

Foundations of Biopolitics



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INTRODUCTION

1- FORGETTING AND EXAGGERATING THE ETHNIC FACTOR

In non-specialised political studies, race has rarely been given its proper place as a factor in the existence, structure and evolution of human communities. Either it is simply forgotten, which is of no great importance in the case of static studies of defined social entities, but it completely distorts the vision of larger groups considered in their evolution; or, more exceptionally, race becomes the only key to history, the only factor in the evolution of man and of communities, as well as in the birth and death of civilisations. Either race does not exist or is at least an unimportant element, a mere reflection of the environment, or else it overwhelms the world with an absolute and hopeless determinism. On the one hand, Marx and Maurras, although they sometimes mention ethno-political factors in passing, are clearly afraid of entering into the realm of problems whose data they do not possess or which might complicate the development of their theories. On the other hand, Oobineau systematises

The first to deal seriously with the question and could not, a century ago, have the indispensable elements that biology has given us only in the last few decades. Finally, let us mention the campaigns against "racism" by scientists in the guise of propagandists and propagandists in the guise of scientists, which have disturbed countless minds. It follows from all this that the problem needs to be dealt with again from its foundations and taken to its ultimate consequences, in the light of scientific realities alone.

2. THE "BIOPOLITICS"

We shall see, in the course of our research, that the ethnic problem, when it was raised, was raised in too narrow a way, or, more precisely, that there is, apart from the problem of races per se, a problem of the same order which is already hinted at in everyday language. We say of a human being, as of a horse, that "he has caste", "qu'il a de la race". This does not mean that he belongs to a particular ethnic group, but, on the contrary, that he is distinguished by certain characteristics within his ethnic group. Once we have established that these characteristics are hereditary, we will have to admit by degree or by force that there exist, within racial groups, categories of the same bio-psychic nature as those of the racial group.

ethnic communities, in the proper sense of the word. And when we have seen that these categories are of social importance, we will have to complement ethnopolitics with genopolitics and consider all hereditary processes insofar as they intervene in the life of human communities. This is the object of biopolitics. The term may seem to some to be too narrow, since the characteristics under consideration are not only biological but also psychological. However, let us stick to it, first of all because we do not think it is possible, euphonically, to admit "biopsychopolitics", and above all because biology, or the science of life, has already definitively departed from its primitive materialism, a consequence of Cartesian dualism which is moving further and further away from us, while philosophy is happily returning to the Aristotelian conception of the substantial unity of the living. Biopolitics has an important role to play: all over the world, conflicts between races are multiplying and major ethical clashes, on a scale hitherto unknown, are looming on the horizon; the degeneration of our traditional communities, due to internal causes, requires explanations and remedies which political science has so far been unable to provide or prescribe. We shall see, in the following pages, to what extent biopolitics, in addition to the speculative interest it offers, enables us to clarify certain contemporary problems and to define their indispensable solution.

3- MAN: HER ENCE PLUS HISTORY

At the moment of conception, the egg-cell contains in potentiality the whole further development of the human being, as it will be produced, but also as it would otherwise be produced. At that instant of his creation, man possesses a set of possibilities from which he will have to choose endlessly; and this permanent choice will eliminate from his possible future not only the reality which will be incorporated into his memory - psychic and physiological - but also the refused and all its virtual consequences. The life of the human being is, therefore, a continuous enrichment through the actualisation of possibilities that become effective, but also a continuous impoverishment through the rejection of possibilities that become unrealisable. At the origin of man there is, therefore, a potential capital received; and we know that he inherits it from his parents. But, at every moment of his existence, he himself influences this capital by the choices he makes: choices which depend on his needs, i.e. on the environment in which he lives.

The human being makes choices in a constant adaptation to himself and to the outside world. Man makes choices in a constant adaptation to himself and to the outside world. His being is thus dependent on two factors: the inheritance which brings him the concomitance of his possibilities, and the circumstances according to which his choice is made and which thus govern his history. It is not possible to study man without one of these two elements. Nor is it possible to act effectively on him by ignoring them. From the double point of view of study and action, politics must take into account man's heritage, that is to say, in the most general sense of the word, his **race**, as well as his environment.

4. THE FACT OF RACE

The concept of race is nowadays so broad that it has become so vague as to be almost useless. The term is often applied to our species as a whole ("the human race"), to large "coloured" groups ("the white race") and to one or other of their fractions ("the Aryan race"), to historical societies ("the Italian race") and even to linguistic or cultural groups ("the Latin race"). In all cases, however, there is a vague idea that race is linked to the hereditary factor of man and that a racial group has a certain community of characteristics, transmitted through life, which distinguishes it from others. But it has been seen, without

However, sociologists and political scientists have attributed the inequality of human beings to the environment alone, and have therefore argued that all have identical possibilities. Others, while arbitrarily asserting the racial homogeneity of primitive communities, have relied on the diversity of types in a given group to deny the actual existence of races. On the other hand, anthropologists seem prone to establish their classifications on the basis of this or that arbitrarily chosen factor. Sometimes the colour of the skin is the only discriminating factor in racial groups, sometimes the shape of the skull or the coagulation properties of the blood. In the most favourable case, several somatic characteristics are taken into account, and all psychological or even biological factors are strictly excluded. The chance discovery or pseudo-discovery, or more simply fashion, periodically transforms, for no valid reason, an essential branch of human science. Ideologies have become mixed up in the matter. For all these reasons, it seems to us indispensable to refocus the problem on the basis of the data that experience supplies us with. Everyone can tell a Congolese from a Chinese; everyone knows the difference between a group of a hundred Swedes and a group of a hundred Spaniards. Everyone also knows that the Negro born in New York is as black as the one who sees the light of day in the Congo, and that, therefore, some of the characteristics which make it possible at least to recognise the difference between the two, are not only a matter of race, but also of race.

Ethnic management are hereditary. The difficulty begins only with the definition of the concept of race. Let us try to rule out the factors that distort it. We can do this very easily by considering not man but animals of other genera. If we thus arrive at a zoological definition of race, it will be easy to see to what extent it applies to the human race phenomenon.

5. THE CONCEPTO ZOOLOGICO DE RAZA

Let us consider a number of German Shepherd-type dogs. Why do we say that they belong to a certain breed? Superficially, because they resemble each other. They have the same physical conformation and the same mental qualities: medium height, long brown hair, long muzzle, tufted tail, courage in attack, intelligence superior to that of most other walking breeds, etc. However, all German Shepherds are not identical. Their height varies by a few centimetres, their coat is more or less long and thick, their colour ranges from almost yellow to almost black, their courage and intelligence are subject to gradation. Such an individual sometimes has a darker coat than that of a Doberman, whose characteristic colour is black, or is less intelligent than a Great Dane, who belongs to a breed which is less favoured in this respect. If one were to try, as is often done in the case of man, to determine the breed of the German Shepherd by only one of its characteristics, one would obtain results whose absurdity would be to say that the German Shepherd is a breed of the same colour as the Doberman, and that the German Shepherd is a breed of the same colour as the Doberman.

But no one thinks of doing so. But no one thinks of doing so because, when it comes to dogs, everyone knows very well that the zoological breed is a group of individuals who possess in common, to a certain quantitative and qualitative extent, a certain number of physical, physiological and psychological characteristics which are transmitted by inheritance. The individual representative of a race is simply that which unites all these characteristics to the highest degree. The same is true when it is said that the Nordic man is large, blond, dolichocephalic, hardy, courageous, etc.; it is simply defined as an "animal". The Nordic man is defined as a "contest animal", and many Nordic people are of medium height, dark, brachycephalic, weak or cowardly. This in no way means that the Nordic race is a fiction. At most, it can be argued that it is not a pure race. But does this expression make sense?

6. THE ERROR OF THE "PURE RACE".

So far we have considered the breed as a static conglomerate of individuals. When do we say that a German Shepherd is a pure breed? Not when it reaches the theoretical perfection of the type, but when it is born of non-mixed parents. If we go back generation after generation, we arrive at the origin of the breed, that is to say at the moment when, by mutation or otherwise, a litter of German Shepherds was born of parents who were not German Shepherds. We could go back in this way, from breed to breed and from breed to breed.

The fact is that the world's population is not a genus, even the small mass of protein which, one day, began to live. All this would be meaningless. If we consider the common origin, race embraces the whole of animality. If we arbitrarily fix its beginning at the moment of its last differentiation, it is founded on an original heterogeneity, even if we assume that no interbreeding has taken place since then, which can hardly be affirmed even with regard to the best and oldest controlled animal breeds. This does not mean, by any means, that genealogical data are of no interest, since the common characteristics and the frequency of their occurrence are derived from them according to a process which we shall examine later, but that it is wrong to make purity a criterion of the existence and, a fortiori, of the worth of the breed. As far as human groups are concerned, it would be necessary, if one were to admit their filiation from a primitive pair, to consider them as belonging to a single race, which is contrary to the facts. And if we were to consider a multiplicity of original mutations, we should still have to forget the factor of miscegenation. Theoretical definitions that do not correspond to reality are of no use in biopolitics. What is called the "degree of purity" of a race is simply its relative homogeneity, i.e. the fact that each of its components possesses in greater or lesser numbers and to a greater or lesser degree the distinctive characteristics of the con- gathering in question.

7. THE HERKEY

We know *roughly* how these traits are passed on. Each of the two parents provides the new being with half of the genes it needs and which are potentially its possible future. Two individuals possessing, except for sex, the same hereditary capital and are therefore identical.

-Two white individuals or two white mice will produce white offspring. The question becomes more complicated when we consider the crossing of two individuals with different hereditary endowments. Anyone knows, according to Mendel's first two laws, that their pro- le is a hybrid, i.e. it unites in itself the opposite genes of the parents, whether they combine to give a new character, or whether some of them predominate at the expense of the others, which are then called recessive. In the second generation, after the crossing of two such hybrids, a quarter of the offspring appear identical to one of the grandparents, a quarter possess the genes of the other, and half of the offspring are hybrids like their parents. These first two of Mendel's laws therefore suggest that hybridisation is a temporary phenomenon and that there is a return to the primitive types, with increasing numbers over the course of generations. But we must beware of abusive generalisation and easy vulgarisation of Mendelian genetics. Indeed, while it is true that the crossbreeding of a "purebred" white mouse with an equally "purebred" grey mouse produces, in the first generation, a litter of hybrids which owe their grey colour only to their "purebred" character, it is also true that the crossbreeding of a "purebred" white mouse with a "purebred" grey mouse produces a litter

of hybrids which owe their grey colour to their "purebred" character.

The same is not true of human beings, however, when it comes to the second generation, a quarter of "pure" whites, a quarter of "pure" greys and a half of hybrids. The crossing of two mulattoes, products of the union of a white and a black woman, will produce only mulattoes of different shades, but without the emergence of either the white or the black type. Explanations are of little importance. Only the fact interests us: the hybrid type reproduces itself indefinitely. On the other hand, Mendel's third law would suffice to establish such permanence. Indeed, the first law applies only to one character, i.e. one gene, isolated from the set to which it belongs. If we consider not one but two characters, they will be transmitted independently of each other. A cross between a long-tailed white mouse and a short-tailed grey mouse will give, in the second generation, individuals similar to the grandparents, but in the proportion of one eighth, and short-tailed white and long-tailed grey individuals ('). Since it is no longer a question of two genes but of thousands, the laws of probability calculation make it impossible for an individual identical to one of its primitive ancestors to appear, and all the descendants of the pair under consideration, in whatever generation they are examined, will be hybrids in the sense that they will possess some of the characters of each of the original types while, from other points of view, they will participate in one and the other. For

(*) We are voluntarily simplifying. In reality, there are new types that appear.

Thus, not only do Mendel's first two laws apply to man only in a very relative way, but the third shows us that the multiplicity of the characters involved would be sufficient to prohibit practically any automatic return to the primitive types of a mixed race lineage.

8. THE GENE COMBINATION

So far, we have only dealt with the case of single-couple descent. But it is an exception in our societies that marriage is practised between brothers and sisters. In reality, the problem is much more complex than that posed by the union of two hereditary endowments, and the "mixing" of genes is infinitely wider. However, within a small, closed community, everyone becomes related to everyone else after a certain number of generations, and each member of the group has the same ancestors as everyone else. The more numerically small in its origin and closed in the course of its development a community is, and the older it is, the more its members have common genes, and therefore common characters, and the more they resemble each other. In other words, an originally heterogeneous group is unified by endogamy. Its members will certainly not all be identical, but they will, up to a certain point, become less and less desirable: their appearance, their mentality and their reactions will show an increasing degree of homogeneity.

*The "purity" of a race is thus the creation of

inbreeding and time. All the more so because genes combine not only by association but also by interaction. Indeed, the clash of contradictory genes does not necessarily give rise to an average of two or more genes.

.but sometimes a new character. To borrow our language from chemistry - which should only be done with great caution - we will say that genes sometimes come together in *admixture* and sometimes in **erection**. In the latter case, the meeting produces the actualisation of hitherto dormant characters. This is undoubtedly an exceptional phenomenon, but it should be taken into account in any study of the hybridisation process.

9. THE EFFECTION OF MESTIZATION

We will not deal here with the results of the union of two races in a mixed race individual. But we have to note its consequences in an ethnic community. Leaving aside all value judgements, our previous analyses show that miscegenation brings to a human group an increase in its hereditary mass. The individuals who make it up are more diverse, and all the more so because the original types were more distant from each other. But what the whole thus gains in variety, and thus in at least theoretical possibilities, is counterbalanced by what it loses in stability and unity, at least until it has regained its homogeneity. The homogeneous ethnic group is focused on the realisation of what it is. It has a well-defined goal and an asserted will to power.

It is self-aware. It is "of one piece". On the other hand, the not yet homogenised mestizo community is torn between diverse and often contradictory aspirations. It disperses and relaxes. It needs time to become master of itself again; exactly the time necessary for the reconstitution of its ethnic unity. Of course, the new race born of hybridisation, whatever its value, is distinct from its two components. However, there are breeds whose main distinguishing characteristics are generally dominant and which thus possess the capacity to retain in a latent state some of the foreign genes which are incorporated by crossbreeding into their hereditary capital. But such a propensity is exceptional and does not invalidate the general fact that interbred ethnic groups lose their harmony and tension for a time with their hereditary unity.

10. . M UTAC ION

We have so far reasoned as if genes, and hence the hereditary characteristics they present, were passed on unchanged from generation to generation. If this were so, ethnic groups would never be anything but the product of particular combinations of known elements and the simple phenomenon of the outgrowth by crossbreeding of new races.

.racters would be incomprehensible. But if it was possible

.nevertheless, in the last century, conceiving of the evolution of human races on the basis of priority groups that became more and more intermingled as

In the course of history, we must today take into account the fact of mutation, which is indisputably established by contemporary genetics. Under certain natural or experimental circumstances, an offspring is born from a known lineage which differs in one or more essential points from its progenitors, and the new characters which thus arise are transmitted by inheritance. The hereditary mass is therefore capable of modification in its act, if not in its being. It would not be conceivable, in fact, to create *ex nihilo* of the newly appeared characters. Therefore, we must admit that they existed in potential in the genes of the progenitors and that only their actualisation at a certain moment in the evolution of the lineage under consideration constitutes a novelty. Therefore, mutation consists in a passage from potency to action, i.e. from the virtual to the actual state, of characters which we call new because they appear suddenly in a lineage, without anything to suggest their latent existence in the parents of the mutant. The ethnological importance of the phenomenon is considerable, since it enables us to better understand the process of miscegenation and reconstruction of the homogeneity of the mixed group: under the shock produced by the union of beings of different races, characters emerge by mutation which did not belong to any of the constituent groups and which thus bring to the new ethnic community particularities which reinforce its homogeneity. But mutation can also be a factor of differentiation when it creates, within a race or lineage, individuals unlike their parents. The selection system

which allows breeders to improve the breeds they are interested in, and even to create others without having to resort to the slow process of cross-breeding, is partly based on this phenomenon. Biopolitics, like zootechnics, finds in mutation one of the essential bases of its action.

11. THE INHERITANCE OF ACQUIRED CHARACTERISTICS

Another no less important factor, although denied until recent years by most biologists and psychologists, must also be taken into account: the inheritance of acquired traits. We know that the individual can contract habits. His organs and his mind are capable of increasing their possibilities of action by the play of memory. The métier of an artist or a worker is nothing but a set of "stored" habits which constitute an addition to his hereditary endowment. But does this individual pass on to his offspring all or part of this increase in his being? Many nineteenth-century biologists, trained in a narrow scientism, denied this for the sole reason that they had not been able to produce the phenomenon in laboratory experiments. Neither *ra-tones* nor *drosophilic* flies seemed to transmit their acquired characters to their respective offspring. What did that prove, if not that biological experimentation was powerless, in some fields, to reproduce the realities of life? Today, the inheritance of acquired characteristics has been fully demonstrated by the results achieved in the United States with colchicine and in Russia by

Michurin's natural method. On the other hand, there is no lack of well-known cases of habits transmitted by inheritance outside the laboratory. Let us take the decisive example of pointers. Any breeder, and even any hunter, knows perfectly well that a pointer puppy will mark the pointer from its first outing if it is a pedigree animal and that, in any case, a quick training will suffice to obtain from it what is expected. However, there is nothing more unnatural than a dog whose ancestors lived by hunting. It is therefore undoubtedly a predisposition inherited from a long line of ancestors who were properly trained. No one is unaware that the quality and commercial value of a pointer depends precisely on its pedigree, i.e. the level attained by the lineage at the time of its birth. In the human order, it is well known, although it is questioned by the deniers of the inheritance of acquired characteristics, that several generations are necessary to train a good worker in certain difficult trades, such as glassmaking, for example. In this respect, we have more confidence in the testimony and, above all, in the practice of industrialists who affirm the reality of the phenomenon than in the assertions of scientific theoreticians. Moreover, those transformationists of the last century who, while denying the inheritance of habits, based their theory of the evolution of the species on a gradual modification of the generations under the effect of the

of the environment, a change that could only be effected through the hereditary transmission of the progress made?

12. THE HERITABLE MEMORY EDIT ÍA

However, the facts, now established even in the laboratory, can no longer be doubted. Not only are genes capable, by mutation, of actualising hitherto merely potential characters, but they are also susceptible to transformation. Reproductive cells to some extent record the mnemonic changes and pass them on. It is obvious that if the successive members of a lineage all undergo the same experience, the repetition will influence the group under consideration more and more strongly, and the habit, in the broadest sense of the word, of each individual will become a hereditary trait. It is probably in this way that the bees acquired the technique which enables them to make honey. This is probably how the training of many generations of dogs transformed a wild species into domestic breeds. We have just chosen two very different examples. In fact, in the case of the bee, it is a matter of self-modification by adaptation to the needs of existence. In the case of the dog, on the other hand, it is a modification imposed by man. The breed is thus modified by the acquisition of characteristics under the action of the environment which imposes certain living conditions on it, but man is able to incorporate himself into this environment and thus act on the sets of characteristics of the breed.

ethnic groups it wishes to transform. This is true of man as well as of other animals. But it is well understood that new characters are acquired only to the extent that the race in question shows itself capable of adaptation and education. Successive generations of flies may well be reared in the midst of flowers: they will not be able to make honey. And it will be in vain to tame the tiger. The same is true of man. Biopolitics has an effective means of action with the inheritance of acquired traits, but only to the extent that the modifications it wishes to obtain in an ethnic group are included as possibilities in the hereditary mass of the latter. Genes, therefore, do not grow in possibilities but in experience, i.e. in dynamisms of actualisation, which are automatically manifested in the succeeding generations instead of being realised at the cost of long individual efforts. Through the inheritance of acquired traits, a race becomes an adult, just like a child whose being absorbs mnemonic knowledge in the course of its experience. It is therefore possible to "breed" a breed in the same way as one breeds a human being.

13. THE ACTION OF THE MEDIUM

Our previous analyses allow us to better understand the role of the environment as a factor in the evolution of races. And we use the word "environment" to express not only the geophysical and geopolitic conditions of the life of ethnic groups, but also the geophysical and geopolitical conditions of life of ethnic groups.

The environment acts on the race as an agent for the actualisation and selection of its immanent possibilities. The environment acts on the race as an agent of actualisation and selection of its immanent possibilities. The whole is in a situation similar to that of the chess player at the chessboard. The player possesses a capacity - i.e., a virtual possibility - to play in this or that way, which is given at the beginning of the game and comes from his or her bio-psychic endowments and experience. But his effective play depends not only on this ability but also on the position of his opponent's and his own pieces at a given moment. This is the condition of the environment that influences his decision to move a particular piece in a particular direction when many other combinations are theoretically possible. Two players of equal possibilities placed in the presence of different conditions will obviously not react in the same way, and neither will two players of different abilities or only different techniques placed in front of the same problem. Let us exemplify board by geographical and social conditions and player by ethnic group and we will have defined the action of the environment on race. No one is unaware, for example, that the sea arouses, in the white man, audacity, the mountains, endurance and the tropical climate, apathy. But the black man of the African coast has never become a navigator, he cannot stand the altitude, and the warm climate is indispensable to his relative energy. Each race, therefore, is capable of adapting to a certain range of conditions posed by

The animal adapts and changes according to its environment, but always in accordance with the possibilities of its hereditary mass.

14. THE DOUBLE-MEDIUM EFFECT

When an ethnic group is considered in a given environment, a twofold process of differentiation and unification of the community it constitutes can be observed. Differentiation in relation to other groups of the same race necessarily subject to different conditions of development: in some isolated, racially homogeneous areas, even today, despite the mixing produced by the spread of means of transport, we can still see differences, which we might well call ethnic, from village to village: The soil and, consequently, some of the food consumed are not entirely identical, nor are the "telluric forces" whose effects have been observed without it yet being known exactly what they are. At the other extreme, if we consider two assemblages of the same origin, one placed in the frozen lands, the other in the frozen lands, the other in the frozen lands, the other in the frozen lands, the other in the frozen lands. In the case of the 'Great North and the other in the Equator, the environment will act, in opposite directions, with such power that one will sometimes have the impression, in time, of finding oneself in front of communities with no greater ethnic kinship. Let us note that, in practice, and even in terms of historical times, it is often impossible to know for certain which is the part of miscegenation and which is the part of the

environment in the differentiation of races. On the contrary,

The phenomenon of the unification of a heterogeneous whole under the action of the medium is easier to grasp. All the European nations of today are the product of recent mixtures, and their homogeneity by endogamy is still far from perfect. Nevertheless, the identity of living conditions has given rise to national characteristics which make it possible to distinguish at a glance a group of a hundred Italians from a group of a hundred Englishmen. The same is true of small social communities living on the same land but subject to different conditions of existence at one point or another: in a given city, it is easy to distinguish a worker from a bourgeois, at least in countries where social stratification is not very recent.

1Ñ. LI M I T E S OF THE ACTION OF THE MEDIUM

Let us be careful, however, not to fall into the common error of putting race and environment on an equal footing. The efficacy of the latter factor has been greatly exaggerated, often for very unscientific reasons. Are there such marked ethnic differences within the great white race as those which distinguish the Swedes from the Sicilians? The subtle crossbreeding which has modified the race of the latter is almost always forgotten. It is also often forgotten that the differentiation, under the action of the environment, of races originating from the same stock has taken place over the course of thousands of years, and that the changes that are historically observable are small in comparison with the changes that have occurred over the centuries.

The fact is, therefore, without denying that the environment was a factor in the formation of the present races, we must see that, on our scale of observation and action, its influence is only secondary. Consequently, without denying that the environment has been the factor in the formation of the present races, we have to prove that, on our scale of observation and action, its influence is only secondary, and that it is wrong to attribute to it the responsibility for the fundamental differences which separate the races. While it seems to be established that the cephalic index, which until recently was considered an unalterable hereditary character, is susceptible to environmental influences, as in the case of the children of white immigrants in New York, it is no less certain that children born in New York of Semitic or black relatives retain their essential ethnic characteristics: only repeated miscegenation can unify them, at least outwardly, with Americans of European stock. A century ago, Gobineau rightly noted that "everywhere the world has seen barbarism and civilisation flourish in succession, and on the same soil" according to the races that have populated it. The actualising action of the environment, whether monogenist theories are accepted or not, is undoubtedly the factor in the differentiation of races. But we must prove that the essentials of this differentiation were already fulfilled at the origin of the times we are more or less familiar with, and it is not possible, moreover, to go back over the history of the species - or of the species - which has imposed itself on us. No environmental action today can

erase or even perceptibly attenuate the acquired differences between the major races.

The same is true of the "coloured" breeds, just as simple changes in climate, diet and training are not capable of transforming a Shetland Jack into a Percheron. But we also know that the characters acquired in the course of their evolution by the various ethnic groups have a margin of variation subject to the environment. The tropical climate will not transform a white lineage into blacks, but it will attenuate their dynamism and inventiveness. And two or three generations in the factory will be enough to turn a peasant lineage into proletarians, physically and psychically, while the conditions of modern urban life produce the rapid degeneration of those who suffer its effects. The human races are today somewhat in the situation of the chess player at the end of a long game. He cannot go back over his previous moves or recover his lost pieces, and must take into account the history of the game, which weighs on his last chances. The medium - the position of the pieces on the board still conditions his play and can make him lose or win, but only to the extent that his fate is not already determined by his past choices. Perhaps it would be pleasant for the Arab to go back to the point of separation of the white races and then turn towards the Aryans: this would be a meaningless longing. But a conscientious chief will be able to prevent him from abandoning his camels for some factory and thus prevent a degrading environment from destroying his remaining possibilities. It is a fact that nothing can be changed that the environment, the agent of the

The effective differentiation, unification and progress - or decline - of ethnic groups, only acts decisively within the framework of the existing races, and proves incapable of going back on what has been acquired before.

1G. BREEDING OF THE BREED

We are now in a position to grasp the process of the constitution of a racial group in the various possible hypotheses. Race is created by miscegenation and under the action of the environment. But while miscegenation is capable, by itself and even in extreme cases, of bringing about the homogeneity of the originally complex con- gathering, the milieu cannot but actualise the virtual characters common to the various ethnic elements involved in the formation of the new community. That is to say, its action is limited by the already existing, but not yet manifest, possibilities of the hereditary mass of the group's components. Man adapts himself to the environment only to the extent that he possesses within himself the ability to respond to the conditions that the environment presents to him. Let us note, however, that by means of selection, which we shall study later, the environment is capable of an action which is no doubt necessary, but which dominates the heredity of the group under consideration, since it can eliminate certain constituent elements to the benefit of others which are more resistant or better adapted. We now have a better understanding of the hierarchy which exists between the factors which create the breed. The hereditary mass of a group constitutes the totality of its potential.

The bio-psyhic and remains essentially unchanged. But some of these possibilities manifest themselves only under particular environmental conditions, while selection determines a certain choice among the inherited characters. It follows not only that race, far from being a more or less mythical memory of the past, is on the contrary a continuous creation of history, but also that it is possible for us to influence the process of its formation. This is what breeders do, more or less empirically: they modify, by crossbreeding, the hereditary mass of the group they are interested in; they impose on it living conditions which give rise to, or at least favour, this or that desired character; they eventually give it a training which will be transmitted, in time, in the form of an acquired character, from generation to generation; they select mutant individuals, either to eliminate them or to use them as breeding stock; they discard, finally, those elements which do not correspond to the desired type. In this way, they succeed in creating almost perfectly homogeneous races, well adapted to a given purpose. It is the task of biopolitics to study, on the basis of the bases thus established, the importance of the ethnic factor in human societies and to determine to what extent it is possible and desirable to apply the rules and procedures of zootechnics to them. It is then up to them to act. It is indeed high time for man to look after his own breed as well as that of his domestic animals.

ETHNO-POLITICS

17. THE CLASSIFICATION OF RACES

Our previous analyses show how futile it is to attempt to classify races on the basis of hypotheses of specific origin which the present state of anthropology neither affirms nor denies. Since race is created, it is less important for us to know whether one or several ethnic groups existed at the beginning of mankind than to specify empirically the present distinction of racial communities. Since it is not possible, on our scale of observation and action, to verify or produce the passage of a human individual or group from one great race to another, it makes no difference to us whether these great races have existed from the beginning or whether they are the result of a prehistoric differentiation which cannot be retraced. But to speak of great races is already to establish a classification between ethnic groups, i.e. to prove the existence of broad racial communities, each of which possesses certain physical, biological and psychological characteristics which are also manifested to some extent,

in the most differentiated internal groups. It is now unanimously agreed that there are three great races, which, for want of a more exact terminology, we call white, yellow and black; these names are not very satisfactory, since colour is only one of the recognised distinguishing characteristics, albeit the most visible, and the choice of colour can be a hindrance to the ethnologist in his attempt to classify certain mongrel or marginal groups. The great races are generally perfectly distinct, as are the races into which they are divided, whether they are the products of environmental differentiation or of miscegenation, which cannot always be stated with certainty. One does not need to be a specialist to distinguish a hundred Japanese from a hundred Mongolians, or a hundred Northern Chinese from a hundred Guaranis, and to define the corresponding races as distinct groups of the great yellow race. It is equally possible to distinguish

.-without greater difficulty, within the great white race, the Semitic race, or, within the great black race, the pygmy race. However, at this level, the delimitation becomes less precise and leaves "residues" which are not classified or whose classification is debatable. For example: do all white Europeans - neither Semites nor Camitic - constitute one or several races? The answers are contradictory for two reasons: first, the erroneous methods of classification based on unstable characteristics, such as height or the shape of the skull; second, the historicist obstinacy of those who want to rely at all costs on the origin of the races considered, forgetting that ethnic groups are the product of the origin of the races considered.

The European whites must once have formed several distinct races, with one or other of these evolutionary trends predominating, depending on the period. The white Europeans may once have constituted several quite distinct races. But their state of fusion today is such that they almost constitute a single race, in which the races in the making, corresponding to the geographical and political communities, are already distinguishable. Historically it is undoubtedly wrong to describe all Europeans as Aryans, but ethnically it is accurate on the whole, whether or not the name chosen is correct, and even if it is not always possible to say to what extent there remain, beneath the present differentiations, remnants of races which existed before their relative disappearance. This constant and diverse movement is often forgotten when it comes to mapping the races. While it is easy to demarcate the territory of the major races, despite innumerable interbreeding, as well as that of clearly differentiated groups of races through hybridisation between the major races - the Malays, for example - the task becomes tricky when it comes to the races, because some of them are in constant fluctuation. In Europe, the old Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean race demarcations have not yet lost all meaning, but they are tending to be removed by the new national races, which are, moreover, less differentiated because of the increasing inter- lation of communities and the standardisation of living conditions. It is worth saying that while the race, when its distinctive characters are dominant and not very variable, is as stable as the great race, it is as stable as the great race.

and can be essentially modified only by interbreeding, it is fundamentally unstable when its characteristics are sensitive to environmental pressure or subject to mutation. There are therefore essentially differentiated breeds, whose acquired distinguishing characteristics can only be modified by interbreeding, and accidentally differentiated breeds, whose acquired distinguishing characteristics are still susceptible to modification by the environment.

18. EL CRISOL

This last observation is extremely important, for it makes it possible to establish what we might call the degree of kinship of the races, i.e. the relative ease of their eventual fusion into a homogeneous whole, as well as to specify the concept of miscegenation. If, in fact, two individuals or two congeners belonging to accidentally different races come together, their offspring will possess the characteristics common to the two races, while the accidental distinguishing characteristics will be attenuated and, in time, erased by the environment. This is particularly clear in the case of the royal houses of **Europe**: Tsar Nicholas II and King Alfonso **XIII** had in their veins the blood of all the old races of the old continent; they nevertheless displayed the ethnic characteristics of the Russians and Spaniards respectively, i.e. of new races in the making. On the contrary, the alliance of essentially different races gives rise to hybrids, just like the alliance of large races. That is to say that a new set of races is only na-

The 'melting pot' phenomenon, as in the United States, where elements from all European races have already obtained, in a very short time and despite inbred homogenisation. We now have the explanation of the so-called "melting pot" phenomenon, as it occurs in the United States, where elements from all European races have already obtained, in a very short time and in spite of almost continuous immigration, a relative homogeneity which makes their population a new ethnic group whose own characteristics are clearly perceptible. On the other hand, the Jews who have been living in Europe for more than two millennia have retained, because they belong to an essentially distinct race within the great white race, peculiar characteristics which distinguish them from the Aryan populations. It follows from all this that the social communities can be ethnically classified into two categories: those which are racially homogeneous, whether they come from a single stock or from a "mixture" of accidentally differentiated races or from a complete miscegenation, and those which are racially heterogeneous, whether they come from a single stock or from a "mixture" of accidentally differentiated races or from a complete miscegenation, and those which are racially homogeneous, whether they come from a single stock or from a "miscegenation" of accidentally differentiated races or from a complete miscegenation.

*are racially heterogeneous because unification

The integration of constituent elements belonging to essentially distinct races is not yet complete. It also appears that the ethnic unity of a country of immigration depends on the degree of kinship of the races which make up its population and the time which has elapsed

since they came into contact with each other.

19. THE DEGIU A LOAD OF RACES

The degree of ethnic homogeneity of human societies is not the only classification factor that biopolitics must take into account. There are also

The relative value of the races in essence has to be taken into account. It is strange that this problem has been and still is the subject of such lively discussions, and that people persist in fudging their data with theological and metaphysical interpretations - at least disputable ones - which have no place in a field in which only objective observation should prevail. Races are as unequal as individuals. Whatever the

The fact is that certain ethnic groups are today incapable of creating a civilisation, or even of assimilating the one that is given to them. Will they be able to do so in the future? We do not know, and even in this case their present inferiority would remain: the child is not the equal of the adult, and even less so when it is a backward child. On the other hand, it is not to be feared that certain so-called primitive races are in reality degenerate, without the level of their most brilliant epoch ever having risen very high. But why insist? No one disputes the facts: the great Negro race has produced neither science, nor literature, nor philosophy, nor theology; its art cannot be compared with those of Europe, Asia and America; its political organisation has remained rudimentary. Nor does anyone dispute the fact that whites, wherever they have appeared, have been a powerful factor of order and progress. So? The few advocates of race equality exploit individual cases which mean absolutely nothing. Let such an African tribal chief show more integrity than a common European peasant and more moral courage than a Chinese criminal, and let him have been the

Carver, a great chemist and even a benefactor of mankind, all this simply implies that ethnic groups are not globally superimposed on each other in the scale of values, and that the first of the blacks does not come after the last of the yellows or the whites. But when we consider a race, it is the community it represents that interests us, with its elite and its imbeciles, but as an organic whole and not as a sum of individuals. Let us not, however, believe that the comparison between ethnic groups is always easy to make and the result is always indisputable. The concept of superiority is essentially relative to the scale of values that is accepted or created. If one believes that resistance to heat is a more important criterion than intelligence, one must admit the superiority of the great black race over the others, and especially over the white race.... Here we are verging on paradox. The difficulty, although certain, only manifests itself in borderline cases. On the other hand, when we see, in the course of history, the great white and yellow races, and especially the former, dominating everywhere they go, creating empires, cultures and techniques, it is not easy to deny them supremacy as a whole, even if their superiority may be disputed on this or that particular point. On the other hand, a difference of opinion on the relative value of this or that ethnic group would in no way contradict the fact of the inequality of races, which is the only one that interests us here.

20. RACE AND COMMUNITY

Apart from a few allusions, we have so far only considered ethnic groups, whether homogeneous or not, which was indispensable to be able to lay the theoretical foundations of our study. But in the reality of past and present history, ethnic groups and political communities are only very rarely confused: sometimes a race comprises several communities, sometimes a community has different ethnic elements within it. Since political society must obviously constitute the framework of biopolitics, even if our conclusions force us to judge the delineation of its boundaries to be defective, we must now consider it from the ethnic point of view. Let it be, therefore, a political community organically composed of basic groups - biological, economic, religious, etc.- federated in the form of a pyramid. If such a whole is racially homogeneous, or at least made up of accidentally differentiated ethnic elements on the way to unification, as is the case in the nations of Western Europe and, with the exception of the important Jewish minority and the intimate Indian minority, in Argentina, its value depends, without any possible discussion, on the common hereditary mass. We do not mean by this that geophysical, geopolitical, institutional, economic, religious, cultural, linguistic, etc. factors are merely determined structures or illusory superstructures and that race alone gives the Community the conditions of its political being, but simply that these factors see their efficacy and even their very existence as a result of a common hereditary mass.

The race is, therefore, a kind of raw material which is only malleable within certain limits, and of which the ethnic possibilities of the whole can be subordinated. Race is therefore the substratum, modifiable to the extent we have already mentioned, of the life of the Community: a kind of raw material which is malleable only within certain limits and which no one - Community State or Conqueror State - can dispense with on pain of failure.

This failure will be sanctioned by a relative political inferiority which will eventually lead to the biological de-generation of the whole. It seems strange to us that the man in the street can easily understand that the climate has a value only relative to race and that, for example, the climate of Ecuador, which is excellent for blacks, has a debilitating effect on whites, but that he is too often obstinate in considering the value of this or that institutional regime as absolute. It is true that there are general political laws which apply to all human societies, precisely because they are human and are based on a common foundation; but each race has its own characteristics which require a particular order in order to manifest themselves in their full force.

21. POLITICAL COMMUNITIES

The preceding clause refers only to political societies of homogeneous race. But it happens that, through the interplay of various historical circumstances, a Community sometimes comprises individuals and groups belonging to different major races or essentially differentiated ethnic groups. Either

the races present are undoubtedly unequal, as when they are unequal.

The value of such a polyethnic community obviously depends on the racial elements of which it is composed. But is it accurate to say, as in the case of an ethnically homogeneous community, that it derives from its hereditary mass? No, for it is not one but several different and often unequal hereditary masses which act not only by their presence but also by their relations. Thus the blacks of the United States, through the problems which their existence creates, diminish the political value of the community of which they form a part, while the blacks of Angola provide this Portuguese province with a labour force without which it could not even survive. Why such a difference? Simply because, in the first case, the institutions do not correspond to reality. American federal laws take no account of the existence, let alone the de facto inequality of the two associated ethnic groups: they are designed for whites and applied as such to blacks, which is a nonsense that creates all the difficulties we know. The coexistence of unequal races in the same political community is not in itself, far from it, a factor of inferiority. Certainly, an ethnically unitary nation possesses, in addition to its essential value, a particular effectiveness in action and resistance. But it is only the efficacy of what it is: it would be stupid to acquire it by mestisation at the expense of the being of the dominant race. A hierarchical poly-ethnic community possesses, in

The value of its higher component would be increased by the possibilities of the lower one, while the fusion would establish unity at an intermediate level between the two original races. It would also create, over several generations, a harmful state of heterogeneity. Let us note, moreover, that ethnic unity and political unity are not confused. The political cohesion of the Community depends on the social organisation and power of the State on which the synthesis of the forces at play depends. When the lower ethnic groups are kept in the place that corresponds to their functional value within the society of which they are a part, they not only do not threaten unity, but help to affirm it, since they represent useful forces in the community. The ethno-political problem of race relations only arises from the moment when one or more constituent elements escape from the social order and tend to obtain a place which does not correspond to their intrinsic value and their organic role, i.e., when they refuse to take on a place which does not correspond to their intrinsic value and their organic role.
.-can play their proper role within the Community.

21 RACIAL SPECIALIZATION IN AN ORGANIC SOCIETY

Liberals who preach and often impose the political equality of the races forget that, while certain rights are inherent in the very nature of man and others in individual worth, the political rights themselves correspond not only to obligations, which constitute the moral aspect of the

But the functions within a Community, however undeveloped it may be, are unequal in importance and require different skills from those who perform them.

But the functions within a community, however undeveloped it may be, are unequal in importance and demand different capacities from those who perform them. Is it not logical and possible to conceive of a poly-ethnic community in which certain functions would be reserved organically for a particular racial group which would display particular aptitudes for them? The inferior, or simply unassimilable, race would thus find its place in political society and would enjoy the corresponding rights, and only these.

There is no lack of historical examples of such an organisation. The best known is undoubtedly that of the United States before the Civil War. Blacks had specific subordinate functions. In return, they had the right to be fed, housed and clothed, even in old age, to be cared for in case of illness and to be protected at all times. Useful to the community of which they were a part, no one thought of excluding them from it, nor of hating them. When the victory of the liberal North had abolished this racial specialisation and broken the polyethnic functional order, the blacks did not, of course, acquire the qualities which had placed them at the bottom of the social ladder; apart from a few individual exceptions, they remained labourers and servants, and still are today, after a hundred years.

They retained the functions for which they were predisposed. But they lost the corresponding rights: black proletarians have no insurance, no pension, no job stability. However, they were granted the same political rights as the black workers.

They became, through their demands, a danger to a community in which they were no longer seen as necessary. They became, by their demands, a danger to a community in which they were no longer necessary, hence the often brutish reactions they suffered and still suffer from the effects. Like a race of cells (') which has lost its organic function, the blacks in the United States have become a veritable social cancer. It is as futile to reproach them as it is to be indignant. It is not a question of guilt or good feelings, but of an ethno-political situation, the causes of which are known to us and which must be remedied, if possible, by a restructuring of the community.

23. T H E S C L A V I T U D

For centuries, slavery solved the problem, or, more precisely, prevented it from arising. By effective or theoretical coercion, blacks were attached to the white families of which they became an integral part, in a subordinate position. The slave-holding society was thus not made up of two juxtaposed racial groups, but of a multitude of bi-ethnic family cells. Of course, the system was far from perfect, and many reforms were necessary. But it is appropriate to judge slavery from the political point of view, i.e. with regard to its purpose: the harmonious coexistence of two or more races in the same community. There can be no doubt that the system maintained between whites and blacks.

(1) Tissues are known to constitute **true races** functionally specialised cells.

The slave was incorporated into society; he was not treated as a pariah or an enemy; he generally benefited, given the standard of living at the time, from a position superior to that of the proletarian who is today's proletarian. The slave was incorporated into society; he was not treated as a pariah or an enemy; he generally benefited, taking into account the standard of living at the time, from a position superior to that of the proletarian he is today. The master was protected not only against the consequences of a possible race struggle, but also and above all against the possible oblivion of his ethnic superiority. The slave system complemented the de facto inequality of the races with a de jure inequality. The white man could slip up with a black woman: the little mulatto, whatever the colour of his skin, did not cross the ethno-social barrier. Miscegenation thus improved the inferior race without ever improving the superior one. However, whether one approves of it or not, slavery is a thing of the past and cannot be returned to, if for no other reason than the simple fact that the semi-patriarchal family it presupposes no longer exists almost anywhere. At the very least, we must draw the lesson from experience: the ethnic community is only satisfactory when the lower set is organically incorporated into the higher set, without being able to threaten the racial integrity of the latter.

. 24. THE 6EGR EGACY .

In the absence of a genuine solution that responds to the
to the biopolitical law that we have just enunciated,

The only thing left to do is to resort to defensive palliatives. A palliative, in fact, is the segregation which we see being applied with varying degrees of success by contemporary poly-ethnic communities which do not accept the idea of their decline through miscegenation. The aim is to stop the races living together on the same territory and to prevent their contact to some extent because they have been unable or unwilling to organise it, i.e. to prevent an evil which society recognises it is powerless to suppress. The limitation of relations is either a mere fact of habit, or it is legal. We have seen it relaxed in New **York** and strict in South Africa. But it always proves insufficient. First, because it is insincere: the white man wants to keep blacks away from his family, his neighbourhood or his railway car, but not from his factory because they are cheap labour for certain jobs. Or they are used as cannon fodder. Liberal hypocrisy sometimes leads to the legal assertion of equal rights which is in fact denied. But if segregation were absolute, if the inferior or unassimilable race were given a status, if inter-racial marriage were forbidden and mating were punished as a crime, all this would still not constitute a satisfactory solution. For segregation forms racial blocs which quickly become antagonistic because of the difference in living conditions or the sheer will to power. The slave was not and did not feel solidarity with his race as a whole, but with the family of which he was a part and whose destiny he shared in law and in fact. The black proletarian, on the other hand, is and feels himself to be united to the whole of his race.

with their racial brothers and sisters because of a common condition and a shared isolation. A badly treated black slave cursed his bad master; a humiliated black proletarian proclaims the race struggle. There are only two valid solutions: geographical apartheid or the integration of the ethnically inferior elements into an organic society, giving them the possibility of developing their potentialities to the maximum extent, a possibility which they do not possess in the egalitarian society which emphasises their inferiority instead of compensating for it by a hierarchical social order.

.25. DIALECTIC OF RACES IN A POLY-ETHNIC COMMUNITY

There is, therefore, within every poly-ethnic community, a double dialectical movement. On the one hand, except in the case of a perfectly established organic society, the inferior or unassimilable racial community kept under guardianship protests against its status, opposes the dominant group and fights for its liberation, if not for political supremacy. On the other hand, however, the two communities tend to merge by megitisation. The latter process has two motives: sexual attraction and the desire of inferiors to get closer to their love. The first phenomenon is well known: most of the lies are due to it. The second requires some explanation. It has been found in the United States that mestizogs shat on each other and that blacks preferably married mestizogs who were as light as possible. Within the inter-

Consequently, there is a selection process which works in favour of the reproduction of mimics closer and closer to the white type. This leads to the birth more and more frequently of "white blacks", i.e. mixed-race individuals who look like whites. Hence the phenomenon of passing, whereby these mestizos, by changing the place of their descent, manage to pass themselves off as white, marry into the white population and thus introduce melanin genes into it. Passing is not possible, of course, except for lack of legal ethnic discrimination. But it exists, and the United States is in the process of "negritization". Complete admixture would produce a new race which would possibly display qualities of imagination not possessed by the present white population. But the energy and creative power which characterise the Aryan peoples would be irretrievably lost. On the other hand, it should be noted that the process of miscegenation is very slow, especially in the United States, where race consciousness is highly developed, but that the prolificacy of blacks, which is greater than that of whites, is constantly increasing the percentage of Africans in American society. If the necessary ethnopolitical measures are not taken, one can foresee the day when not only will a significant fraction of whites, or so-called whites, have melanin blood, but even more, when mulattoes will numerically dominate the white population, as is already the case in Brazil.

26. RACE DIALECTICS IN THE WORLD

The prolificacy of the inferior races and the relative sterility of the superior races are facts which are of interest not only to the poly-ethnic communities, but to the whole world. The few warnings which, in the first half of this century, warned Europe against the "yellow peril" brought a smile to its face. It did not take long for the reality to become clear. The white nations are no longer even obliged to defend themselves, but are retreating. They have lost almost all their colonial territories. One day the whites will be persecuted on their own soil by peoples inferior in quality but superior in numbers. The Europeans have awakened the Amari- lams from their age-old slumber, prevented the Negros from killing each other, and forced them to produce more and more food. By bringing hygiene and medicine to the inferior peoples, they have multiplied their adversaries of today and tomorrow, and thus upset the ethnic balance of the planet. It is whites who have encouraged and continue to encourage colonial insurrections against other whites. But all this would not be so serious if the Aryans had retained their ancestral qualities: the war between white nations would be followed by the war between the white world and the coloured world. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case. The degeneration of the great white race is already so profound and its disregard for the most elementary laws of biopolitics so general that one wonders whether it is still in time to react.

III

GENOPOLITICS

2°. B IO P S I C O L O G I A Y O R D E N S O C I A L

Let us now consider a community of a homogeneous race or one in the process of homogenisation sufficiently advanced that it is not necessary to take into account within it distinct ethnic groups. If we examine it from a sociological point of view, it will appear to us as a collection of social groups and associations, interwoven and hierarchical, performing various functions, and we can trace its organic scheme. Will this give us a complete picture of the society in question? No, for it is ultimately made up of individuals in the groups of which they are the human raw material. These individuals are different and unequal in terms of the biological and psychological characteristics they possess. Their differences and their inequality necessarily have repercussions on the social groups of which they are a part. The sociologist, and a fortiori the political scientist, cannot therefore ignore biopsychology, i.e. the discipline which studies man in his unity and his increase.

The real man, with his general characteristics but also with his particularities, is not the abstract Man that Maistre claimed never to have found **a n y w h e r e** , but the real man. Race is therefore only one of the data of the biopolitical problem. If we eliminate it from our future analyses because it is common to the social whole under consideration, it remains for us to establish the relations which exist or should exist between social groups and t h e bio- glyphic nature of the beings who compose them. Since these groups are essentially f u n c t i o n a l , our search will logically tend to establish their organic specialisation on the basis o f the biopsychic differentiation of the individuals. This is the task of genopolitics.

Z8. BIOPSYCHIALSPECIALSPECIALIZATION

Although its consequences are not easily accepted today, the principle of bio- glyphic social specialisation applies to all existing societies. No community is unaware of the age differences of its members. Everywhere, adolescence is reserved for study, maturity for work and old age for rest. Just think of the absurdity that would result from the reversal of this order! Age is one of the essential factors in bio-psychic differentiation: the child has neither the same physical possibilities nor the same psychic dispositions as the older man, nor the mature man as the old man. In more general terms, the division of labour in every society

The organised order is, to some extent, based on the particular qualities of individuals: teachers are not chosen for their muscles, nor are stevedores for their aesthetic sense. Therefore, the functional order necessarily takes account of individual dispositions or, better still, relies on them, and no one doubts this. However, the functional inequality of the sexes, which is at least as manifest, is often protested against. The reproductive function is essential to the Community, without which it would disappear in a few decades. However, the biological roles of men and women are different and so are their social consequences: it is the mother who holds the child in her womb and breastfeeds it. Consequently, she is not available for regular production work, and it is natural that the household should be left to her. On the other hand, the bodily conformation and the psychic qualities attached to it are no more identical in the woman and the man than in the cow and the bull, if the comparison may be made. No one would think of making cows fight in the arena, so why give women the same social functions as men? Women are not made to fight, nor to command, nor to create. It has been rightly noted in the artistic field that no woman has ever been a great composer, even though the exclusivity of musical culture is reserved, with few exceptions, for the female sex. We must, however, express the same reservation as for racial groups: there are women who have been superior to many men since the beginning of their lives.

The gender of the individual is not affected by the functional differentiation which naturally corresponds to his or her sex. This does not affect the functional differentiation which naturally corresponds to their sex.

29. LA FAMILIA

This specialisation is affirmed first and foremost in the family, a theoretically complete bio- psychic group, which is the product of the union of man and woman. The family is a characteristically functional group: its primary role is the procreation and upbringing of children. We know from our analyses in Chapter I that the human being receives the entire hereditary endowment from his parents. He is therefore a human being not only because of what he acquires after birth, but also and above all because of what he is. It is paradoxical, then, that millions of educators in the world are engaged in orienting the child between good and bad potentialities, while no one, or almost no one, is concerned with the selection of the parents from whom these potentialities are derived, or while the selection that is practised is based on economic considerations which have little to do, especially in modern society, with bio- psychic realities. Recent history has, however, known several forms of valid selection, the tradition of which is perpetuated in certain, unfortunately increasingly restricted, environments. In the Ancien Régime, noble^{2a} was transmitted by paternal inheritance: it was forgotten that the mother gives the child as many genes as the father. However, the geographic custom

was that the mother gave the child as many genes as the father.

The law was generally complete and the tnésoffiomes were exceptional. Some military orders were stricter in this field and demanded at least four quarters of nobility from their members. Even t o d a y , the European royal families, with few exceptions, are united with each other indefinitely. Finally, let us note that the most distant history tells us of certain families which, isolated by ethnic or simply biopsychic races within a lower population, retained their particular qualities by close consanguinity: thus the imperial families of Peru and, as far as the last dynasty is concerned, of Egypt.

30. E t. l-1 NAJE

The family can therefore be perpetuated by successive, fully or relatively consanguineous unions and thus constitute a lineage which preserves a bundle of specific biopsychic qualities. This phenomenon is not peculiar to this or that social stratum. There are worker and peasant lineages as well as aristocratic lineages, and the notion of tnésalliaice applies to all levels of the social scale. Although in fact it is often the result of prejudice in the full sense of the word, this notion has a sound scientific basis and corresponds to a real danger of the destruction of the lineage. To introduce an unknown or simply foreign element into the lineage is to make an experience to which one can never return. What will be the resulting biopsychic synthesis? The foresight in this field is showing us that we are in a real danger of destroying the lineage.

The endogamous preservation of the traditional hereditary mass ensures, on the other hand, the unity over time of the family type, both physical and mental. The endogamous preservation of the traditional hereditary mass ensures, on the other hand, the unity in time of the family type, both physical and psychological, unless it degenerates. The existence of such a type cannot be denied in homogeneous lineages. Even current language admits this when it uses the expression "family air". History knows lineages of craftsmen, peasants, industrialists, artists, statesmen, war chiefs, etc. Lineage is therefore a differentiated hereditary biopsychic ensemble. It is essentially indistinguishable from race. Just as we saw the great races divide into secondary groups, we now see these subdivided into lineages. We now better grasp the unity of biopolitics. We also understand better that, in order to establish an organic social order, account must be taken not only of the various ethnic groups which can coexist in a community, but also of the biopsychic groups, of the same nature but of a different degree, into which the homogeneous racial groups are divided.

31. THE SOCIAL STATEMENT

We shall see later on how the languages are differentiated. But we must note at once that, except in cases of strict consanguinity, they are not formed and maintained in isolation. Unions between lineages of the same hierarchy, if not of the same value, and often of the same social function, are not formed and maintained in isolation.

They produce over time a homogenisation that makes them

This is the origin of the Ancien Régime class (except, of course, for the Catholic clergy, of a different nature), with its subdivisions; it is also, but to a lesser degree, that of the contemporary class. The status, in a homogeneous ethnic community, can be compared to the caste of the mestizo community, but with a fundamental difference: the caste is necessarily closed because it is based on a particular synthesis of essentially differentiated racial characters, which it does not wish to modify. The estates, on the other hand, can be open to mutants because the biopsychic characters belonging to them are accidentally differentiated, which does not mean that they are the product of chance, but simply that they were born and can still be born through the action of the environment. This does not mean that they are the product of chance, but simply that they were born and can still be born through the action of the environment. Liberal society has favoured the accession to the ruling class of lower elements, but consciously or unconsciously subject to the will of the capitalist oligarchy. It has allowed social elevation through fortune. At the same time, it has lowered to the lower strata, or kept in the lower strata, the dynamic elements which it considered dangerous because of their worth. It is true, as Carrel quite rightly notes, that the peasants who have remained attached to their land despite the call of the factory have done so because they possessed the qualities and the deficiencies which made them suitable for such a way of life. In the same way, the labourer who proves incapable of converting himself to the factory is a peasant.

The fact is that everyone recognises, however imperfectly, this bio-psychic nature of the social strata, and recognises the existence of physical and mental types that exemplify it. Everyone admits in fact, however imperfectly, this biopsychic nature of the social strata, recognising the existence of physical and mental types which exemplify them. There is a peasant type, a proletarian type, a bourgeois type, an aristocratic type, etc., so different from one another that some believed they could be explained exclusively by different racial origins.

32. THE ORIGIN OF SOCIAL STRATÉGIES

This is Gobineau's thesis in particular: social stratification would be the product of military conquest and the subjugation of the vanquished. Thus, in France, the nobility would come from the Germanic invaders of Nordic race, tall, blond and dolichocephalic, while the rest of the population would be Gallo-Roman, with a numerical predominance of the Alpine element, short, dark and brachycephalic. This explanation, established on the basis of the author's ethnic fixism and by analogy with the Indian caste system, is historically inaccurate. It has been proved that the French feudal aristocracy was formed by the union of the barbarian chiefs and the Gaulish patricians, and that it was increased and renewed over the centuries by innumerable ennoblements. This does not invalidate the fact of the social supremacy of the dolichocephalic type, and Vacher de Lapouge established it solidly on statistical grounds: the average height and the proportion of tall people, as well as the

The number of people, such as dolichocephalans, increases with the social level. According to this sociologist, the reason for this phenomenon is simply the superiority of the Nordic type, which would be preserved despite the mixing of races and would be concentrated in the leading classes, from which the Alpine type would be eliminated to some extent by selection. Such an interpretation does not take into account the variability of the characters on which Vacher de Lapouge bases it. We now have reason to believe that the cephalic index is modified by environmental action: Boas seems to have shown that the children of dolichocephalic and brachycephalic immigrants tend, in New York, to mesocephaly. We also know that height is not an immutable hereditary factor and that urban life generally determines its increase. Finally, Lapouge himself shows that depigmentation of the hair and skin results from a pathological atrophy caused by cold and foggy climates and that it is correctable, even if hereditary, by changing living conditions. It seems clear, therefore, that social stratification depends on accidentally differentiated factors and is the product of the double movement of the previously constituted types which are united by affinity and capacity, and of the functional environment which transforms, when necessary, the beings who receive its pressure.

33. HEREDITARY AND HEREDITARY DIFFERENTIATION
FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION

Let us examine the first point. Be it a society in the making, such as that of the North American "frontier" at the turn of the last century. Only adventurous and enterprising men went West. Those with the soul of a chief, the right physical constitution and sufficient intelligence naturally gathered around them individuals who were strong and courageous, but unable to lead an operation against the Indians and to conquer a ranch on the prairie. Others were intelligent, but less daring or incapable of command,

libraries and warehouses. Functional specialisation, in an environment where fortune and convention played almost no part, was therefore based solely on the biopsychic capacities of individuals, just as in the early Middle Ages in Europe. This is clearly not the case in today's organised and poorly organised societies. The established order weighs heavily on strong individualities who try to rise, while it artificially keeps inferior beings at a level that does not correspond to their reduced capacity. But if we look at the whole and no longer at the individual, we can see that it is not only a question of the

We shall show that, in general, there is still a match between the function and the hereditary endowment of the person who performs it. And this is only because, in contemporary society as in the "frontier", although to a lesser degree, the function requires particular biopsychic characteristics. In the most egalitarian regime, it is not possible to appoint a

a stoker commanding a ship. Social stratification is therefore based on the biopsychic selection of individuals who meet the requirements of the various functions. From this point of view, it is accurate to say, with Vacher de Lapouge, that social strata "attract" people of a certain type.

M. HEREDITARY VARIABILITY FOR
FUNCTION

But this view is insufficient. When the development of industry multiplied the number of factories, there was no hereditary proletarian type to serve as a standard for recruitment. The industrialists went looking for their workers among the peasants, the type fixed by centuries of an unchanging way of life. They certainly attracted first of all the least able, the "less peasant-like", but many others followed suit, who were nevertheless perfectly adapted to working the land. Nevertheless, we see today a proletarian class which is bio-psychically as differentiated as possible from the peasant population. Likewise, to return to our earlier example, the European aristocracy of the Ancien Régime had a very different type from that of the bourgeoisie, in the proper sense of the word, into which it was continually recruiting. Vacher de Lapouge rightly notes that the chroniclers of the time always describe the medieval lord as tall, fair and blond, while the villain appears as short, stocky and dark. The mental qualities were, of course, no less different. Undoubtedly, certain

The ennobled coughs were mutants individually differentiated from their original stratum. But most of them were distinguished from their primitive milieu only by the degree of their qualities: they were braver, bolder, more intelligent, more capable of command and physically less heavy than most of their peers. A few generations were enough, with the help of marriages, to incorporate the newcomers into the old nobility, without the characteristics of the latter being modified. The phenomenon is not surprising. The ennobled and their descendants were under pressure from the new environment in which they lived. Instead of obeying, they commanded. Instead of steering the plough or handling the tool, they rode horses and fought. Instead of feeding mainly on flour and the meat of domestic animals, they ate game and often replaced water with alcohol. The moral values to which they were subjected were no longer the same. Their bodies and minds were transformed by adaptation to their new existence. From peasants or burgesses, they became lords. We now grasp the double connection between function and human type. The function attracts and therefore selects beings who possess the type corresponding to its needs, but the relatively inadequate type adapts itself to the function and changes under its influence. While it is true to say that, in a Community of still imperfect homogeneity, ethnic survivals are, like biopsychic mutations, a factor in functional specialisation, it is no less true to say that the function creates the "race", that is to say, forms the "race".

The process of creating homogeneous biopsychic groups is similar to that which gives rise to accidentally differentiated ethnic groups.

35. IMPORTANCE OF THE DIFFERENCE
FUNCTIONAL

The functional typology of social groups is therefore relative, like that of races: it is based on the frequency of occurrence of characters which are only exceptionally found all together in the same person. It is easy, and sociology, like psychology, has often done so, to prove the existence not of one functional type per group but of several, and to establish on experimental grounds the similarities which are affirmed in this or that field between types belonging to different groups. Between the aristocrat and the "middle-class" intellectual there may be - and generally is - less difference from this or that point of view than between the aristocrat and the gentleman, while the latter often resembles the peasants more in character than his peers. What does this mean? Simply that each estate or class in reality comprises a multiplicity of diverse professions which constitute functional sub-categories, to which correspond differentiated biopsychic types. The non-beauty comprises statesmen, military men, diplomats, intellectuals, peasants; the proletariat, workmen, mechanics, engravers, etc. The middle classes are even more complex. But certain professions are common to several strata: characters

The common characteristics are therefore superimposed on the differentiated ones. It will rightly be said of the hidalgo: he is a peasant, but he will not be confused with champions of another social background, even infinitely richer than he is. In other words, hierarchy prevails over professional differentiation, but the latter nevertheless acts on the various levels of social status. There is, therefore, a vertical - hierarchical - differentiation and a horizontal - professional - differentiation which add up their effects. Generally speaking, the former is the most profound. It will be easier for a docker to become a mechanic than a diplomat, just as it will be easier for a nobleman to become an army officer rather than a farmer. If one doubts the efficacy of hereditary functional differentiation, it is enough to recall Trotsky's disillusioned phrase about "the congenital inability of the proletariat to become a ruling class", or to compare some randomly chosen portraits of members of the old aristocracy with the photographs of some leaders of the present bureaucracy who have emerged from the lower strata of the population without time having been able to do its work. The biopsychic stratification of society is so accentuated that it sometimes goes so far as to overcome, without destroying them, of course, the differences between the major races. A Japanese aristocrat, of relatively tall stature, elongated skull, thin face, straight eyes and with qualities of command, courage and honour, is often closer, even from the physical point of view, to a European aristocrat than to his compatriot of coarse biopsychic type, small stature, slanting eyes and flat nose.

36. NATURAL SELECTION

It must be clearly understood, however, that functional differentiation operates only within the framework of the ethnic group under consideration. It actualises, by selection and formation, the potentialities of the human "raw material" at its disposal, which depend essentially on race. But we must add: and on the present state of that race. It makes no difference whether the race is young or old. A race is young when the living conditions of its members have been kept simple and have not constrained them to adapt themselves very much, nor, therefore, to raise much of their natural possibilities. A comparison will help us to understand the problem better: a well-endowed child may choose between a scientific education and a humanistic culture, but a man in his sixties will be unable to return to the choice that guided his mind once and for all, and any functional change will be rendered inoperative in this respect. Nor is it a matter of indifference whether a race is strong or degenerate, for its distinctive characters possess a primordial qualitative degree, and this degree, like the characters themselves, is not identical in all the members of the ethnic group observed at a given time in its history. Some individuals are undernourished, alcoholic, syphilitic, or simply weak. Others, on the contrary, are in full possession of all the resources of the race. In primitive conditions of existence, the weak disappear before they have had a chance to procreate. The "raw material" on which functional differentiation acts possesses,

The same is not the case today. This is not the case today. The biopsychic social order requires not only functional differentiation but also and above all the elimination of inferior elements, i.e. functionally unusable or socially dangerous residues. Without such purification, the race degenerates. The possible birth of a heredosiphilitic genius does not compensate for the biopsychic decadence of the Community as a whole. It does not seem, moreover, that previous centuries, which enjoyed the effects of natural selection, were poorer in superior men than ours.

37. ECONOMIC DIFFERENTIATION

The contemporary world is far from living in the state of nature. Its social structure does not know the laws of biopolitics, despite the numerous survivals of an earlier organisation based on biopsychic differentiation and despite the fact that the realities of human nature are often imposed on egalitarian utopias. Let us note, on the other hand, that the latter, to the extent that they succeed, are only destructive in character and prove incapable of replacing the old order of things with a coherent construction. Liberal society has not established the impossible equality. It has merely replaced biopsychic differentiation by an economic differentiation which has confused all values. Wealth, instead of being an instrument placed at the disposal of the ruling class, has become an instrument for the ruling class.

has become a means to social power. In former times, one was rich because one had a commanding role; today, in liberal society, one commands because one has money. Social stratification is determined by the economic difference that separates the classes. The system which makes money, instead of value linked to function, the criterion of social hierarchy is undoubtedly the worst aberration from a biopolitical point of view.

38. THE SELECTION IN REVERSE

Just as liberal capitalism has endeavoured to destroy the qualitative order of society, modern pseudo-civilisation has endeavoured to suppress natural selection. The artificial conditions of life it has created allow the survival of biopsychically inferior individuals who would otherwise have disappeared. Medicine, if it is sometimes called upon to save valuable beings who are the victims of biological agents, more often supports the weak, the moronic and the degenerate, thus enabling them to live, which is of little consequence, but also to procreate and corrupt the generations to come. Parallel to this unnatural action, by which elements harmful to the Community are exploited, the modern world is practising a veritable reverse selection. The wars of the past were not very bloody. They demanded physical and moral qualities, the lack of which would result in death. They therefore produced a violent natural selection, particularly within the nobility, which gained in strength what it lost in numbers. Today in

Today, war demands less and less courage on the part of those who wage it. It is atrociously lethal, and it affects above all the young people who make up the shock troops. Courage, in it, is a factor of death. The best elements are sacrificed for the benefit of the weak and the cowards who are left behind. The social war and the riots that result from it have an even more obvious outcome. The aristocracy, the product of millennia of selection, is undermined by slaughter, expulsion or the imposition of living conditions which cause its rapid degeneration. Finally, the civil war kills volunteers who, by their very presence in the front line, showed their moral qualities.

39. ARISTOCRACY AND "ELITES".

When the aristocracy, decimated by war or destroyed by social struggle, is renewed by absorbing the higher elements of the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, many of those it selects thus find the road to their own fulfilment, but they cause the qualitative impoverishment of the strata from which they arise. In an organic society, each **group** is hierarchised in exactly the same way as the community itself. If the leading social stratum attracts the national leaders of the secondary collectivities, it dissociates the latter and, in the course of time, destroys them. This is a bad calculation from any point of view, for the impoverishment of the lower strata leads to their biopsychic degeneration and, consequently, to the depletion of the sources from which the indispensable renewal of the lower strata springs.

vation of the aristocracy. There is no contradiction here. It is normal and necessary that the aristocracy or, more generally, the ruling stratum should incorporate the mutants who emerge from the *elites* of the lower strata. But it is harmful if it absorbs these same *elites* whose existence is indispensable for the proper functioning of the Community.

46. THE **BIOPSYCH I CAL D ESEQU I LI B R IO N**
OF THE COM M UNITY

The reverse selection, the essential aspects of which we have just examined rapidly, is not the only factor in the biopsychic imbalance which produces the rarefaction of the higher elements of the population. We must also point out a phenomenon parallel to that which we have noted in the field of race struggle: the relative sterility of the higher strata in relation to the prolificacy of the lower strata. It is an indisputable fact that families belonging to the upper strata have few children. There are many material reasons for this: difficulties of accommodation and service, insufficient resources to meet the needs of a refined life, women's work, etc. Add to this the fear of motherhood on the part of women who want to leave their natural country, even if they have no profession, the weakening of religious disciplines and traditions, and also the physiological degeneration brought about by the urban environment. For the same reason, if the proliferation of ethnic groups of colour constitutes a threat to the Communities of

The white race, that of the biopsychically inferior elements, is already a fait accompli. Of course, there are still many non-decayed descendants of the old aristocracies, and functional formation would suffice, in time, to reconstitute ruling strata worthy of the name. What seems to us more serious is the double process of the numerical impoverishment of the aristocracy, or of what takes its place, and of the increase of the lower elements, which continues to develop at a rapid pace, with nothing to foresee its imminent end and nothing being done to hinder it, on the contrary. Our liberal society is heading towards a uniform state of mediocrity, towards a general confusion which would put a definitive end to the domination of the white race and, by transforming its organic communities into baths, would bring it to its end.

41. THE DESEPARATION OF BIO-
PSYCHIC SOCIAL ORDER

Gobineau saw miscegenation as the only factor in the decadence of ethnic groups and the decline of civilisations. We now know that biopsychic degeneration can occur by simple transformation of the environment. Whites who settle in the tropics degenerate. Specialised lineages that lose their function degenerate. Communities that destroy the biopsychic social order degenerate. Our age suffers not only from miscegenation but also from the functional equality of the sexes, the confusion of the social strata, the reabsorption of

The elites and the aristocracies deprived of their functions. As Maurras proclaimed half a century ago, gold takes precedence over blood. Is all lost? No, for the white race is not the victim of the birth rate but of its own unconsciousness. Bad politics is the cause of the disappearance of the natural order. A good policy would suffice to re-establish the conditions for regeneration.

THE SIZE OF THE POPULATION

42. THE DEMOGRAPHIC FACTOR

From the point of view of its human "raw material", any social group is defined by the qualitative characteristics of its members, as discussed in the previous chapters, but also by the size of its population. Let us consider, as a basic example, the conjugal family. It is characterised by relationships between men and women on the one hand and parents and children on the other. From a structural point of view, the biosocial group comprising father, mother and child is perfect. And so is the one comprising a father, dozens of mothers and hundreds of children. However, no one will dare to say that these two families are identical, or that the generalisation of one or the other would be indifferent. For, in the first case, there would be a tremendous process of depopulation, while in the second, unless there is an abnormal lack of men, there would be a profound social imbalance due to the lack of women available for a large number of married men.

ros. To the structural relations it is therefore necessary to add, in order to have an accurate picture of a social situation, the numerical relations in which the former occur. These conclusions apply so obviously to all social groups, associations and communities that we do not think it necessary to repeat the analysis for each of them. Let us note, *however*, that numerical relations acquire much greater importance even in amorphous sets. The very existence of the mass depends on the number of its members. The crowd manifests its own characteristics to a degree proportional to its volume. In complex social groups and communities, the population considered in its numerical aspect has a twofold fundamental impact. Firstly, it largely determines the complexity of the forms. Structural relations, simple in an artisan's workshop or in a village of a few dozen families, inevitably become more complicated, through multiplication, differentiation and federation, as the number of individuals involved increases. Secondly, the relative power of the group, and thus its possibilities of assertion, stem partly from its demographic importance. Observation and historical analysis certainly show that quality is more important than number. But the latter is still an important factor in social evolution.

43. POPULATION DENSITY

It is within the geo-social community that the demographic problem acquires its full importance. Groups, associations, intermediate communities of a different nature and amorphous groups can in fact share neither more nor less than the population existing in the territorial framework that encompasses them all. Their constitutive relationships, as we already know, are independent of the demographic factor, but

The volume of population that affects them is that of the geo-social community. And this, apart from its absolute value, depends fundamentally, in terms of its consequences, on the territorial space in which it is located. Population density, i.e. the ratio of the number of inhabitants to the size of a social community, is therefore the first general aspect of the demographic problem that needs to be addressed. The human being is not a pure spirit. He occupies a certain amount of physical space: not only that which fills his body, but also that which he needs for shelter and movement in accordance with his nature and stage of development. For its nourishment, it requires substances which, directly or indirectly, come from the soil or the sea, and therefore require a complete space. These requirements determine, for any territory, an optimum population density: that which corresponds to the full utilisation of the available space on the one hand, and to the full satisfaction of the inhabitants' needs on the other. Below this density, there is wasted space;

above, unsatisfied needs. In both cases, we are faced with a pathological situation. It is obvious that the optimum density that can be calculated at a given time for such a territory is not an absolute value. **It** depends on the relationship between the available space and the degree of development of the population. A tribe with a pastoral economy needs more territory to satisfy its consumption requirements than a sedentary, numerically equal, agricultural economy. Contemporary technology makes it possible to considerably increase soil yields, to reclaim exhausted land, to **irrigate** and exploit the desert, and even to produce synthetic foodstuffs in laboratories, albeit always with raw materials taken from the soil or the sea. Optimal population density therefore refers to the available space at its present level of utilisation. This, at least, would be the situation in a community with a closed economy. Commercial exchange can compensate to a certain extent for the opposite variations from the optimum density which occur in complementary communities. Even taking into account their sources of raw materials, industrial areas need much less space and much more population than rural areas. Theoretically, the former suffer from overpopulation, as their territory does not allow them to feed their inhabitants, while the latter show a sub-optimal density, as they produce more food than their inhabitants can consume. However, the faith

The combination of industrial areas and rural areas in the same community creates an average density which, whether optimal or not, is always more satisfactory than the indices on which it is based. The same compensation can, of course, be made between communities by means of trade flows. From a purely statistical point of view, the procedure is satisfactory. But demography is not reduced to a series of calculations and leads us to note that such an international division of labour forces the primary production Communities to keep their population density below the optimum level while allowing the more industrialised Communities to increase theirs above the norm. The average density is therefore established at the expense of the former, without compensating for the migratory shift that automatically occurs between municipalities and between provinces. The primary production communities have to artificially boost their population growth, tolerate and even encourage emigration and/or suffer from the unemployment of part of their inhabitants.

44- THE NATURAL DEMOGRAPHIC EQUILIBRIUM : ITS BIOLOGICAL FACTORS

The optimum population density corresponds, for man, to what zoologists call the biological equilibrium of a territory, i.e. the spontaneously established numerical relationship between the different animal species living together in the same space. In the state of nature - which is not

This does not necessarily mean that, far from it, in the wild the human population naturally tends to reach and maintain the demographic equilibrium that comes from optimum density. Man has a procreative capacity far beyond that required for the mere numerical conservation of the species. Each woman has a reproductive potential of about fifteen children which, if fully actualised, would produce in each generation a growth of more than seven to one. Historical observation shows us, however, that until less than two hundred years ago the population of civilised territories remained stable from a numerical point of view, with ups and downs which were rapidly resorbed. It also highlights the two natural factors of demographic equilibrium which then acted without hindrance: disease and famine. Man is an animal that is not very favoured in terms of biological resistance. At the time in question, very few women were in a position to make full use of their reproductive capacity, and infant mortality was considerable. Nevertheless, the population always tended to grow. But periodically, however, epidemics occurred which reduced it to a level far below its optimum density. Bubonic plague, cholera and cholera sometimes depopulated entire provinces and always provided a considerable annual death toll. Epidemics were joined by famines with the same result. In the pre-capitalist era, there was neither overproduction nor under-consumption. Food stocks were low or non-existent.

ius. On the other hand, the slow and often non-existent means of transport made it impossible to compensate between provinces favoured by the climate. A bad harvest in one region was enough to cause famine and, either directly or by weakening resistance to disease, the death of part of the population. The same phenomenon resulted, even if there was no production deficiency, from an increase in population volume above the optimum density. The food normally produced was not sufficient to meet everyone's needs: either some people would starve to death, or the general undernourishment would multiply disease and thus premature death. This is still the case in India and the Brazilian Northeast.

45. THE NATURAL DEMOGRAPHIC BALANCE: ITS SOCIAL FACTORS

Despite their positive consequences for the preservation of the demographic balance, epidemics and famines were deeply distressing public calamities. The former had no remedy, but the latter could be prevented or mitigated by precautionary measures taken by European governments within their means, especially from the 18th century onwards. The famine was gradually disappearing and the population would have exceeded its optimum density without the intervention of social factors, which, although effective to a lesser degree, were not always the case.

The following were naturally and spontaneously increased in scale to compensate for the decrease in periodic hunger: war, celibacy and emigration. It is known that the armed conflicts of the Middle Ages, crusades aside, were not very deadly and not much more dangerous for their few participants than this or that contemporary sport. This situation gradually changed with the introduction of firearms and above all, from the end of the 18th century onwards, the use of conscript armies. At that time, warfare took on the character of a war of extermination and, with the Second World War, led to the mass slaughter of soldiers and civilians. It is interesting to note that technical progress, a factor of overpopulation, thus brought about a sinister partial compensation for its demographic consequences. Until the beginning of our century, however, it was not war that was the most effective social factor in balancing the population, but celibacy. Indeed, legally, until the end of the 18th century and in fact for a hundred years more, the regime of the entailed the first-born, in all social strata, holding and administering the family patrimony. As a result, there were many second-in-command, both men and women, who did not have the economic substratum corresponding to their position. The secular clergy and the religious orders and congregations absorbed a large number of them. The service of the King and of Malta absorbed others. Finally, there was no lack, especially among women, of those who remained unmarried in the family home where they had

The theoretical capacity for reproduction was thus reduced to a considerable extent. Theoretical reproductive capacity was thus reduced to a considerable degree. Celibacy, as a factor of demographic balance, has almost completely disappeared in our time, even in Catholic countries. What remains is emigration, which will be dealt with at length later on. There have always been movements of population towards empty or poorly defended spaces, and this phenomenon has increased, as far as our era is concerned, since the Discovery and, in particular, in the last century when considerable volumes of emigrants moved from Europe to America and Siberia. Of course, such a balancing factor is not available to all peoples, let alone, generally speaking, to those most in need of it.

46. THE FLo DEMOcRAI COu PoSiTiON

Demographic balance does not only refer to the number of inhabitants in relation to the possibilities of the territory. We must also consider the population in terms of its statistical composition, i.e. its sex, age and possibly race. The members of any geosocial community are divided into men and women. Generally, a numerical balance between the two sexes is established spontaneously. More males are born than females, but females have more biological endurance and a longer average lifespan. However, natural phenomena, such as in the miserable case of Tibet, or more often social phenomena, such as a state of permanent war or a movement of the population, can lead to a situation in which women are more

biologically resilient and have a longer life expectancy.

The migration process can lead to a disproportion that has an impact on the basic structures. If there is a relative excess of men or women, the family normally adopts polygamous forms. If this is not the case because it is accidental and therefore temporary - as was the case in Germany and the Soviet Union after the Second World War - the existence of a large number of individuals constrained to remain unmarried creates a series of serious social problems. On the other hand, the imbalance of the sexes can hinder the process of affirmation of the whole. This is not the case in primitive or degenerate societies, where men and women differ almost only in their gender role. But as we move up the social scale of values, the distinction becomes more and more profound and affects all the biopsychic characteristics of individuals. A women's society, in which a few males were limited to ensuring the reproductive function, would not have the creative power necessary for its full realisation. A male-dominated society would lack not only the procreative capacity but also the sensitivity necessary to attain even a medium level of civilisation. The notion of balance is much more difficult to apply to the demographic composition considered from the point of view of age. Theoretically, we can say that a society is balanced, in this respect, when it has the necessary proportion of children, taking into account mortality rates, to reach or maintain a medium level of civilisation.

optimum density. This is therefore a variable factor. However, as we shall see in the next section, a high proportion of children sometimes creates problems, especially of an economic nature, even if it is a legitimate growth. As far as race is concerned, demographic analysis lacks any non-historical pattern. In fact, the coexistence in the same community of different ethnic groups can be a problem, even if it is a legitimate growth.

The balance reached in this field will always be momentary and unstable. The balance achieved in this field will always be momentary and unstable. History proves this to be the case time and again.

47. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE POPULATION

The above analysis provides us with one of the data necessary to clarify an important aspect, which we have hardly touched on before, of the problem posed by the demographic volume considered in relation to the territory. Our definition of optimum density is indeed valid for a population that is balanced in terms of sex and age. However, since it is based on an economic relationship, any variation in the demographic composition inevitably has an impact on it. At the technical level, the optimum density depends on two factors: possible production and necessary consumption. Production varies, on the one hand, with the available land - in terms of its size, its quality and the raw materials it contains - and, on the other hand, with the number of people employed in the production process.

The consumption comes from the biopsychic needs of the population. Consumption comes from the biopsychic needs of the population and therefore, in a stable social situation, from the number of inhabitants. If we consider the territory as a constant factor, the economic relationship is reduced to two variables: the number of producers and the number of consumers. For a given population, the latter figure is also constant. The former is not. Under the assumed conditions, the number of producers depends, in fact, mainly on sex and age. Married women - and it is natural that women should be married - are not destined to perform economic tasks, and even less so the higher the level of civilisation and hence the degree of differentiation of the sexes. A relative excess of women thus results either in a pathological social situation or in an abnormal reduction of the percentage of producers in the community. The same phenomenon occurs when the percentage of children rises above the rate of demographic conservation or when the percentage of old people increases. Hence the need to consider the relationship between the active population -producers and consumers- and the passive population -only consumers- in any given demographic set. It is obvious that an increase in the percentage corresponding to the latter, with the technical level remaining constant, produces a reduction in overall consumption possibilities. On the other hand, the variable in question leads us to define a concept of optimum useful density in the calculation of which not only the territory and volume of land and the volume of land use are involved, but also the volume of land and the volume of land use.

The optimal density is therefore that which allows full productive use of the territory by the active population, whatever the relative percentage of passive consumers. The optimum density is then that which allows the full productive use of the territory by the active population, whatever the relative percentage of passive consumers. In order to arrive at this definition, we have assumed that the production technique will not change. If the latter is perfected, the number of producers necessary to satisfy certain consumption requirements is reduced and the optimum useful density decreases, with an increase in the percentage of passive consumers; at the expense, of course, of the increase in the standard of living which would have occurred if, with the same number of producers, production had been increased by better utilisation of the territory.

48. THE DEMOGRAPHIC RHYTHM

What we have just said applies to a numerically stable population. It is the case, however, that the percentage increase in the number of children and old people in a community does not usually result from a reduction in the number of producers - adults - but from population growth due to an increase in the birth rate and/or an increase in the average age. Whether the population is getting younger or older - and both phenomena can occur at the same time - there is a change in the ratio between the active and passive sectors: there are more and more consumers while the number of producers remains constant or at least does not grow at a constant rate.

the same speed. A population is said to rejuvenate when the proportion of children in it follows an upward curve. The phenomenon usually occurs after a demographic catastrophe - war or epidemic - not by biological automatism, as laymen sometimes believe, but by a complex psychosocial process by which the population seeks to regain its lost density, which it can only achieve through an increase in births. The same cause leads to the same effect when a technical change, especially if accompanied by appropriate policy measures, leads to a higher density rate. Population growth is then maintained until the desired objective is achieved, as is also the case in areas undergoing population growth. Such population growth leads to a momentary crisis due to an increase in the proportion of the passive population. But the internal equilibrium is restored - or, in underpopulated areas, established - when the optimum density is reached again, or is reached without further ado. It is quite different when the same phenomenon occurs in a demographically saturated territory due to a reduction in infant mortality. The ageing of the population, which also leads to an increase in the passive population, results from the application of artificial health procedures which violate the law of natural selection and increase the average individual lifespan. The proportion of the elderly is increasing, with more serious negative consequences than in the previous case, since the elderly, unlike the child, are

The natural rate of growth is thus expressed by a sinusoidal curve parallel to the evolution of the technical level. We therefore see that, in a territory which has reached its optimum density, the natural demographic rhythm is expressed by a sinusoidal curve parallel to that represented by the evolution of the technical level. Hence, in our time, it is frankly upward. But the process is a possible function of two factors, isolated or concurrent. If the rise is due to an increase in the percentage of children, the internal imbalance, which is temporary and unavoidable, does not break the natural order, although it creates problems. If, on the other hand, it comes from an increase in the percentage of elderly people, the imbalance is definite, creating a pathological situation. Logically, population growth resulting from a joint increase in the number of children and the elderly, far from solving the problem by compensation, leads on the contrary to the greatest conceivable imbalance, since the percentage of the passive population grows at both ends of the age range. At the limit, if it were possible to reach it, we would end up with a community of consumers with no production at all. However, in the case just mentioned, the crisis is partly momentary, as children will eventually become producers. This is not the case when births are declining and the average lifespan is lengthening. For the working population ages without new individuals coming to replace, in the same proportion, those who cease to produce.

49. DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSION

It is not always the case that all the social groups that make up a Community evolve, from a demographic point of view, at a uniform rate. On the contrary, it is normal that some intermediate groups or social strata grow numerically for their own reasons, while others stagnate or even regress. The upwardly mobile groups then put pressure on the others in order to peacefully conquer their territory, their sources of supply or their power. This is one of the factors of internal migration. Groups of different densities naturally tend to achieve an overall equilibrium through compensation, but with the resistance of those who are most favoured in terms of the relationship between production and consumption. Every numerically growing social grouping, by virtue of its population size, exerts demographic pressure on others, especially in this field, when children, the products of an earlier increase in births, reach adulthood. Such a grouping thus goes through two successive stages. In the first stage, its passive population grows, at the expense of the standard of living. In a second stage, its active population increases, which needs more territory and/or raw materials, if it is a geo-social community, and, in all cases, implies greater power. Within the community, demographic antagonisms are therefore normal phenomena. Population size is one of the forces at work.

naturally in the social dynamics. Hence the following contradiction: on the one hand, geo-social communities are logically limited in their growth by the optimum population density which corresponds to their territory and their technical level; but on the other hand, an excessive population from this point of view is useful as a factor of pressure and, therefore, of affirmation and even indispensable to resist the external pressures of nature itself. In reality, this contradiction stems from our definition of the optimum density of demographics, into which we introduce the maximum possible and desirable consumption factor. If the degree of satisfaction of theoretical needs is reduced without harming human potential, the population density can increase above its optimum level. The sacrifice of a superfluous part of consumption thus allows the community's power to increase without pathological consequences.

50. LIVING SPACE

The above applies, of course, to the autonomous communities in their possible confrontations of force. Those with a population density above the optimum level seek to re-establish the balance through emigration or the conquest of more territory. This can only be achieved by the peaceful or warlike invasion of foreign lands of lower population density. Such a verification obliges us to complete, with a new approach to the problem, our previous analyses, in which we have par-

The method thus adopted is not arbitrary, as it responds to the natural reality of ecological balance. The method thus adopted is not arbitrary, as it responds to the natural reality of ecological balance. However, it is clear that it is possible to both define the population volume that can be defined according to the space available and to calculate the space required from a given population volume. In theory, the latter procedure is more satisfactory, since man naturally deprives himself of his geographical framework. In practice, however, it does not always correspond to the real possibilities. The space of a Community is generally not extendible, although sometimes the useful territory that new techniques make it possible to extend at the expense of previously unusable areas is, and the less densely populated areas are not always open to immigration, let alone available for a transfer of sovereignty. Hence the basic conflicts which, in certain circumstances, arise between overpopulated Communities and others with a population density below the optimum point which corresponds, if not to their own technical level, at least to that of the former. On the basis of population, therefore, we can determine the territory which is essential for a Community to have an optimum population density and thus to be able to assert itself fully. The possession and eventually, within the existing availabilities, the conquest of such vital space is therefore a natural right. This does not mean either that the realisation of such a right goes without saying or that its existence necessarily eliminates the right of the

The same type of population density may belong to a less densely populated community. Indeed, let us not forget that the optimum population density is relative to the technical level and increases with it. A community with an agricultural economy, for example, needs a territory which another, industrialised one, will consider semi-empty. Germany in 1941 sought its living space in the much less densely populated Soviet Union. However, it did not charge the latter country, whose optimum density was, on account of its lower technical level, much lower than that of the Reich. The result was a conflict of natural rights, each no less respectable than the other if we leave aside qualitative considerations of a different nature. The example of Germany is the best example to show how relative is the living space. With a higher population density than before the war, its western part has become a land of immigration: its technical progress has pushed up its optimum density to the point where its current population is insufficient. The internal demographic imbalance resulting from the war has undoubtedly contributed to this phenomenon. But it is not the only cause, nor even the main cause, for nations such as Switzerland and Sweden, which remained outside the conflict, are also importing labour.

51. DEMOGRAPHIC REGULATION

When a Community exceeds or tends to exceed its optimum population density if it

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The only solution offered to the problem of overpopulation is to regulate the number of its members. In addition to the natural - biological and social - factors of the demographic balance, a rational factor is thus added to complement them and compensate for their possible shortcomings. Voluntary population regulation is nothing new in the 20th century, nor did it first arise as a result of the simplistic theories of Malthus. The abandonment of ancients - unproductive consumers - has been and still is the custom of many primitive peoples, especially nomadic tribes forced to move about unhindered in search of their means of subsistence. In old China, it was a common and accepted practice to eliminate newborns of the male sex in order to reduce the number of future births. Apart from these examples, it is a well-known statistical fact that, in civilised societies, the urban population, for economic reasons, and the more culturally able, for the sake of enjoyment, artificially limit their production, often with very negative consequences. What emerges as a consequence of Malthus's work, first in the realm of ideas and later in practice, is population regulation through birth control. It should be noted at once that the principle and the methodology in question are not inseparable, far from it. As man is a rational and political animal, the perfection of the

It is only natural that he should use his intellectual faculties and his science and art of community management to solve such a serious problem, especially when one considers that the problem arises largely because biological factors have been artificially removed from the demographic balance. Planning tends to compensate for the reduced incidence of the latter by the reasoned application of social factors. This is a more natural approach. Birth control, on the other hand, while it can in certain circumstances, as in Japan after the Second World War, stabilise the population, it causes serious qualitative imbalances, the consequences of which are worse in the long run than those resulting from numerical imbalance. Through sterilisation, the spread of anti-conception methods and elements and legal abortion, birth control seeks and succeeds, in effect, in reducing the percentage of children in the population. Society then grows older. Eskimos who abandon their elders are eliminating individuals who have served their purpose and from whom the community can no longer derive much benefit, i.e., ultimately unproductive consumers. The reduction of births, on the other hand, involves the elimination of temporarily unproductive consumers, i.e. potential producers. From another point of view, birth control has a particular impact on the most mentally able members of the population - and, on a global scale, on the most mentally developed breeds - because of the same difficulties in applying the recommended methods. This leads to a disproportionate

qualitative balance with tragic consequences. It would be much more satisfactory to eliminate individuals who are useless for one reason or another. But, strangely enough, today's civilised people who find abortion normal are horrified by euthanasia. They artificially keep monsters and insane people alive, but at the same time prevent the birth of healthy children, some of whom are of great potential value. There is no worse aberration. So far, we have only referred in this section to demographic regulation due to overpopulation. Of course, planning also covers the opposite case. Countries which are below the optimum population density have two methods at their disposal to correct their deficiency in this area: the promotion of the birth rate by economic, psychological and welfare means, as in Italy and Germany before the Second World War, and in-migration. The former does not pose a problem. The second will be discussed in the next chapter.

52. D E M O G R A P H I C C O N C E N T R A C T I O N

In the previous sections we have considered the population of the geo-social communities as a whole. The procedure was correct, since it applied to real living units, but it did not cover the demographic problem in all its aspects. Population density, as we have analysed it so far, is in fact no more than a mere average which can conceal internal variations of fundamental importance. For a population

A community consisting of a large city located in the middle of a desert may give us the same index as another whose population is evenly distributed among a multiplicity of small towns, without the respective demographic situations of the two territories being comparable. Hence the need to complement density with the degree of concentration. To measure the impact of this last factor on the structures themselves, it is enough to look at our history. In the Roman provinces, the vast majority of the population lived in the rифoe - the estates or chacras of today - grouped in families of varying size. The cities were no more than garrison towns, with or without the addition of permanent or periodic markets. With feudalism, peasant families concentrated around the forts - future fortified castles - and formed villages, some of which, after the re-establishment of large territorial units, became burghs and towns with craft and later, to a much lesser extent, manufacturing activities. The urban population grew very slowly until the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth century, when the capitalist multiplication of manufacturing drained into the cities a part of the rural population, which subsequently increased with the economic development which brought with it both a greater demand for personnel in the secondary and tertiary sectors and, through the mechanisation of agriculture, a progressive reduction of the agricultural labour force. In Western Europe, 40 per cent of the population today (1968) is still working in agriculture.

In the more technologically advanced and less traditionalist United States, however, the corresponding percentage is no more than 7 %. In addition to this shift from rural to urban areas, there is an increasingly marked trend towards the growth, in every community, of a number of urban centres, which are taking on disproportionate proportions. The structures of a city with several million inhabitants are clearly not the same as those of a "big village" of a few thousand.

MIGRATION

53. DEFINITIONS

Only communities with a very low level of civilisation sometimes retain a stable population, both quantitatively and qualitatively, over significant periods of their historical development. For only in these Communities do the natural and social factors of demographic equilibrium have a full and constant influence, while their maximum potential for qualitative affirmation has either already been realised or is held back by unfavourable living conditions. In the other Communities, demographic changes are constantly occurring, either as a result of internal variations or migratory factors. In the broadest sense of the word, *migration* is any act, voluntary or forced, by which an individual or group of people leaves their place of residence to settle in another territory. Biosociology, however, restricts the scope of the concept. On the one hand, it does not deal with individual migrations unless their volume makes them a social phenomenon.

On the other hand, it is not interested in the constant or chronic movements of nomadic groups in empty spaces. In these cases, neither the population nor the structures of the communities concerned change. On the contrary, they remain immutable, from the above-mentioned points of view, thanks to the movement on the basis of which they are organised and which enables them to maintain a constant geo-economic framework. Once the natural resources available in an area have been exhausted, a hunting or pastoralist tribe needs to move to another territory where it will again find the living conditions to which it is adapted. For it, the change of geographical space is therefore a factor of demological and structural permanence. Bio- sociology is only interested in migrations that bring about social changes. These can affect the community that moves or loses members, as well as the community that receives migrants or becomes part of them. Hence, the migration phenomenon must be approached from a double point of view: that of the group of origin, and we then speak of emigration; that of the receiving group, and we are dealing with immigration. On the other hand, it is necessary to distinguish between *eternal migrations*, in which the demographic movement is from one Community to another, and *internal migrations*, which refer to population movements that take place within the geographical space of the same Community.

Finally, it is necessary to consider separately the *irreversible* migrations - the only ones studied by sociology until very recently - and the *reversible* migrations - the only ones studied by sociology until very recently - and the *irreversible* migrations - the

only ones studied by sociology until very recently.

The Committee of the Regions believes that the temporary *arrivals* - especially those from tourism, which have recently acquired considerable importance.

54. **GLOBAL MIGRATIONS
AND PARTIAL MIGRATIONS**

The first migrations of which we have any historical knowledge - at least in terms of their effects - are those of entire peoples. We are not referring here to population movements to virgin lands, such as those of the Mongothic tribes that passed from Asia to America through the Bering Strait - these are of interest to the historian but not to the sociologist, as we have seen in the previous section - but to the movements of entire peoples to territories already occupied by indigenous or previously arrived human groups. We are thinking in particular of the total displacement of the Aryan peoples who, in successive waves, migrated from Central Asia to India, Iran and Europe. And, more particularly, of the Turanian tribes which, out of Turkestan, settled in central Europe, and of the Mongol hordes which settled in Russia. In such cases, it is a question of social groups which, for one reason or another, left the territories in which they lived in order to overlap with foreign populations and, in time, to mingle to some extent with them.

different ethnic backgrounds. In the contemporary world, the phenomenon only occurred on a smaller scale, as was the case after the Second World War with the Prussian population displaced to West Germany. On the other hand, partial migrations, with more variable characteristics, are a historical constant. When the necessary conditions are met, they occur in every age and among all peoples. Greece and Phenicia created cities all over the Mediterranean basin. Rome populated entire provinces of the Empire with citizens. North America, Australia and parts of South America owe almost their entire population to migrants from Europe. In some countries, the newcomers are juxtaposed with other racial groups, indigenous or immigrant, as in South Africa, or mixed with them, as in most of Central and South America. The new communities owe much, if not all, to immigrants, but their structures, except sometimes as regards the family group, are original. Their constituent elements -In fact, individuals or families came in isolation, separating themselves from communities which continued their historical evolution without them. To complete our analysis, we should mention the intermediate phenomenon of dispersion, whereby an entire population emigrates, but spreads its members over several communities. This is thus a global emigration which leads to partial immigration. The most famous case is that of the Jewish Diaspora in the 1st century. Likewise, after the Second World War, some of the Soviet Union's republics were also the first to be affected.

The Soviet Union was eliminated by the dispersal of all its inhabitants, who were deported in isolation to Siberia and the South Asian provinces.

55. VOLUNTARY MIGRATIONS
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Our examples above lead us to distinguish between those migrations that are the result of the free choice of those who move and those that are the result of human imposition. In practice, however, discrimination is not always as easy to make as it seems at first glance. There are, indeed, migrations that are indisputably voluntary. The Italian peasant who, between 1860 and 1914, left the country to "make America" in Argentina, the Englishman, Irishman or German who emigrated to the United States to find better living conditions, or the Jew who left Western Europe for the New World in search of commercial opportunities, all acted of their own free will. No one was forcing them to do so, and nothing was pushing them, except a comparative judgement of their current situation and the possibilities offered in other lands. The global migrations of the yellow peoples who, at different times, advanced into Europe for the purpose of conquest were also unquestionably voluntary. On the other hand, we know of forced displacements - individual and global - that have left deep traces in history. The slave trade, to which America owes an appreciable part of its population, constitutes a major part of our history.

The expulsion by the Soviets of the population of the German provinces annexed by Russia and Poland provides us with the clearest example of a population movement, spread over several centuries, which was forcibly imposed on its victims. The expulsion by the Soviets of the population of the German provinces annexed by Russia and Poland is a case in point of global forced migration. And the Jewish *diaspora* is a typical case of forced emigration with voluntary dispersal. It is more difficult to define population displacements that have their origin in political, racial or religious persecution. Can the emigration of an individual who has no alternative but death or prison be called voluntary? The authorities of his country do not expel him: on the contrary, they try to stop him. However, the persecuted person does not decide freely: circumstances push him to defend his natural right to life and liberty. But it is also true that the same could be said of the individual fleeing from a famine that threatens, if not his very existence, at least the minimum conditions of his personal and family fulfilment. Even more undefined from the point of view of the present analysis is the migration process, which is not caused by direct persecution but by a mere situation of insecurity, such as that suffered by the Jews in the Tsarist empire. Nor can we clearly identify migrations caused, without any threat to individual freedom or property, by the pursuit of collective activities of a cultural, national or religious nature. It is only natural that a human group which is forbidden to practise its religion or use its language in public, or which

The fact that he is merely subjected to an alien authority seeks to escape from a situation that is negative for him and chooses - freely - to emigrate.

56. EMIGRATION: ITS CAUSES

As we have just seen, the causes of the migratory phenomenon are manifold. We can, however, group them into three categories: economic-social causes, demographic causes and political causes, giving the latter word its broadest meaning. There is certainly nothing to prevent factors of different natures coming together to trigger the same process. A typical example of economic and social emigration can be found in the creation by Rome of colonies of settlers in distant provinces. The transformation of the Roman regime from an aristocratic to an oligarchic one had produced, despite the agrarian reform, an extreme concentration of rural property. Since, on the other hand, most of the trades were carried out by slaves, the freemen had no means of livelihood. The distribution of the conquered lands thus solved an economic and social problem.

But it also eliminated a powerful factor of discontent and therefore also had political motivations and implications.

Purely economic were, centuries later, the causes of the slave trade, which was driven by the demand for labour by the American mills and plantations and by the greed of traffickers, African kings and kings, Arab and European merchants. And it was the eagerness

The desire to find wealth, or at least better material living conditions, is what drove so many peasants to emigrate from the Old World in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Although they are always mixed with economic elements, the demographic causes of the migratory phenomenon are much more profound than the previous ones. In fact, they are not due to accidental or individual circumstances, but to an excess of population. When, at a stabilised level of development, the number of inhabitants in a given territory exceeds the optimum population density, the logical solution is to swallow up the surplus. Thus the Greek cities of antiquity, with little territory and arid soil, periodically re-established their demographic balance by creating colonies, a solution that was not without economic and political purposes. Irish emigration in the twentieth century was, despite its spontaneous nature, motivated by the same motives, even if the individual decisions taken in this respect were based on economic, political and religious motives. Political causes, whether considered from the point of view of the Community which directly or indirectly expels a group of people, or in terms of the more or less free departure of the emigrants, always result in an incompatibility of coexistence. Either a state considers the presence of racially, culturally or ideologically heterogeneous elements within the community it is forming to be dangerous or merely negative, or these elements may be considered to be incompatible.

The latter, whether forced or voluntary, restore the community's coherence and enable the members of the unassimilated group to find more satisfactory living conditions in other lands. The forced or voluntary emigration of the latter restores coherence to the Community and enables the members of the unassimilated group to find more satisfactory living conditions in other lands. Of course, the situation takes on a very special character when it involves the deportation by a conquering power of the inhabitants of an alienated territory. The forced emigration, already mentioned, of the Germans from East Prussia, the Muslims from Palestine and the Franco-Algerians, for example, were unilateral solutions, obtained at the expense of the rights of the displaced populations.

57. EMIGRATION : ITS SEQUENCES

If the sociologist is interested in all the causes, even individual ones, of the migratory phenomenon, since the process in question depends on them, he only takes into consideration the social consequences it produces. From the point of view of the Community of origin, all emigration has a basic effect which is always the same, but whose positive impact varies considerably with the circumstances: a quantitative loss of population. In the extreme case of a global displacement or total dispersion, the territory occupied by the Community is emptied and becomes available to the originator of the process or to some future colonising people, and there is nothing more to be said about it. But when,

The process is, on the contrary, only partial, the problem of its positive and/or negative consequences must be raised. The obvious first of all is that, except in pathological cases, every human being has a certain actual or potential production capacity. When an individual is deprived of a green individual, the Community therefore loses its current or potential production. If current producers emigrate, the consequences are obviously negative, as are, to an even greater extent, the consequences of a departure of children from the community.

-The Committee would point out that, despite the increase in welfare which is initially brought about by the elimination of consumers who do not satisfy their needs through their work, the Community can only be a positive factor when it maintains or restores optimum population density, i.e. when it excludes potential producers from the Community who, because they are not productive enough, are unable to produce enough food to meet their needs. From a quantitative point of view, emigration is positive only when it makes it possible to maintain or re-establish the optimum population density, i.e. when it excludes from the Community potential producers who, for lack of resources, would never be able to become effective producers, thus becoming and remaining unproductive consumers. We already know, however, that optimum demographic density is a function of the level of development. This applies, therefore, to a Community which, for one reason or another, has no possibility of improving its rate of utilisation of existing resources or of finding new resources in this field. By permitting and even encouraging emigration, pre-fascist Italy

partially solved the problem of unemployment, but it lost potentialities which, as later history has shown, it was able to absorb, by updating them.

The quantitative aspect of the process is not, however, the most important. The qualitative aspect of the process is not, however, the most important. Whether positive or negative from the latter point of view, emigration has very different consequences depending on the qualitative level of those who leave. It is not the same thing for a Community to lose labourers who, in the end, will be able to relocate with machines as it is to lose intellectuals and technicians, irreplaceable factors in any progress in any field. The skilled emigration from Europe and Argentina to the United States since the years before the Second World War is certainly much more serious for the Communities of origin than the movement of European labour in the last century to the same destination, even if, as in the case of Germany, it created unfilled demographic gaps. The emigration of *raw materials* is positive in all cases. The emigration of *assimilators* may or may not be positive. The emigration of *producers* and, above all, of *creators*, is always catastrophic, especially in our times, when numbers are losing much of their former importance as a factor of power.

58. BIOLOGICAL LOGY OF THE EMIGRANT

It remains to be seen whether there are social laws relating to the qualitative characteristics of migrants or whether the voluntary movement of human beings is the result of subjective factors that are indifferent to all types of biology.

It is very common to find judgements on this subject that are as blunt as they are unfounded, and no one will ever succeed in finding out, on the basis of such arbitrary and often self-serving assertions, whether the Gaelic peoples reached the Atlantic first because they were the most daring or because they fled faster than the others.... Let us leave a side, in this analysis, the nomadic human groups whose territorial instability is the result of constant needs and, of course, the forced migrants whose displacement is due to causes alien to their nature. Let us consider, then, only those individuals who, while being able to remain on their native soil, are going to join foreign communities, alone or accompanied by their respective families. .

We will immediately notice that they all have one particularity in common: they are uprooted, at once maladjusted to their living conditions and ready to break the ties that bind them to their geo-social environment. They are materially and psychically independent of the community of which they are a part, either because they feel different from their fellow members, or because they have the impression - founded or not - that they are rejected by it. Hence two types of migrant: the *arenfurero* and the *morpitiado*. The *aventurer*, with a longilinear biotype, emigrates in order to find, outside an environment that limits his possibilities of assertion, environmental conditions that allow him to fully realise his will to power. Whether he is a creator *or a realiser*, he does not find in his home community the place which, in his own opinion, corresponds to him, and he does not hesitate to go and conquer it in other lands. Adventurers were the Conquistador, the second, the

first and the third.

The adventurer today is the intellectual - in the broadest sense of the word - who leaves his homeland to find a more favourable field for his research in another country. Today, the adventurer is the intellectual - in the broadest sense of the word - who leaves his homeland to find a more favourable environment for his research in another country. The political refugee generally belongs to this higher biotype of emigrant, even if adventure is not his goal but the cause of his persecution. And also the religiously non-conformist. The marinated represents the almost perfect antithesis of the previous type. He is an asitnifarious or sometimes a b7vto, ge- r.erally brevilinear, who emigrates because of relative incapacity, because of an extreme inferiority which prevents him from retaining his position and even, in extreme cases, from surviving on his native soil. When a natural catastrophe, such as the potato disease in Ireland, or a population growth faster than technical development creates a surplus population in a given territory, those who have no choice but to leave are those who are unable to defend themselves effectively against the vital competition of the fittest: the worst farmers, the worst workers, the worst tradesmen, and also uneducated labourers who, in normal times, would already be submerged. The double migratory sifting thus brings to the areas of settlement superior individuals and very inferior individuals, almost without a middle ground. In the case of colonies or provinces far away from the metropolis, the former are reinforced by officials sent by the government.

The latter are often criminals subject to deportation measures. There is, of course, no constant relationship between the elite and the mass of emigrants. But it is obvious that the first layer is always numerically smaller than the second.

59. IMMIGRATION: THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS

On arrival in the land of destination, the migrant - already an immigrant - suddenly finds himself in a new world into which he has to fit and thus adapt. Unless he is absorbed into an ethnic or national minority of the same origin, he must change his behaviour and, to a certain extent, his way of thinking in order to be able to live harmoniously with the population and take a satisfactory place in the Community. A more or less lengthy and more or less demanding process of assimilation begins. The pace and effects of this process depend essentially on the degree of affinity between the immigrant and the human environment in which he has to find a place. In this respect, race is an almost insurmountable barrier when dealing with essentially different ethnic groups, for a regime of segregation is spontaneously established - as in the case of England after the Second World War with West Indian immigration - which can only be overcome by a long process of miscegenation. Civilisation and culture - and especially language - play a second role for family groups that were previously

in Boston, the English assimilate much more easily than the Italians. In Boston, the English assimilate much more easily than the Italians, while the exact opposite is true in Buenos Aires. And the Germans in the United States blend more quickly into the population than those in Brazil. But religion takes precedence over the other super-structural factors for single immigrants and, in all cases, for the second generation, for

Marriage depends to a large extent on it. The national pride of the immigrants, if any, works against assimilation, as can be seen among the Japanese in Brazil, especially when the concentration in large communities favours it. The propaganda of the country of origin may influence the process, as was seen in the Italian and German immigrant groups before the Second World War, but it does not condition it. The "Franco-Americans" of New England, descendants of Canadian immigrants of the last century, still retain their language and continue to call themselves French despite their American citizenship and two centuries of separation from the mother country. They even resist the fusion with the Irish, Catholics like themselves. Men adapt more easily than women, children than adults, extroverts than introverts, *oeimíphobes* than *zeophysophobes* and *brutes*, and the assimilation capacity of the *ere'ufors* varies greatly. As far as the host community is concerned, the ease of acceptance of the newcomers also plays a part, both structurally and in terms of the

in terms of psychosocial dispositions. In general, however, immigration countries are open and welcoming. They are, however, much more open and welcoming to the usable inferiors than to the superiors whose very ability is feared by the ruling class. The "masters of the house" logically prefer to receive servants rather than competitors capable of displacing them.

60. IMMIGRATION: ITS CONSEQUENCES

Immigration thus poses serious dangers to the demological homogeneity of the receiving country. Essentially differentiated racial groups can become entrenched in the population, as is the case with blacks in the United States and Jews everywhere, with no other way out than an eventual miscegenation that would lower the level of the ethnic substratum of the community. Let us note, however, that the substantial transformation of a receiving country by the incorporation of an immigration wave is not always negative. The almost entirely European population of Argentina today has happily little to do with what it was - almost entirely mestizo - a hundred years ago, before the massive arrival of Italians and Spaniards. Apart from the possible dangers of heterogeneisation and the possibilities of fundamental demological changes, immigration almost always has two consequences that are as counterproductive as they are inevitable. The first is qualitative downgrading. In fact, the numerical ratio between superior and inferior Indians is much lower,

In any migratory wave, it was not only in the country or countries of origin but also in the country of destination, whose cadres had previously been formed by a twofold process of immigration and selection. Initially, the inferior human contribution was intended to increase the power of the Community for the benefit of its previous members, especially the ruling class. But, as they assimilate, the lower elements gradually mix with the primitive population. They cease to constitute a subordinate stratum, below the social body proper, in the manner of the slaves of Rome, and, like the leftists, they merge into the whole, if not absorb it. The qualitative level of the population falls and can only be raised through a long process of training and selection. The other negative consequence - this time without exception - is the amorphous atomisation of social structures. The immigrant has no ties of any kind with the population into which he or she is physically incorporated. As a rule, he comes with a wife and children or marries a compatriot. He then isolates himself in his family group, with no other contacts with his neighbours than those imposed by his professional activities. Even if he is part of a national nucleus concentrated in the same place, he finds himself among strangers, and his relations with them are a far cry from those he left behind in his native village, where everyone was more or less related, or even in the neighbourhood of his home town. The Community thus tends towards a mosaic of almost isolated families. The social atomisation is even more pronounced in the countryside.

of superstructural relations. The immigrant ignores the country's history, or at least does not accept it as his own heritage. He tends to criticise things he does not share and remains alien to a traditional culture he cannot absorb. Worse still: time embellishes his memories of the lost homeland and nostalgia often takes over.

He does not care for it. He cares nothing for the present life and even less for the future of the community of which he is a part, like a foreign body. And his children, torn between home and school, either opt for the former and continue to feel that they are emigrants, or they are taken in by the education received in the latter and, despising their "gringo" parents, break or at least loosen their ties with the only group capable of giving them a structural basis. Hence the indifferentism and "advantageism" that characterise so many descendants of immigrants, strangers in their own country.

61. INTERNAL MIGRATION: GEO- SOCIAL INSTABILITY

Population movements between Communities are not the only ones that observation and historical analysis allow us to verify. They are even exceptional in nature, however important they may be, when compared with movements within the territory of each people. Except in the case of persecution, it is obviously easier for those who need to - or merely want to - leave their native land to relocate to a new place.

The advantages of their hereditary and acquired adaptation to cultural conditions of life which will change only to a very small extent. This is not to mention the greater material ease of a short-distance move. Irrespective of their immediate motivation, which will be discussed in the following section, international migrations depend fundamentally, on the one hand, on the hereditary - ethnic or acquired - characteristics of the human group within which they take place and, on the other hand, on the greater or lesser structural rigidity of the latter. Just as there are migratory peoples who, collectively or individually, tend to move from country to country, there are those who are unstable within their own borders, either because of biopsychic nomadism or because of a lack of attachment to the geo-social groups and communities of which they form part. Needless to add that what we have just said about peoples applies, within each of them, to the different bio-typological strata. It is not by chance that, among the sedentary peoples of the West, the most geosocially unstable is the North American. In the United States, displacement is almost a general rule. People move house, city and state with the greatest ease and with astonishing frequency. Nothing could be more logical, however. The population is composed, for the most part, of the children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of immigrants who have nomadism in their blood. The predominance of the Nordic race, which is more mobile than the Alpine race, is another hereditary factor in the same trend. With no

The lesser impact on geo-social instability is caused by the indifferentiation of social forms and structural amorphism. A people with a long history and high culture is always characterised by the great variety of its intermediate groups and communities, on the one hand, and of its customs, on the other. The individual is not a mere unit of an undifferentiated whole, and it is not the same for him to be located in this or that place, for any place other than his own would require an effort of adaptation, i.e. an effort that is not necessarily successful. If, on the other hand, uniformity prevails, geographical displacement will not lead to a major change in living conditions. The Provençal who settles in Brittany finds himself in a new world. But the Yankee who moves from New York to Chicago or even to San Francisco hardly experiences the effects of his move at all, as if he had merely moved house. If, moreover, he has no social ties other than those that bind him to the other members of his family, he leaves nothing behind and is indifferent to his place of residence. This is why the bracero migrates more easily than the peasant farmer, the wage-earner than the businessman, the intellectual than the entrepreneur.

It is the bureaucrat, the underachiever, and the one who occupies a prominent position in his local environment. It is not by chance that we observe in history that internal mishaps are always inversely proportional to the solidity of social structures. There were none in the Middle Ages, except for catastrophes,

The role was hereditary, with customary and even legal prohibition of abandoning it.

62. INTERNAL MIGRATION: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Apart from the constant factors we have just analysed, internal migrations respond in each case to immediate causes. These are generally the same as those mentioned above for migration from country to country, with the exception of political ones: the search for new sources of resources and demographic pressure. Accidentally, however, other, totally unforeseeable reasons may arise. These include, for example, the laws of forced partition of inheritance which, by encouraging smallholdings, have made a powerful contribution to the de-folding of the European countryside, the mechanisation of agriculture which is reducing the need for rural labour and, in the United States, the application to factories of "air-conditioning" which has enabled the industrialisation of the southern states. Rural migration to the cities, which has been a phenomenon for the last 200 years, deserves a separate mention because of its volume and characteristics. The immediate cause is capitalist industrialisation, which has led to an ever-increasing demand for labour from factories located in urban centres. Attracted by the lights of the city, the champion abandons his traditional way of life, breaks away from his

The rural provinces are depopulated, or at least not growing demographically at the pace of the country. The rural provinces are depopulated or, at least, are not growing at the same rate as the country from a demographic point of view. The big cities, where industries are preferably located in order to be close to a large consumer market and to have adequate means of transport, are monstrously inflated. From this double consequence comes another type of migration: that which drains young people from rural areas and small towns to the big industrial centres in search of more favourable living conditions. The increase in manufacturing activity and the ever greater concentration of the population are in fact leading to a constant supply of administrative and technical jobs and a growing demand for services of all kinds, largely satisfied by in-migration. As we have known for two centuries, these population movements have had a twofold catastrophic effect: the qualitative impoverishment of rural areas and a greater imbalance in the large cities. On the one hand, the best-educated and best-endowed young people of each generation move away from their homeland, potentially leaving the local population without a cadre. On the other hand, with a few individual exceptions, they do not settle in the receiving centres and become the frustrated, bloated and largely parasitic middle classes. In the industrialised countries, however, since before the Second World War, there has been a trend towards decentralisation, which, if it is to be expected, will lead to the creation of new jobs.

Although it does not relieve congestion in large population centres, it does tend to slow down their growth. Small towns are becoming more industrialised, while large factories are moving to the countryside. This phenomenon suggests a return to geo-economic equilibrium and thus a more satisfactory distribution of the population. The only thing that is likely to be irreversible is the decline of the agricultural workforce, displaced by machines.

63. MINIFICATION PLANIFICATION MIGRATORY

Faced with the considerable impact of a process capable of quantitatively and qualitatively modifying the human substance of a Community and even, in the case of a country of immigration, of transforming its racial substratum, as is happening in Argentina with the massive influx of Indians and mestizos from neighbouring countries, it is logical that States have tried to plan population movements. Naturally, the interests of the two countries contradict each other: a country of emigration will try to retain its superior elements, while a country of immigration will select the individuals it admits. In the first case, however, police measures are generally ineffective and only satisfactory living and working conditions will achieve the desired result. On the other hand, immigration can be controlled by proper administrative screening of applicants. The possibility of improving a Community's hereditary endowment through the provision of genetic resources is a good way to achieve the desired result.

The temptation of quantity, and in particular of cheap and therefore low-quality labour, unfortunately often has a negative impact. Unfortunately, the temptation of quantity and, in particular, of cheap and therefore inferior quality labour often has a negative impact. But even outside of this, the selection factors to be considered - race, biotype, culture, language, religion, vocational training, health and assimilation capacity - are so many and sometimes so contradictory that the task is far from easy. There is no doubt, however, that there is a necessary order among these factors and that race comes first. It is possible to cure a sick person, to instruct an illiterate, to teach the language to an allophone, and even to convert a follower of a foreign religion; it is possible, more slowly, to select an elite from a qualitatively inferior population; but it is not possible to transform a black into a white person, nor vice versa. The Sicilian assimilates perfectly and rapidly in Argentina; but he introduces into the hereditary endowment of the country genes of Semitic origin and, for that very reason, black, with all the consequences that go with them. From the essential point of view of ethnic selection, two schools of thought are in conflict. The first affirms the principle of the affinity of health. A racial group, whether existing or being formed, should only incorporate elements similar or even identical to those it already has. This was the basis for the American immigration law, which was in force until **1966**, which severely restricted the entry of non-Nordic whites and prohibited the entry of non-Nordic whites.

coloured people. It should be noted, however, that, as far as whites were concerned, it was nationality and not race that played a role: hence the paradoxical consequence of considerable Jewish immigration under the protection of legislation designed to encourage the influx of British and Germanic immigrants. The other school is that of racial compensation. This principle often gives rise, on the part of the layman, to calculations which are the result of fanciful chemistry. But in its scientific expression, it affirms the real fact that a racial group can be improved by a superior heterogeneous contribution. On the one hand, therefore, greater concern for racial homogeneity and hence assimilation. On the other hand, a predominant concern for the intrinsic value of the expected contribution. Notemog, however, that the affinity theory does not prevent poly-ethnic countries, such as the United States and even Brazil, from limiting its application to the master race and that the compensation thesis does not underestimate the danger of incorporating too many heterogeneous elements. The two theories therefore complement each other, with affinity or compensation predominating, depending on the case.

64. THEMIGRATIONSTEMPORATIONSTORY

In addition to the migrations which, observed on our hy- htoric scale, we can call definitive, there have always been individual or group movements of a temporary nature: the "journeys" of common parlance. The phenomenon has, since

The importance of the application of the steam engine in the field of transport has increased considerably in quantitative terms since the Second World War. Its demographic impact today is such that we cannot fail to analyse it here. There are three types of temporary migration, defined according to their causes. Some are a consequence of contemporary warfare with conscript armies. In the great wars of our century, millions of prisoners of war were used for years as agricultural and factory labourers and enjoyed a regime of semi-freedom, or even forced residence, in rural areas. It is inevitable that young men mixed with a predominantly female population - due to the conscription of military-age men - leave significant traces in the hereditary endowment of the receiving social group. The same effect is produced by the occupation of the country that has been conquered, which in our time often lasts for decades. The presence of coloured French troops in the Rhineland after the First World War made the demographic consequences of this phenomenon visible through the large number of mulattoes who were born in the area. But this is only one aspect, albeit the most serious, of a general situation which has been reproduced for almost the whole of Europe since 1945. Temporary migrations of the second type are due to work and have similar consequences to the previous ones. The Bolivian and Chilean workers who go to Argentina every year for a few weeks for the harvest and the seasonal season.

Algerians who go to France for a few years as factory workers, and Portuguese, Spaniards, Italians, Greeks and Turks who go to Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, etc. to work for a limited period of time, live with the population and have sexual relations with local women, not to mention those who, legally or otherwise, manage to become permanent residents.

Foreign elements are thus introduced into the humanitarian endowment of the receiving peoples, whose race is changing more or less slowly but inevitably. Finally, there remain the temporary migrations, with very different characteristics, which are due to tourism. Until the middle of this century, these population movements were numerically very small and only affected a few European cities and regions - Paris, Rome, Switzerland, the Côte d'Azur, the Italian Riviera - to which only families of high social standing moved. Today, on the other hand, millions of travellers a year "invade" the host countries for a few weeks. Quality" tourism did not have social consequences for the regions of destination, but it did have social consequences for the countries of origin, to which it brought cultural elements - psychological and material - that contributed to their formation: a process that continues to this day, although to a lesser extent, in America. Mass" tourism, on the other hand, has no appreciable influence on those who practise it, but it does have an appreciable influence on the population of the receiving countries. Not so much from a bio-social point of view, although certain interests cannot be ruled out.

The Swiss are now in the process of changing in this field, as well as in terms of psychosocial modifications. It is tourism that turned the Swiss from warriors into hoteliers, giving them a lackey mentality. To a greater or lesser extent, depending on their resilience, countries that have more recently begun to benefit economically from the tourism "industry" will undergo a similar transformation.

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