

**THE
ELEMENTS
OF
RACIAL
EDUCATION**



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FOREWORD

The title of this small volume expresses clearly our intentions regarding its form and its purpose/
both the guidelines that have informed its writing and its purposes .

Here we offer neither an abstract, scientific/**abstractly scientific** exposition of the theory of race, nor a survey of the various racial doctrines. To achieve that purpose, we would have had to repeat things which we have already written, because we have already carried out this project in our book *Il Mito del Sangue*, published a few years ago by Hoepli.

We do not intend to proceed to a doctrinal and critical examination of the fundamentals of racism, biological, philosophical or spiritual, either, since the reader will be able to find these matters discussed in a more recent work of ours, also published by Hoepli, namely *Sintesi di Dottrina della Razza*, while, for a general account of some of the historical and traditional perspectives linked with the problems of race and 'Aryanity', he can always refer to our main work, *Revolt against the Modern World*, again published by Hoepli.

Our task in this small volume is more specialised/ **very special**: it does not include abstract expositions which would be used as bases of a generic 'education' and information, nor considerations designed to give more depth to the doctrine/ **properly doctrinal deepenings**, but rather it aims to clarify the ideas — we may say the 'key ideas' — needed in order for the educator to carry out, with respect to racism, **too**, his true task. Simple notions, but clear and suffused with suggestive force, able to act on the souls of the young people rather than on their intellects, so as to promote a certain formation of their will and a certain orientation of their best vocations.

The educator must bear in mind, in this connection, the essentially political and ethical value which the theory of race must have in Fascism, and thus in the Fascist school. He must understand fully that the 'race' in question is something very different from the one of which biology and anthropology spoke until very recently. Our racism goes far beyond the limits of such disciplines, which are, in fact, basically, in their most common, positivistic, and scientific formulations, in sharp contrast to the true racist idea. True racism is a frame of mind rather than a specialised/ **special** discipline: its influence thus extends to fields which, according to general opinion, and especially that of the so-called 'intellectuals', would seem to have nothing to do with problems of this kind.

The instructions of Mussolini are precise: "You must know, and everyone must know, that, even in regard to the question of race, our aims will be precisely calculated." He has added, alluding to certain well-known insinuations: "To say that Fascism is imitating someone, or something, else, is simply ridiculous." However, we must not conceal from ourselves the fact that, despite these instructions, in the two and a half years which have passed since the declaration by Fascism of its official racial stance, not much has been done. The reasons for this are, more or less, as follows: First of all, there is the assumption, already mentioned, that racism is merely a branch of natural science, to which, for contingent or even opportunistic reasons (as, for instance, with respect to the Jewish problem), a certain role has to be conceded, a bit larger than it would normally be expected to have, alongside the other disciplines, which exist unaffected and are to be left the way they are. Secondly, many have suspected, and still suspect, that racism is an imported product, having little bearing either upon serious culture, or upon our tradition, the characteristics of which they hold to be 'Latinity', as opposed to 'Aryanity', and universalism, as opposed to dependence upon any given race.

Finally, there is a technical reason, related to lack of competence and preparatory study. Various causes have seen to it that, until now, racism in Italy has been mainly the product of a propaganda campaign conducted by incompetents who have become Fascists or anti-Semites overnight, and for whom sloganising has served as a substitute for principles and serious information.

These causes for delay must be removed. It is necessary to persuade/**convince** ourselves, and to convince others, that, rather than being a flash in the pan whose day is almost done since, nowadays, there are so many very different things to think of, the racist idea has a precise future, not only for its own intrinsic reasons, but also for historical reasons related to the epoch into which we are entering, as we have argued elsewhere.

Now, in order to achieve any real progress in the racial field, we must commit ourselves to developing formative and educative activity among the new generations, both within the youth organisations of the Party and in the schools. It is essential that we do not delude ourselves about the effect of merely journalistic propaganda on a public such as ours which, in this field, is unprepared if not downright skeptical. Equally, it cannot be claimed that elements in which fixed views and mental habits have already crystallised can sincerely change their orientation and adopt ideas alien to them, which they had fought against, or had not known at all, until a moment before/**new to them, or even opposed or disavowed by them until recently.**

We must count entirely upon the new generations: new generations both of educators and of pupils. And, let us repeat, here we speak about the formation of a mentality and of a sensibility, not of intellectual schemes or of classifications of natural science.

It is to this end that we have written this small volume, in which we will present in the most living and direct manner the fundamental essence of the ideas which integrate the racist orientation into the main issues of the ethics and the general world-view of Fascism. Those readers who wish subsequently to go further into any of the various arguments will find what is needed to satisfy their wish both in our own works, already mentioned, above, and in those of the authors from whom we shall have occasion to quote here and there, below.

1. WHAT 'RACE' MEANS

What does 'race' mean? Here are some of the best known definitions: "race is a living unity of individuals of common origin, with the same bodily and spiritual features" (Woltmann); "it is a human group which is distinguished from any other human group by a characteristic combination, and which reproduces elements always having this same combination, of physical features and psychic gifts"/ **which owing to the combination, peculiar to it, of physical features and psychic gifts, is distinguished from any other human group and reproduces elements always similar to themselves** (Günther); "it is a hereditary type" (Topinard); "it is a stock defined by groups with the same 'genes' (that is, of hereditary potentialities), not of men outwardly similar in form" (Fisher, Lenz); "it is a group defined not by the possession of these or those bodily or spiritual characteristics, but by the style which manifests itself through them" (Clauß).

We have **not** mentioned at random these definitions of race. There is a sort of progression from each one to the next, related to that which has been taking place in the past years in the theory of race. Originally, race exhausted itself in an anthropological concept, 'anthropology' here being a discipline which has ceased to have the ancient and etymological meaning of the 'science of man' in general, in order to assume that of a special natural science considering man only in the sense in which his is one natural species among many others/ **in the light of aspects in relation to which his is one natural species among many others.**

At first, there was thus a purely naturalistic, descriptive concept of race: just as the various animals and plants were described in their obvious inequality, human beings were gathered in various categories based on the greater recurrence which essentially bodily, somatic characteristics presented in one or the other. The criterion was therefore 'statistical' and quantitative: the common characteristics which could be found in the greater number of individuals were considered as racial characteristics.

The earliest anthropological research thus focused on the most obvious features of outward appearance: the colour of the skin, of the hair, of the eyes, stature, features of the face, proportions, cranial conformation. The first development from this was the introduction of measurement: the bodily proportions were fixed in numbers, cranial indices and facial angles were measured. That is to say that the descriptive sought to 'become positive' by means of numerical formulae. There

followed the contribution of psychology: the attempt was made to identify the gifts which in the most recurrent way corresponded or were presumed to correspond to the various human groups. Early anthropology had also considered the hereditary element: once the morphological differences between living human beings were observed, it was naturally assumed that the constancy of such differences had existed in the ancestors as well as in the descendants/ **the constancy of such differences in the ancestors as well as in the descendants was naturally assumed.** Nevertheless, the particular importance of the 'heredity' element is peculiar to the most modern anthropology, already close to racial theory in the strict sense of the word. Hence the definitions of Topinard, Lenz and Fisher we have just referred to. *In current racial theory, the theory of heredity constitutes a cornerstone.* It is asserted in it, contrarily to the views of earlier anthropology, that not all the characteristics or gifts which can be found in a given human group are to be attributed peculiarly to a race, but only those likely to be transmitted hereditarily.

There is more. After having observed some external modifications (also called *paravariations*) that a given type can undergo for various reasons, without, however, their becoming transmissible hereditarily, the important distinction between the *gene* and its *phenotype* was formulated. The 'gene' is, so to speak, a *potentiality*: it is the force which produces a type or a series of types, which can fluctuate within certain limits. The external form (external in a general sense, since the theory of heredity applied to man considers not only the morphological characteristics, but also the psychic gifts), which, from birth to birth/ **each time (?)**, derives from the 'gene', can indeed be varied and, in appearance, it can grow more remote from the normal original type, to the point of becoming unrecognisable. This external form is called *phenotype*. In natural species, it was observed that the modifications concerning the 'phenotype' do not affect the essence. Under influences extraneous to it (whether subjective or environmental), the potentiality of the 'gene' behaves almost as an elastic substance: it seems to lose, within certain limits, its form, but it returns to it as soon as the stimulus stops, in the types to which it gives rise in the generations. Here is a typical example taken from the plant realm: the Chinese primrose at normal temperature produces red flowers; in an overheated environment it produces, on the contrary, white flowers. One of these primrose plants is put in a hothouse and if the seeds are transplanted once again into an overheated environment, there will be again, in the series of the new plants, white flowers. But if, after a certain time, a seed of these plants is taken and planted in an environment at normal temperature, a plant with red flowers will re-appear, just like its ancestor. The variation of the 'phenotype' is therefore not essential, but temporary and illusory. The potentiality remains intact, similar to the original type.

So what is hereditary, and, according to the most recent views, 'racial', is not the external forms in themselves, but the potentialities, the constant ways of reacting, albeit in a manner which **eventually** varies in accordance with varied circumstances, but always in conformity with certain laws.

This is the base of the most recent conception of race. With the definition, mentioned above, of Clauß, the creator of so-called psychoanthropology, we move forward towards a certain spiritualisation of what has been called the 'gene': the essence of race is sought in a 'style', in a way of being. Race here becomes a sort of constant 'line', which expresses itself not only through the physical characteristics, that is to say through the race of the body, but also in the way of using the various psychic qualities or gifts, as will be examined more closely later on. On the basis of this style, itself hereditary, a given group of individuals is defined, a group which, in relation to other groups with a different style, constitutes a 'race'.

2. INNER MEANING OF RACE

If we have thus provided a brief summary of what race has come to mean in the most modern research, we still have not moved beyond the most abstract definitions, as we must in order to state what 'race' must mean, today, for the individual, and, therefore, what 'racial consciousness' must mean. However, this is the decisive point, for which it is necessary to refer to direct experience. From antiquity onwards/ **For very long time** ordinary language has spoken of *thoroughbred men*. In general, this was an aristocratic concept. From the mass of common and mediocre beings stand

out 'thoroughbred men' as superior, 'noble' beings. Such a nobility, however — it is useful to remember this — did not necessarily have a heraldic meaning: types of the countryside or of any straightforward and sane people could give that impression of 'race' in the same way as worthy representatives of a true aristocracy. There is a reason to this: just as in the nobility some inner traditions have protected the purity of blood, so also, special favourable conditions in the countryside and in nature, in sane customs and in sane occupations, have been able to produce the same effect also in other parts of any given people besides the nobility.

Not only the word 'race', but also the word 'blood', have had in ordinary language a living and precise meaning, far from any biological and scientific reference. One may say 'good blood does not lie', or speak of an 'instinct of the blood'. There are insults which are 'bloody'. There are conditions against which 'the blood itself' rebels. What does all this mean? In the depths of (~~each~~) human being, far beyond the area of abstract concepts, of discursive reasoning, or of conventions derived from social life, there are instincts with a determined form, there is the capacity for direct and absolute reactions, which are normal in the 'thoroughbred' man but which manifest themselves only sporadically in the common man, in the borderline cases, in the most serious tests in life. Are we speaking here about impulses which belong to pure animal and biological life? It would be unwise to affirm this. The forces in question, the instincts of the 'thoroughbred man', far from being appendices to the animal instincts, often refute them and impose on existence a higher norm, making natural and spontaneous both the obedience to a certain 'line' and a certain style of mastery, of inner tension, of assertion. The reactions of race have in common with animal instincts only the character of immediacy and precision: they do not derive from reasoning and intellectual consideration, but are on the contrary spontaneous and manifest the whole of a being. Indeed, they override the intellect/**invest the intellectual domain**, since they manifest themselves in special, direct, forms of sensitivity, of judgment, of acknowledgment. Man is led by race, by blood, to evidences which are unquestionable; which, on their own plane, are as direct as those which are provided by sane and normal senses. Just as no one questions why the red colour is red, so, equally natural and precise evidences are peculiar to the 'thoroughbred' man **in the same field**, where(as) the 'modern' intellectualised and degenerated man gropes his way forward, so to speak, seeking to remedy the lost faculty of *seeing* with that of a *touching* with the help of the discursive intellect, often with the result that he goes from one crisis to another or that he adopts mere conformist criteria.

It is on this plane that race must be understood and *lived*. Race lives in blood, or rather deeper than in blood, in a depth where individual life communicates with a life more than individual, not to be understood, however, in a naturalistic way, as 'life of the species', but as an order in which **really** spiritual forces are at work.

This the Ancients knew well in their veneration of the Lares, the Penates, the archetypal heroes, the 'demon' of a *gens*, entities which conceal the whole mystery of blood and the mystical forces of race.

Science can highlight the importance of race through the results attained by genetics and the theories of heredity, demography, and pathology. All this can contribute to the awakening of the feeling of race, but it cannot create it. The feeling of race is an inner reaction for the occurrence of which, a 'myth' — myth as 'idea-force', as driving idea — is more helpful than scientific considerations/ **It is an inner reaction that instead occurs, and, in this, a 'myth' — myth as 'idea-force', as driving idea — can be more helpful than any given order of scientific considerations.** What this myth is we have indicated: race means superiority, fullness and self-confidence of life. *There are common beings and there are 'thoroughbred' beings.* Whichever social class they are from, such beings form an aristocracy. A remote and mysterious centuries-long heritage still lives in them.

This is why racism has the value of a test, of a reagent, even in its most general formulations. The reactions of this or that person towards the racist idea are a sort of barometer which show us the 'quantity' of race which is found in the person in question. *To say yes or no to racism is not merely to differ intellectually, it is not something subjective and arbitrary.* The one who says yes to racism

is the one in whom race still lives: the one who has been internally defeated by the anti-race and in whom the original forces have been stifled by ethnic waste, by processes of cross-breeding and degeneration, or by a bourgeois, weak, and intellectualistic style of life which has lost for generations any contact with anything which is really originary, opposes it and searches in all directions for alibis in order to justify his aversion and discredit racism.

This point must be made most emphatically, almost as a premise to any particular racist exposition. Fascism calls out today to all those in whom (~~this feeling of~~) 'race' has not yet been entirely extinguished.

3. CONSEQUENCES OF THE FEELING OF RACE

Count de Gobineau who, from a certain point of view, can be considered as the father of modern racism, does not make a mystery out of the inner origin of his doctrine; what made him write his famous *Essay on the inequality of human races* in 1853 was a deep reaction against the 'democratic and egalitarian marsh' into which the European nations were and are sinking deeper and deeper. Exactly this *pathos* must always accompany the development of any coherent racist attitude and must produce definite effects when the time comes to deduce from it political and social consequences/**when it comes to socio-political deductions**. Such deductions, moreover, must dovetail perfectly with the cornerstones of Fascist ideology, which turn out to be developed and, so to speak, energised by them.

To be racist, in fact, means to align ourselves against the demo-Masonic myth, according to which the supreme value is 'humanity' in the singular, and (~~within which~~) all beings must become essentially equal and fraternal with one another/ **all beings are essentially equals and brothers**. In reality, *this mythic 'humanity' assumed by the gospel of the 'immortal principles' either does not exist at all, or it is of less than no significance to us, representing, not a plus, but a minus*.

In order to clarify the racist standpoint, we would say that we certainly do not think of questioning the existence of common aspects in the vast majority of human beings: however, the aspects in which difference is obvious and unquestionable are equally real. We must take a stand when we decide the relative importance of the former and the latter, and here, once again, we have a test of our inner vocations/ **With regard to the assessment of the former and the latter, we must take a stand, with which, once again, we have a test of inner vocations**.

Racism, we can say with certainty, aligns itself with the *classical spirit*. What was peculiar to the classical spirit was the exaltation of everything which has form, face, and individuation, as opposed to what is formless, vague, and undifferentiated. The classical, and, let us add, 'Aryan' ideal is that of the *cosmos*, that is to say, that of an ensemble of well individuated natures and substances, organically and hierarchically connected in a whole: it is not the more or less romantic or pantheistic ideal of *chaos* as the principle which, in its undifferentiation, dominates everything which has form.

Pursuing this idea further/**according to this idea**, on our own plane, (~~we may say that~~) the ideal/**fabled (?)** 'humanity' of the demo-Masonic myth appears to us only as a common denominator or as a vague substratum, whereas what interests us is only the living, concrete, well defined forms in which it articulates itself. These forms are precisely the races, to be understood as unities either of language, of instinct, or of spirit. The racist, therefore, acknowledges difference and wants difference. To be different, to be oneself, is not an evil, but a good.

When does the famous 'humanity' really exist? When, from a well articulated world, we go back to a chaotic, collectivist, promiscuous, world, thinkable only as the final and dreadful station of a process of disintegration and of social and spiritual levelling.

It is only then, that, if there is still any difference in the bodies, this difference can be considered as accidental, unessential, insignificant, negligible. Here is what is hidden behind the egalitarian myth and the democratic-Masonic ideology.

In the racist vision of life, on the contrary, any difference — even corporeal — is *symbolic*: the inside manifests itself in the outside, what is external is symbol, sign and symptom of something internal. Such are the fundamental principles of a complete racism.

And, from our Roman and Fascist point of view, it is very important to insist on the aforementioned *classical* tendency of racism: will to form, aversion for the promiscuous; reassumption of the principles of our ancient wisdom, that is: *know yourself and be yourself*. Fidelity to one's own nature, that is to say, to one's own blood and one's own race. Here is the inner, ethical and spiritual counterpart to the elements which genetics, the science of heredity, and biology give us towards the formulation of a scientific racism. Here are precise instructions for racial education.

4. RACIAL HEREDITY AND TRADITION

More specifically still, what is the inner, experiential/**experienced** meaning of the racial law of *heredity*?

This meaning is twofold. First of all, it means the overcoming of the liberalistic, individualistic and rationalist conception of the self. To the racist consciousness, the individual is not a sort of atom, an entity by itself, which lives and has its worth in itself. Racism conceives of **and values** the individual in relation to a given community both in space, as race of the living individuals, and in time, as unity of a stock, of a tradition, of a blood. There is in the first aspect a further convergence of racism with the totalitarian-corporatist conception of Fascism, that is, the value of the individual as organic function of a whole in space. As for the second aspect — unity in time — racist consciousness gives a livelier, more energetic, deeper meaning to what ordinary usage refers to as 'tradition'. As a matter of fact, to this word is too often attributed a meaning which is only 'historicist', cultural and 'humanistic', if it does not dissolve into mere rhetoric: tradition as heritage of the creations, acquisitions and beliefs of our predecessors. Well, in all this, the essential, the deeper substratum of any tradition worthy of the name, is not brought out, that is to say, the blood, the living race, the sense of connection not so much with the works of our ancestors as with the very forces from which such works derived in them — forces which continue in our blood, in the most mysterious and sacred strata of our being. *This is how racism revivifies and makes concrete the concept of tradition*: it will accustom the individual to see in the ancestors not the series of the more or less famous 'dead', but rather the expression of something which still lives in us and with which we are still internally connected. We are the bearers of a heritage of life which was transmitted to us and is to be transmitted again — in this consciousness, there is something which goes beyond time, something which enables us to begin to discern what we have called elsewhere the 'eternal race'. Let us get to the second meaning of the racist idea of heredity, that which allows us to understand racism as an explicit refutation of the Lamarckian and, in part, Marxist theory of the influence of the environment.

It is not true that environment determines the individual and races. Environment, whether natural, historical, social or cultural, can only influence the 'phenotype', that is to say, the outer and contingent manner of manifestation, in the individual or in a given group, of certain hereditary and racial tendencies, which are always the primary, original, essential, uncontrollable/**irrepressible (?)** element. To be racist therefore means to be explicitly aware and to know concretely that it is forces rooted inside of us, and not the mechanical and impersonal influences of the environment, that are really determining for our life, our character, and our vocations. This is a point of view which, among other things, also leads to new historical perspectives: as a matter of fact, it opposes the theory of environment in the form which considers that the great civilisations of the past were determined by their location, by their climatic or, in the narrow sense, historical conditions, their economy, and so on. On the contrary, man is the decisive force who, often in an environment which is hostile to him, has shaped various civilisations — and, once again, not man in the abstract, but man as representative of a race, whether corporeal or spiritual. This outer and inner race is not only the reason why, in some given people taken as a whole, a given vocation is peculiar to given groups of individuals, but it is also the reason why, in a given environment and in a given epoch, a civilisation of warriors rather than of tradesmen, or of ascetics rather than of humanists, arose. In each case, the irresistible/**fatal?**, or, more accurately, the fate-laden/**fateful?** forces which exist within us and give shape to our nature and are connected with the mystery of our origins, are decisive.

What is the link between the individual and the meaning of human personality and such forces in general? One might imagine that, by way of racism, we fall into a form, albeit interiorised, of determinism: race would be all, personality as such nothing. That is why a suspicion of collectivism, of return to the spirit of the clan, of the savage promiscuous communities, may even arise. Nevertheless, this may be viewed differently/**things are quite different**. It can be said with good reason — apart from specifically metaphysical problems — that, *if the individual does not exist outside race, race, in its turn, in a certain sense, does not exist outside the individual, or, better, the personality*.

In order to clarify this formulation, the ‘aristocratic’ aspect already underlined in the expression ‘to be thoroughbred’ or ‘to have race’ must be recalled. To express ourselves paradoxically, it could be said that race really exists only in those of its representatives who are ‘thoroughbred’. Race, in other words, is a vague/**generic** heritage and substratum; although it tends to find expression in all and it does find expression in all one way or another, it is only in a few that it fully and perfectly fulfils itself — and it is here that the action and the meaning of the individual, of personality, manifests itself. In the really superior men, race is fulfilled, is actualised at its highest point, which is simultaneously the peak of the values of the true personality. Racial heredity can be compared to a heritage gathered from the ancestors and transmitted to the descendants. There is no determinism, since the freedom of use of such heritage is granted to the descendants: it can be assumed in order to be preserved, to be developed, and to really bear fruit, just as it can be squandered and destroyed. From what an individual has been provided with by a specific heredity, whether spiritual or biological, the individual can therefore, in fidelity to his race, draw the forces needed to reach a personal perfection and amount to a perfect incarnation of the ideal of a whole stock; or he can contaminate this heritage, squander it, and put it at the mercy of determinisms asserting themselves by means of mixings and hybridisations, as a result of which he will be sooner or later overwhelmed by either paralysing or dissolving influences.

The racist consciousness, while acknowledging the meaning and the function of personality in race, means to awaken a precise sense of responsibility in the individual for the use of his liberty with regard to the racial heritage, both biological and spiritual, which has been transmitted to him throughout a chain of generations.

5. RACE AND NATION

There is no racist, not even the most extreme, who does not recognise that expressions such as ‘Italian race’, ‘German race’, ‘Anglo- Saxon race’ and even ‘Hebraic race’ are scientifically incorrect, since in this connection one must speak of *peoples* or of *nations*, and there is currently no people or nation to which a sole pure and homogeneous race corresponds.

This will be clarified later, when we will indicate that, today, when speaking of race, we no longer use the **vast** generic categories of the ancient anthropology, which limited itself to speaking of white, black, red, yellow races, and so on, but instead refer to more individuated and more original ethnic units, which, in a way, could be compared to the simple bodies or elements which in chemistry are used as a base to study composites. Current nations and peoples would thus be various compositions of such elements, more or less stable or homogeneous. So, for instance, for Deniker, the word ‘race’ refers to a collection of characteristics which could originally be found in a collection of individuals, which today are scattered, according to varying percentages, in various ethnic groups, which are precisely the nations and the peoples, groups which are distinguished from each other essentially by language, way of life, customs, and so on.

What relations exist then between the national idea and the racial idea?

Where does the most important element lie, in the nation or the race? However thorny it is, this problem must be tackled, since, without a clear point of view on this subject, we cannot arrive at the fundamental meaning and justification of all the practical and activist aspects of racism and above all of selective racism. Both peoples and nations are syntheses. It can be granted that the elements which appear in such a synthesis are not only racial, if race is conceived of as a purely ethnic and anthropological-biological entity. But this is not our conception of race. Race is for our racism an

entity which appears both in the body and in the spirit. The various cultural, artistic, religious, ethical forms and so forth are manifestations of the race of the soul and of the spirit. So the non-ethnic and non-anthropological elements which define a nation can also be the object of racist research.

At this point, something must be said about the power of crosses. We have noticed up till now that, when heterogeneous races cross, the result is not only, or not always only, the distortion in the descendants of the characteristic traits of the related pure types.

In addition, a more serious hybridism can occur, that is to say that there may appear descendants in whom the race of the body of a given type no longer corresponds to the race of the soul and of the spirit which should normally be correlative to them and with which they were originally connected. Hence a disharmony and often an inner fragmentation comes about.

Further, we must explain the general nature/**touch on the generalisation** of two concepts within the Mendelian theory of the heredity of crossbreeds, namely the '*dominant*' and '*recessive*'.

In a cross, it may happen that, in the descendants, for one or more generations, only the characteristics of one of the two types which were crossed prevail, so as to create the illusion that no mix, no bastardisation or 'hybridism', has occurred. This is a mere appearance. The 'genes', that is to say, the hereditary potentialities of the other type also are transmitted and active in the descendants, but in a latent form, lying in ambush so to speak, since, for a certain period of time, the force of the 'genes' of the first type prevails. But, at a certain moment, these others will reappear on the surface, assert themselves visibly and bring about a form corresponding to their own nature. These latent characteristics constitute the '*recessive*' traits, the others constituting on the contrary the '*dominant*' ones.

While, in the strictly biological field and in the world of the natural species — plants and animals — the recessive function and the dominant one, in their alternations, are governed by objective and impersonal laws, once again a spiritual factor comes into play in the context of the human races. A quality remains '*dominant*' in crosses kept in certain limits, as long as there is a certain tension, a certain self-presence, so to speak, of race. When this creative tension is relaxed, the '*dominant*' quality ceases to be such and extraneous forces which had been compelled by it to remain '*recessive*', that is to say only latent, assert themselves in their turn.

Now that these basic notions of the doctrine of race have been explained, we can tackle the problem of the relations between race and nation, or race and 'people'. We have said that from a rigorous point of view current nations and peoples are mixed ethnic entities, which have arrived through historical vicissitudes at their present form. They are points of interference, not only of various races of the body, but also of various races of the spirit, which form the deepest substratum of elements of different civilisations and cultural influences. The predominant point of view on the nation during the democratic epoch was '*historicist*' and agnostic: the problem of the genesis and composition of a given community was avoided, each nation was accepted as a '*fait accompli*', and its concern was to maintain in a certain equilibrium the various forces which were acting in it, often in antithetical ways.

With racism and therefore with the new ~~racist~~/**Fascist** concept of state and nation, a different point of view is reached. The problem of national origins can no longer be avoided when it is acknowledged that the political model should not be a system of 'balance', but one of the resolute leadership of the state and the nation by an elite, a core representing the most valid and worthiest element compared to all other elements present alongside it, and that it is desirable that this element gives its imprint to the whole. Here, then, it becomes necessary to frame the problem of the formation of the nations in a different way, which is no longer '*historicist*'. We see at the origin of any true national tradition a relatively pure and homogeneous race, at least as the ruling/**domineering** race compared to other, subject races; we recognise that in the course of centuries each such original race has experienced dramatic, sometimes even tragic, vicissitudes; epochs and civilisations become apparent to us in which it weakened, alien influences became part of the political-social units created by it, the natural laws of the race were betrayed, a hybridism occurred in the field of cultural and spiritual productions, because elements of other races were

received, which saw to it that what held a 'dominant' character towards them before persisted only in a stifled, 'recessive' form. The sporadic resurrections of the original race and the original tradition, its impulses to maintain itself in spite of all, to free itself or to assert itself again, to give rise again to forms and creations faithful to its own nature, become equally apparent. *A whole new 'national history' must be written and taught* in accordance with this new outlook, not with the purpose of an abstract knowledge or of vain recriminations, but rather to promote inner decisions and a precise formation of will. We must therefore arrive at this conclusion/**understanding**: that in each composite 'nation' there has been and there remains a superior race. Everything that, coming from the outside, from different race sources, adds to the national tradition produced by each such race, has had and will have a constructive value, in principle, only when the race source from which it proceeds is similar to that of the main core, and thus conditions through which this main core can maintain, especially in the spiritual field, the 'dominant' quality are in force. Otherwise, anything added will be either useless or paralysing, or even dissolving. As for the future, if we must naturally tend to maintain the synthesis corresponding to each given 'people' united and intact, we also need to realise the danger of allowing the mere play of history to have its way with this synthesis. We need on the contrary to act in order that the most racially valid part included in each nation maintains itself or better still develops in future generations and that the less valid or simply secondary components do not grow in strength ultimately to prevail.

In the various vicissitudes and periods of the 'histories of the nations' the trained eye will have to get accustomed to discerning the racial behind-the-scenes activity, to seeing in it the alternation of influences of components which, recessive, become dominant and vice-versa, giving rise to periods and cycles which are by no means stages in a homogeneous and continuous process, but symptoms and manifestations of one or the other of the components which were combined in each nation through cross-breeding.

From this point of view, 'race', in the sense of 'superior race', certainly comes to mean something more than 'nation'; it is the leading and formative element of the nation and of its predominant civilisation. And this is perfectly consonant with the Fascist idea. Fascism, diverging in this respect from National-Socialism and surpassing it, refuses in fact to conceive of 'nation' outside the state. For Fascism, it is the state which gives shape and consciousness to the nation. However, the state, in its turn, is not an abstract and impersonal entity; in the Fascist idea, the state is the instrument of a political elite, of the best part of the 'nation'. With racism, a step forward is even made: *this elite is meant to reassume the heritage of the higher race and tradition existing in the national composite*. When Mussolini, in 1923, said: "Rome is always, will always be, tomorrow and for millennia, the powerful heart of our race; it is the everlasting symbol of our vitality", he explained unambiguously the direction of an inescapable decision: *the suprace of the Italian nation is the race of Rome, it is that which we would call properly the 'Aryo-Roman' race*.

We must also recall these words, likewise said in 1923 by Mussolini to the Fascist elite: "You really represent the wonder of this old and wonderful race, which experienced painful hours, but never experienced the darkness of decline. If it sometimes appeared obscured, it always suddenly reappeared in a greater light". We have, here the exact correspondence to what we have just expounded in a racist terminology when speaking of the hereditary persistence of the primordial race and of the vicissitudes linked to the play of the 'dominant' and 'recessive' forms in the development of the 'histories of the nations'.

6. MEANING OF RACIAL PROPHYLAXIS

In Germany, as is well known, measures to prevent the transmission of hereditary degeneracy were adopted some time ago, on the basis of the results of the theory of heredity as applied to race, racial hygiene, and demography. There is no need to examine and discuss such measures in more depth here. Let us just point out that, although the limit of validity of the laws of heredity in many cases, according to us, cannot be absolutely fixed, the idea of simple *probability* should suffice to impose on any man provided with an ethical consciousness a very precise line of action and a brake on what

can be dictated by blind instinct or by mere feeling. Even in such cases, an innate feeling of responsibility and nobility imposes itself upon the impulses of natural life, manifests itself and makes itself felt in anyone who possesses real breeding.

The same thing can naturally be said regarding cross-breeding with lower, non-European, races, and it is well known that one of the circumstances which favoured the racist position in Italy was the necessity to avert cross-breeding in our new colonial empire. But, here again, what should be decisive in any case in which anyone, because of the arbitrariness of his individual will and his passivity toward the impulses and feelings of his body, favours a contamination of race, is an inner motion combined with a clear consciousness of his utter treachery towards his own blood and his ancestors and his crime in regard to his descendants/**decisive is an inner motion combined with a clear consciousness that favouring, because of individual arbitrariness and passivity toward the impulses and feelings of the body, constitutes an utter treachery towards his own blood and his ancestors and a crime in regard to one's descendants [la formulation d'Evola n'échappe pas à l'absurde, je l'ai donc reprise, remaniée]**. Here, naturally, we do not/**it is not necessary to** presuppose racial purity in an absolute sense: on the contrary, if the general type is already a mixed one, its defence against cross-breeding and any similar contaminating mix is all the more necessary because a mixed type needs to be protected even more carefully, not having 'dominant' characteristics to the same extent as a pure type, which, in special circumstances of which we shall speak below, can sometimes overwhelm and organise under its own dominance, without suffering any alteration, relatively heterogeneous racial elements, introduced into the stock through cross-breeding.

Defence against cross-breeding and the isolation of elements in which race is already affected are therefore the main aspects of prophylactic racism and are the object of the measures of what is called 'racial hygiene', which has obvious and close relations with general demography. Our racism, however, goes beyond this, and proposes to promote an action which is not only negative, or defensive, but also positive, that is to say, an action of strengthening and inner selection. In this context, of course, we cannot think, as in the previous one, of literal legislation: the fundamental task is on the contrary the formation of an instinct, the honing of a sensitivity. Here arises the delicate question of conjugal choice even among persons belonging to one and the same people. As far as selection is concerned, *this is the only area in which we can move from theory to practice* and act positively, so that the race of the future generations of our nation, and therefore the nation as such, gradually cleanses itself, rises, comes nearer and nearer to the type of the superior core, or 'super-race', present in a people.

7. THE DANGER OF COUNTER-SELECTION

To proceed in this direction, we need not only a general racist consciousness, but also a very precise racial ideal: not merely a theoretical one, but rather an object of experienced and sincere aspiration, which should spread through the greater proportion of all the components of a people. To reach that stage, methodical, patient educative work, which, naturally, must be applied to the young first and foremost, and must use any means able to lead to the goal, is necessary. We must examine models of the past and cultivate a special literature. We are aware of the suggestive power which, for instance, a certain type of American cinema has exerted on the masses by imparting the character of popular international 'idols' to some types of actors and actresses, who, however, are not always in order from a racial point of view/**what is needed is a methodical, patient educative work, which, naturally, must be applied to the young first and foremost, and must use any means able to lead to the goal: models of the past, a special literature, cinema itself - the suggestive power which, for instance, a certain type of American cinema has exerted on the masses by imparting the character of popular international 'idols' to some types of actors and actresses, who, however, are not always in order from a racial point of view, is known**. In a similar way/**By similar means**, we should/**it is necessary to** endeavour to bring to life within the people a certain human ideal corresponding to that of the higher race which is found in it. And if, on top of the 'suggestion' exerted by this type, there can be a racial consciousness and that feeling of inner

dignity and responsibility of which we have repeatedly spoken, the essential premises for the inner selection and the strengthening of the race of the nation will be present.

As regards conjugal choices, that of the woman by the man is naturally essential, not only because, in practice, the initiative of the choice is taken mainly by the man, but also from the point of view of precise racial laws. According to the ancient Aryan teachings about race, in a cross-breeding, the masculine heredity would basically have the 'dominant' character, the feminine one, on the contrary, the 'recessive' one. Two important laws come from this:

1. in the products of cross-breeding of a man of inferior race with a woman of superior race, the superior race of the woman is stifled or contaminated;
2. in the products of cross-breeding of a man of superior race with a woman of inferior race, the inferior race of the woman can on the contrary be rectified and practically neutralised.

As far as the problem we are interested in here is concerned, we are considering only relative superiority and inferiority — basically, we are dealing with races which are not really heterogeneous but are co-present in a single, unitary, **the same** European people. Both laws have the inner, spiritual, aspects of which we spoke in our other books on race: from their general statement, we can see, therefore, the importance which they have in the problems of conjugal choice and racial selection. A new sensitivity, a new instinct, the suggestion of a well determined racial picture should thus gradually 'organise' the unions, not in the sense of 'rationalising' them as in a zootechnical state establishment, but in the sense that they would be more and more conscious that what determines them is no longer only a blind fact of feeling or of desire or a given economic, utilitarian, or conformist circumstance, but that inclinations and interests peculiar to the man who, in a higher sense, is 'well-bred' and 'has breeding', have at least as much importance.

Thus, racism must clarify and explain the true meaning of demography and, in particular, that of the so-called 'demographic campaign', while recalling, on the basis of the laws of heredity, the possibility of 'counter-selection' or 'mis-selection'. What we mean is that, in demography, we cannot limit ourselves to the purely quantitative criterion of giving birth to as many children as possible, but we must also consider *quality*, that is, we must ask *what sort* of children this prolific nation will have. The mere simple and indiscriminate multiplication of the number without any knowledge of the state of the racial whole of a nation can favour an invasion of the elements determined by the inferior race, if, through various circumstances, they are more prolific **to the detriment of the superior, but less numerous, race**. This is precisely the phenomenon of 'mis-selection', acutely studied by Vacher de Lapouge; the result is a fall of the racial level of the nation. Such a peril, which, in a whole series of civilisations, has appeared and proved fatal for the political organisms created by various units of the ruling Aryan race, can be averted if we dedicate ourselves to this racial education of the sensitivity and inclinations of which we have just spoken, to the point where our efforts come to exert a precise and positive action on the conjugal choices and, in general, on the human unions within a given nation.

8. SPIRIT AND RACE

We have said that, in the total conception of Fascist racism, race is not limited to the mere biological entity. The human being is not only 'body', but also *soul* and *spirit*. However, scientific anthropology until now has either been based on a materialist conception of the human being or, even though it has acknowledged the reality of immaterial principles and forces in man, it has posed the racial problem only within the framework of the body.

As regards the relations between race, body and spirit, clear ideas are not always found in many forms of contemporary racism, either, and dangerous deviations can sometimes even be noticed, from which, naturally, our adversaries hasten to derive the greatest benefit. For us, therefore, *it is advisable to come down strongly against this racism which considers any spiritual faculty and any human value to be a mere effect of race biologically understood*, thus producing a mortifying deduction of what is superior from what is inferior, more or less in the same spirit as Darwinism and Jewish psychoanalysis. But, at the same time, we must take a stand against those who take advantage of the point of view of a racism which is limited to anthropological, genetic and

biological problems, in order to maintain that race certainly exists, but that it has nothing to do with the typically spiritual and cultural problems, values and activities of man.

One point of view will go beyond both positions if we claim that *race exists both in the body and in the spirit*. Race is a profound force which manifests itself both within the corporeal frame (race of the body) and within the animic-spiritual frame (inner race, race of the spirit). There is racial purity in a full sense when these two manifestations correspond, that is to say when the race of the body is consonant with the race of the spirit or inner race, so that the former can be used by the latter as the most adequate organ of expression.

The revolutionary aspect of this point of view must be remarked upon at once. The assertion that *a race of the soul and of the spirit exist* contradicts the egalitarian and universalistic myth on both the cultural and the moral planes, overturns the rationalist conception which asserts the 'neutrality' of values, and, in short, affirms the principle and the value of difference on the spiritual as on the material plane. A whole new methodology ensues. First of all, in front of a given philosophy, we wonder/**it was wondered** whether it is 'true' or 'wrong'; of a morality, ~~we ask~~ **we ask for** a clarification of the notion of 'good' and 'evil'/**was asked for**. Well, from the point of view of the racist mentality, all this is overcome: it is not faced with the problem of truth and good, but with the question of whether a given conception can be true and a given norm can be valid and 'good' *for a given race*. The same thing could be/**is** said of juridical forms, of aesthetic criteria, and even of ideals of the knowledge of nature. A 'truth', a value, or a criterion, which can be valid and salutary for a given race may not be so for another race, and if adopted by it may lead it to denaturing and distortion. These are the revolutionary consequences, in the order of culture, art, thought and sociology, which derive from the theory of the races of soul and spirit, beyond those of the body – that is to say, to use the terminology adopted by us in the other works, of the racism of the second and third degree beyond that of the first degree.

We must however explain both the limits of validity of the point of view we have just expressed, and the distinction between the race of the soul and the race of the spirit. The race of the soul determines character, sensitivity, natural inclination, 'style' in action and reaction, and attitudes towards one's own experiences. We are therefore in the domain of psychology and typology: the science of types develops here into typological racism or racist typology, a discipline which Clauß has called *psychoanthropology*. From this point of view, the definition of race is, as we have said elsewhere, "a human group defined not by the possession of such and such psychic and corporeal characteristics, but by the *style* which manifests itself through them". We can see from this the difference between purely psychological considerations/**analysis** and the racist ones/**one, which reach a deeper plane [We can see from this that the racist analysis reaches a deeper plane than that of the purely psychological analysis?]** Psychology defines and studies some gifts and some human faculties in the abstract. Some racists have sought to attribute these gifts and faculties to the various races in one way or another/**varyingly?**. However, 'racism of the second degree' or, if you prefer, psychoanthropology, proceeds differently. It holds that all the gifts are found in the various races, albeit to varying degrees, but that in each of these races they assume a different signification and 'functionality'. So it will not state, for example, that a certain race has as its characteristic heroism and that another has on the contrary a mercantile spirit. There are in *any* race men with heroic or mercantile dispositions. But given that these dispositions are present in him, the man of a given race will manifest them in accordance with this race, distinguishing himself in this respect from the man of another race, who in exercising these activities or these gifts/**dispositions**, will follow a different 'style'. There are thus various ways, conditioned by inner race, to be heroes, researchers, merchants, ascetics, and so on. The feeling of honour, as manifested, for example, in the Nordic man, is not the same as that which manifests itself in a man of 'Western' or Levantine race. The same could be said of 'loyalty', and so on.

All this has been said, then, in order to explain the meaning of the concept of 'race of the soul'. The concept of 'race of the spirit' distinguishes itself from this because it no longer concerns the types of reaction of man towards the experience of the environment and the contents of his normal day-to-day experience, but rather his varying attitude towards the spiritual, supra-human and divine world,

as expressed in the form of speculative systems, myths and symbols, and in the diversity of religious experience itself. Here, again, there are ‘invariants’ or, if you prefer, common denominators, similarities of inspiration and attitude, which refer us to an inner differentiating cause, which is precisely the ‘race of the spirit’.

It is appropriate, however, to point out an obvious limitation to the racist criterion regarding the dependence of values upon the differences of race. This dependence is most real and decisive, even in the domain of spiritual manifestations, in the creations peculiar to a ‘humanist’ type of civilisation, that is to say, a civilisation in which man has precluded the possibility of an actual contact with the transcendent world and has lost any genuine understanding of the knowledge relative to that world, which is peculiar to any tradition really worthy of the name. By contrast, in a really traditional civilisation, the effect/**efficiency/influence** of ‘races of the spirit’ does not go beyond a certain point, (~~in that~~) it does not concern the content but only the varying form of expression taken by experiences or knowledge which are identical and objective in their essence, because they refer in fact to a suprahuman order, in one people or another in one cycle of civilisation or another/ **which, in one people or another, in one cycle of civilisation or another, have taken experiences or knowledge which are identical and objective in their essence, because they actually refer in fact to a suprahuman order.**

9. IMPORTANCE OF THE THEORY OF THE INNER RACES

The global doctrine of race explains the relations between race and spirit on the basis of these principles. *The outer is a function of the inner, the physical form is the instrument, expression, and symbol of a psychic form.* The aforementioned conception of the type which is really of pure race derives from this doctrine: it is the type which is ‘made in one piece’, it is the harmonious, coherent, unified type. It is the one in which supreme spiritual aspirations of a given kind do not find any obstacle or contradiction in the qualities of character and in the ‘style’ of the soul of a given race, while the soul of this race, in its turn, is in a body really able to express it and make it aware. Such a ‘pure’ type, naturally, cannot be found in any quantity in currently existing peoples, which, as stated, correspond essentially to ethnic compounds. In fact, it would not be found in any quantity even in a stock which had remained quite isolated from heterogeneous influences, because it corresponds to a limiting/**borderline** (?) concept, that is to say, a culmination and a perfect realisation of race in a general sense — and it is precisely at this limit that we have stated that the supreme values of personality identify themselves with those of race.

This is why, in this respect, racialist research cannot be quantitative; it must go beyond the numerically predominant common outer elements, and it must *search out* the data representing a given race capable of being considered as the most complete example and the purest representative of the given type, so as to allow us to grasp and understand what finds expression in it and what animates it, that is, its inner race too, and, therefore, to have the sense of the original unity in which the various elements of a race come together. Once we have this sense, we can also get our bearings as regards the less pure types of the same race, that is of those in which the correspondence between the various outer and inner elements is not equally complete and perfect; in which, so to speak, there is a *distortion* of the ‘style’ of this race. It is thus a matter of qualitative study, of research based on an ~~outer/inner~~ look ~~but proceeding via~~, **on** an intuitive and introspective faculty. Naturally, *physiognomics*, the science of physiognomy, plays a large part in it: it is a commonplace to say that ‘the face expresses the soul’ — but also the body in general, the form of the skull, the proportion of the limbs, and so on, have an eloquent language for anyone who understands it. Hence a new, precise meaning of craniology, skeletology and similar apparently insensitively/**dryly** scientific disciplines.

Racism thus favours a new sense of the body and of the physical form in general of the human being. It is not a matter of indifference that a body has this shape rather than that one: it is not a fortuitous thing and without consequences. Anyone who has the sense of the type, in which all the elements of the human body are really unified, has also the sense of the tragic and obscure cases in which such a unity has disappeared. A soul which experiences the world as something before which

it takes a stand actively, which regards the world as an object of attack and conquest, should **normally** have a face which reflects by determined and daring features this inner experience, a slim, tall, nervous, straight body — an Aryan or Nordico-Aryan body. We should contrast the case in which this soul has as its expressive instruments a full and podgy face, a thickset and slow body, and in short a physical race which normally seems made to express an interiority of a very different type. Surely, inner race will do, so to speak, violence to this heterogeneous body, will give to the features another meaning: in spite of all, it will find a way to express itself. But, to use an image from Clauß himself, it will be as if a score written for the violin was played by an ocarina.

In racial education, the fact that, in this respect too, racism is animated by a *classic spirit* and adopts a classic human ideal will have to be highlighted. Racism seeks an exact correspondence between the contained and the container, between interiority and exteriority. *It wants men made in one piece, unified and coherent forces.* It detests and opposes any promiscuity, any lacerating dualism, and, consequently, also this romantic ideology which revels in a tragic interpretation of spirituality and supposes that it is only through eternal opposition, suffering, continuous ardent desire and confused struggle that we get nearer to the supreme values. The true superiority of Aryan races is *Olympian*: it manifests itself in the calm domination of the spirit over the soul and the body, which appear to it as adequate instruments of expression, in order to reflect its race in their style and their laws.

The theory of inner race is important because it brings the most pernicious aspect of cross-breeding and hybridism to light: they lead to an inner laceration and contradiction, to a rupture of the inner unity of a human being of a given race. They make it possible for souls of one race to find themselves in bodies of another race, with the result of an alteration of both elements. They create truly ‘mixed-up persons’, in the strongest sense, until, the inner force exhausting itself in conflicts and frictions of all sorts, whatever had still remained ‘dominant’ to some extent finally loses its dominance altogether and the inner race vanishes, to be replaced by an amorphous, limp substance borne by bodies in which those racial characteristics which may still subsist are now nothing but echoes, forms emptied of their profound significance. This, as we have mentioned, is the stage when internationalist and cosmopolitan myths and the ideology of the fundamental spiritual equality of the human species begin to become truths...

It is in the opposite direction, contrary to this, that we must ~~move~~/**act**. The starting point is an inner examination, meant to discover the fundamental element in us, the ‘own nature’ or spiritual race, in accordance with which we must essentially act/**our lives must be toned in** and to which, at any cost, we must remain faithful. After this, we must seek to give to our being as much coherence and unity as possible or, at least, to act so that more favourable conditions may be found by our descendants on the basis of what has already been attained: because the plastic, formative influence exerted upon the somatic and biologic plane by an idea, when this idea has some relation to the inner primordial racial element, is a positive reality, confirmed by very precise examples, whether historical and collective or individual.

The consequences of the science of inner race in terms of political culture are also clearly apparent. Let us quote Clauß: “To the extent that it is given to a scientific knowledge to exert an influence on history, the task which, in this respect, psychoanthropology must carry out is the following one: it must identify these frontiers that no people, no racial and cultural community, can itself cross, or allow to be crossed by others, without running the risk of destroying itself. *The research of the frontiers of the soul* is thus, today, an historical task”. ~~We must commit ourselves~~/**This refers essentially** to the task of applying to the nation as a whole the criteria of coherence and unity, of correspondence between outer and inner elements, which we have already discussed in reference to the individual. To explain this has been the central motive of our considerations of the relation between race and nation.

It is thus in the nature of a complete doctrine of race to go beyond the dangers of relativism and narrow particularism, to which theories of this sort, if assumed in a unilateral and extremist manner, can give rise. We must acknowledge especially the need to define and defend some inner frontiers, as regards culture and the ‘race of the soul’, corresponding to an intermediary domain between corporeality and pure spirituality, because the ‘closing’ which ensues from it is, in a Goethian sense,

that of a 'creative limit', rather than that of a paralysing one; a limit which does not bar the way upwards, but rather that towards the bottom, towards a racial and, basically, subpersonal promiscuity, facilitating any and every process of inner denaturing, disintegration and laceration.

10. THE FACE OF THE VARIOUS RACES

One of the characteristics of modern racism, as we have repeatedly pointed out, is research into the ethnic primary cores. Early anthropology was limited to the brief classification comprising the well-known races: white, black, yellow, Malay, red, and so on, which everyone remembers from school. Modern racism, however, has taken the analysis and classification far further, especially as far as the race in which we are interested, that is to say, the white one, is concerned. Current research into the races of the body distinguishes therefore, in what was generally described as the white or Caucasian race, a series of races in a more specialised sense, races each of which have their own face and their own constancy, and to which the laws of heredity and of cross-breeding can be applied.

For this classification, we will refer the reader to our book called *Il Mito del Sangue*, limiting ourselves, here, to recalling schematically the main points. Within white humanity, six main races must be distinguished.

First, there are the *Nordic race* and the *Western race*, which is also called 'Mediterranean' by some authors: dolicocephaly prevails in both, the blond type in the former, the brown type in the latter; however, they have the same proportion of limbs; on average, the types of the latter have a smaller stature and something more refined and less sharp in their features.

Then, there is the *Phalican race*, called by Günther the 'blond heavy race', which has similarly many features in common with the Nordic type, while being, however, more massive, well built, often thickset, in general of taller stature, with a certain slowness in the physical and intellectual movements, rather withdrawn, sometimes even brachycephalic, with particular gifts for a pertinacity often degenerating into obstinacy.

The *Dinaric race* follows, in which elements of the Nordic race and the Western one seem to have coalesced with an element which also appears in non-European races such as the Armenoid or Levantine one: ~~this latter element~~ **this is what appears**, at any rate, in the physical features (nose, lips, and so on), without, however, having any apparent spiritual repercussions: the Dinaric man is active, has warlike gifts of an order and style similar to those of the Nordic man and yet of lesser concentration and of greater lightness (greater love for colour, disposition to cheerfulness, and so on).

Then, there is the *Alpine race* or, according to another nomenclature, the *Eastern (Ostisch)*, with a more markedly individual face of its own: rather rounded and fleshy, essentially brachycephalic, brown-haired, with small and slightly inclined or round eyes, of small stature, with a skin which often borders on the yellowish.

The last race to be considered is the *Baltic-Eastern* one, which abounds in the populations close to Russia, possessing, **it too**, a flat face, blondish hair, grey eyes, cheekbones and eye shape reminiscent of the mongoloid type, flat nose, and low forehead. Once again, in this race, it seems that the elements of the common Nordico-Western stock have absorbed elements of a non-European race, corresponding to that of the first Slavic-Asiatic populations.

These are the main races of the body which are found in the European peoples to varying degrees and in various combinations, as constituent or essential races of these peoples, within which, however, there are infiltrations of alien races: *Levantine race*, *Desert race*, *Mongoloid race*, *Negroid* and *Mediterranean-African race*; and, in addition to them, there is, finally, the *Jewish element*, which, however, despite the persistence of the main types which correspond to it, is not considered as a genuine race, but rather as a determinate ethnic mix to be defined essentially on the basis of a common 'race of the soul'.

We come now to the 'racism of second degree', which is specifically a matter of seeing which contents, which souls or races of the soul find in the physical forms and the inclinations of each of these races of the body the most closely related expressive instruments. The one who has gone the

furthest into the research is again Clauß, whom we have already quoted. Regarding Clauß' theories, we once more refer the reader to our *Mito del Sangue* and here limit ourselves to hints.

The soul or style of soul most consonant with the Nordic physical type is that of the 'race of the active man', of the man who feels that the world is presented to him as material for possession and attack. What is peculiar to the 'Western' type, on the contrary, is, in principle, the style of a rather exteriorly oriented soul, prone to game, gesture and exhibition, of a soul which feels in the world a bit like an actor who must play his role in front of a gallery. The Alpine race, different again, lends itself to the expression of an intimate soul which likes seclusion in a small-scale environment and which seeks escape from the vast and problematic world through group feeling and through activity aimed at achieving a quiet and refreshing well-being. The Phalian race lends itself to the expression of the style of a soul which 'grasps and resists', sometimes to the point of irrationality, persistent and tenacious in its goals, but with heaviness, without light or inner freedom. Clauß speaks after this of two other races of the soul, which to him would correspond respectively to the Orientaloid or Desert race of the body and to the Levantine one: the former is the race of the 'man of revelation', meant to experience the world as a continuous miracle or as a continuous manifestation of chance, a lover of the unexpected and of the changing, as the nomad is; the latter is the race of the 'man of redemption', characterised by **a sense of slavery in front of the body and the flesh and from a turbid impetus to free himself from it and to redeem himself from it, therefore starting from a special and insurmountable dualism between carnality and spirituality or sacredness.**

Therefore the connections established by Clauß between the race of the body and the race of the soul in the two last cases must be considered as very approximative, because the *inner* dispositions themselves can also characterise other racial elements: the race of the 'man of revelation', according to various observations of Clauß, is found in the Baltic-Eastern race of the body, whereas that of the 'man of redemption' essentially reflects some typical aspects of the 'style' of the Jewish compound. Clauß has not carried his study of the inner race to the remaining race of the body, the Dinaric one: and yet we can sense as appropriate a style which is made up of elements of the active soul mixed with something of the Western-Mediterranean element (love for a certain 'theatre', for action, but less exteriorly oriented) but also influenced by the instability of the 'man of revelation'. Unfortunately, here the reader is in front of a series of denominations which do not say a lot unless we move to practical ground, that is, unless we come to *feel* their content by examining the features of various types peculiar to both races and by seeking thus to 'spectroscopise' the physiognomies, in order to grasp, in the types which are 'purest' in the totalising sense already mentioned, the inner element, the race of the soul. We will thus have to refer above all to the photographic material which can easily be found in the main racist books — let us mention, besides the iconographic essays contained in our two works, *Il Mito del Sangue* and *Sintesi di Dottrina della Razza*, the works of Günther, Eickstedt, Fischer, and of Clauß himself. Secondly, **we must/it is necessary to move from books to reality, to life**, that is to say, we must/**to** get used to discovering the influences and interferences of this or that race in the particularly 'pronounced' physiognomies of living men with whom we have something to do, training not only the eye of the racial anthropologist, but also that of the racial psychologist who observes the agreement or disagreement of the inner element with the somatic and physiognomic one.

Our/**One** specific task then is to acquire a living sense of those racial interferences (of similar races) able to produce favourable results, through the examination and penetration not only of the physical 'line', but also of that of the 'acting', of the behaving, of the thinking of the various types. In general, it is agreed that the cross-breeding of the Nordic element with the Western, Phalian or Dinaric one is favourable, and, on the contrary, the mixing of the same element with the Alpine and Baltic-Eastern race is unfavourable, as are the mixing of the latter races with one another and with the Western one, while mixing between the Phalian-Mediterranean races and the Dinaric-Western one are not unfavourable.

To the purest and most valid element comprised in all these races through a remote unity of origins we can attribute the designation of 'Aryan race' or 'Nordico-Aryan race', whose meaning we intend to explain later on.

11. THE PROBLEM OF SPIRITUAL RACES

We have stated that race, besides manifesting itself on the planes of the body and of the soul, manifests itself also on that of the spirit. The search for the races of the spirit has a very special character and until now has remained embryonic. Apart from our own contribution, not much has been done in this field yet, but nevertheless it is extremely important to the development of a comprehensive racial policy. In Germany, it is linked to the so-called *Kampf um die Weltanschauung* or 'struggle over world view', that is, the struggle for a world view compatible with race: Views/: **views** of the modern world can actually be considered as expressions of the various races of the spirit. However, in this struggle, in Germany, mere words of the political order, and 'myths', which take the place of precise and scientific knowledge, play too large a part. The science of the races of the spirit brings out attention back to the origins, and develops in parallel with a morphology of traditions, of symbols and of primordial myths. Because of this, to limit our attention to the modern world and to try to find our orientation within it would be a hopeless endeavour: in the modern world, in modern culture, there are only distant reflections, uncertain survivals, and derivatives of the races of the spirit. As far as the race of the soul is concerned, it is still possible to appeal to a certain knowledge or direct experience: we just have to/ **what is needed is simply** to refer to a quality of character, of immediate inner reaction, of style of behaviour, to gifts which cannot be learnt or constructed but which are innate, and which therefore we either have or do not have, which are connected to the blood and, as we have said, even to something deeper than blood, so that they cannot be replaced by anything else when they are absent. The race of the soul is connected to the relation to life, and, therefore, where it exists, but dozes in normal circumstances, then under tests or in crises/**in a latent state, in typical cases, such as tests, crisis**, it can always be forced to reveal itself, and we can thus know, in everyone, its face and its force.

In the context of the races of the spirit, the task is much more difficult. What is generally considered today as spirit – or rather, what has been considered so for several centuries – has not, strictly speaking, much to do with what we mean here. Today we find ourselves, in reality, before a deeply standardised and weakened field of spiritual expression, in which it is very difficult to find again what might be described as instinct on a higher plane. As far as learning is concerned, the whole of modern knowledge has a rationalistic-experimental basis; deriving its form and its evidences from faculties which are more or less the same in all human beings, this kind of knowledge, according to the general opinion, is regarded as 'useful', 'positive' and 'scientific' only insofar as it can be acquired, recognised, accepted and applied by any man whatsoever, irrespective of his race or his vocation. In the realms of culture as well as those of art and thought, we find merely more or less subjectivist positions, 'creations' that often have the character of fireworks: they are brilliant in their lyricism and their critical-dialectic ability, precisely insofar as they lack any deeper roots.

In a world and in a culture which, built on such a basis, has lost nearly every contact with real, transcendent reality, it would be therefore difficult to carry out any research intended to characterise the 'style' of the experience of the transcendent and the form of the possible attitudes of man in front of it: which is exactly equivalent to the search for the 'race of the spirit'.

We must therefore return our attention to that world in which true spirituality and metaphysical reality were truly the central formative forces of civilisation, in all its aspects, from the mythological-religious to the legal-social plane: the world of the pre-modern and 'traditional' civilisations. Once we have acquired by this means some points of reference, we can turn to the current world in order to discover the various influences that, almost as echoes, come from one or the other race of the spirit even to this worn out state and this essentially 'humanistic' culture, essentially determined only by the human element.

Here we shall offer some very brief hints towards a typology of the races of the spirit: the reader who seeks further elements useful for the formation of a racial consciousness must refer to our two other works: *Sintesi di Dottrina della Razza* and especially *Revolt against the Modern World*,

besides the selection and the translation of the writings of Bachofen which we have published under the title of *La razza solare. Studi sulla storia segreta dell'antico mondo mediterraneo*.

An ancient Greek writer said: "There exist races which are placed between divinity and humanity and which oscillate between them". Some such races have finally placed their centre in the first element and the others in the second, that is, in humanity.

The first case defines the 'solar race' of the spirit, also called 'the Olympian race'. The more than human element appears to them as natural as the human one does to the others. Therefore, in their relationships with the metaphysical world, they lack the feeling of extraneity and transcendence: rather, the human element appears to them to be the stranger and the more distant. Hence, they show a feeling of 'centrality', which justifies the expression 'solar race', and a style of calm, power, sovereignty, of indomitability and intangibility, to which the other designation alludes: 'Olympian race'.

Contrasting with the 'solar race' of the spirit there is the 'telluric' or 'chthonic' one. Here man draws his sense of himself from a dark, wild relationship with the forces of the earth and of life in their 'inferior' aspect, lacking light: hence a dark connection to the soil, via the ancient cult of the 'demons' of vegetation and elementary forces; hence a fatalistic sentiment, especially regarding death, and a sense of the ephemeral character of the individual which dissolves again in the collective substance of the biological substratum and in the Becoming of life.

There follows the 'lunar' or 'Demetrian' race: just as the moon is an extinguished sun, so a feeling of spiritual centrality no longer corresponds to the lunar race as it does to the 'Olympian' one, because it experiences spirituality passively, as a reflected illumination, without any 'style' of affirmation and of calm virility – this is the basis for 'contemplative' experience of an essentially pantheistic type. The term 'Demetrian' derives from the fact that the ancient cults of the Great Mothers of nature reflected in a characteristic manner this race, this spirituality, which is under the 'feminine' sign, in the form, so to say, of a calm light or a diffuse feeling of an eternal order which is spiritual and natural at the same time, in which any anguish of Becoming and of the isolate individual is cancelled out. Socially, it is often from the lunar race that the peoples organised according to the matriarchal system proceeded, while father-right, or patriarchy, was always a form peculiar to the solar race and to those peoples which derived from it.

Next comes the 'Titanic race': it has the same connection with the elementary forces, and with the deep, intensive, irrational elements of life as the 'telluric' race, but not according to its style of promiscuity or passive identification; rather, according to a style of affirmation, will, and virility: and yet, still, without light, or inner liberation. Only the hero, Heracles, frees the titan, Prometheus — we shall see what that means.

By the curious designation of 'Amazonian race', we mean the style of an experience which in its essence is 'lunar' (and, in an analogical sense, feminine), but which assumes affirmative, virile, forms of expression, just as the Amazon assumes the way of being of the warrior.

In talking of the 'Aphrodisian race' of the spirit, we do not refer solely to the erotic-sexual field, but rather to an 'Epicurean' style of experience, in the broadest sense. The refinement of the forms of material life, culture in an aesthetic sense, in short a spirituality which oscillates between love for beauty and form and the enjoyment of the senses, can also be found in it.

The style of an experience in which exaltation of the impulses and an intense way of living based upon sensation, which has only confused ecstatic resolutions which are therefore lunar in their passivity and formlessness, so that no true inner liberation can proceed there from, but only moments of escape — this style defines the 'Dionysian race'.

The last race of the spirit is that of the 'heroes'. These are heroes, not in the common sense, but in that which derives from the teaching about the four 'ages' of the world expressed by Hesiod: a solar or Olympian nature, subsists in the hero, but in a latent state or, better, as a possibility only to be actualised through an active overcoming of himself. Some features of the titanic or Dionysian man can also figure in it, but according to a very different functionality.

These are, naturally, only passing comments. But anyone who studies a typology of this kind in sufficient depth to create a corresponding faculty of discernment will see history — the history of

civilisations, as well as that of customs and religions — in a completely new light. What appeared previously to him as unitary will reveal itself according to its effective elements. He will recognise the continuity of deep veins through history, as common sources of groups of individual and collective manifestations in appearance distinct or scattered in time and in space. And also in the less insignificant forms of modern culture he will be able to orient himself and have the presentiment, here and there, of reappearances or adaptations of these original forms of the races of the spirit.

A further problem would be that of establishing the correspondence which, in principle, would have to exist between races of the spirit, of the soul and of the body. A few remarks: the solar race and the heroic race are congenial to the style of the race of the 'active man' and of the physical race of dolicocephalic Western-Aryan and Nordico-Aryan man. The lunar race would find its best expression in the psychic and somatic characteristics of the Alpine race and in the residual traces of that extremely ancient Mediterranean race which can be generically designated as 'Pelasgian'. The Aphrodisian race and the Dionysian race — the latter most specifically in its Desert and Baltic-Eastern type, the more dilacerated aspects of which are found mixed into the Levantine race — could be well harmonised with some branches of the Western race, especially its Celtic ones. A titanic element could very well be expressed in the soul and body of the man of the Phalian race. The telluric element, finally, would demand racial physical components derived from non-Aryan or pre-Aryan stocks, such as, for instance, those present in the African-Mediterranean type, in part in the Semitic (orientaloid) type, etc.

It is essential to arouse in the young generations the interest which this new and immense field of research deserves: then it will be possible to develop what has already been learned sufficiently for it to provide the basis for a complete and truly totalising racial consciousness.

12. RACES AND ORIGINS

The importance of the study of origins and therefore of the *science of prehistory* for our doctrine has already been made clear from our remarks on the field peculiar to racial research of the third degree. But it is necessary to introduce into these disciplines revolutionary criteria and remove definitely some prejudices of the scientist-positivist mentality which, favoured by an historical climate which is now outmoded, still persist in the most widespread forms of common teaching. Let us point out two of them.

The first is the *evolutionist prejudice*, closely related to the progressive-historicist one, according to which the world of origins and of prehistory is interpreted as an obscure and wild world of half-bestial humanity which gradually, with difficulty, became 'civilised' and capable of culture. Racial science, on the contrary, *asserts that peoples of a high spiritual level, but which subsequently lost their racial purity, existed already in prehistoric times*. These people, certainly, were not 'civilised' in the modern sense, linked to the development of experimental knowledge, technology, and juridico-positive organisation; but they had qualities of character and their own very precise spiritual vision of the world, proceeding from real contacts with forces of a super-human nature; a vision which was not 'thought', but experienced, made real in traditions, expressed and developed in symbols, rites and myths.

In relation to this, *even the limits of current research into prehistory have moved*: the most complete racial hypotheses with respect to the problem of origins lead us back to around ten thousand years before Jesus-Christ, where previously it had seemed adventurous even to deal with civilisations dating back to 2000 or 3000 B.C. As for the general framing of the problem of the so-called 'line of descent', *it is necessary to stand firmly against Darwinism*. The stock of humanity to which ancient or contemporary superior races belong does not come from the ape or the ape-like man of the ice age — the Musterian man or the Neanderthal man or the man of Grimaldi — a fact which even the non-racial specialists acknowledge more and more today. The ape-like man corresponds only to a given human stem, which is extinct to a large extent and has been incorporated only in some of its elements within most distinct and superior human stocks, which appear, compared to it, to be more recent — so as to arouse the illusion that they 'evolved' from it — only because they appeared in

the same lands more recently, having derived from places to a large extent destroyed or devastated by cataclysms and climatic mutations. The prehistoric races of the Cro-Magnon man and of the man of Aurignac belong to these superior stocks.

It is very important to grasp the living meaning of this change of perspective peculiar to the racial-scientific view: *the superior does not derive from the inferior*. In the mystery of our blood, in the most remote depths of our being, we bear, unerasable, the heredity of primordial times. However, this heredity is not one of brutality, of unleashed bestial and wild instincts, as Jewish psychoanalysis claim and as is unfortunately taught/**logically thought** on the basis of 'evolutionism' and Darwinism: this heredity of the origins, this heritage which comes to us from mythic distances is on the contrary a *heritage of light*. The force of atavisms, as a force of lower instincts, does *not* belong to this fundamental heredity: it is rather something which either is born and has strengthened through a process of degeneration, involution or decline, as recalled in varied mythic forms by the traditions of almost all peoples, or it is the effect of a contamination, a hybridism effected by alien incursion, by the residuals of the man of the ice age: it is the voice of *another* blood, of another race, of another nature, which only arbitrarily can be said to be human. In all the cases in which the truth of the saying of Paul is felt, "two souls fight in me" (*), it is necessary to derive from the views we have just mentioned the truly accurate interpretation. *Only the man in whom it is the other heredity* (the one introduced by a hybridism) *which speaks can feel the evolutionist and Darwinist myth to be true*, because this heredity has become strong enough to assert itself and to choke any sense of the presence of the truer one.

The other prejudice fought by racial science is that which is contained in the famous formula, *Ex Oriente Lux*. The idea still persists today in some people that the most ancient civilisations are those which originated in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean or in Western Asia: it is from them, via the Jewish religion, that light would have come to the West, which, up to a rather later period, especially in the Nordic regions, would have remained rough and barbaric. With racial science there is, here also, a complete change of perspective. These Asian civilisations, to us, contain nothing original or pure. *The origin of the highest civilisation of the white race and, in general, of the Indo-European races is not Eastern, but Western, and Nordico-Western*. As we have said, in this respect, we go back to a prehistory which, until yesterday, would have appeared fabulous. With respect to the light of such Nordico-Western and Aryan prehistory, the Asian-Eastern formations appear to us as crepuscular and mixed, both spiritually and racially. What is really great and clear in them comes from the original civilising action of nuclei of the dominating Nordico-Western race, which went to these regions.

13. NORDICO-WESTERN MIGRATIONS

'The light of the north', 'the hyperborean mystery', this is therefore a fundamental theme of our doctrine of race, a theme that will seem paradoxical to some, and to others suspect and humiliating with respect to our traditions, thought to be Mediterranean. That is why some clarification is necessary.

First of all, when speaking about North we must not be thought to mean the Germanic area. The primordial centre of the Aryan race must be recognised instead in an area corresponding to the *current Arctic*, in this extremely remote prehistory of which we have spoken. In a successive, but still prehistoric, period, the centre of irradiation seems to have moved to a *Nordico-Atlantic centre*. In our other works we have referred to the arguments which justify this thesis, and we have also related them to the memories and confirmatory traditional teachings of various civilisations. Also, from the positive, geophysical point of view, it is possible to admit that the Arctic area, or Hyperborea if one wants, has become the uninhabitable land of eternal glaciers only gradually, starting from a given age, while the subsequent Nordico-Atlantic centre seems to have disappeared following an oceanic cataclysm.

As for the alarm raised by the Nordico-Aryan thesis, it rests on a misunderstanding. Supporting this thesis does not mean in any way adhering to the Pan-Germanic myth, which, after having made of 'Nordic', Germanic, Aryan and German more or less synonyms, has come to hold that everything

which is superior in the various civilisations and nations of our continent must be derived from Germanic elements, and that whatever cannot be derived from such elements must be purely and simply inferior and second-rate.

It is precisely in order to avoid such a misunderstanding that, with respect to the primordial Aryan race, we are accustomed to use the word *Hyperborean*, forged in Greece before anything was known of the Germans. In any case, we clearly say that Aryan, Nordico-Aryan, Nordico-Western, and so on, in a serious doctrine of race, do not in any way mean 'German' or 'Germanic': they designate a far broader reality. They refer to a stock of which the Germanic people of the period of the invasions are only *one* of the many branches, since the major stocks which created civilisations in the East and in the West, in ancient India and in ancient Persia, and also in the first Hellenic culture and in Rome itself, would have had the right to refer their origins to the same stock. Between all these births/**stocks (?)** there can exist a relationship of consanguinity, *but not of derivation in any way*. Of derivation we can only speak regarding that common 'Hyperborean' stock which we have mentioned, which, however, dates back to so remote a pre-history that it makes ridiculous any attempt to corner its exclusive descent, by any historical people, and even more by a modern one.

The current of the Nordico-Aryan peoples followed two fundamental directions, a *horizontal* one (from the West through the Mediterranean, the Baléares, Sardinia, Crete, Egypt), and a *diagonal* one (from North-West to South-East, from Ireland to India with centres in the Danube region and the Caucasus, which therefore was not, as was believed, the 'crib' of the white race, but a hearth of irradiations on the itinerary covered by one of the Nordico-Aryan currents). As far as the migration of the properly Germanic peoples is concerned, compared to the other two, it is incomparably more recent, by entire millennia. Now, along the horizontal direction and in part also by interferences of it with the diagonal direction in the Eurasian land-mass, the greater civilisations of the Mediterranean were born, both those which are known, and others, of which only the degenerate residues have reached us. Regarding such civilisations, on the basis of these new horizons of prehistory, what there is to see in the Nordico-Germanic peoples of the period of the invasions is only epigones, those who, in the common family, were the last to appear from the wings of history. Nor did they appear 'pure', from any point of view.

Certainly, not having behind them all the history of the other groups of the same family, they were not as exposed to the danger of hybridisations as the others: physically and biologically, they were therefore 'more in order'. Through life in regions where harsh climatic and environmental conditions had arisen and which they were the last to leave, a selective process grew stronger, gifts of character, ingenuity/**resourcefulness (?)**, and tenacity, were confirmed and strengthened, while their not having come into contact with superficial and urbane forms of civilisation kept alive, in these Germanic peoples, virile relationships cemented by the warlike virtues and the feeling of fidelity and honour. However, this is not true of the specifically spiritual element in these epigones of the primordial Nordico-Aryan race. This element underwent a certain decline. In it, the traditions became confused in their primordial metaphysical and 'solar' content, became fragmentary, decayed into mere folklore, sagas, and popular superstitions. Moreover, in these traditions, rather than memories of their origins, the mythologised memories of the tragic vicissitudes endured by one of the centres of the Hyperborean civilisation, that of the Asen or divine heroes of 'Midgard', predominate: hence the famous topic of the '*ragna-rökk*', a word grossly translated as 'the twilight of the gods'. Thus, to find one's bearings in such Nordico-Germanic traditions of the peoples of the period of the invasions, and to characterise the true meaning of the main symbols or memories which can be found in them, it is necessary to draw the points of reference from the study of more ancient Aryan traditions, where the same teachings have been maintained in a purer shape and a more complete form, traditions which are not Germanic, but are of the Aryan civilisations of ancient India and ancient Persia, of the first Hellenic culture and of Rome itself. And Germanic racial scientists, such as Günther, clearly acknowledge all this.

This presentation of the problem of the origins which has been set out here, must not therefore arouse in any way a feeling of inferiority or subordination from us, Italians, in relation to the more

recent Germanic peoples. On the contrary, just as the best part of the Italian people, from the point of view of the race of the body, corresponds to a type to be considered as a variation of that of the Nordic race, the same elements of the 'race of the soul' (style of life, *ethos*, etc.) and of vision of the world shared by every great Aryan and Nordico-Aryan civilisation can be found in the patrimony of our highest traditions, which often date back to primordial times. *The Nordico-Aryan thesis of our racial science, therefore, rather denies to any current people the right to corner or monopolise the nobility of our common origin*, and to conclude that we, in that we are and want to be heirs of the ancient Aryan Romanity as well as that of the subsequent Roman-Germanic civilisation, do not recognise ourselves as being in second place when it comes to Nordico-Aryan spirit, vocation and tradition.

But, naturally, this stand *commits* us and leads us from theoretical racial science to active and creative racial policy, that is, to that policy which is meant to make what, in the Italian general type, is most differentiated in itself, the physical and spiritual type of the higher race — present in the Italian people as much as **the properly Nordic one is** in the German one but hindered, in both of them, by ethnic waste, by other racial elements, and by the effects of previous processes of biological and cultural degeneration — manifest itself and assert itself to a greater and greater extent and in a more and more precise form.

We can see from this the precise value which the racial framing of the problem of our origins has for the formation of the will and the consciousness of the new Italian. A 'force of the idea' / **An 'idée force' (?)**, a feeling of dignity and superiority, which does not mean pomposity and is not based on confused myths made for political use, but on precise traditional knowledge, really derives from this source.

14. THE PROBLEM OF 'LATINITY'

It could nevertheless be objected: all well and good, but what of *Latinity*? Are we not Mediterranean, and is not the nature of our people and the intonation of our civilisation universally acknowledged to be Latin? This Latin myth, if not in the form of the 'Brotherhood of Latins' and of the fundamental unity of spirit and of way of feeling of 'Latin' peoples (the very relative solidity of which has been shown by recent events), then at least in the sense of the 'Latinity' of our Italian civilisation, still keeps its force in many circles — above all, in those of the scholars and of pseudo-intellectuals — and it is not foreign either to some of the teachings which are still given in our schools. On the basis of this myth, the antithesis which, in spite of everything, exists/**would exist** between our people and other peoples, and the consequent impossibility of any understandings over and above those dictated by common political interests, are constantly stressed and re-stressed. However this argument expresses a major misunderstanding which derives from the uncritical repetition of standard phraseology and terminology, to which proper thought has not been given. What, in essence, do we mean by the word 'Latin'? To what domain are we referring when we use this term?

We have stressed, intentionally, that the circles to which the Latin myth is dear are mostly literary and pseudo-intellectual ones. In reality, the word 'Latin', and the concept of 'Latin civilisation', as commonly used, possess meaning only on the aesthetic, 'humanistic' and literary planes, in the world of the arts and of 'culture' in the most superficial sense of the word. 'Latinity', here, is considered to be more or less synonymous with 'Romanity': it refers to supposed elements that certain peoples, which were formerly within the orbit of the Roman empire, and thus adopted the tongue of Rome, the Latin tongue, preserved from the culturally formative action of ancient Rome. When one examines this notion with more care, one rapidly realises that this 'Latinity', this reflection of the ancient Graeco-Roman civilisation, is something superficial. We could almost say that it is a veneer, which endeavours fruitlessly to cover up either ethnic or spiritual differences which, as we have seen from history up to and including the present, are equally able to find expression in harsh antitheses. Unity, as we said, only exists in the worlds of literature and of the arts and, what is more, only in relation to a distinctly 'humanistic' interpretation of them: it thus refers only to a sphere for which ancient, heroic and Catonian Rome did not conceal its scorn. Unity

exists also on the philological plane, but in a precarious manner, once the indisputable belonging of the Latin tongue to the general trunk of the Aryan and Indo-Germanic ones is admitted: beyond that, it is a fact that, in terms of vocabularies, articulation and syntax (declinations, etc.), the ancient Latin tongue is more similar to the modern Germanic tongues than it is to the modern Romanic tongues. So, to be accurate/**in plain language (?)**, the much vaunted 'Latinity' does not pertain to any of the really creative and original aspects of the peoples that supposedly hold it in common. It only pertains to a facade; not to the essential, but to the secondary. Further: it is necessary to review from a racial point of view the meaning of this 'Graeco-Roman' classical world, from which 'Latinity' is purportedly derived, and for which 'humanists' harbour an almost superstitious cult. Here we cannot do justice to this problem either: we will only say that the myth of 'classicism' is very similar to that of 'Enlightenment', which wishes us to believe that it was only with the 'conquests' of the Renaissance and with the developments which led to Encyclopaedism and to the French Revolution that, after the 'darkness' of the medieval age, 'true' civilisation was brought to birth. This aestheticist and rationalist mentality appears also in the myth of 'classicism'. As a matter of fact, in the cases of both Rome and Greece, what is considered by most people to be 'classical' is actually a civilisation which, despite its apparent splendour, capable of seducing every 'Aphrodisian race', already appears to us in more than one respect to be in decline: it is the civilisation which arose when the cycle of the previous heroic, sacred, manly and properly Aryan civilisation, that of Roman originality/**origins (?)** and that of Hellenic originality/**origins (?)** respectively, was already in its downward arc.

Conversely, it is important to note that, when we refer to this world of the origins, created by 'solar' and 'heroic' races, the word 'Latin' takes on a very different meaning: specifically, a meaning which reverses the myth we mentioned at the beginning. We will only point out one of the results of the most recent studies into the races and traditions of pre-historic and pre-Roman Italy. The word 'Latin' originally designated peoples whose racial and spiritual relationship/**kinship** with the group of the Nordico-Aryan peoples is, for every competent person, incontrovertible. The Latins were a ramification/**offshoot (?)**, which had ventured as far as central Italy, of this race of peoples, practising the funerary rite of cremation, as opposed to those of the Osco-Sabelian civilisation, characterised by the funerary rite of burial, whose connection with pre-Aryan Mediterranean, or non Aryan, Asian-Mediterranean, peoples is equally apparent. 'Latins' of this sort occupied parts of Italy long before the appearance of the Etruscans or the ancient Celts.

Among the most ancient traces left, almost as trails, by the stocks from which the Latins derived, there are recent discoveries in Val Camonica. These traces have a significant correspondence with the prehistoric traces of the Aryan primordial races, both the Nordico-Atlantic ones (the Franco-Cantabrian civilisation of the Cro-Magnon men) and the Nordico-Scandinavian ones (the civilisation of Fossum). We have the same symbols of a 'solar' spirituality, the same style, the same scarcity of signs of a Demetrian-telluric religiousness, the latter of which are instead recurrent in the Mediterranean non-Aryan civilisation and in the civilisations of the Aryan decline (in Pelasgia and Crete, or — in Italy — Etrusca, Maiella, etc.).

New affinities can be found between the traces of Val Camonica and the *civilisation of the Dorians*: that is to say, of the peoples who came into Greece from the North and created Sparta, characterised by the cult of Apollo as solar Hyperborean god. In reality, according to Altheim and Trautmann, *the movement of the peoples from which the Latins were derived and whose final destination in Italy was to be Rome was similar to the Dorian migration, which, in Greece, gave birth to Sparta*: these — Rome and Sparta — are corresponding manifestations of races of the body and of the spirit, linked, in their turn, to specifically Nordico-Aryan ones.

When we speak of the first Romanity and of Sparta, clearly, we are in a world of forces without attenuation, of a rigid *ethos*, of a really manly and dominating capacity of the soul — a world which did not survive to any great extent in the subsequent so-called 'classic' civilisations from which 'Latinity' and the 'unity of the Latin family' are supposedly to be derived.

If we refer the word 'Latin', instead, to the origins, we see therefore an entire reversal of the 'Latin' thesis. The true original 'Latinity', which corresponds to what within the Roman grandeur was

really Aryan, brings us back to forms of life and civilisations which do not oppose, but rather are similar to those that the Nordico-Germanic stocks were to manifest later, in the face of a decadent world which, no longer 'Latin', was now 'Romanic' and more or less Byzantinised. Indeed, beneath the exterior veneer, this alleged 'Latinity' included heterogeneous forces, capable of combining only as long as they did not address anything more serious than the 'worlds of literature and of the arts'.

15. RACE, ROMANITY AND ITALIAN HISTORY

We have already said that, in order to progress from racial theory to practice, one of the fundamental requirements is to recognise precisely the human ideal corresponding to the higher race among those which compose a given nation. Since all the peoples comprise/**constitute (?)** by now racial mixtures, it is necessary to evaluate their various components: this is a process which must be both an inner, individual one, and a political, collective one. In this way, race appears to us essentially as an object of choice, of an election and of a decision.

What we have said already makes clear where, as far as we are concerned, the choice will fall. And we have also quoted the expressions of Mussolini, who has clearly indicated that the Roman element is the everlasting central core — the 'heart' — of the Italian stock. We can therefore say purely and simply that *Fascist Italianity identifies itself as Romanity*. We still have to go deeper into this formula in our pursuit of a precise racial consciousness.

Unfortunately, in our country, 'Romanity' is often a mere term of rhetoric, part of a stock phrase whose content is extremely indefinite. The proof of this is that, while this word recurs extremely frequently in our country today, no new and serious current of studies is to be noticed which could provide a living sense of what it is which is 'Roman', by going beyond the old archaeological, philological, and barrenly historicist exercises of the university specialists. Remarkably, it is not to Italians, but to foreigners, that we owe the most valuable contributions to the true and living study of genuine 'Romanity': to Bachofen (Swiss), to W. E. D. Ross, to F. Altheim and Günther (German), to Kerényi (Hungarian), to Eitrem (Norwegian) and to Macchioro, who, while being an Italian citizen, is still not of Aryan origin.

Here we shall also point out that, with respect not only to Italian traditions, but also to Roman ones, it is necessary to choose. Romanity too shows a multiple face. There is a specifically Aryan Romanity, characterised by the symbols of the axe, the eagle, the wolf, and other symbols of a heritage which is, basically, Hyperborean; and there is a composite Romanity, which shows the effects of the heterogeneous influences of Italic pre-Aryan strata and of degenerate Aryan civilisations. In racial education it is of capital importance to bring to light such divergences, which are manifested in the customs, cults, rituals, and institutions of ancient Rome, just as it is of the utmost importance to inculcate a sense of the struggle through which the Aryo-Roman element managed to predominate through certain phases of its cycle, freeing itself from alien influences (for instance, the Etruscan ones) or changing them according to its higher ideal of civilisation. Once again, there is here a secret history which, to a large extent, is still to be written — for hints, anyone interested in such matters can refer to our *Revolt Against the Modern World*, where there is some discussion of 'Nordic Romanity'; to the work of Bachofen, *Die Sage von Tanaquil*; and to other authors cited in this present book.

In the imperial period, Aryan Romanity begins to falter: if, from the Asian provinces, elements of ancient solar spirituality came to it (i.e. Mithraism, the 'divine' conception of royalty, etc.) (**), which revived it, ferments of ethnic and spiritual decomposition also came, which proved particularly deleterious given the ethical, demographic and racial decadence of the ancient Aryo-Roman stock. Especially for Fascist Italy, which must reconstruct its imperial mission, consideration from a racial point of view of the destiny of the ancient Roman empire, and that of the Imperial symbols of the Middle Ages, is particularly instructive.

A nucleus, whose virile and Aryan style and whose original exclusivism everyone knows, created the grandeur of Rome. It would have been logical that, as Rome gradually brought under its imperium and into its 'space' a more and more complex and varied group of peoples, a corresponding strengthening, a defence and an increase of the dominating Aryo-Roman nucleus,

should have been provided for. Instead, just the opposite happened: the more the ancient Empire extended, the more the 'race of Rome' weakened, as it opened itself irresponsibly to every kind of influence of inferior stock and of alien: it raised to the dignity of Romans some of the most dubious ethnic elements, it absorbed cults and customs whose total contrast with the original Roman mentality was often astounding, as noted by Livy. In addition to this, the Caesars often worked in such a way as to drive everyone away/**cut themselves from everyone (?)**: instead of inclining themselves to the group of their best citizens, instead of surrounding themselves with the faithful exponents of ancient Romanity still able to 'hold on tight' to their race and their ethics, they adopted the symbols of absolutism and believed in the magical power of their divinised function even as it became progressively more and more abstract, isolated, and devoid of roots. It is absurd to think that, weakened as it was, the Empire could have continued for long to impose itself on the various peoples which, politically speaking, had been integrated into its orbit. The play of contingencies and the first serious attacks from the outside inevitably caused the collapse of this enormous organism, by then lacking a backbone.

In the Middle Ages, as is well known, the Church tried hard to resuscitate the supranational symbol by combining with it the ideas of the new faith to produce a new imperial idea, that of the *Sacrum Imperium*. But the Italian people was, so to speak, foreign to the formation of this new symbol: they did not perceive at all the real task, which was to draw from the substance of our people a nucleus which was racially and spiritually worthy of that symbol. What prevailed instead was the Mediterranean, anarchistic, individualistic, particularistic component, the ferment of endless quarrels and antagonisms—not to speak of a strong fall in the general level of ethics. Hence the well known words with which Barbarossa rightly laid into those who prided themselves on being 'Roman', if only in name. The consequence of this was that the medieval Imperial function, although it called itself Roman, was essentially seized by members of other peoples than ours: above all, of Germanic peoples, in which certain qualities of race had survived to a greater extent. Consequently, Italy, as such, had very little part in the building of the Imperial Roman-Germanic civilisation of the Middle Ages.

We have therefore two eloquent examples of the dangers to which every Imperial idea is exposed if no strong racial base corresponds to it. Also, in the choice of traditions which the Aryan racial consciousness demands for the consideration of subsequent Italian history, it is necessary to get accustomed to many revolutionary transformations of perspective. Thus, we will point out that, in spite of the suggestions of a certain native history of Masonic inspiration, we must not in any way perceive the Italy of the Communes, in revolt against Imperial authority, as truly ours. For us the issue is not at all a 'fight against the alien', but rather a fight between the exponents of two opposite types of civilisation: and, on the side of the Emperor, for whom, and against the Communes, most Italian princes, such as the Savoy and the Monferrato, fought, there was the aristocratic-feudal civilisation, which still maintained to a large extent and in a remarkable manner the Aryan and Nordico-Aryan style of life. What is ours can therefore be said to be the Ghibelline and Dantesque Italy, not the Guelph and Communal one.

In the same way, although this may sound iconoclastic, we must not pride ourselves too much of the contribution given by Italy to the humanistic civilisation and, in general, to the so-called Renaissance. Despite the apparent splendour, this humanistic and 'Aphrodisian' civilisation of literature and arts represented a fall, and the breaking of the transmission of a much more serious and deeper tradition: apart from the individualistic quality which was to be reflected in the style of the Princes and in the endless disagreements between the Italian cities and between their *condottieri*, it is precisely in this civilisation that the germs were formed which were to develop into Enlightenment and similar phenomena of modern decadence. Additionally, the pretentious reassumption of 'Classical Antiquity' by Humanism is based on a major misunderstanding: only the superficial aspects of the ancient world were reassumed, not the more ancient, heroic, sacral, traditional, specifically Aryan ones.

Thus we arrive at a necessary revision of the 'Italian' values of the Renaissance and even of the 'Great War'. In fact, the part that the influences of Freemasonry, of Gallic Jacobinism, and, in

general, of an ideology which, in its liberal and democratic form, is essentially anti-racial and anti-Aryan, played in the movements of the Risorgimento, despite the purity of intention of many patriots, is incontestable and, by now, well known. With respect to our intervention in 1915, the same thing must be said again: we did join the fray in pursuit of national claims, but essentially under the sign of the Democratic-Masonic ideology of the Allies, which was really intended to destroy states which still retained, despite of the interferences of Judaizing Capitalism and a certain *Kultur*, a hierarchical and aristocratic structure and the feeling of race and tradition. However, the intervention had also the effect, for us, of a heroic test, which reawakened those forces which then, by a true reversal, were to lead to Fascist and Roman Italy. These are only a few hints, to be developed adequately and extended, concerning the new approach to Italian history, which must determine more and more of our consciousness and of our Aryan racial policy.

16. THE TYPE OF OUR 'SUPER-RACE'

What, then, is the type of our 'super-race'? Externally it is a tall type, with wide shoulders in men; well-proportioned limbs, slender, sinewy, dolicocephalic, with a long skull, even if, at times, less so than in the specifically Nordic type (let us recall the skull of Caesar). It is mostly dark-haired; unlike the less pure Mediterranean-Italic types, the hair is not abundant, but at most wavy; lips, not fleshy; nor are the eye-brows thick. Thin and long nose, straight or slightly bent (the 'aquiline' race of Fischer). The jaw has a certain development but is less pronounced than in the Nordic type, and, with the prominence of the forehead and the nose, gives the impression of an active type, present to himself, prompt in attack. The eyes can be dark, blue, or grey. Where the look in the less noble Mediterranean-Italic types, is restless, veiled, or nostalgic, it has for us precise and firm movements: 'to look straight in the face', to look in front of oneself; a penetrating and firm look, not the oblique or malicious look of the Mediterraneans altered by Levantine elements. Gesticulation, which is supposed to be an Italian characteristic, is foreign to it. It does have expressive, but not impulsive and uncoordinated, gestures — these are gestures which extend a conscious thought, rather than indicating the dominance of an uncontrolled instinctive drive. It has greater quickness of reactions than the Nordic type of the same stock, it has greater dynamism: a dynamism which, however, is always controlled, clear-headed, very different from effervescence or from gross exuberance. Racists will recall the main virtues of the ancient Roman type of the Nordico-Aryan race: bright audacity, a dominant attitude, concise and composed language, well meditated resoluteness, a bold sense of dominion. One spoke of a *virtus* which did not mean 'virtue' in a moralistic and reactionary sense, but brave virility and force; of *fortitudo* and *constantia*, that is, of the fortress of the mind; of *sapientia*, or wise reflection; of *humanitas*, and *disciplina*, which is the ideal of a firm formation of oneself which, also, comprises inner wealth; of *gravitas* or *dignitas*, dignity and inner calm which, in the aristocracy, developed into *solemnitas*, a moderate solemnity. Then, *fides*, fidelity, was an Aryan and specifically Roman virtue. Love for precise action without great gestures was Roman and Aryan, it was a realism, which, as has been rightly pointed out, did not at all mean materialism; it was the ideal of clarity, an ideal which, when weakened into rationalism, remained like an echo as part of the so-called 'Latin' mentality, in this respect, more faithful to the original essence than the romantic soul of some physically more Nordic men. *Pietas* and *religio* in the ancient Aryo-Roman man bore no resemblance to any subsequent forms of religiousness: it was a feeling of respect for the divine and, in general, suprasensible forces, which were felt to be an integral part of life both individual and collective. The Aryo-Roman type has always mistrusted any abandonment of the soul, any confused mysticism, nor did he know Semitic servility towards the Divinity. He felt that it was not as a broken man contaminated by the sense of sin and flesh that he could render a worthy cult to the Divinity, but as an erect and complete man, of calm and fierce mind, destined to know by divine presentiment the directions in which his conscious and resolute action could be considered as continuation of the divine will itself.

The ancient Aryan and Aryo-Roman man conceived of the world, and of society (*res publica*), as a *cosmos* (***), that is, as a whole of very distinct natures connected amongst themselves not by promiscuity but on the basis of a higher law. Hence also the ideal of hierarchy, in which the sense of

personality and freedom is reconciled with that of a higher unity. Neither liberalism, therefore, nor 'socialism' or collectivism: to each his own, *suum cuique*. The woman, placed neither too low, as in some Asian societies, nor too high, as in societies influenced by the lunar and Demetrian race; distance, however, towards woman, just as towards the preoccupation for sex, and resolute affirmation of the paternal right, of the authority of the virile leader of family or of a people. And a nearly 'feudal' sense of responsibility or fidelity of this leader for the state.

All these are elements of the Roman and Aryo-Roman style of the soul and of the spirit: gradually, we must come to see in them an organic correspondence to the physical form of the higher Aryo-Italian type which we have described, in order to incorporate them into the living ideal of our 'super-race'.

In order for this type to become more and more visible and real, a particular collective spiritual environment will be necessary. This does not contradict what has already been said against the power of the environment and in favour of heredity. Wherever the types are mixed and various racial components live and act in every man, the influence of environment can be important, not in the sense of introducing from the outside what is not present within, but in the sense of favouring the manifestation and the predominance of one of these components, rather than of others. Let us suppose a civilisation dominated by Judaizing and anti-racist ideas: then, fatally, even in peoples where the percentage of Aryan and Nordic blood is strikingly high, apart from a few cases of awakening by reaction, what will come to the surface and will prevail is what in everyone and in general in this people corresponds to the anti-race and to the waste of an inferior and contaminated blood. Thus, when Aphrodisianism or Dionysianism or some other race of the spirit sets the tone of a civilisation, by means of the law that like evokes like, there will be a corresponding re-emergence, the corresponding heredity will become 'dominant' and, conversely, the heredity of Aryan, i.e. solar or heroic, race, though also present, will become 'recessive', or compressed.

By remaining clearly conscious of this, by creating an environment saturated with spiritual forces and heroic vocations, we shall produce the climate needed by the 'super-race' which is ours to reawaken, and we shall become truly decisive for the future of our nation.

17. HISTORICAL PLACE OF FASCIST RACISM

To put in context definitively the views that we have just put forward, we have to say a few words on the *historical place of racism*.

The power of every truly creative and renewing idea depends more on the fact that it has appeared *at the right moment*, that it has come on top of a totality of confused historical requirements, organising them positively in a precise direction, than it does on mere contingent circumstances. It is essential therefore to have the sense of the historical 'place' of an idea, if it is to be able to manifest fully its efficiency.

Now, as to the 'historical place' of racism, it will be necessary to recapitulate very briefly a general interpretation of history, based on the social quadripartition which was peculiar to every ancient civilisation of the traditional type, from those, of Aryan stock, in the East, to the medieval Roman-Germanic one.

According to this quadripartition, the spiritual leaders are at the top of the hierarchy; the warlike aristocracy comes next, to which the bourgeoisie is subordinated, and, finally, there is the servile caste. It is above all Guénon who has expertly shown that the real meaning of so-called 'evolution' has been nothing other than that of a fall of the power and of the dominant type of the civilisation from each one to the next of these four levels or modes of being, by which the hierarchy we have just mentioned was defined. The epoch in which spiritual leaders, in one form or another, e.g. as sacred kings, had the supreme authority, dates back almost to prehistoric times. The power then falls by a degree, and passes to warlike aristocracies: so we have the phase within the cycle of civilisations in which kings are, essentially, warlike leaders. This is what we had in Europe until recently, with the various traditional dynasties.

The liberal and democratic revolutions caused a new fall: the effective power passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, into the various forms of plutocratic oligarchy, with the various Gold Barons,

Coal Barons, Oil Barons, Steel Barons, et seq. Finally, the socialist revolution and the communist movement seem to be the prelude of the last fall, because the dictatorship of the proletariat means the transfer of power to the modern equivalent of the last of the ancient Aryan castes, that of the *Shûdra*, the shapeless mass of the serfs, entirely dominated by materiality. In our various works we have developed similar views to those of Guénon.

Here, in our opinion, it must be noticed that the hierarchy which has been mentioned above was not created by contingent circumstances, but that it proceeded instead from precise reasons of 'analogical' order. It reflected the differentiation and the hierarchicalisation existing between the elements of a normal human organism, the state appearing, analogically, as a 'man on a large scale'. In this way, the spiritual leaders corresponded to the functions, in the human organism, of the spirit, the supernatural nucleus of the personality; the warlike aristocracy corresponded to the will; the bourgeoisie to the processes of organic economy; and the serfs, to all that in the human entity is determined by pure corporeality.

An important consequence flows from this analogy, if one considers that every human being has his own face, his own quality, his own personality, according to the two higher principles, that is, spirit and will. If he loses them, he fatally goes back to the undifferentiated, to the sub-personal. Now, the accuracy of the indicated analogy is confirmed by the fact that the historical ages determined by the advent to power of the two lowest castes show exactly the characters of the forces which, in the human entity, are in an analogical correspondence: at the point when power is no longer in the hands of spiritual leaders, and not even in those of a heroic elite, but is usurped by the Third Estate, by plutocratic oligarchies and, finally, by the world of the materialised masses, all tradition, all natural feeling of nationality, of blood, of race, of caste, disappear, and, therefore, everything to which the various human societies owed their qualitative difference, their personality, their varied dignity, decays. Instead, there appear cosmopolitanism, internationalism, collectivistic levelling, standardisation: all this, because of a logical necessity, under the sign of a mixing between rationalism and materialism. It is in this way that, in these crepuscular forms of civilisation, it is seriously thought that economics could determine the supreme historical law (Karl Marx); it is in this way that, instead of the 'outmoded' faiths, they created a superstitious religion of science and technology, and, in cahoots with the collectivistic myth, favoured the advent of various forms of a mechanised, primitivist, soulless and obscurely irrational culture and civilisation.

This will suffice as a brief historical context in order to make possible the definitive expression, for the purpose of racial education, of the right of blood and race. Fascism, and other political movements of analogous inspiration, have asserted themselves as a revolt and a will to reconstruct, beyond the aforementioned twilight of the civilisation of the West. They therefore intend to highlight more and more the values and principles which refer to the two highest planes of the quadripartition. So, by a logical necessity, corresponding to the Fascist denial of internationalism and cosmopolitanism, what must reappear above all is ideas irreducible to all that is mechanical, deterministic, and soulless, whether as pure materialism or as economic or rationalistic myth: *and such values, at first, cannot but be those of blood, of race*: of human groups which are most differentiated by the deep forces of their origins, by effective and powerful forces, beyond all economic determinism, mass materialism, battered bourgeois culture, and individualistic disintegration. It is precisely from such forces that the qualities of 'race' proceed, which, as has been said, always imply something aristocratic, and, at the same time, something which transcends the narrow horizons of the individual: they are not constructed, they are irreplaceable and they are tied to a precise dignity and to a tradition.

This is enough to give a general idea of the 'historical place' of the doctrine of race and of the meaning which it has in Fascism. Implicitly, the result of all this is that *the direction along which the doctrine of race in our country must be subsequently developed is clarified*.

Where Fascism has declared itself to be against both the world of collectivised and mechanised masses, and 'Enlightenment' rationalism, against bourgeois civilisation in general and in particular against plutocracy, the forms corresponding to the two last stages of the European fall to the two lowest castes of the ancient Aryan hierarchy have been overcome in principle: that of the serfs and

that of the bourgeois or 'merchants', *Shûdra* and *Vaishya*, Fourth Estate and Third Estate. It is necessary to go beyond this, and to see to it that the values, the modes of being, and the modes of feeling, peculiar to the two higher degrees to which the warlike aristocracy and the spiritual sovereignty formerly corresponded, are once again decisive in the new civilisation.

In accordance with this it is necessary to develop the Fascist doctrine of race in two further respects and to conceive it according to the complete sense which we have tried to intimate in the previous chapters. First of all, we must see to it that race, besides having a biological and anthropological meaning, assumes, more and more distinctly, also a *heroic* and *aristocratic* one. Community of blood or race will be the premise, the base. But, within such community, an adapted selective process will establish further differences, according to which something similar to a new aristocracy will be able to arise: a group which will show the 'pure race', the *true* race or race in the higher sense, not only in the body, but also in terms of the heroic soul, of a style of honour and loyalty. So an immense and fecund field opens for various forms of synthesis between the principles of racism and the cornerstones of ethics and the 'Fascist Mystique', along with the possibility for us to remain faithful to our better traditions and to prevent the collectivising and socialising deviations which have sometimes occurred owing to hasty political use of ~~racial policies~~/**racism** in other countries. Racism of the second degree, the doctrine of the races of the soul, for its part, will continue to specify the main points of reference for determined, scientifically founded, action. As far as the final constructive phase is concerned, with respect to the problem of the spiritual leaders, beyond all these forms *per se*, basically, the best points of reference can come precisely from the 'Aryan myth', if it is understood as it was originally. It is very sad that, in certain circles, 'Aryan' has come to mean merely 'anti-Semitic' and that, even in legislation, this term, 'Aryan', has only a negative meaning, because it indicates only what one must not be, 'Aryan' being those who do not have Jewish or coloured-race blood, without further conditions. Against this banalisation of the Aryan concept, it will always be necessary to react. The term 'Aryan', in its integrity, will instead have to mean once more, in the new generation and in its educators, a race of the spirit, specifically, of either 'solar' or 'heroic' type (this latter term being used in our own special sense). By proceeding along these lines Fascist racism will be able to liquidate definitively all the suspicions of 'materialism' or 'zoologism' which people have towards it; it will end up finding in the domain of a supra-mundane and supra-temporal truth, far from excluding this domain, its natural coronation, and realising, by means of a very precise tradition deeply rooted in our origins, the Fascist aspiration of giving to the Revolution a 'religious' meaning in addition to its other meanings, and the character of a renewal in the field of the supreme values themselves.