because power is in the hands of a man who knows he is alone and has to satisfy many; but when many govern, they only want to satisfy themselves, and it is in this case that we find the most idiotic and hateful tyranny: tyranny masked as freedom."

A sometimes controversial author (some of his premieres were accompanied by veritable pitched battles), his wandering life took him to various European and American cities, always from theatre to theatre, organising the premieres of his plays and attending the undisputed successes or rabid controversies, confessing that he had no time to live his life, too busy writing it.

"Six Characters in Search of an Author", perhaps his best-known and most well-constructed play, puts forward the belief that, deep down, life itself is less real than art, and that the character – insofar as it is something and develops something – is already more real than the individual, who lives but without any concrete essence. In "Tonight We Improvise," he insists on the irrationality of existence and the real value of art. Pirandello's theatre, known as "mirror theatre", ultimately responds to an attempt to unmask the reality of a blind world that lives its life without stopping to look at itself, to see reality. From "The Trap" we quote: "We are like so many busy dead people, dominated by the illusion that we create our own lives. A dead man and a dead woman come together, and we believe we are giving life, but we are giving death. Another being in the trap!"

"I think I can be considered a precursor of fascism insofar as it is considered a rejection of all preconceived doctrine, the will to adapt to reality, the will to modify an action in accordance with the modifications undergone by reality," Pirandello had said in 1924, a year after his first interview with Mussolini at the Palazzo Chigi (after which he would say: "I have always felt the greatest admiration for Mussolini and I believe that I am one of the few people capable of understanding the beauty of the continuous creation of realities that he carries out: a fascist and Italian reality that is not subject to any other reality. Mussolini is one of the few people who knows that reality only exists in man's power to create it, and that it can only be created through mental activity").

But politics was always something anecdotal in Pirandello's life. The most important thing for him was always his art, the literature that fulfilled and fascinated him, the theatre to which he devoted himself. Regarding his early affiliation with the Fascist party, in 1924 he explained it this way: "My life is work and study... I am isolated from the world and I only have my work and my art.

Politics? I have nothing to do with it and never have. If you are referring to my

membership of the Fascist Party, I must tell you that I did so to help Fascism in its mission of renewal and reconstruction."

Pirandello was appointed a member of the Italian Academy, founded by Mussolini in 1929, which brought together all the artists and intellectuals of the time, including some very prominent figures. Having been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1934, Pirandello was personally welcomed by Il Duce on his return to Italy. But the great writer died suddenly on 10 December 1936, in the midst of his creative fervour, leaving his last work unfinished. He had time to write on a piece of paper: "Let my death pass in silence; I would like nothing, not even ashes, to remain of me." J.T.

CURZIO MALAPARTE

Curzio Malaparte is certainly not unknown to the general public. Some of his works are easily found in pocket collections and widely disseminated in many circles. He enjoys a level of popularity that very few authors from "the other Europe" have enjoyed or enjoy today, and all this is due to his renunciation of his early ideas, which led him to join the fascists, only to switch to the most visceral anti-fascist ranks that existed.

Indeed, Malaparte's beginnings could not have been more promising; at the dawn of fascism, he wrote, "Austere, calm men raise their heads after a long sleep and set to work rebuilding the land: they are always the same, they always look the same, only their names change" (Living Europe and Other Political Essays), and regarding the revolutionary nature of fascism: "Our revolution is directed more against Benedetto Croce than against Buozzi or Modigliani (socialist and trade unionist)... And I am not one of those men who are prepared to disregard strength, courage, violence and ferocity and ask authentic fascists to graciously give way to intellectuals... The fascist revolution is a total process of revision of current civic, cultural, political and spiritual values, a radical and objective criticism of the present civil way of life, of everything modern... the final goal of the fascist revolution is the restoration of our natural and historical civilisation, which has been degraded by the growing and triumphant rise of the barbarism of modern life."

Malaparte became a member of the P.F.N., was one of its middle-ranking officials, and wrote as a correspondent in Paris for the fascist trade unions' newspaper. Parallel to this militancy, Malaparte's relativism was evident when he simultaneously collaborated with other articles in liberal and left-wing newspapers. However, some, such as Gobetti, continued to consider Malaparte "the best theorist of the P.F.N." and "the most open-minded of all Mussolini's writers".

A few months after Matteotti's death, Malaparte founded a weekly newspaper with the evocative name "La conquista dello Stato" (The Conquest of the State), a heterodox organ of revolutionary fascism, in which Mussolini was encouraged to adopt tougher positions and "fascistise" the nation as soon as possible by dissolving parliament and corporatising the nation. The central theme of "La conquista..." was that if fascism claims to be revolutionary, it must prove it "revolutionarily" to Italy. Interviewed for Mussolini magazine, and urged to follow a revolutionary path, he replied: "Dear Suckert, if we fall now, we will never return to where we are. Do you understand, yes or no?"

Suckert? Indeed, Suckert was Malaparte's real surname, a Jewish surname, which he changed at a time when fascism did not display anti-Semitic aggression, for the sole reason of demonstrating a more Italian spirit. Later, when fascism began to display a frankly anti-Semitic tendency, similar to National Socialism, Malaparte distanced himself completely. However, the origins of the controversy with fascism date back to the destruction and reprisals against the printing presses that printed opposition newspapers in Florence. Mussolini tried to calm his squads, but the damage was already done. Malaparte wrote an article attacking the Minister of the Interior, which was censored. In 1926, the expeditions of "Manganellian" fascism ceased. Farinacci was replaced in the party secretariat by a bureaucrat, Turatti, who took care to expel the violent elements from the party and gradually transform it into a bureaucratic machine.

The break came in 1931, when cooperation between Italian fascism and National Socialism was already being announced, or at least when they were beginning to get to know each other and view each other with a certain sympathy. In January, Malaparte suddenly left the management of *La Stampa* and went into self-imposed exile in France for no apparent reason other than his Jewishness. There he would publish *The Technique of the Coup d'État*.

The content of the book lives up to its title: it truly sets out to specify the technique, or rather, the different techniques of the coup d'état. It basically distinguishes between two: the Mussolini method, the spectacular, unexpected, improvised assault on power, and the Leninist method, studied and backed by an organised party that has long prepared a slow penetration into the apparatus of power. The discussion of the different techniques is based on the theory – of Trotskyist origin – that the success of a revolution does not depend on the economic situation and development of a country, but can occur in both economically backward and advanced countries. The book's conclusion is that revolution is not so much a question of ideology or objective conditions as of technique, and that it was possible for a relatively small group of men to seize power at the moment when, through a decisive coup, they could take control of the vital centres of the nation (communications, road junctions, railway networks, and today we would have to add airports, etc.).

The book was hugely successful, so much so that some fascist groups organised themselves according to the guidelines set out by Malaparte. The "cagoule" was the most significant case, although there were many other small societies of fascist conspirators influenced by "the technique".

In October 1933, he returned to Italy, where he was briefly detained due to the suspicious anti-fascist circles he had frequented in Paris. For "anti-fascist activities," he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, which he served in Lipari, then in Ischia, and later in Forte dei Marmi. Proof of the relative freedom he enjoyed in prison is that he was allowed to live with his lover, and from his last place of confinement, he wrote several articles for *Il Corriere della Sera*, signing them "Candido." On his return from confinement, he founded the magazine "Perspectivas", in which he continued to show a certain sympathy for revolutionary fascism, whose most tangible manifestation in those days was the Italian troops fighting in the Spanish Civil War. "Perspectivas" lasted until 1940. He was not overly "anti-fascist", but he found it very difficult to hide his hatred for Hitler and National Socialism.

During the war, Malaparte carried out intelligence missions on the Eastern Front and Ciano entrusted him with some personal security missions. Around 1943, he was one of many Italians who came to support the American forces that had landed

in Sicily. After the war, he ceased to be politically active and died in 1957 with the personal blessing of the Pope...

Of his bibliographical output, we dare only highlight "The Technique..."; his other best-known novels and essays ("Kaput", "The Skin", "The Volga Born in Europe", etc.) are of only relative importance to us. Malaparte was very fond of erotic and morbid descriptions; in reality, he himself was a man gifted with sensuality. Like Mishima, nature had endowed him with a curious sexual fetishism: he was aroused by women's armpits... E.M.

GIOVANNI PAPINI

One of the modern intellectuals of universal fame, totally committed to fascist ideology, is the Italian Giovanni Papini.

He was a historical fascist and an ideological fascist. In other words, he was historically and personally linked to Italian fascism, but also, and more importantly, he was ideologically one of the most important writers who always defended fascist philosophical principles.

Papini was born in 1881 and in his youth he adhered furiously to the Nietzschean current. A temperamental atheist, an "exalted nationalist" (as the *Espasa* encyclopaedia calls him), he criticised all modern values in a replica of Nietzsche's concept of the "transmutation of all values".

This was the pre-fascist generation, in which young people sought an absolute, an ideal, permanent values, in the face of the crisis of values in the modern world; he would write about this theme in "Un Uomo finito". During the First World War, he was a staunch propagandist of militarism and the warrior spirit in Italy in his articles in "Il popolo d'Italia", somewhat like D'Annunzio.

His works *Gog* and *The Black Book* are products of this same rebellious, revolutionary, fascist spirit with anarchist overtones.

In 1921, Papini underwent a major change: his conversion to Catholicism, to a combative, austere, totalitarian Catholicism. He clashed with the religious hierarchy, which was liberal and democratic on the one hand, and reactionary on the other. This was somewhat similar to what would happen later to the fascist intellectual Gentile, who was assassinated by the communists and who, in his speech "My Religion", took a stance identical to that of Papini. It was at this time that he wrote some of his masterpieces: "The Story of Christ", "The Devil", "Jacob's Ladder", etc.

Papini welcomed the rise to power of fascism in Italy with mutual sympathy. His appointment as Academician of Italy in 1937 is another example of this friendly relationship.

When Gentile was assassinated, Papini wrote in his "Diary": "The news has affected me deeply. I had known him well and appreciated his work ethic, kindness of spirit and sincere passion for spiritual matters and Italy. I was happy that Gentile was president of the Academy. I had recently written to him and we were going to meet next Tuesday. In politics, he had taken a decisive and clear stand in favour of fascism."

During World War II, he was a staunch supporter of the war, Italian intervention and maintaining Italy's alliance with Germany. In his "diary" he wrote in 1943: "I am the only Italian writer who has more than once spoken out clearly in favour of the war."

He considered the struggle of Italy and Germany not as a conventional war, but as a European crusade against barbarism: "Now we are fighting for the unity and independence of Europe... The Anglo-Saxons have succeeded in getting the communists to fight for the salvation of English and American capitalism"... "The Jews, who have had so much influence in Europe, are Asians."

independence of Europe... The Anglo-Saxons have now succeeded in getting the communists to fight for the salvation of English and American capitalism"... "The Jews, who have had so much influence in Europe, are Asians. Could this war be a war of reconquest?"... "The Asians, so often rejected and expelled from Europe, have launched an offensive against us through the Slavs, who are largely Mongolian, waving the communist flag... Revenge of the resentful and humiliated" (from the "Diary").

In 1942, he received a visit from the Undersecretary of National Education, with whom he agreed on the political vision of Italy, according to his own statements. He suffered and was distressed by the military defeats. He almost stopped writing because he could not concentrate. He became indignant with Mussolini when he was unable to defend Rome from the Allied advance.

But the blow that led to his total disappointment with the Italian people and caused him to retreat even further into his fascism was the betrayal of Mussolini by Badoglio and the king. From then on, he never stopped accusing the Italians of disloyalty: "The greatest proof of loyalty an Italian can give today is this: not to say a word about Italians. I do not want to accuse them and I cannot defend them." "The monarchy covered itself in infamy in 1943" (from "Diary").

As a nationalist and an ardent lover of Italy and the Mediterranean, he was more of a Mussolinian than a Hitlerian. However, despite his differences with the Germans, he held Hitler in great respect. He was particularly impressed by his death and the dramatic force of the fall of Berlin. He comments in his Diary that all this is only worthy of the pen of a Tacitus, but that there will be no Tacitus for this drama, only miserable journalists.

Following the military defeat, repression against Papini began: "I truly consider myself a criminal. The attacks against me have resumed. I am guilty of not having played 'double game' like so many others, guilty of not believing in the 'magnificent destinies' and progressive promises of democracy and communism" (Diary).

Most of his friends were murdered and persecuted: Guerrin was defenestrated; Rebora and Barna were imprisoned. He was expelled from the Journalists' Union. A communist newspaper proposed that he should only be allowed to live if he never wrote again.

His membership of the Italian Academy, at Mussolini's express wish, was not forgiven. The Ministry of Finance mortgaged the house where he lived (the only thing he had left) to cover his "political responsibilities". His response to the persecution was contempt for the materialistic world that was coming and a reaffirmation of his ideology. He severely criticised Pius XII for not saying a word against the killings of Italian fascists after the invasion, while only apologising to the Allies for his concordat with Hitler.

"Catholics harass me because I have loved the Gospel, anti-fascists persecute me for having loved Italy. Love for great things attracts the hatred of small people."

Papini died in 1956, without the persecution of liberals and Marxists against him ceasing. But he was not only historically linked to fascism, he also thought like a fascist. He was a declared enemy of democracy, Marxism and Judaism. A staunch spiritualist, he abhorred modern art. He called democracy, big industry and imperialism the "three hideous faces of the modern monster".

In his work "Jacob's Ladder", he says: "We have fought in this war for democracy, and men are at the mercy of demagogic minorities in the East and plutocratic minorities in the West; we have fought against kings elected by divine right, and we are at the mercy of the emperors of the banks".

He showed himself to be anti-Jewish on many different occasions. His study of the Jewish spirit and tactics in "Gog" is perhaps one of the most accurate ever written. The Jew Benrubi perfectly expresses the Zionist work in Aryan society. Moreover, he always accepted the Jewish origin of communism: "Mongol bastards whom the Jewish spirit has led to accept Marx's theories and American ambitions (science, industry...)" (from "Diary").

However, Papini's ideological struggle focused mainly on Catholicism. He fought tirelessly against Christian decadence and "modernist" tendencies: "They do not understand Christianity at all, much less Catholicism. They have a 1898 mentality: evolutionism, democracy, universal peace, science and a united world."

For Papini, the anti-church is expressed in his "Jacob's Ladder": "The dogmas of the anti-church are: First. Man is born naturally good. 2) Humanity, thanks to the discoveries of science, is rapidly moving towards infallible goals of progress. 3) Paradise will be enjoyed on earth in the near future." He is in favour of a combative Christianity: "... And to think that Christianity was the greatest revolution against 'tranquillity', both external and internal, that the world has ever seen."

He rejects relativism, always affirming absolute values. In his "Personal Statement," he says of how unchristian modern intellectuals are: "Christianity has the disadvantage of being an Absolute, and our lazy modern toys know and want to know nothing more than the vile truths of relativity." Finally, in the artistic sphere, Papini also showed himself to be deeply fascist, defending spiritual art against materialistic modern art. He wrote "Arte Deshumano" (Inhuman Art) against abstract art, cubism, etc. On every occasion, he repudiated the new erotic political-artistic trends. His comment on Sartre was "Sensuality, sexuality and verbiage".

For him, the modern world is a path to disintegration: disintegration of the state, the family, faith and art. Democracy eliminates genius, and with it art. 'Leveling down to mediocrity. Abolition of verticality. There are no longer heroes, geniuses or prophets. The steppe is the negation of the Alps'.

Papini is an example of an entire generation of fascist artists murdered by democracy. R.B.

"Can't you guess what lies at the bottom of all these desires? It is nothing more than the mercantile, bourgeois, philistine, Judaic and American idea that without money nothing can be done, that without material means inspiration is impossible, that without comforts, without everything that parents call 'a comfortable position', genius slumbers, languishes and dies." G Papini

THE CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION

On 16 November 1918, in a Germany dominated by Bolshevism, a group of officers, led by Lieutenant Suppe, created the first "Freikorps" in a Berlin barracks: "Who in Berlin, at this moment, is asking anyone what needs to be done? We will group together without anyone's authorisation. Our existence will be recognised, whether people like it or not. In exceptional circumstances, a non-commissioned officer must make decisions alone. We have never known anything as exceptional as this. That is why I have decided to form a Freikorps with those who wish to follow me." At first, only his old comrades responded to his call, but almost immediately former soldiers, young nationalists and students, such as Himmler and Heydrich, joined them. Soon there will be several thousand fighters marching and singing their anthem:

"The street belongs to those who occupy it,

The street belongs to the flag of our commando units

... a hymn that will spread across borders and armies and will significantly be the hallmark of the OAS's "Delta" commandos. Both were the "reprobates", the "heretics", to use the terms imposed on them by von Salomon, "the lost soldiers". The Freikorps was born with very specific objectives: to restore an order that the Weimar Republic could not maintain, to combat subversion, to protect the Volksdeutsche; its enemies were the Red Army, the soldiers' councils, the Latvian government and the Entente. The Weimar government and its impassivity were the fifth adversary. The exploits of the Freikorps constituted a renewal of the audacity and recklessness of the Teutonic knights, although paradoxically their sacrifices helped to save the Weimar Republic. Bitterly, one of these "lost soldiers" wrote: "May God forgive us. This was our sin against the spirit. We believed we were saving the citizen and we have saved the bourgeoisie." The author of these lines was Ernst von Salomon.

Von Salomon was not a young man whose situation and origins allowed anyone to predict what his future would be. He belonged to that class of men who carve out their own destiny, free from any determinism. The son of bourgeois parents, he was born in Kiel in 1902. His age prevented him from participating in the First World War, but his adventurous and somewhat nihilistic spirit led him to join the Freikorps. Here, his record was

exceptionally brilliant, and everything suggests that he does not exaggerate in the slightest when he describes the epic deeds of the Freikorps in the Baltic in his book "The Outlaws". He fought in the Baltic and took part in the peasant revolts in Schleswig-Holstein and the Kap coup. He was one of the executors of the Jewish minister Walter Rathenau, and his involvement cost him a five-year prison sentence, which he served. It was not until very late in his adventure that he found the ideals to fight for: "We did not know what we wanted, but we did not want what we knew. To break through the walls that imprisoned us in the world, to march over scorched earth, to stumble over ruins and ashes, to cross the wild forests without consideration, to advance, to conquer, to open our own path to the East, to the white, burning, dark and cold country that stretches between us and Asia... was that what we wanted? I do not know if that was our desire, but that was what we did. And the search for reason was lost in the turmoil of continuous struggle...

Von Salomon's ideals were as confused as the political situation in Europe after the First World War. He was driven by a lively and active spirit and would have agreed with Drieu and the character in his novel *Le Jeune Européen* when he said: "We don't know what to do, but we will do it." Walter Rathenau was for a long time one of the most hated men in Germany. He had boasted in public that he was one of "the three hundred wise men of Zion whose goal was to seek world domination" at a time when anti-Semitism was flourishing everywhere in Germany... but he was also one of the most brilliant minds, perhaps the only one at that time, in the Weimar Republic.

In 1921, Rathenau was Minister of Reconstruction and the following year he held the portfolio of International Affairs. But he was not only a politician, he was also an ideologue and a critic of the modern world. His work can be considered a precursor to neo-socialism (planism) at the economic level and he held views that coincided with those of some groups of young nationalists in post-war Germany. But one thing separated him from them: his Jewish origins and his loyalty to democratic institutions. When von Salomon had to explain his involvement in the assassination, he claimed that Rathenau was the most dangerous man in the Weimar Republic, not so much because of his Judaism but because he was repulsed by the idea that something sensible could emerge from the republic. As he explains in *The Outlaws*, both he and several of his assassins had read his books and shared many of his opinions.

On the social aspect, some chapters of "The Outcasts" are devoted to analysing a concept that both Spengler and Van den Bruck, and to a certain extent Hitler and the NSDAP, shared: Prussian socialism. It is well known that Spengler devoted one of his books to defining "true socialism" ("Prussianism and Socialism"), which appeared shortly before Hitler's rise to power. In one of the chapters of "The Outcasts", Salomon converses with Kern (another of those who killed Rathenau):

If we fight the communists, it is not because we have an interest in protecting the capitalists, but because we cannot recognise any interests other than those of the nation. If, instead of 'society' or 'class', we spoke of 'nation', you would perfectly understand what I mean.

But that means socialism in its purest form.

In reality, it must represent socialism, but only in its present form; that is, in the Prussian form.

All these ideas seem to coincide with those of certain circles that had emerged in Germany after the world war: the revolutionary conservatives, the nationalist revolutionaries, the national Bolsheviks, who for the most part

ended up either in the National Socialist Party, in the "Black Front" or conspiring against Hitler until 1944. The names of these movements often seem contradictory and diametrically opposed, but in any case, they demonstrate the vitality of nationalist ideas and the broad internal debate among German youth in their search for a third way.

Ernst Niekisch had been a member of the Social Democratic Party and was elected as a member of parliament for Bavaria, but he was closer to anarchist syndicalism than to Bernstein and other colleagues in the SPD. He founded the National Bolshevik Party after being expelled from the Social Democratic Party. In 1926, he began publishing his magazine "Widerstand" (Resistance), in which he proclaimed three central ideas:

1. - Germany was an Eastern power.
2. - It was essential for Germany's existence to pursue a policy of friendship with Russia.
3. - Capitalism could only be ended by nationalising the working class and instilling in it the idea of the Fatherland.

Among others, these ideas were echoed by von Salomon, who contributed to the columns of "Widerstand", and Ernst Jünger, who also occasionally published articles. Moeller van den Bruck had inspired this movement from afar, which, like the national revolutionaries and revolutionary conservatives, was politically "worked on" by the Strasser brothers once they defected from the NSDAP to found their "Union of National Socialist Revolutionaries". All these tendencies were united by an irreproachable ideological "zeal"; they understood absolutely nothing about political strategies, tactics, compromises with some in order to crush others and then be able to turn more comfortably to the former. Sectarian and enlightened, they sometimes collaborated unwittingly with the communists and, on other occasions, equally unwittingly with the National Socialists. These tendencies barely progressed beyond the "club" stage, evaporating in practice, except in narrow, often conspiratorial circles, after Hitler's rise to power.

It is curious to note that both Moeller van den Bruck and Ernst Junger had very little sympathy for National Socialism. This is all the more contradictory given that the type of human being they proposed (especially Junger's concept of the "worker") essentially coincided with the one Hitler elevated to the status of archetype. The explanation for this apparent contradiction can be found in the very psychology of the intellectual. As a relentless critic, the intellectual places an extraordinary distance between reality and his idea of how that reality should be. Both Moeller and Junger lived on unrealistic abstractions, and the least that can be said about them is that they were unrealistic.

Ernst Junger was born in Heidelberg and, like von Salomon, participated in the glorification of the trenches and the risk of bayonet charges. But earlier, his youthful reading had prompted him to desert his family home and enlist in the Foreign Legion (the result of this experience is the novel *African Games*, in which the protagonist alludes to the author's existence, rejecting tranquillity in favour of adventure). In 1915, he was sent to the front as a German soldier. In August 1915, he was promoted to section leader. Four months later, he was made a lieutenant for his war merits; he received the Iron Cross First Class in the Battle of the Somme. In 1918, shortly before the end of the war, he was assigned to a new shock troop unit, a kind of elite unit of the German army. He always carried a notebook in which he patiently recorded his experiences and thoughts, and it was from this instrument that his most powerful stories would emerge. At the end of the war, he was decorated "pour le mérite" ... he had been wounded 14 times.

"The war has transformed me," he would write in *War Experience*. In reality, the war allowed him to experience a new atmosphere of camaraderie in the manner of a warrior aristocracy that should govern the Germany of the future. Julius Evola was a great admirer of Junger, even dedicating a book to him (*The Worker in the Thought of Ernst Junger*) and describing two stages in his life: one marked by the immediate experience of the world war, a youthful, active, generous stage; and a second stage of disillusionment in which, although the good taste and *savoir faire* that has always characterised Junger's prose predominate, the direct experience is absent. This second stage begins with *"On the Marble Cliffs"*, in which some critics have sought to observe a description of Hitler's Germany and which, in our opinion, is nothing more than an impeccable stylistic display without any other ambition. Later novels abound in this criterion, However, Junger's early work deserves much more attention.

Particularly noteworthy are *"Storm of Steel"* (1919) and the other works resulting from his war experience: *"The War as I Lived It"* (1922), *"Fire and Blood"* (1923), and *"The Forest"* (1922). At this time, he was still in the army and even collaborated in the preparation of a manual for the infantry.

In 1927, he decided to dabble in politics. He first contacted the veterans' association *"Casco de Acero"* (Steel Helmet) and, in particular, the circle surrounding the magazine *"Estandarte"* (Standard), the association's mouthpiece. This circle rejected both petty bourgeois nationalism and foreign subversion. They were not "nationalists" like the conservatives, but "nationalists", i.e. patriotic military men. The word "nationalists" seems to have been coined by Junger himself and was defined by his brother Frederic Georg in his book *"The March to Nationalism"* as follows: "Modern nationalism desires the extraordinary. It does not want moderation, but its basic productive quality, its spiritual strength. War is the mother of nationalism. What our writers and intellectuals say about this is irrelevant. War is the experience of blood, so all that matters is what men have to say about it. War is our mother; she gave birth to us in the swollen belly of the trenches. As a new race, we proudly acknowledge our origin. Consequently, our values must be heroic values, the values of warriors, and not the values of the shopkeeper who wants to measure the world with his yardstick, cloth. We do not want what is useful, practical and pleasant, but what is necessary and what destiny compels us to desire.

This militancy should not deceive us. Junger, like most national Bolsheviks and other sects, was individualistic enough not to gel with any particular political formation. In fact, he collaborated with a wide variety of newspapers as long as they met one condition: attacking liberalism and the republic. However, he did not hesitate to compare them to a bus that one takes at a stop and leaves when one wants. In 1931, he abandoned all political activity, devoting himself solely to doctrinal work, and in the following two years he published two fundamental works, *"The Worker"* and *"Total Mobilisation"*, his last two great works from our point of view.

The pillars on which Junger's pre-World War II thinking is based are, therefore, as follows: on the one hand, the First World War served to bring him into line with Italian futurism, to which he was totally alien, in that "war is the only hygiene of the world". It serves as natural selection, handing power to the strong and, above all, featuring the soldier, whom Junger contrasts with the bourgeoisie. In line with Clausewitz, he has to admit that if war is the continuation of politics by other means, the warrior is called upon to replace the

bourgeois in the world of politics if he "wants to prevent further stabbings in the back", such as the capitulation and the ominous Treaty of Versailles.

But a new order would not be complete if it did not take into account that a revolution is not the task of one class but of an entire people, and that "the war front and the labour front are identical." From the consideration of the revolutionary act as a "total mobilisation" to that of the worker as the complement of the soldier, a comprehensive anti-bourgeois worldview emerges. To achieve political superiority, military supremacy must be obtained, and this is closely linked to the problems of production and technification (Junker is the first to warn that technology represents a mutation for Western civilisation). However, neither the soldier should be motivated by a purely "militaristic" conception, nor the worker by a "productive" mentality. Rather, both the profession of arms and that of production should be governed by a higher conception of effort and sacrifice taken to the limit, beyond which a new type of elite man of the future will be created, in whose hands the rule of the state will lie. "We have not wanted to see in the worker the representative of a new economy, a new class, a new society, because he is nothing but all of this, namely, the representative of a particular form acting according to his own laws, following his own mission and possessing his own freedom" (...) "In the world of work, the will to freedom takes the form of a will to work" (...) "One can only have a feeling of freedom if one takes part in a unified and meaningful life." This new man, master of himself, disciplined in his feelings and in maximum tension in the service of society, is the one who must lead the total mobilisation against bourgeois individualism, in the service of society. For Junker, the notion of freedom is closely linked to that of service; remember the motto of that Castilian family, which also coincides: "To give is to serve, to receive is to be a servant".

Junker never became involved in politics and, apart from his brief associations with the "Steel Helmet", he took little interest in other nationalist movements. For a time he admired Hitler, although he felt a certain aversion to his electoral strategy. Like most young intellectual nationalists, he detested the very idea of participating in elections and rejected the seat in parliament that Hitler offered him in 1930. He would later distance himself even further. He heard about the June 1944 plot, but did not want to participate in it because he considered himself a soldier bound by a commitment of loyalty to Hitler. In his "Diary 1939-45", he shows on several occasions how he fell prey to rumours that international subversion was running rampant within the German army in order to undermine morale. His later accounts are of little interest except from a strictly literary point of view, not a political or even doctrinal one. The same attitude towards National Socialism was adopted by Moeller van den Bruck, who partly inspired this whole generation of "young nationalists".

Moeller was born in Solingen in 1876 and died in 1925, after expressing scepticism towards Hitler and his movement ("That guy will never get far"...). In reality, he was the father of "revolutionary conservatism". Translator of Dostoyevsky's works into German and author of, among others, "The Prussian Style" and "The Right of Young Peoples", Moeller is by far the most widely read intellectual of this movement; his works do not fall into the surprising complexity of Spengler, nor into the initiatory nature of Keyserling, and differ both in treatment and theme from Salomon or Junker, but he was the one who knew how to penetrate deepest into the hearts of the "young nationalists" and give them a coherent and comprehensive doctrinal body that without him they would have found difficult to acquire. Upon his death, his

thoughts were taken up by the "Tat" ("Action") group, led by Eugen Rosentok, which drifted towards a "national communism" without much of an audience.

In 1919, Moeller founded the "Juniklub" (later replaced by the "Herrenklub"), which defined itself as "corporate, socialist, anti-Western and nationalist". Among its members were Hans Grimm, author of "People Without Space", a sufficiently significant title, and Heinrich von Gleichen, who would later lead the "Herrenklub". The Strasser brothers, Oswald Spengler and the future Chancellor Brüning gave lectures in its halls. But Moeller's magnum opus was the book entitled "The Third Reich", which predicted what Hitler would put into practice.

Published shortly after *The Decline of the West*, Moeller's book is partly devoted to refuting some of Spengler's theses. Moeller counters Spengler's inevitable decline with the "inexhaustible will of the people," which can overcome any state of decline, depending on the integrity of that will. Hence, he strives to revive German nationalism as an antidote to decadence. "German nationalism wants to preserve Germany because it constitutes, as the 'Middle Land' (Mitland), the only solid foundation for European equilibrium." As Moeller conceives it, German nationalism has a global mission, which is to achieve the unification of Europe. Therein lies the "revolutionary" task of the Prussian style, to achieve European unity (Moeller had the blood of many nations in his veins, his grandmother was Spanish and his mother Dutch) and at the same time his "conservative" task, to preserve that style. As Moeller conceives it, a united Europe is only conceivable under German domination, and for this he relies on geopolitical theses and Germany's continental situation as "mitland". European unity must therefore pass through a strong Germany. Moeller calls this (somewhat *sui generis*) "Europeanism" "organic and organising supernaturalism".

For Moeller, Germany is not a Western nation, but an Eastern one. He despises the West and what it stands for, especially what it has stood for since the French Revolution. He contrasts Germanism with Latinism and sees in Arminius and the victory in the Teutoburg Forest over the Romans the victory of instinct over reason. It should be noted that his notion of Latinism seemed to be more influenced by French neoclassicism than by Latinism itself. It is precisely in France and England that he sees the seeds of modern disintegration: dominated by Masonic lodges, it was in these two nations that liberalism, scepticism and rationalism, secularisation and Masonic opportunism in particular, took deepest root. The lodges prepared the siege of Germany in 1914 and with it the disintegration of the Reich. Future foreign policy must be based on friendship with Russia and the subjugation of Germany and France. Russia... communism has triumphed there, in an Eastern nation communism presents itself as a Western import that enslaves and dominates the will and zeal for service of the Russian spirit. Marxism is a continuation of liberalism, but while the latter limits itself to proclaiming formal equality of rights, Marxism speaks of economic equality and international proletarian union. Both source texts, the Communist Manifesto and the Social Contract, are equally abstruse and utopian. In response to all this, the Third Reich emerges, according to Moeller's conception. A conservative revolution is necessary: "Germany must win its revolution by rediscovering the secret of its tradition and its destiny." The structure of the Third Reich must be "national socialism," that is, socialism within the German national framework with the national integration of economic leaders and those who execute it. Every form of socialism belongs to a people, and every people has the right to its own conception of socialism. Every nation has the duty to establish justice for its own

German consciousness will give rise to a young, corporate, militaristic socialism rooted in German soil. An organic order will naturally hierarchise the people. The proletariat will be nationalised (placed at the service of the nation). The form of the state should not contemplate the dilemma of "monarchy" or "republic": a true elite, born of a true people, has the right to lead the state faithful to its tradition. The future leader will be elected by the German people and there will be different organic bodies: federal (regions), political (participatory) and economic (corporations). More important than the form of the state is the elite that leads that state, which must first and foremost be born of a spiritual revolution (that is, one that will change the consciousness of the proletariat and the popular community). Perhaps it is in Moeller's thinking that the notion of "cultural revolution" is first intuited. The revolution he speaks of will have the function of elevating the creative spirit of the masses in general.

Such is, broadly speaking, Moeller's ideological construct: bold, intuitive, surprising, beyond Pan-Germanism and internationalism. From 1930 onwards, his themes were systematically collected by the Tat Group until 1933. With the subtitle "magazine dedicated to the development of a new regime", the men of "Tat", like Junger and Moeller, rejected political activism and devoted themselves to developing a spiritual and intellectual framework for the resurrection of Germany. Adolf Hitler was already taking care of the other side... E.M.

LUDWIG SCHEMANN

Within the chapter on the precursors of the ideas that would give shape to National Socialism, it is necessary to mention, albeit briefly, Ludwig Schemann. Rather than being a defender, promoter or even discoverer of new theories in any particular field, Schemann's merit lies in the dissemination he gave to the work of Gobineau and Wagner. It is clear that many people were interested in Wagner at that time, but Gobineau was practically unknown in Germany, despite the great impact his work had had on people such as Wagner himself. Schemann founded the Gobineau Association in 1894, translated his works and devoted himself fully to disseminating the author's work, from which the science of race ("Rassenkunde") would emerge, which would achieve such fruitful development in National Socialist Germany, especially through Günther and Clauss, although Schemann's contribution to the racial studies of his time, now personal and not merely as a translator, is by no means negligible.

Ludwig Schemann was born in Cologne in 1852, studied at the universities of Heidelberg, Berlin and Bonn, and held a chair at the University of Freiburg. Some of his main works are: Gobineau's *Rassenwerk*, Gobineau und die deutsche Kultur, *Die Rasse i. d. Geistesw.*, "Meine Erinnerungen an R. Wagner", "Schopenhauers Briefe", "Lebensbild P. de Lagardes", "Von Detuscher Zukunft", "Cherubini", "Hans von Bülow im Lichte der Wahrheit"... J.M.

OTHMAR SPANN

Born in Vienna in 1878, Spann is one of the many prominent thinkers who flourished in the period immediately preceding the advent of National Socialism and who influenced that movement, either as a whole or in certain sectors.

His professional training as an economist naturally influenced his work, and he devoted part of his literary output to this subject; however, at all times

He shunned simple technical specialisation in economics in order to repeatedly analyse its relationship with society. From a philosophical point of view, he was keenly interested in social issues from a very young age, which is why, at the age of 26, he founded a publication entitled *Kritische Blätter für die gesamte Sozialwissenschaft* (Critical Papers for the Entire Social Sciences), which, as its name suggests, is aimed at the critical study of all social theories. Othmar Spann, in opposition to the materialistic, individualistic and liberal trends of his time, advocated an organic system of society, based on solid philosophical foundations and always bearing in mind that "society is a matter of spirit". Spann was always aware that a society must be organised organically in a hierarchical manner, with this hierarchy extending not only to the internal structure that must govern it, but also to the values of that society itself. For Spann, everything was a matter of careful analysis in order to assign the appropriate place to each element. Nothing could be further from the truth for him than to say that art, religion, economics or sport are matters of equal importance. This would be tantamount to saying that a soldier, a labourer, an architect and a general are one and the same thing. Each thing must be recognised and assigned a value and always kept in mind; any other way of proceeding is absurd. His social doctrine is clearly idealistic and defends religious values.

The only books by this important thinker that have been translated into Spanish are "Philosophy of Society" (published by *Revista de Occidente*) and "History of Economic Doctrines"; However, his output is much more extensive, with *Der Wahre Staat* (The True State) being particularly noteworthy, in which he analyses in depth all the social problems of his time, confronted by antagonistic doctrines and in which Marxism achieved great success with its materialist doctrine. He is also the author of a purely philosophical work entitled "Kategorienlehre"; among his other works, we would highlight: "Fundamente der Volkswirtschaftslehre", "Der Schöpfungsgang des Geistes", "Gesellschaftsphilosophie", "Tote und lebendige Wissenschaft", "Geist d. Volkswirtschaftslehre"... He died in 1951 at the age of 73. J.M.

Count KEYSERLING

Herman Alexander Keyserling (1880-1946) was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1880, a German citizen (Baltic). He wrote "The Travel Diary of a Philosopher". Dispossessed of his family's property by the Russian Revolution, he moved to Berlin, where he married one of Bismarck's granddaughters. The central theme of his ideas is spiritual regeneration, without which racial regeneration is not possible. In this respect, his ideas can be considered precursors to National Socialism. His attitude towards this movement was benevolent, more or less like that of Spengler, and for this reason he had difficulties with the occupation authorities in Austria. He died in Innsbruck in 1946.

Other works by him include: "Immortality," "Creative Understanding," "The Recovery of Truth," "South American Meditations," and "America Liberated." Also "The Intimate Life" and "The Anguish of the World." In "Spectral Analysis of Europe", he appears as a precursor of a spiritual unity, and from there, a political unity, of our continent. J.B.

FRIEDRICH VON BERNHARDI

German general and military writer, born in St Petersburg on 22 November 1849 and died in 1930. He was director of the Institute of Military History in Berlin. His best-known work, "Germany and the Last War", published in 1912, was so anti-British and caused such a sensation in England that General Ludendorff himself came to believe that

Von Bernhardi was an agent provocateur in the service of England. He participated actively in World War I. In 1921, he published "Deutschlands Heldenkampf," with ideas that were later incorporated into the National Socialist Movement.

Von Bernhardi's prestige among German military and political figures, even those opposed to his ideas, was always considerable.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE

German writer and politician, born in Dresden in 1834. In 1874, he became a member of the Reichstag, where he always supported the government in its policy of dominating the Poles, socialists and Catholics. He was also one of the pioneers of German colonialism.

His main work was "History of Germany in the 20th Century", although his "Historical and Political Essays" and his book of poems "Poems to My Fatherland" also stood out. The curious thing about this writer is that, among other theories, he supported the idea that Germany should unify around Prussia and Europe, surrounding Germany, as a means of opposing, in a geopolitical unity stretching from the Atlantic to the Caucasus, the geographical tide of colour that, according to him, would submerge the civilised world at the end of the 20th century. J.B.

HANS FRIEDRICH BLUNCK

Born in Altona on 3 September 1888, he studied law in Kiel and Heidelberg. He took part in the First World War as an officer; after the war, he was for a long time a trustee of the University of Hamburg. In 1933, he was promoted to President of the Reichsschriftkammer (Reich Chamber of Literature), a position he held until 1935, when he retired to live in Holstein, on the Mölenhoff estate, devoting himself to literary creativity. He was replaced by Hans Johst.

Blunck's work is deeply intertwined with German history, delving especially into early studies of Germanic history. He seeks out and delves into the germinal forces that lie within history, revitalising them and giving them poetic form to offer them to his German contemporaries.

A basic thread can be observed in most of Blunck's work. It consists of a trilogy on Lower Germany, "Werdendes Volk", and the three narratives "Die Grosse Fahrt" (1934), "Kórig Geiserich" (1935) and "Walter von Plettenberg" (1938), which form a unity in terms of content in their description of Germanic-German heroes.

The first volume of the trilogy called "Urväter-Saga" is the work "Gewalt über das Feuer" (Power over Fire, 1928), which delves into the early days of German prehistory, which can only be grasped by those who possess a poetic-heroic gift. The second volume, "Kampf der Gestirne" (Struggle of the Stars, 1926), studies the formation of the Germanic people in the Stone Age. In the third narrative, *Der Streit mit den Göttern* (The Dispute with the Gods), the first individual figures in German history appear. In other words, it does not deal with the history of the German people as a generic unit of the nation, but rather highlights the actions of personalities of the time.

In the novels of the trilogy "Weidendes Volk" (People in Formation), Blunck deals with the courageous individual figures of Lower German history, men in whom the characterological forces of the Fatherland are catalysed in their religious, state, etc. sense and in their typical externalisation of a genuine way of acting and a genuine view of the world and things: King Geiserich and the passage of the Vandals to Africa, the Viking Diderik Pining

and his rediscovery of America before Columbus, and Walter von Plettenberg, the last great leader of the Order of Knights in the West

The first volume of the verse work "Die Sage von Reich" (The Saga of the Reich) appeared in 1940, in which he attempted to summarise this vision of Germanic development from the sagas and myths to the historical world.

Blunck does not belong to the type of historical writers; he is more of a poet with a high sensitivity for his own personal world, as seen in his stories, "Frauen im Garten" (Women in the Garden, 1939) and "Das Feuerhorn" (1933). His intimate connection with the Lower Elbe and his imaginative power made Blunck a great creator of legends. P, V.

EMIL STRAUSS

Born in Pforzheim on 31 January 1866, he studied at the universities of Freiburg, Lausanne and Berlin. He wanted to be a farmer, but this dream was frustrated, and in 1892 he emigrated to South America, where he worked as a guard at a boys' boarding school in Sao Paulo. Upon his return to Germany, he settled near Lake Constance, from 1910 to 1912 in Hellenau, near Dresden, then on a small farm in Hegau, finally settling in Freiburg in 1925.

In 1936, he was awarded the Erwin von Steinbach Prize by the Goethe Foundation. His first major success came with the student novel *Freund Hein* (1902), after publishing the collection of short stories *Menschenwege* in 1898, from which he carefully extracted the foundations of his work.

The central focus of Strauss's work is always man. A man who struggles to assert himself and triumph over fate and the challenges of life. This struggle is reflected in his works as a vital behaviour of life itself, *Kreuzungen* (1925) and *Das Riesenspiegelszug*, and in the author's greatest work, *Der Lebenstanz* (1940), a love story set in the early post-war period.

"*Der Schleier*" (1930) is a collection of stories in which man is presented in constant struggle against fate, against himself, against his own contradictions. Strauss recounts his experiences during his stay in Latin America in the collection of stories *Menschenwege* and *Hans Und Grete* (1909), and in his beautiful narrative *Der Engelwirt* (1921).

Among his three dramatic works, *Vaterland* (1922) is particularly noteworthy, in which Strauss declares himself against all pacifism. In *Der nackte Mann* (1925), he develops a poetic theme that takes place in Strauss's hometown of Pforzheim.

Emil Strauss was a highly gifted writer who enriched German literature with his perfectly crafted, refined language, which gives readers the sensation of savouring something exquisite. P.V.

GERHARDT HAUPTMANN

A playwright and literary author, he was born in Salzburg on 15 November 1862. He died a year after the defeat of Europe, on 8 June 1946.

The son of a hotelier, he initially studied at the School of Arts and Crafts. An art lover, he initially wanted to be a sculptor and attended some courses at the Breslau School. Later, he studied natural sciences in Berlin and Jena. Some time later, he travelled to Italy, where he once again faced the dilemma of his love of sculpture, finally deciding, after a period of exploration in literature, to write his

first work: the epic poem "Promethidendos" (Berlin, 1885). Although it was not well received artistically, it already began to reveal his concern for social issues.

A great enthusiast of naturalist theories, he wrote *Von Sonnenaufgang* (Before Dawn). It was his first major work, premiered at the Freie Bühne in Berlin in 1889, and caused a theatrical scandal at the time. In it, he beautifully describes the social conditions in Silesia, in a bleak and raw picture, but brimming with life and truth. It was the work that initially brought him greater popularity.

With *Einsame Hauschen* (Berlin, 1891), he achieved resounding success. In this work, as in many of his others, the marked influence of Ibsen, Tolstoy and Zola can be seen, but his strong personality, with its vigorous strokes, is already apparent.

In 1892, he wrote *Die Weber*, the best drama of the time, which was translated into every language and was characterised by its overwhelming poetic force and angry protest against capitalism.

With *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* (1894), he discovered that, in addition to vigorous works, he also knew how to create delicate pieces. In 1896, he wrote *Die versukene Glocke* in Berlin, a symbolic drama that would bring him perhaps the greatest success of his life. Although some of the ideas are dense, the work is compensated for by the brilliance and great beauty of its form and images, which are original and profound.

Hauptmann's art, like that of all innovators, was much debated. At first, only a small circle of admirers appreciated his work until it became widely recognised, at which point he was feted by all social classes and translated into all languages.

Hauptmann won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1912. When war broke out in 1914, he was criticised for having signed anti-imperialist and pacifist manifestos. Faced with the great confusion and concern he always had for social issues, he was drawn, like many well-meaning people of his time, to the currents that were already beginning to spread through the Communist International. In 1923, he was offered a grand tribute on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

The swastika flag flew from the outset at Hauptmann's country residences in the Riesen Mountains and on the Baltic coast. When Hitler called on the German people on 12 October 1933 to vote on Germany's withdrawal from the decadent and false League of Nations, Gerhard Hauptmann declared the day before: "I will vote Yes". The portrait of the then most popular poet of the Weimar Republic travelled the world with his arm raised in salute, and Baldur von Schirach celebrated Hauptmann.

at the Burgtheater in Vienna, comparing him to Goethe, at the opening of an exhibition on the occasion of his 80th birthday.

After the Second World War, in the few months he had left to live, he was controversially well treated by the victors, even feted by the Soviet leaders. The fame he had gained in the twenty years between the wars, as a Nobel Prize winner and in the Weimar Republic, served as his safe conduct. Over time, there has been much speculation as to whether Gerhard Hauptmann adopted a clear stance in favour of Hitler, or whether it was merely a convenient formula of compromise towards National Socialism. From the outset, Hauptmann welcomed the new revolution, and proof of this was the good relations between the writer and the new state. On the other hand, the interviews he held with Allied and Soviet officials and representatives may well have been gladly accepted by a

A man over 80 years old with only a few months left to live, he escaped the purges, pigeonholing and concentration camps that awaited other artists who, like him, sympathised with National Socialism, finding himself feted by the victors. Among his prolific works are: "Kollege Krampton" (Berlin, 1892), "Der Biberpeltz" (Berlin, 1893), "Florian Geyer" (Berlin, 1895), "Schluck und Ian" (Berlin 1899), "Michel Kramer" (Berlin, 1900), "Der Rote Hahn" (Berlin, 1901), "Der Arme Heinrich" (Berlin, 1902), "Rose Bernd" (Berlin, 1903), "Elga" (1904), "Die Ledigen Machden von Beschofsberg" (1908), "Griselda" (1909), "Atlantis" (1912), as well as critiques, studies and novels such as "Der Apostel" and "Bahnwärter Thiel" (1892). Among his works from the first quarter of the century to the present day are: "Veland" (1924), "Dorothe Auger" (1925), "Spuk" (1929), "Vor Sonnenuntergang" (1932), "Die Goldene Harfe" (1933), "Hamiet in Wittenberg" (1935); among his epic works are "Wanda" (1928), "Buch der Leidenschaft" (1929), *Hoch Zeit auf Buchenhorst* (1931), *Um Volk und Geist* (1932), *Das Meerwunder* (1934), *Im Wirbel der Berufung* (1935), *Das abenteuer meiner Jugend* (1937), etc. P.V.

HANS GRIMM

He is one of the most virile, hard-working and prominent figures in the German poetic world during the National Socialist era, both as a politician and educator of a people, and as an active man and poet.

Born in Wiesbaden on 22 March 1875, he died on 27 September 1959 in Lippoldsberg.

His father, Julius Grimm, was a former professor at the University of Basel and had been a member of the National Liberal Party in the Prussian Landtag and one of the founders of the *Kolonialverein* (Colonial Association). At the age of 20, Hans Grimm left for England to work for a German company in Nottingham. Two years later, he was sent to South Africa, where he remained until 1910. There he wrote his first novels, *Die Grobbelaars*, *Mordenaars Grat*, *Im Durstland*, etc. At that time, he became a correspondent for the newspaper *Tägliche Rundschau*. For him, Africa represented the self-affirmation of Germans in the world. It gave him a self-awareness that cannot be acquired in one's own homeland, but rather outside of it, where different peoples meet. Grimm argued, always reasonably, that Germany needed to acquire colonies, appealing to the conscience of his people with the novel that would make him famous: *Volk ohne Raum* (People Without Space, 1926), in which he describes Germany's existential angst. In the work, he vividly and imaginatively describes the drama of an overpopulated Germany with uncertain borders that must face its future.

Upon his return from Africa, Grimm married Countess Adelheid von der Schulenburg and devoted himself to the study of political science in Munich. In 1914, he presented a doctoral thesis in Hamburg on the population of South Africa and continued to publish various works inspired by his colonial adventure, such as *Afrikataht-West*, *Südafrikanische Novellen*, etc., which, together with *Der Gang durch Richter in die Karu* (1930), constitute his most important collections of stories. He took part in the Great War in the artillery. In 1918, he published *Der Oelsucher von Duala* alongside *Olewagen-Saga*.

Honorary Doctor Hans Grimm lived from the end of the First World War in Lippoldsberg am Weser, where he bought an old monastery in which he would spend the rest of his days. It was there that he began to write the aforementioned novel *Volk ohne Raum*

(1920-1926), which would bring him fame. The book would be reprinted several times, achieving considerable success. Grimm then took his place among the nation's writers, but he did not join any political party.

In 1932, he expressed his strictly conservative views in his work *Von der bürgerlichen Ehre und bürgerliche Notwendigkeit* (On Bourgeois Honour and Bourgeois Necessity) and criticised the more revolutionary work of Ernst Jünger and Ernst von Salomon.

The title of political writer, which has sometimes been given to him, can truly be considered an honorary title, understood as a writer who reports from the real world and introduces precisely that real world and its people to a spirit, his spirit. Where other poets created individual figures, he aims to create personifications of the German soul. In his character Cornelius Friebott ("Volk ohne Raum"), he personifies that generic German. Grimm is certainly more prominent in his short stories than in his novels. With a great capacity for abstraction and realism at the same time, he gives his stories the style of chronicles. In them, he highlights harsh, blunt and immense concepts. Race, Progeny and Blood appear as the irreducible forces of life in the settlers' struggle for their African homeland. Reflected in them is a feeling of nostalgia, of distant love, of spiritual fusion with the heritage of the homeland, which has rarely been expressed on such a scale.

To better appreciate the style of the work and Grimm's personality, let us take a closer look at one of the letters that Ilse Hess – wife of former National Socialist Minister and Hitler's Deputy, Rudolf Hess, imprisoned in Spandau (1979) – wrote to her husband on 28 September 1959 from Gailenberg. In it, Mrs Hess announces the death of the writer and great friend of the family: "I am writing to you today, one day later than planned. The reason is the obituary of our old friend Hans Grimm. I do not know if the library at your disposal contains the book. Strange things happen today, and even a book that belongs to the great German literature may not be present because it was stamped and classified at the time of its author. But times change, and as happened with another great elder, Knut Hamsun (Nobel Prize winner, totally addicted to Hitler, see the corresponding epigraph in this same work), so will it be the case with our friend: that we will suddenly become aware of how great he was and the uniqueness of his poetic work." "Before the cremation, the first chapter of *Volk ohne Raum*, the chapter on the campaigns, was read. And I sat in the clear, bright September sun and joined in the reading from afar. Perhaps you can find it in your library... In that case, read also those two pages about the bells, whose sound seems to transcend the text itself."

Two years ago, Grimm sent me the new edition of his book, since unfortunately the one we gave each other, so to speak, on the occasion of our wedding, disappeared; like so many other things, such as the great bells of the church in Lippoldsberg, with their deep tones and festive peals, like so many good men, and like our old friend now, whose humanity has been extinguished, but whose spirit and work will endure. He wrote a long dedication in the volume he gave me again and then sent another one to Buz, dedicated to him, before he set off on his long journey through Africa, also with some solemn words.

He often sent his regards to you, repeatedly referring to you and dreaming and wishing that you would sit together here again, gazing into the infinite and exchanging kind words. It's all over now!

After Europe's great defeat, Grimm published various essays and political pamphlets, notably his "Thomas Mann-Schrift Antwort an einem

Schriftsteller (Response to Thomas Mann), written between 1945 and 1948, and his Memoirs. In 1950, he founded the Klosterhaus publishing house in Lippoldsberg, which has already published 20 of the 30 volumes of his complete works. The first five volumes comprise his monumental political-historical novel Heynade und England, written between 1937 and 1945. His last books are almost all devoted to contemporary history: "Warum, woher, aber wohin?" (1954), "Erkenntnisse und Bekenntnisse" (1955), "Von der verkannten Wirklichkeit" and "Anruf an die Kommenden" (1957-1959). P.V.

BRUNO BREHM

Born on 23 July 1892, the son of an Austrian officer, he took part in the First World War as an active officer in the East, in Macedonia and on the Italian front. After the war, he studied art history and later became a writer. In 1942, he took up residence in Vienna.

Brehm's vision of Germanism, and throughout his work on the pan-German destiny, the "Eastern Mark" stands out with the healthy and powerful personality that his works convey. With this, he does not intend to represent a localist landscape, but rather the great sphere of German culture framed within the limits of the former Danubian monarchy. The impulses that ultimately led to the unification of all Germans and the founding of the Reich were extremely important in Vienna and in the pan-German strata of the south-east. Many of these aspects are intrinsic to Brehm's works.

Brehm's works, contained in his trilogy on the collapse of the Danubian monarchy, are also marked by the desire to highlight the positive, loyal and forward-looking forces that this disappearance contained.

Another characteristic and richness of Brehm's work is its fullness of life, its artistic culture born of the deep East, which we capture in his joyful stories full of life and his expansive spirituality.

An army officer, Bruno Brehm is an exemplary political writer. When he deals with issues of war, he does so not merely as a chronicler but also as a man with his sights set on the future. On the other hand, however, he is such an artist that he avoids the danger of becoming a mere writer of political novels, which he finds far removed from programmatic vacuity.

For his trilogy on the Great War, he was awarded the National Book Prize in 1939. His novel "Apis und Este" (1931), about Franz Ferdinand, marked the beginning. The second volume, *Das war das Ende* (That Was the End, 1932), describes the final years of the war. The third, *Weder Kaiser noch König* (Neither Emperor nor King, 1933), deals with Emperor Charles and the collapse of the monarchy.

Die sanfte Gewalt (Gentle Power, 1940) is a profound novel about the intelligence and common sense of women; the male characters represent scenes from the everyday life of pre-war officers. Her complete works also include extensive collections of her contributions to magazines and newspapers. *Auf Wiedersehen, Susanne* (1939) is an entertaining novel about young girls, which is also included among his works. P.V

HANS JOHST

He was born on 6 July 1890 in Seehausen, Saxony. He studied art and philosophy, becoming a playwright. He later took up residence near Lake Starnberg.

Hans Johst is a true expert in verse and prose dramas, which he preached and promoted with passion.

Deeply affected by Germany's defeat in the Great War, he always ardently believed that his homeland would surely rise from the mud and ashes, an idea that was confirmed with the advent of National Socialism.

He expressed his feelings from the high position of what he considered to be the sacred ministry of the word and poetry. With these words, Johst expressed his conception of poetry as popular art, a conception that governed all National Socialist art: "Poetry is popular, it is a good of the people, like iron and coal, like forest and field." When Hans Johst wrote these words, "Big City" literature, directed and disrupted, dominated internationally. His merit lies in lending his voice to sing the poetry of his people's events, while National Socialism was still in its early stages. This goal is set out in books such as "I Believe" (1928) and "Standpunkt und Fortschritt" (1933).

The passion of his feelings, combined with the courage of his expressions, conditioned Johst above all towards the dramatic arts.

His early works were static writings of youth, "Thomas Paine" (1927) and "Schlageter" (1932) are works of profound and immense meaning.

With Schlageter, an image of the fighter and soldier of his time, he created a symbol of the new Germany. *Der Einsamne* (The Lonely One) is a drama written with his characteristic passion about the life and fall of the poet Christian Dietrich Grabbe. In 1935, the NSDAP awarded Hans Johst the party's first prize in the field of culture and science. That same year, he was appointed President of the Reich Chamber of Writers, replacing Hans Friedrich Blunck, who had retired, and as Prussian State Councillor.

As President of the Reich Chamber of Writers, Hans Johst combined poetic ability with high political and cultural responsibility. His participation in major events is expressed in his prose work *Maske und Gesicht, Reise eines Nationalsozialisten von Deutschland nach Deutschland* (1935). In addition, in *Roman von Sterbenden Adel*, he closes a chapter in German history, as he does in *So gehn sie hin* (1930).

He has other personal works, such as his diary of his trip to Spitzberg: *Consuela* (1924) and the novel *Die Torheit einer Liebe* (1930), P. V.

HANS CAROSSA

He was born on 15 December 1878 in Tölz (Upper Bavaria). He came from a family that had emigrated from northern Italy and was the son of a country doctor. He also studied medicine in Munich, Würzburg and Leipzig, settling as a doctor in Passau. Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, he moved to Munich. He participated in the war as an infantry battalion doctor on the Eastern and Western fronts. After the conflict ended, he reopened his practice in Munich. Later, he moved to the small town of Seestetten near Passau, abandoning the practice of medicine and devoting himself exclusively to his artistic and poetic creation.

In 1938, he was awarded the Goethe Prize by the city of Frankfurt, one of the most prestigious awards in Germany at the time. In 1939, the Italian government awarded him the San Remo Prize (50,000 lire at the time), which was given to works dedicated to exposing and combating communism, its techniques and ideology. Carossa was elected President of the Association of European Writers.

The spiritual man is the starting point and Carossa's granddaughter, creating timeless works. He applied the experiences and analysis of his own life, searching the nooks and crannies of his own existence for his experiences to transform them into the meaning of a common destiny. What he wanted to express with his creative zeal is revealed in a series of works that begins with the two books "Eine Kindheit" (A Childhood, 1922) and *Verwandlungen einer Jugend* (Changes of a Youth, 1928), and later expanded with *Rumanischen Tagebuch* (Romanian Diary, 1924), which is nothing less than the author's war diary. He continues with a book about his thoughts on life, "Führung und Gebeit" (Leadership and Accompaniment, 1933), ending with "Das Jahr der schönen Tauschungen" (The Year of Beautiful Mistakes, 1941).

In another series of works, the author moves away somewhat from his own life, which he reflected in the first series, but without losing his sense of wanting, feeling and thinking, which he conveys to the characters in these works, starting with his first work, *Doktor Burgers Ende* (The End of Doctor Burger, 1915), he also wrote the novel "Der Arzt Gion" (Doctor Gion, 1931) and finally the work "Geheimnisse des reifen Lebens" (Secrets of Mature Life, 1936). His lyrical work is collected in "Gedichte" (Poems, 1923).

Hans Carossa's work is not extensive, but its expressive power and spiritual synthesis give him the status of a first-rate artist of his time. His spiritual kinship with Goethe, for whom he felt deep admiration, gives his work and personality a special status and unique character that must be considered unique in the context of German literature. P V.

CARL SCHMITT

The fate of Carl Schmitt, philosopher of law, is one of many examples of the extremes reached in the purges that followed the triumph of democracy in 1945.

This man, whom even his enemies had to acknowledge as having "lasting legal and political knowledge, accurate and sharp analyses of society, great historical vision, a keen distinction between political systems and simple forms of government, erudition and technical knowledge", was expelled from the University and the Association of German Professors after the defeat of Europe and sentenced to death. He would only find safety in exile in Spain. He was guilty of denouncing the degradation of the German people, due to the Republic, and of becoming an unconditional supporter of National Socialism along the way.

Even in his early days, Carl Schmitt argued violently with neo-Kantian jurisprudence and its concept of norms, which were to be the pillars of the Weimar farce. Starting from the fact that all essential representations of the spiritual sphere of man are existential and not normative, he criticises Jellnek and Kelsen's concept of the "meta-legal", that is, the immanent interpretation of the legal norms in force at a given moment, which turn the state into a web of empty relationships and destroy the prejudice that makes law an autonomous field governed by its own laws, without taking into account its social and racial origins.

From the outset, he was implacably hostile to the Weimar parliamentary system and fought relentlessly against the status quo he found himself in. Through

A great journalistic work, carried out single-handedly, develops a scientific critique of liberal ideology and exposes the crisis of the parliamentary system. Bourgeois democracy and liberal capitalism reveal their strongly contradictory nature and opposition to the interests of the German people. Democracy is completely devoid of content, with 'equality' being only a formal assumption. The essence of parliamentarianism is the independence of MPs from their constituents, due to their own wealth or that of their party, i.e. plutocracy. This is what the idea of 'equality' in bourgeois democracies leads to. As for Marxist countries (at that time only the USSR), Carl Schmitt lucidly predicts that "it is precisely this pseudo-religion of absolute equality that will pave the way for inhuman terror." The "eternal rights of man" are a product of the bourgeois mentality, and when this is overcome by the National Revolution of 1933, there will be no place for such principles. Partisan pluralism is a serious danger to the formation of the state will and leaves no room for choice: "Five lists of parties appear, formed in an extraordinarily mysterious and hidden way, dictated by five organisations. The masses are divided into five previously prepared sheepfolds, and the statistical results of this are called an election." The entire mission of parliament is reduced to preserving an absurd status quo and therefore represents a dissolution of the state.

Like Nietzsche in "The Birth of Tragedy", he sees in the parliamentary trajectory the degradation of Germany's strength. The German spirit presents its abdication through the transition to democratisation and "modern ideas". The materialistic "progress" that began in the 19th century appears as a hostile trend against a strong Germany. As degenerate representatives of this materialism within the country, he points to Thomas Mann, Remarque, Freud and the Jewish communists Paul Lévy, Ruth Fischer and Leo Jorgisches, among other reactionary specimens.

But Carl Schmitt does not limit himself to intellectual criticism; he is consistent to the end: "Since real enemies exist, there is a reason to repudiate them, if necessary physically, and to fight against them (...). It is in war that the essence of things is contained. The type of total war determines the type and structure of the entire state, and total war derives its meaning from the total enemy."

In this struggle against Weimar, he rejects any restorationist desire for a reactionary return to the past and hails the National Socialist movement as a heroic attempt to maintain and uphold the dignity of the state and national unity in the face of economic interests, proclaiming the impotence of Marxist socialism in the face of the basic ideas of Race and Nation.

In view of the fact that parliament represents the dissolution of the state (in 1932, he brilliantly demonstrated the arbitrariness of the ordinances of 13 April and 5 May dissolving the paramilitary organisations: SA and SS of the National Socialist Party), a democratic dictatorship is necessary, since the highest degree of identity of a people is achieved when it expresses its will by acclamation. Such a dictatorship is the true, real democracy because it comes from the people. His work "Der Führer schützt das Recht" advocates for the Führer the right and the force necessary to establish a new state in a new order. The decision will be made by the Führer, who defends the law against the worst abuses when he dissolves the multiplicity of orders into the unity of order, looking after the interests of the German people.

After the war, Carl Schmitt continued to fight, especially against the recognition of the infamous Oder-Neisse line, before which the puppet government of "Willy Brandt" bowed down.