

ULICK
VARANGE

Imperium.
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Imperium

by

ULICK VARANGE

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CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL VITALISM (continued)

CULTURE PATHOLOGY

All of the four forms of life—plant, animal, man, High Culture—exhibit the organic regularities of birth, growth, maturity, fulfilment, death. Each form contains within it the essence of the less elaborate, less articulate forms and the new soul is a superstructure, as it were, on the general foundation. Thus the plant exhibits close connection with the cosmic rhythms, the animal has geographic distribution over a certain landscape, large or small, and shows also immediacy of instinct coming from its close connections with cosmic rhythms. Man has attachment to the soil, both spiritually and materially, possesses beast-of-prey instincts, and shows in his rhythm of sleep and waking the alternating supremacy of the tensionless plant-element in him. A High-Culture is **plantlike** in its attachment to its original soil, which last from its beginning to its latest period; **animal-like** in its ruthless devouring of other life-forms; **man-like** in its spirituality, and **original** in its power to transform human life, its great life-span, and the forcefulness of its destiny.

To everything living belongs sickness as well as health. In his classification of the sciences, Bacon provided a place for the science of deviations, and after him D'Alembert, in his classification for the Encyclopédie listed "Prodigies, or deviations from the usual course of Nature." Life is regular in its phenomena, and when it deviates, it is regular in its deviations. Illness of what-

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ever sort, exopathic or autopathic, comes under Pathology. Plants have their pathology, as have animals and man. High Cultures also have their pathology, which is only being realized for the first time by the new Age, with its incorruptible eye for facts, and its freedom from the prejudice of Materialism. Pathology follows the organism, and thus plants cannot suffer from liver trouble, nor dogs from psychosis. But the process works upward, just as the planes of life are stratified, one above the other, as life increases in complexity. Thus parasitism, a form of plant pathology, exists as well for all the higher life-forms. The growth of a plant can be thwarted by unfavourable conditions, just as the development of an animal can be stunted by outside interference. Weaker human organisms can be spiritually retarded and stultified by complete domination of their souls by stronger-willed humans.

Human pathology is a science of the becoming, not a science of the become, like physics. It can never succeed in its programme of organizing the field of life-deviations, for Life defies all classification whatever. The invisible components dominate the visible. The soul, the will, the intellect, the emotions, are all **uncanny** in their effects, and cannot be treated in the systematic fashion appropriate to the data of physics or geology.

The pathology of High Cultures was naturally a blank to a scientific method which asserted as a basic dogma that Life was mechanics, man was soul-less, that there must be a chemical formula for consciousness. To this outlook which denied God and Soul, High Culture was an abstract name for the collective efforts of single men. A nation was a collection of individuals with only

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mechanical connections, economics and "happiness" were the entire content of Life, everything which put spiritual content or meaning into Life was the prime enemy. This view simply could not understand Life. It produced a psychology hardly complex enough even for animals, and called it human psychology. It placed the barren intelligence in the centre of the inner world, and denied the mystical nature of human creativeness.

This viewpoint was itself a product of a certain Age, the Age of Rationalism, and with the passing of this prejudice, we stand before a whole new world of soul-relationships, entry into which was forbidden during the last two centuries. We are liberated from the oppressive drabness of Materialism, free to step forth once more into the multi-coloured and infinitely varied realm of the Soul. In its final phase, the Age of Rationalism turned its knife on itself: with its refusal to recognize psychic phenomena proved by its own methods, it showed its own nature as a Faith, an irrationality, and moved into History's collection of temples, legends, and memories.

Materialism approached Life from its under side. In actuality, the Soul uses the material as the vehicle of its expression. Materialism, seeing only the results, and not the invisible Destiny which was bringing them about, said that the **results** were primary, the Soul a null. Failing to grasp the invisible **Necessity** which rules the organic and its relationships to the Cosmos, it reached the conclusion from a hundred different directions that Life is an **accident**. Not to catalogue these interesting reasons, take for example, the presence of dust in the air. The laboratory-thinkers discovered

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that if dust were not present in the air, all Life would be impossible. It never occurred to them that Life and all the other phenomena were connected by mystical necessity. By treating everything separately, by ever-finer analysis of ever-smaller things, they lost all connection with Reality, and were surprised when connections among things did appear. It could only be an accident, said these profound thinkers.

II

The **conditions** of Life form a starting point for us. Not the conditions of all Life, but only that particular form of Life called High Culture.

Each variety of life-form has its own ideal conditions. Some plants require much water, others little. Some grow in salt water, others need fresh water. Animals have a habitat, each species has its own area or areas which furnish the conditions of its health and survival. Human beings as a whole have certain areas, and various types of human beings have their respective landscapes which further their life-needs.

Corresponding to the ideal life-conditions of the various life-forms, each form of life, and each organism, possesses power of **adaptation**. A plant can continue to live—at a lower potential—if given less than the ideal amount of water. But a point is reached at which the amount of water is minimal, and if less is given, life ceases entirely. This is the **limit of adaptation**. Both animals and man have adaptivity and a limit thereto. Men can live in the dense air of valleys and in the rare air of high mountains. The human body adapts itself to mountain conditions by increasing the size of the

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chest and the lung-surface. But this ability to adapt is not indefinite, and a rarity of air is reached to which men cannot become adapted because of inherent bounds of the human life-form.

The treatment of this subject in this work is not meant to be anything more than the minimum presentation of fundamentals necessary to understanding the nature of Culture-phenomena generally, as the basis for **action**. This is politics, not philosophy of history, nor yet natural philosophy of organisms. The whole subject of Culture-pathology is comparatively new. What in 2100 will be a completed discipline is now only an outline, and this is even less than an outline. But politics cannot be separated from Culture, and any effort which lights its **necessary** path forward for Western politics at this critical juncture is justified culturally and historically.

A High Culture is different from other organisms in that it actualizes its material manifestations through lower organisms, namely through Culture-man. Its body is a huge aggregate of many millions of human bodies in a certain landscape. The question of whether the prime symbol of the Culture is spiritually adapted to the particular **landscape** is outside our scope.

It is apparent that the question of **physical** adaptation does not exist for a Culture. Its only adaptation is **spiritual**. Nor can it have a **physical** disease like men can. Disease to a Culture can only be a **spiritual** phenomenon.

Life itself is a mystery, that is, something which is not fully understandable. Perhaps this is because the faculty of understanding is only one manifestation of one type of Life, in other words a part of a part, and is thus

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unadapted to assimilating the Whole. Every manifestation of Life is a mystery, including disease. Some men, when brought in contact with certain micro-organisms, develop a definite disease. Other men do not react at all to these micro-organisms. The serum that may be beneficial to one man may kill another. It is possible to discuss disease-phenomena like these in terms of adaptation and inability to adapt. The last reason why a species, or an individual, finds its limits of adaptability precisely here and not at a further point, will always be unknown.

And so with Cultures. Just why the soul of a Culture retains its purity and individuality is hidden. Nevertheless inwardly it follows its own life-course, and cannot follow the life course that an alien life-feeling, deriving its motivation from extra-Cultural sources, might wish to have it.

Just why Destiny impels an organism to actualize its possibilities, compels continuous transition from one phase into the next, is also a mystery. Nevertheless it does. The materialistic 19th century, having completely lost touch with the real world of the spirit in its obsession with the sub-real world of the material, felt in consequence a nameless terror of death, and rationalistic medicine announced its intention of doing away with Death. This sort of thing reflects credit on the intellectual courage of the rationalists, but shows their rootless intelligence to be synonomous with stupidity. We cannot do away with Destiny, since even our protest against it is a phase of development.

The entire subject of Culture-pathology is too wide to be treated here, and it will be the subject of many

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volumes in the coming centuries. All that is necessary for the 20th century action-outlook is to understand three phenomena within this larger field of Culture-pathology, namely, Culture-parasitism, Culture-Retardation, and Culture-distortion. All of these Culture-illnesses exist in the West in the middle of the 20th century, and have existed for some time. It is only this sick condition of the Western Civilization that makes the current grotesque world-situation possible. Current refers to the first two World Wars and their hideous aftermath. The home soil of the Western Civilization is the site of the strongest brains and characters, the most intense moral force, the highest technical creativeness, the only positive high Destiny, in the world, but yet despite the fact that all these spell the world's greatest power-concentration, the Western Civilization to-day is simply an object of world-politics. It is spoils, booty, for marauding powers from without. This situation did not come about by military means, but by critical Culture-disease.

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In the chapter on the outlook on politics, the condition in which persons thinking privately affect public affairs was called parasite-politics. The example was given of La Pompadour throwing France into a war against the great Frederick because he had dubbed her with an uncomplimentary name before all Europe. In this war, France lost its overseas empire to England, because it was fighting in Europe, and devoting less effort to the great imperial war than to the local European war. This is the usual result of parasite-politics.

A nation is an Idea, but it is a mere part of the greater Idea of the Culture which creates it in the process of its own actualization. But precisely as a nation can be the host to groups and powerful individuals who think in complete independence of the fulfilment of the national Idea, so can a Culture.

Everyone is familiar with parasite politics in a nation, and everyone understands it when he becomes aware of it. When the Greek Capodistria was Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Russia, he was not expected to execute an anti-Greek policy. During the Boxer Rebellion in China, no Western power thought of giving a command to a Chinese general. In the American war against Japan, 1941-1945, the Americans did not use their Japanese conscripts, just as Europe discovered in the first two World Wars that it could not use Slavic Bohemians against Russia. American generals would not dare to use their Mexicans against Mexico, or their Negroes against Abyssinia. Nor in a period of war preparation against Russia would a known Russian sympathizer be given public power in America. Much less would the Americans turn over the entire government to known Russian

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immigrants.

Phenomena of this type reflect the general fact that a man or group remains what it is even though taken into another group unless assimilated. Assimilation is the demise of a group qua group. The blood-stream of the individuals comprising it continues, but the group is gone. As long as it was a group, it was foreign.

In our examination of race we saw that physical differences are no barrier to assimilation, but that a Cultural barrier is. Examples are the Baltic Germans and the Volga Germans, cut off in primitive Russia, Chinese and Japanese in America, Negroes in America and in South Africa, the British in India, the Parsees in India, the Jews in the Western Civilization and in Russia, the Hindus in Natal.

Culture-parasitism arises in the same way that parasitism arises in politics. A parasite is simply a life-form which lives in or on the body of another life-form at its expense. It involves thus the direction of part of the energy of the host into a direction alien to its interest. This is quite inevitable: if the energy of an organism is being spent for something other than its own development, it is being wasted. Parasitism is inevitably harmful to the host. The harm increases in proportion to the growth and spreading of the parasite.

Any group which takes no part in the Culture-feeling, but which lives within the Culture-body, necessarily involves a loss to the Culture. Such groups form areas of anaesthetic tissue, as it were, in the Culture body. Such a group, by standing outside the historical necessity, the Destiny of the Culture, inevitably militates **against** that Destiny. This phenomenon is in no way dependent on

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human will. The parasite is spiritually without, but physically within. The effects on the host-organism are deleterious both physically and spiritually.

The first physical effect of non-participating groups within the body of a Culture is that the numbers of the Culture-population are thereby reduced. The members of the alien group **take the place of** individuals belonging to the Culture, who thus **never come to be born.** It reduces artificially the numbers of the Culture-populations by the numbers of the parasitic group. In animal and human parasitism, one of the numerous effects on the host is the loss of nourishment, and Cultural parasitism is analogous. By reducing the numbers of Culture individuals, a Culture-parasite is depriving the Cultural Idea of the only form of physical nourishment it needs—a constant supply of human material adequate to its life-task.

It is only in the light of recent studies of population trends that this anti-reproductive effect of immigrating groups is established. Thus from comparative study of American population trends, it emerged that the 40,000,000 immigrants to America from other continents from 1790 up to now—**did not serve to increase the population of America at all,** but only to change the quality of it. A superpersonal Idea, clothed as it is with the force of Destiny, must fulfil its life-task, and if this involves populations of a certain size, increasing at a certain rate, these externals will come into existence.

Materialism found itself with the data of population trends on its hands but no explanation for them. These data showed for the Western nations gradual increases, rising rapidly to a peak, and then a stabilizing and slow

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falling off. The curve that describes this population movement of nations—it is the same curve, roughly speaking, in each case—will be found also to describe the population movement of a High Culture. At the stage where a High Culture passes over into Civilization—the stage marked for us by Napoleon—the increase of numbers is rapid and rises to figures which dwarf anything previous. The same Spirit of the Age which externalized the whole energy of the Culture into massive industrialism and technics, great revolutions, gigantic wars, and unlimited Imperialism, also called these numbers into being. The life-task of the Western Civilization is the mightiest the world has ever seen, and it needs these numbers in order to accomplish it.

Culturally parasitical groups are not available to the Idea. They use the energy of the Culture inwards and downwards. Such groups constitute weak spots in the body of the Culture. The danger of this internal weakness increases in direct proportion as the Culture is threatened from without. In the 16th century when the existence of the West was threatened by the Turks, it would have been perfectly evident to every Westerner that large inner groups of Turks—had there been such—were a serious menace.

A second way that Culture-parasitism wastes the substance of the Culture is through the inner friction that their presence necessarily creates. In the body of the Arabian Culture around the time of Christ, a large number of Romans was present. Their cultural-stage was that of Late Civilization, complete externalization, and the cultural stage of the Aramaean population which was there at home was that of the earliest Culture. The

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tension which was naturally engendered—racial, national and cultural, finally culminated in the massacre, in 88 B.C., of 80,000 Romans. This brought on the Mithradatic Wars in which more hundreds of thousands perished in 22 years of fighting.

Another phenomenon closer to our times is that of the Chinese in California. The racial tension between the white and Chinese populations there during the 19th and 20th centuries resulted in mutual persecution, hatred, riots, and bloody excesses.

The Negro population both in America and South Africa has been the occasion of similar outbreaks of hatred and violence on both sides.

All these incidents are manifestations of Culture-parasitism, the presence of a group which is outside the Culture totally. These phenomena have no connection whatever, as the analytic approach of Rationalism thought, with hatred or malice on either side. Rationalism always looks downward: it saw merely a group of individuals on both sides. If these individuals were massacring one another, it was the desire of these particular individuals at this particular time to kill one another. Rationalism did not understand even the simple organic phenomenon of a crowd, much less the higher forms of people, race, nation, Culture. It never occurred to the Liberals that since these tensions throughout 5,000 years of history had always manifested themselves thus, that there was any necessity at work. Liberals could not understand instinct, cosmic rhythm, racial beat. To them a race riot was a manifestation of lack of "education," of "tolerance." A bird flying over a street-disturbance would understand it better than the materia-

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lists, for they voluntarily adopted the viewpoint of the earthworm and held to it with determination.

So far from these excesses being the result of malice or hatred, the contrary is true—demonstrations of goodwill and “tolerance” actually increase the tension between totally alien groups, and render it more deadly. Focusing attention on to the differences between utterly alien groups works these differences up into contrasts, and hastens outbreaks. The closer the two groups are brought into contact, the more insidious and dangerous grows the mutual hatred.

Theoretically it sounds perfect to say that if each individual is “educated” to “tolerance” there can be no racial or cultural tension. But—**individuals are not the units of this type of happening;** individuals do not bring these things about, higher organic unities do this, and impel the mere individuals. The process has nothing to do with consciousness, intellect, will, or even emotions, in its inception. All these come into play only as a manifestation of defence on the part of the Culture against the alien life-form. Hatred does not begin the process, nor does “tolerance” stop it. This sort of talk is applying the logic of the billiard table to superpersonal organisms. But logic is out of place here. **Life is irrational,** and so is every one of its manifestations: birth, growth, illness, resistance, self-expression, Destiny, History, Death. If we wish to keep the word **logic** we must distinguish inorganic logic from organic logic. Inorganic logic is causality thinking; organic logic is destiny-thinking. The first is aware, illuminated, conscious; the second is rhythmic and unconscious. The first is the laboratory-logic of physical experimentation;

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the second is the living-logic of the human beings who carry on this activity, and who are in no way amenable, in their lives, to the logic which they apply in their workshops.

II

The most tragic example of Culture-parasitism for the West has been the presence of a part of a nation from the Arabian Culture scattered through the entire body of the West. We have already seen the entirely different content of the nation-idea in that other Culture—nations there were State, Church, and People all in one. The idea of a **territorial** home was unknown. Home was wherever the believers were. Belonger and believer were interchangeable ideas. This Culture had attained to its Late Civilization phase while our Gothic West was barely emerging from the primitive.

Into the tiny hamlets—there were no cities—of the awakening West, these finished cosmopolitans built their ghettos. Money-thinking, which seemed evil to the deeply religious West, was the forte of this highly civilized alien people. Interest-taking was forbidden by the Church to Christians, and this conferred a monopoly of money on the strangers. The Judengasse was a millennium ahead in Cultural development of its surroundings.

The legend of the Wandering Jew arose at this time, expressing the feeling of **uncanniness** that the Westerner felt in the presence of this landless stranger who was everywhere at home, although it seemed to the West that he was nowhere at home. The West understood as little of his Torah, Mishnah, Talmud, Kabbalism, and

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Yesirah, as he of its Christianity and Scholastic philosophy. This mutual inability to understand generated feelings of alienness, fear and hatred.

The hatred of the Westerner for the Jew was of religious motivation, not racial. The Jew was the **heathen**, and with his civilized and intellectualized life, he seemed Mephistophelean, Satanic to the Westerner. The chronicles of the time record the horrors which the contact of these two utterly alien groups begot. Jews were massacred in London on the day of coronation of Richard I in 1189. The next year 500 Jews were besieged in York castle by a mob, and to avoid its fury, resorted to cutting each other's throats. King John had Jews imprisoned, their eyes or teeth plucked out, and hundreds butchered in 1204. When a Jew in London forced a Christian to pay him more than 2s. a week on a loan of 20s., mob action killed 700 Jews. Crusaders, for centuries, massacred whole Jewish populations of towns, when they stopped on their way to the wars in Asia Minor. In 1278, 267 Jews were hanged in London, accused of clipping coins. The outbreak, in 1348, of the Black Death, was attributed to the Jews, and massacres were the result all over Europe. For 370 years, the Jews were banished from England, until readmitted by Cromwell.

Although the motivation of these excesses was not racial, it was race-creating. What did not destroy the Jews made them stronger, and separated them further than ever from the host-peoples, physically and spiritually.

During the centuries of our Western history, the problems and developments which roused **fundamental**

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excitement in the West did not touch the problemless Jew, whose inner life had passed into fixity with the completion of the Culture which created this Jewish Church-State-People-Nation. Empty for him were the conflict of Empire and Papacy, the Reformation, the Age of Discovery. He looked upon them purely as a spectator. His only question was what they might mean to **him**. The idea of his taking part in them, or making sacrifices for one side or another, never came up. The British in India looked upon disturbances among the indigenous populations with the same eye.

In his ghettos distributed over Europe, all was uniform: the food-prohibitions, the Talmudic dualistic ethics, one for the goyim and another for the Jew, the legal system, the runes, the phylacteries, the ritual, the feeling. His Sufism, his Hasidim sect, his Kabbalism, his religious leaders like Baal Shem, his Zaddikism, are equally unintelligible to Westerners. Not only unintelligible, but uninteresting. The Westerner was absorbed in the intense conflicts of his own Culture, and did not observe, except in relation to himself, the life of the Jew in his midst.

Not until the externalized, fact-sensitive 20th century, did the Western Culture notice the Jew as a Cultural phenomenon. In Gothic times, until the Reformation, it saw him as a heathen and usurer, in the Counter-Reformation as a shrewd business-man, in the Enlightenment as a civilized man of the world, in the Age of Rationalism as a fighter in the van of intellectual liberation from the bonds of the Culture and its traditions.

The 20th century saw for the first time that he had his own public life, his own world down to the details.

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It realized that the comprehensiveness of his outlook was the equivalent of its own in breadth and depth, and therefore alien in a **total** sense which was never before suspected. In its previous centuries, the viewpoint of the West toward the Jew was limited by its stage of development at the time, but with the 20th century and its universal outlook, the **entirety** of what has been called "the Jewish problem" is seen for the first time. Not race, not religion, not ethics, not nationality, not political allegiance—but something which includes them all, separates the Jew from the West—Culture.

Culture embraces the totality of world-outlook: science, art, philosophy, religion, technics, economics, erotic, law, society, politics.

In every branch of the Western Culture, the Jew has developed his own taste and preference, and when he intervenes in the public life of the Western peoples, he conducts himself in a distinct fashion, namely in the style of the public life of the Jewish Church-State-Nation-People-Race. This public life was invisible to the inward West until the 20th century.

Like all nations at the end of their Civilization, e.g., Hindus, Chinese, Arabs, the Jewish nation passed into a caste system. The Brahmins in India, the Mandarins in China, the Rabbinate in Jewry, are three corresponding phenomena. The Rabbinate were the custodians of the Destiny of the Jewish unity. When free-thinkers appeared among the Jews, it was the duty of the local Rabbinate to prevent a schism. In the case of Uriel da Costa, a free-thinking Jew of Amsterdam, the local Synagogue had him imprisoned, and subjected him to such persecution that he finally took his own life.

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Spinoza was excommunicated by the same Synagogue, and an unsuccessful attempt was made on his life. Large bribes were offered him to return to Judaism, and when he refused he was cursed and pronounced anathema. In 1799, the Hasidim leader in Eastern Jewry, Senior Salman, was handed over by the Rabbinate to the Romanov Government after a trial by his own people, much as the Western Inquisition turned over convicted heretics to the State for disposal.

The contemporary West did not even see these phenomena, and would not have understood them if it had. It looked at everything Jewish with its own preconceptions, just as the Jews looked at the West in terms of its advanced outlook.

The Parsee in India is another fragment of the Arabian Culture strewn abroad among aliens. The Parsee possessed vis-a-vis his human surroundings the same superior business acumen as the Jew in the early West. His inner life was entirely apart from the aliens around him. His interests were different in every way. In the disturbances and revolts during the centuries of the British Raj, the Parsee took no part.

In the same way, the Thirty Years' War, the Succession Wars, the conflict of Bourbon and Habsburg, did not in any way touch the Jew. Difference of Culture-phase creates complete spiritual insulation. The attitude of the Jew toward Western tensions was that of Pilate at the trial of Jesus. To Pilate the religious issue there involved was utterly hidden—he belonged to a Civilization in its last phase, a thousand years away from the religious excitement of his own Culture.

With the stirrings of Rationalism in the West, how-

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ever, a caesura is marked in the collective life of that part of Jewry cut off in the Western Culture.

III

Around 1750, new spiritual currents begin to move in the West. English Sensualist philosophy assumes the ascendancy over the European soul. Reason, empiricism, analysis, induction—this is the new spirit. But **everything** becomes folly when examined in the light of reason unleavened by faith and instinct—Erasmus had demonstrated in his malicious work *In Praise of Folly* that **everything** is folly, not only greed, ambition, pride, and war, but Church, State, marriage, child-bearing and philosophy. The supremacy of Reason is hostile to Life, and brings about a crisis in any organism which succumbs to it.

The Culture-crisis of Rationalism was a part of the Destiny of the West. All previous Cultures have gone through it. It marks the turning-point from the inwardness of Culture to the externalized soul-life of Civilization. The focal idea of Rationalism is **liberty**—which means liberty from the bonds of Culture. Napoleon liberated war from the style of Fontenoy, 1745, where each side courteously invited the other to fire the first shot. Beethoven liberated music from the form-perfection of Bach and Mozart. The Terror of '93 liberated the West from the idea of the sacredness of Dynasty. Materialistic philosophy liberated it from the spirit of religion, and ultra-Rationalism then proceeded to liberate science from philosophy. Waves of revolution liberated the Civilization from the dignity of the State and its high traditions into the dirt of party-

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politics. Class war was liberation from social order and hierarchy. The new idea of "humanity" and "The Rights of Man" liberated the Culture from its old pride of exclusiveness and feeling of unconscious superiority. Feminism liberated women from the natural dignity of their sex and turned them into inferior men.

Anacharsis Cloots organized a deputation of "representatives of the human race" which presented its respects to the Revolutionary Terror in France. There were pig-tailed Chinamen, black Ethiopians, Turks, Jews, Greeks, Tartars, Mongols, Indians, bearded Chaldeans. Actually however, they were Parisians in disguise. This parade had thus at the very beginning of Rationalism a double symbolic significance. First, it symbolized the idea of the West that it now wished to embrace all "humanity," and secondly, the fact these were disguised Westerners showed the exact amount of success that this intellectualizing enthusiasm would have.

The Jew had of course seen these things coming. Persecution does not diminish intelligence and awareness of one's surroundings. As early as 1723 the Jews had acquired the right to possess land in England, and in 1753 they acquired English citizenship, only to have it revoked the next year on the petition of all the cities. In 1791 they were emancipated in France, and in 1806 the Great Sanhedrim was summoned by the Emperor Napoleon, thus giving official recognition to the existence within the West of the Jewish Nation-State-People.

Only one thing prevented the new situation from being as idyllic as the new liberal sentiment would have it. Eight hundred years, of robbery, hatred, massacre,

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and persecution on both sides had roused within the Jew traditions of hatred of the West even stronger than the old Western hatred of the Jew. In its new outburst of generosity and forgiveness, the West renounced its old feelings, but the Jew was unable to reciprocate. Eight hundred years of resentment were not to be removed by a New Year's Resolution on the part of the alien West. Superpersonal organic unities were here opposed, and these higher unities do not share with human beings things like reason and sentiment. Their life-task is hard and colossal, and excludes feelings of "tolerance" except as a symptom of crisis. In a great battle of this kind, human beings are in the last analysis mere spectators, even though they play an active role. Human malice and desire for revenge play only the smallest, most superficial part in such conflicts, and when they appear, they are the mere expression in the individual of the higher incompatibility, deep and total, between the superpersonal Ideas.

The new movements—capitalism, industrial revolution, democracy, materialism—all were tremendously exciting to the Jew. In the middle of the 18th century already, he had sensed their potentialities and had fostered their growth in every way. His position as the outsider forced him to act secretly, and the secret societies of the Illuminati and its offspring were his creations, as their Kabbalistic terminology and ritualistic equipment show. More than two thirds of the Estates-General which paved the way to the French Revolution in 1789 consisted of members of these secret societies, committed to undermine the authority of the State and introduce the idea of Democracy. The Jew responded

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to the invitation of the West to participate in his public life, but it was impossible for him to lose his identity overnight, and so he had from now on two public lives, one before the West and one before his own Nation-State-People-Church-Race.

With the crumbling of the old Western traditions before the onslaught of the new ideas, the Jew forged ahead. The Rothschilds became—what would have been simply fantastic to both sides a century before—barons of the Austrian empire in 1822. Jews penetrated the English bar in 1833, and a Jew was knighted by the Queen—the first one—in 1837. The West acceded to the duality of the Jew and a statute of 9 Victoria relieved Jews elected to municipal office from taking oaths. Jewish Members of Parliament appeared from the forties onward, and a Jew became Lord Mayor of London in 1855. All of these things were resisted by traditionary elements of the West, and on each occasion the Jew gained a triumph. The experiment of “tolerance” was visibly failing on both sides.

The amount of power and importance the Jew was gaining was shown by the incident of the boy Mortara. This child was forcibly taken from his Jewish parents, ordinary private persons, by the archbishop of Bologna in 1858, on the plea that he had been baptized by a serving maid. In the same year the **French government** officially urged restoration of the boy to its parents. The next year, the Archbishop of Canterbury, bishops, noblemen and gentlemen of England signed a petition presented by Lord John Russell asking return of custody of the child.

The persecution continued—there were outbreaks in

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Bucharest, 1866, Rome, 1864, Berlin, 1880, Russia through the whole century and into the 20th century. This persecution in Russia was an index of the strength of the Jew in the Western nations. Protests, petitions, committees, sought to alleviate the lot of the Jews in Russia and to obstruct the government of Russia. The pogrom in the Ukraine after the Russo-Japanese War, 1905, **caused the American government to break off diplomatic relations with Russia.**

Hatred or intolerance in no wise explains the numerous unfortunate results attendant upon the Jewish dispersion through the Western nations. The hatred on both sides was a mere result. The more tolerance was talked about, the more attention was focused onto the differences, sharpening them into **contrasts**. The contrasts led to opposition and action, either covert or open, on both sides.

Nor is it an explanation to **blame** the Jew for failing to assimilate. This is blaming a man for being himself, and the notion of ethics does not extend to what one **is**, but only to what one **does**. The "Jewish problem" is not to be explained ethically, racially, nationally, religiously, socially—but only **totally**, culturally. From having seen at each phase only that aspect of the Jew which his own development permitted him to, Western man now sees the whole relationship, for his own Cultural unity is uppermost in Western man. In Gothic times, he saw the Jew as different only in religion, because the West was then in a religious phase. In the Enlightenment with its ideas of "humanity," the Jew was seen merely to be socially different. In the materialistic 19th century with its vertical racism, the Jew was

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regarded as merely racially different. In this century, with the West passing into a unit of Culture, nation, race, society, economics, State, the Jew appears clearly in his own **total** unity, a complete inner stranger to the soul of the West.

IV

The materialistic 19th century saw this phenomenon of Culture-parasitism only as nation-parasitism, and thus it was misunderstood in each nation as merely a local condition. For this reason, the phenomenon in each country called **anti-semitism** was only a partial reaction to what was a Cultural, and not merely a national, condition.

Anti-semitism is precisely analogous in Culture pathology to the formation of anti-bodies in the bloodstream in human pathology. In both cases, the organism is resisting the alien life. Both are **inevitable, organically necessary**, expressions of Destiny. In fulfilling the proper, Destiny combats the alien. It cannot be said too often that hatred and malice, tolerance and goodwill, have nothing whatever to do with this fundamental process. A Culture is an **organism**, an organism of a different class from man, just as man is an organism of a different class from animals. But the fundamental regularities of organic life are present in all organisms, of whatever class, plant, animal, man, Culture. This hierarchy of organisms is obviously part of the divine plan, and it cannot be changed by a process of propaganda, no matter how continuous, "tolerance," no matter how self-renouncing, or self-deception, no matter how complete.

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A treatment of anti-semitism raises questions which belong with Culture-distortion, rather than Culture-parasitism, and so it may suffice to say here that anti-semitism—again, precisely like the human pathological phenomenon of formation of anti-bodies in the blood—is the other side of the existence of Culture-parasitism, and is only to be understood as one of its effects. Anti-semitism is completely organic and irrational, just as is reaction to human disease. Culture-parasitism is the phenomenon of the totally alien in co-existence with a host, and is also entirely irrational. There is no **reason** for Culture-parasitism.

On the contrary, Reason would seem to dictate that the alien group dissolve and flow into the surrounding life. This would end all the bitter persecution, the sterile hatred, the wasted fighting. But Life is irrational, also during the Age of Rationalism. In fact the only way Rationalism can come onto the stage is in the form of a religion, a Faith, an Irrationality.

The phenomenon of Culture-parasitism is not confined in a High Culture, to the mother-soil of the Culture. This is well shown by the history of America.

America originated as a colony of the Western Culture. This one sentence contains the whole Fate of America. It sets in advance the limit to the potentialities of America. The idea of the **Colony** must be examined. What is a Colony? It is a **creation** of a Culture, it is a work, by its mere successful plantation it is something spiritually completed. This is another way of saying it has no inner necessity, no mission. It is thus dependent for its spiritual nourishment on the Mother-Culture. This is as true of America in the

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Western Culture as it was of Syracuse and Alexandria in the Classical, of Granada and Seville in the Arabian. While fruitful impulses can, albeit rarely, come from the periphery of the Cultural Body, they find their significance in their development in the Culture-centre. This spiritual dependence of colonies is **weakness**. This weakness is expressed by lack of resistance to the Culturally alien, and one would expect to find less organic resistance to the Culturally alien in a colony, for the sense of Cultural mission is not generally present at all, but exists only in isolated individuals or tiny groups at best. The history of Colonies shows us—Syracuse is one example—that Culture-crises, even autopathic ones like the appearance of Rationalism, produce greater effects in them. A colony can be more easily disintegrated, because it lacks the articulation that the Culture has. There is not, cannot be, a Culture-bearing stratum in a Colony. This stratum is an organ of the land-bound High Culture. The Culture cannot be transplanted, even though its populations migrate and remain in contact with the body of the Culture. Colonies are **products** of a Culture, and represent Life at a less complex and articulate level than the creating Culture.

The comprehension of this elementary fact has always been unconsciously quite complete in America, and in the 20th century has been just as vehemently **consciously** denied. American men of letters in the 19th century, assimilated Western Culture inwardly, and were assimilated by it. The phenomenon of Edgar Poe has always generated wonder by reason of his complete mastery of Culture-thinking and total independence of his colonial environment. In its higher branches,

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American belles-lettres has figured as a part of English literature, and quite correctly, as regards most of it. The poverty and meagreness of American letters is attributable to the colonial fate, while its few great names are expressions of Western Culture.

Americans of all callings through the past two centuries, insofar as they were, or wished to be, men of significance, have had their centre of gravity in Europe—Irving, Hawthorne, Emerson, Whistler, Frank Harris, Henry James, the finance-plutocracy, Wilson, Ezra Pound. A tradition in America makes a European tour a part of education. Europe continued to possess spiritually those American elements with Culture feelings or Culture ambitions.

In every generalization of organic subject matter, it is sought only to state the **great regularity**. The deviations always exist in living matter, but find their place only with respect to the larger rhythms. Rationalist thought used to attempt to disintegrate organic thinking by concentrating on the **deviating incidents**, in the attempt to destroy the great, sweeping, organic rhythm. It had not even the depth sufficient to grasp the wisdom contained in the saw "The exception proves the rule."

Even though it became the fashion in America, after its appearance as a world-power, following the Spanish war, 1898-1899, to **deny** its spiritual dependence upon Europe, the fact continued to exist. By this time we are not surprised when a Culture-fact shows its disregard of human wishes, intentions, demands, statements. America is a subject that needs to be treated separately, as the Culture-disease of the West has given it a new significance in world-politics. In this place, the presence

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of Culture-parasitism in America is the only aspect under consideration.

V

From the early 17th century onward, continuing to the early 19th century, slave-trading brought millions of African aborigines to America. These formed, during the 18th and first half of the 19th century, a large, prolific, and totally alien parasitic body. It is a good example of the **Cultural** meaning of the term parasite that it has no reference to work, in the economic sense. Thus the Africans in America were **economically** important, and, after an economy was built on them, necessary, in a practical sense. Class-war made it the mode to refer to all persons other than manual workers as "parasites." This was a polemical term, and has no community of any kind with the phenomenon of Culture-parasitism. The Negro in America was the expression of Culture-parasitism despite **economic** utility.

The first result of the presence of such a Culture-parasitic body is known. He displaced unborn white men in America. By performing part of the life task, he made unborn millions unnecessary, and therefore this great mass of Africans has reduced the population of America by ten per cent, for at the present moment—1948—the African makes up 14,000,000 out of a total of 140,000,000. The fashionable, materialistic way of explaining this displacement in America is to say that white people will not bring children into the world to compete economically with the blacks and their lower living-standard. Naturally economic obsession explains everything economically, but the facts of population

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trends show that the population of an organic unity follows a life-path that may even be described mathematically. It is entirely independent of immigration, of the wishes of individuals, and of non-organic explanations given for it. The displacement is Cultural, i.e., total, and is not to be fully explained by economics.

The Colonial mentality, more thoroughly disintegrated by the Rationalist crisis, has been able to oppose no effective defence to the increasing displacement of the white population, the vehicle of America's attachment to the West, by the African. With equal inability either to comprehend, or to oppose, America has not resisted while the rear-guard of the Arabian Culture, which was strewn throughout the West even at its Cultural origins, has assumed larger numerical proportions and a vastly larger role than it ever had in Europe.

Beginning around 1880, the Jews embarked upon what Hilaire Belloc aptly termed an invasion of the United States. The numbers alone would justify the figure. While they cannot be exactly given, because of the fact that American immigration statistics reflect only legal origins, i.e., nation of legal allegiance, nevertheless they can be approximated from a study of current American population figures, and study of the Jewish birth-rate. How typical this is, of the total incongruence between two difference Cultures, that a mass movement of the members of one can occur within the other Culture, and leave no statistical trace. The immigrant was asked where he was born. This was determining of everything for 19th century materialism. It was supposed to fix his language, which then was supposed to govern his nationality. And nationality was supposed to preordain

everything else. Such things as petrifacts of dead Cultures—India, China, Islam, Jewry—were regarded as “nations” in the Western sense of the word. In form, Rationalism was definitely a religion, but a bloodless, materialistic caricature of true religion. Religion is properly directed toward the great, higher, things of man’s spirituality, but Rationalism tried to turn things like economics, State, society, nation, into the object of its own religious concern.

America began its independent political existence as a creature of Rationalism. Its politicians agreed to the proposition—externally—that “all men are created equal,” and even said this was “self-evident.” To call it self-evident, and thus dispense with proof, was easier, and perhaps wiser, than to prove it. Proof would have spoiled what is actually a tenet of a Faith, and thus above Reason. The religion of Rationalism dominated America in a way that it was never able to dominate Europe. Europe always had resistance against Rationalism—based on Tradition until the middle of the 19th century, and after that based on anticipation of the coming anti-rationalist spirit of the 20th century—as exemplified in Carlyle and Nietzsche. But America did not possess the first because it had no tradition, and had not the second, because Cultural impulses and Culture-forwarding phenomena come from the Mother-soil and are thence radiated outward, as the Rationalistic religion of America came from England, through France.

America acquired even its section of Jewry from Europe, whence it had acquired its materialistic philosophy, to both of which it succumbed. This was no coincidence. The word spread rapidly through the

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Jewish population of Europe that anti-semitism was less of a threat in America, and that other opportunities, such as the economic, were equal to those Europe offered to the Jew. This was perfectly sound, and was a tribute to the collective Jewish instinct. America did undoubtedly represent in the late 19th century a country with the greatest possibilities for the Jew. From 1880 to 1950, approximately—remember, no **exact** figures exist—five to seven million Jews arrived in America. They came mostly from the Eastern, or Askkenazic, section of Jewry.

At the present time, the Jews in America number approximately eight to twelve millions. An exact figure cannot be given, because the number is not reflected in any statistics, but must be approximated from religious statistics and study of the birth-rate. At any rate, it is a considerable number, and displaces its own number of Americans from existence. The American writer, Madison Grant, in 1916, described how the American of the old stock was being driven off the streets of New York City by the swarms of Jews. He calls them "Polish" Jews, as the older custom was to give the Jews a Western nationality. Westerners thus used to differentiate between English Jews, German Jews, and so forth. It was a compulsion of the Western Civilization at that stage to see all other people outside the Civilization in its own image.

America, as the country most completely disintegrated by Rationalism, exhibited the least understanding of the nature of the Jew, while there were always some people in Europe—for instance, Carlyle—even during the 19th century who realized the total, and not merely politi-

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cal, alienness of the Jew. But in America, with its complete lack of tradition, there were no Carlyles, no de Lagardes. Thus America decided, in the middle of the 19th century, that a Chinaman born in the United States thereby acquired exactly the same American citizenship as the white native population of European derivation. Characteristically, the decision was not made in a responsible fashion, but as the result of a lawsuit. This was in pursuance of an American custom of deciding political questions in a pseudo-legal form. Obviously a regime which did not differentiate between Chinese and native American would oppose no political barrier to the Jew. And so, by 1928, the French writer on historical and world-political topics, Andre Siegfried, could say that New York City had a semitic countenance. By the middle of the 20th century, this development had gone further, and New York City, the largest city in America, perhaps in the world, was almost half Jewish in population.

VI

America, with its total lack of spiritual resistance, springing from the inherent **soul-weakness** of a Colony, became the host to other large Culturally-parasitic groups. The period of dense immigration which had begun before the turn of the 20th century, and in which the Jews came, brought in also many millions of Balkan Slavs. Between 1900 and 1915 alone, 15,000,000 immigrants came to America from Asia, Africa and Europe. They came mostly from Russia, the Levant, and the Balkan countries. From the Western Civilization came a fair number of Italians, but the rest of the human

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material was from outside the West. These millions, by their very numbers, created phenomena of Culture-parasitism. On the edge of each group, individuals passed into the American feeling, but the groups continued to exist **as such**. This was shown by the existence of a newspaper-press for each group in its own language, unity of the groups for political purposes, geographical centralization of the various groups, and social exclusiveness of the groups.

In examining the nature of race, we saw that Slavs could be, and have been, assimilated by European Culture-populations. Two features distinguish the American relationship to the Slav, and explain why the Slavs have retained their group existence, even though surrounded by an American population under the influence of Western Civilization. First, the fact of its **colonial** style of existence meant that America could not transmit to entering populations the forceful impress of the Cultural idea that the Western nations on the Mother-soil could. Secondly, the enormous masses, numbering many millions, created, by their mere **bulk** a pathological condition in the American organism. Even if these millions had been of Western antecedents, such as French, or Spanish, they would have created a **politically** parasitic group. Naturally such a group would have dissolved eventually, but in the process it would have had a distorting effect on policy in America. Slavic groups, on the other hand, in masses of millions, whose leaders are allowed facilities of welding the group into a firm unity, will only slowly, if ever, dissolve into the American host population, under such conditions.

America has other smaller parasitic groups, each of

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which displaces unborn Americans, and calls forth the unfortunate displays of hatred and bitterness which waste and twist the superpersonal life. There is a Japanese group, various Levantine groups, and the Russian group.

Superficially it might seem that the case of America militates against the 20th century view of Race, set forth above, but actually it does not. The American example is no criterion for Europe, for being a colony, it is an area of low Cultural sensitivity, with correspondingly less Cultural force and assimilative power. In other words, its power of **adaptation** is slighter than that of the Mother-soil.

The case of America is not a case of assimilating too much—it is a case of not assimilating enough. Alien groups—whether merely politically alien, such as a Western group in another Western nation, or totally alien, like the Jew in a Western host—are parasitic only so long as they are groups. When they dissolve, the totality of the assimilating population has increased. The fact that this has come from immigration rather than from increase by birth-surpluses of the native population is not important. The mere fact that they could assimilate shows that they were not alien in a parasitic sense.

Nor must this be ignored in examining Culture-parasitism in America: this American population during the 19th century assimilated many millions of Germans, Irish, English and Scandinavians into its own bloodstream. The 20th century immigration did not come mainly from these European countries, but to the extent that it did, complete assimilation occurred. In the case

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of the **immigrant** Germans and Irish, the Yankee armies in the War of Secession employed them in great numbers, and with good success—what never could have been done with Culturally alien groups, e.g., Jews, or Slavs.

America has been called a melting-pot. This it is not, for the massive groups of Culturally-alien provenance have not “melted,” but have remained distinct. Groups not Culturally alien **have** assimilated at once—which means, in one generation—and thus the 20th century view of Race applies also to the facts of the American scene.

These unassimilated groups in America comprise between 1/3 and 1/2 of the population of America. The Slavic groups are apparently slowly being assimilated, but even if they disappeared entirely, the remaining Culturally-parasitic groups would comprise a pathological condition of the utmost seriousness for America.

The old-fashioned view of vertical racism can derive no instruction from the case of America, for what we see there is not the **mixture** of races, but their **non-mixture**. All of the parasitic groups have been torn loose from old landscapes, but have no new spiritual connections. Only the landless Jew, who carries Nation, Church, State, People, Race and Culture within him, has preserved his ancient roots.

The phenomenon of Culture-parasitism, even though divorced from ethics, is not outside the realm of policy. It does no good whatever to talk about Culturally alien groups in terms of praise and blame, hatred or “tolerance.”

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Wars, riots, massacres, destruction, the entire waste of senseless domestic conflict—all the phenomena which inevitably rise when a host entertains a Culture-parasite, remain as long as the pathological condition lasts.

Culture-parasitism, by calling forth resistant phenomena, has a doubly injurious effect on the body of the Culture and its nations. A fever is a sign of resistance to a disease in a human, but this does not confer a positive health-value on the fever. Its sole value is negative, and the fever itself is a part of the disease, even though the saving part. Resistant phenomena like the anti-Japaneseism and anti-semitism and anti-Negroism of America are as undesirable as the conditions they are combating. Similarly, European anti-semitism has no positive value and moreover it can, if exaggerated, easily develop into another type of Culture-pathology, that aggravated condition which may proceed also from Culture-parasitism under certain conditions, namely, Culture-distortion.

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The mighty destiny of a High Culture has the same power over the Culture organism as the plant-destiny over the plant, the human-destiny over a human being. This power, vast and inwardly undeniable though it be, nevertheless is not absolute. It is organic, and an organism is a relationship of an **inner** to an **outer**, a microcosm to a macrocosm. While no inner force can prevail against the destiny of the organism, outer forces sometimes can—on all planes of Life—bring about disease and death of the organism. The micro-organisms that penetrate into the body of a man bring about illness by reason of the fact that their life-conditions are entirely different from those of the man. Their welfare means his doom. They are an **outer** force, even though they are working from the **inside** of the human organism. **Outer** is thus seen to be a spiritual, and not a spatial term. That is outside which has separate existence, no matter it may happen to be physically. Everything with one Destiny is one; anything with another Destiny is other. It is not geography which determines, but spirituality. In war a traitor within the fortress may be as valuable to the besieging army as half of its numbers. He is outer, even though he is within.

Life is the process of actualizing the possible. But Life is multiform, and organisms, by actualizing their own possibilities, destroy other organisms. Animals devour plants, plants destroy one another, human beings lay waste entire species and slaughter millions of animals. High Cultures by their existence evoke negative impulses from outside populations. Those who do not

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share this Culture – feeling, which confers such unquestioned superiority on its possessors, instinctively determine to annihilate it. The more powerful the pressure of the High Culture on the outer populations, the more nihilistic is the negative feeling which forms in the under-populations. The more extensive the Culture-expansion geographically, the wider is spread through the world the external will-to-annihilate among the extra-Cultural peoples. Life forms are hostile to one another; the fulfilment of one is the demise of a thousand others. This is another way of saying that Life is war.

A High Culture is no exception to this great Life-regularity. Its existence destroys other forms, and on the other hand, throughout its entire existence, it is engaged in an existential battle against the outsider. On this high plane of contemplation, the attempt to distinguish between offensive and defensive, aggressive and resisting, is seen clearly to be nonsense. It is a pseudo-legal trick of Rationalist conjurers, lost in hyper-intellectualism, and hostile to Life. Defence is aggression, aggression is defence. The question of who strikes first in a war is on the same level as who strikes first in a boxing contest. The 20th century leaves all this cant, stupidity, hypocrisy, and legalistic legerdemain behind it as it strides forward to a century of warfare, the most powerful and unrelenting of all wars hitherto.

But as it faces its most trying period, the period that will demand every fibre of its spiritual reserves, and every atom of its physical resources—it is gravely ill. It is suffering from Culture-distortion.

Culture-distortion is the condition in which outer life-

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forms are warping the Culture from its true Life-path. Just as a human illness may render a man hors de combat so may a Culture illness, and this is precisely what happened to the West, after the turn of the 20th century. Culture-distortion must be clearly understood by the Western Civilization.

It has already been seen that the word **outer** does not have a geographic meaning when used in the domain of the organic. The phenomenon of Culture-distortion is the result of outer forces at work **within** the body of the Culture, participating in its public life and policy, directing its energies on to problems that have no relation to its inner task, turning its forces, physical and spiritual, onto alien problems.

A moment's thought shows the impossibility of such a Culture-illness arising during the time of the strict Culture, before the turn to Civilization. During those days, the forms of the Culture—in all directions of Life—were so highly developed that they not only required highly gifted souls to master them, but they mastered these souls in the same process. No European thinker, artist, or man of action, could, in the 17th century, have tried to focus European energy on to Asiatic thought, art, or action-forms. Such a thing might have existed as an imaginative possibility, but it is doubtful whether it was possible in actuality. At any rate, it did not occur for 800 years in the West, except in its rudimentary beginnings. We cannot see Cromwell, Oxenstierna, or Oldenbarneveldt concerning himself with the restoration of the Abassid dynasty in Asia Minor, or the driving out of the usurping Manchus from the ruins of the Chinese petrifact. But if a European statesman had successfully

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directed Western energy into such a totally alien, sterile enterprise, it would have been Culture-distortion. If an artist had managed to turn Western oil-painting into the style of Egyptian linear painting, or of Classical sculpture, that would also have been Culture-distortion. Future volumes of Western history-philosophy in the 20th and 21st centuries will trace out fully the superficially distorting effects in architecture, literature, and economic theorizing, of the Classicist mania introduced by Wincklemann in the 18th century.

They will also list the innumerable distortions arising from Culture-parasitism, during the Rationalist period 1750-1950, of the various life-aspects of the West, artistic, religious, philosophical, scientific, and in the realm of action. This work is concerned with action, and directs itself mainly to the phenomena of distortion of the Present and the immediate Future, that is the next hundred years.

In the presentation of the articulation of a High Culture, it was seen that not all of the population in the Culture area is available to the Idea. This is quite exclusive of parasitic phenomena. The higher, psychically more sensitive stratum which bears the Culture-Idea, and translates it into progressive actuality, is completely available to the Idea, but the availability is progressively less as one moves downward in the body of the Culture. Downward means, of course, not economically or socially, but spiritually. Thus a man from the lowest possible spiritual stratum may be found in a high position, like the monster Marat. Such individuals belong to no other Culture, even a dead one of the past, and apparently are members of the Culture,

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but in their souls they wish to destroy all formative Life. Their motives do not matter, for their orientation is obvious.

Such individuals—who make up a whole, large stratum during these centuries—are simply below the Culture. They are only physically within the body of the Culture. They expressed themselves in England in the phenomena of the order of Wat Tyler's Rebellion and Jack Cade's Rebellion; in the 16th century Peasant's Wars in Germany; in the French Terror of 1793, the Commune of 1871. When Germany existed as a 19th century nation, this stratum below the Culture was known as *der deutsche Michel*. Phenomena of this type must not be confused with Culture-parasitism. Things like the Michel element—which exists all through Europe, and not alone in the former German nation—are simply below, but they are not per se alien. They are an organic part of every Culture, but parasitism occurs only fortuitously, and not with necessity. The Michel element of a Culture is not a pathology, and is not a Cultural menace in itself. Its sole danger is that it is serviceable to the will-to-annihilate, whether this springs up autopathically, as in Liberalism, democracy, Communism, or exopathically as in the case of the extra-European forces which brought about, during the Age of World Wars, the nadir of the Western Civilization.

In that very situation, the European Michel showed its potentialities for destruction. One section of it worshipped the primitivity of Russian vandalism, the other the spiritually-putrefying disease of Hollywoodism. It was solely by virtue of this European Michel-stratum that the extra-European forces were able to split Europe

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between them, physically and spiritually. This European Michel, with its attachment to the formless, brought Europe down before the Barbarian and the distorter. In its supreme hatred of grandeur and creativeness, it even allowed itself to be formed into military movements within Europe to sabotage Europe and work for the military victory of the barbarian during the Second World War.

After the War, it learned that its fate was after all bound up with the creative forces of the Culture, for this element was starved, frozen, and looted along with the collective body of Europe in the gruesome aftermath of the victory of the barbarians and distorters.

II

The Destiny of a living organism must not be confused with the entirely opposite idea of predestination. The latter is a **causal** idea, both in its religious form of Calvinism, or in its materialist form of mechanism and determinism. Destiny is not **causal**, but **organic**, necessity. Causality is a form of thought, but Destiny is the form of the living. Causality claims absolute necessity, but Destiny is only **inner** necessity, and every child who is accidentally killed at play shows that Destiny is subject to outer Incident. Destiny merely says: if it is to be, it will be this way, and no other. Every man is destined to grow old, but many will not fulfil this destiny. Let no one claim to understand the Destiny-idea if he regards it as a sort of hidden causality, a form of predestination.

At the beginning of this treatment of the subject of Cultural Vitalism, it was said that if the extra-Cultural

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forces had succeeded after the Second World War in destroying the entire Culture-bearing stratum of Europe, this stratum would have once again been present in thirty to sixty years. The statement was of course, hypothetical, for this did not occur. The mere fact that someone is writing and someone is reading this is proof that they did not succeed.

The basis of that statement was the tremendous, ever-youthful, vigour of a High Culture. The West has a Future, and this Future must be **inwardly** fulfilled. Inwardly is distinguished from outwardly, for whether or not the West fulfils its outward potentialities is as much a matter of Incident as it is of Destiny.

The inner Future of the West contains many necessary developments, such as the Rebirth of Religion, the attainment of new heights in technics and chemistry, perfection of legal and administrative thinking, and others. These could all be fulfilled under a permanent occupation by barbarians from other continents. The grandest, mightiest side of Life, that of action, of war and politics, would express itself in such a regime in inexorable, continuing, bitter revolt against the Barbarian. Instead of planting the flag of the West at the antipodes, it would be reduced to trying to free the sacred soil of the West from the heel of the primitive. It was therefore no causal-predestination thought when it was said that the Culture-bearing stratum would reconstitute itself even though every one of its contemporary members were entirely wiped out by scaffold-trials.

Contained in that statement was this: either the West will fulfil its tremendous, world-embracing Destiny of

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unlimited, Absolute Imperialism, or else—all this energy will go into warfare on European soil against the alien, and whatever European elements he finds serviceable to him. As is true of all wars, hatred is dissociated from the necessity of this process. Wars do not come from hatred, but from organic rhythms. The choice is not between War and Peace, but between a Culture-forwarding war, or a Culture-distorting war.

If Europe remains under the outer forces, they will be sending their soldiers into a graveyard, for the might of the West is not to be annulled by a mountain of propaganda, mass-armies of occupying "soldiers," nor by millions of traitors in the Michel stratum. For two centuries the streams of blood will flow, irrespective of the wish of any human being. It is the nature of super-personal organisms to express their possibilities. If it cannot be done in one way, it will be done in another. This idea conscripts men, and it discharges them only by their individual deaths. It has no legal hold on them, no formal allegiance, no threat of court-martial: its claim on them is **total**. It is a **selective** conscription: the higher a man's gifts, the stronger is the bond which the Idea lays on him. What have the barbarians and distorters to oppose **this**? Against their murderous Russian slaves, their savage Negroes, their hapless, go-home conscripts from North America, Europe pits its unconquerable super-personal superiority. Europe stands at the **beginning** of a world-historical process; the end is not in sight. When—or even whether—complete success will come is not visible. Perhaps before it is over, the outer forces will have mobilized the swarming, pullulating masses of China and India against the body of the

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Western Civilization. This kind of thing does not affect the continuation of the conflict, but only its size.

It is **absolutely necessary** to the continuance of the subjugation of Europe that the outsiders have large numbers—whole societies, groups, strata, remnants of dead 19th century nations—of domestic European populations available for their purposes. Against a united Europe, they could never have made their way in, and only against a divided Europe can they maintain themselves. Split! divide! distinguish!—this is the technique of conquest. Resurrect old ideas, old slogans, now quite dead, in the battle to turn European against European. But work always with the weak, Culture-less stratum against the strong bearers and appreciators of Culture. These must be " tried " and hanged.

This availability of the under-strata of the Culture to outside forces is one type, and the most dangerous, of that form of Culture-pathology called Culture-distortion. It is closely related however to another type called Culture-retardation.

CULTURE RETARDATION AS A FORM OF CULTURE DISTORTION

In the study of the articulation of a Culture, the ceaseless battle between Tradition and Innovation appeared. This is normal and accompanies the Culture from the feudal union to Caesarism, from Gothic cathedral to skyscraper, from Anselm to the philosopher of this age, from Schütz to Wagner. The unending struggle takes place within the form of the Culture and is thus not a disease-form, for even the conflict itself in each case is strictly cast in the Culture-mould. It occurred to no one during the period 1000-1800 when engaged in a battle against another Western idea that he must prevent it from realization even at the cost of destruction of the Culture. To be specific, no European power and no European statesman would have delivered all Europe to the Barbarian merely in order to defeat another power or statesman. On the contrary, when the Barbarian appeared at the gates, all Europe opposed him, as it finally united against the Turk at the moment of greatest danger. After the defeat of the European army at Nicopolis at the turn of the 15th century, the Osmanli Sultan Bayazid swore an oath that he would not rest until he had turned St. Peter's into a stable for his horse. At that period of Western history that was not to be. This total domination of the West by the outer forces of annihilation had to wait until almost the middle of the 20th century.

It only came about because certain elements in the West preferred to ruin all Europe rather than allow Europe to pass into the next Cultural stage, the Resurgence of Authority.

Any such historical phenomenon as this does not

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appear in a moment. The beginnings of this terrible division of the West are found in the origins of Rationalism. Even in the Wars of the Austrian Succession, there is a new ferocity which presaged the coming split. In that war, the Allies actually planned completely to partition the territory of the Culture-nation of Prussia. Participating were to be Sweden, Austria, France—and **Russia**. It is true that during the Romanov regime, from the 17th to the 20th centuries, Russia figured as a State and Nation of the Western style. Nevertheless, there were open misgivings on both sides, and there was a difference between partitioning of Asiatic border-land like Poland between Western powers and Russia, and the sharing of the Mother-soil of Europe with Russia.

In the battle of the Dynasts and Traditionalists against Napoleon, the tendency went further, and in 1815 at the Vienna Congress, the Tsar with his troops occupying half Europe—a fact of which he frequently reminded the European monarchs—was able to pose as the **saviour of the West**. Thus the Fürstenbund and England were actually on the verge of the Culturally pathological when they pushed their battle against a Western sovereign, Napoleon, to the point where they admitted Russian troops to European capitals. It is however quite certain that the Western veneration of Russia was determining in the matter: the Fürstenbund and Pitt's England would not have admitted a nihilistic Russia or the Turk to Europe as a means of defeating Napoleon and therewith themselves.

But the tendency did not stop there—in the First World War, between the two European nations, both in 19th century style, England and Germany, England again

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embraced Russia as an ally, and painted the Romanov despotism as a "democracy" before Europe and America. Fortunately for the West there was a counter-tendency, and when the Bolshevik started his westward march after the war, he was thrown back by a Western coalition before Warsaw in 1920. In the armies against Bolshevism were Germans, French, English, but yesterday enemies, to-day united against the barbarian. Even the Americans sent two expeditions against the Bolshevik, one to Archangel, and one to Eastern Siberia.

During the period of preparation of the Second World War, 1919-1939, it appeared at several moments as though the coming war could take the form of a struggle by certain of the powers of the West—for the West was still divided at that time into a collection of tiny States—against Russia, while other of these petty States would remain neutral, giving economic assistance. Such a moment occurred in June, 1936, when the leading four among these petty States signed a protocol embodying a general understanding among themselves. This protocol was never ratified. No less than **twenty** separate efforts were made between 1933 and 1939 by the bearers of the 20th century Idea to effect a general understanding with those of the petty States still in the grip of the 19th century Idea, which was already by then manifesting rigor mortis. Naturally, the leading elements of the Culture-bearing stratum in these latter petty States were in contact with the new Idea, but certain elements were opposed by reason of their spiritual insensitivity, their materialistic shallowness, their negativistic jealousy, their firm roots in the Past, and—to put the most important reason last—by reason of their

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material interests in the perpetuation of the 19th century type of international and domestic economy, from which they alone were profiting, and from which the entire Western Civilisation was suffering.

These latter elements decided to allow the division of Europe between Asia and America rather than to embrace the Future of the West.

When the struggle between Tradition and Innovation, the Old and the New, natural and normal in every Culture, reaches this **degree**, it is Culture-pathology. This form of Culture-pathology is definable by the intensity of the hatred of the Future of the Culture it shows. It reaches the point of self-destruction rather than giving up the rigid Past to the vigorous Future. When the conservative elements come to hate the creative elements so intensely that they will do **anything** to encompass their military defeat, including self-destruction, it becomes Culture-treason, and is classified as an acute form of Culture-pathology.

The hall-mark of this Culture-disease is solely the question of degree. Every new Idea in the Culture has been opposed—in architecture, music, literature, economics, war, and statecraft. But until this horrible outbreak of Culture-sickness in the 20th century, the opposition to the creative had never attained to a totality that can only be adequately described as maniacal.

Culture-pathological also was the base and servile truckling throughout the Second World War of this sub-Western element to the parasitic forces and barbarian forces to which it had voluntarily submitted in its hatred of Europe and its Future. With unforgettable

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dishonour it threw millions of Western soldiers to the Russian savages, to disappear forever into the unmarked graves of Siberia. This Michel element co-operated with and aided the Barbarian enthusiastically, and naively gave him all its secrets, but this same Barbarian accepted all the aid without thanks and returned for it suspicion, sabotage, and hatred.

The Michel element of the West went down with the defeat of the West and its passing under the Barbarian and the distorter. The pathology of Culture-retardation had in this case tragic consequences for the representatives of the Past as well as for those of the Future. Actually they are more tragic, for in the battle of the Past against the Future, the Past is doomed. Eventually the Idea of the Future will triumph inwardly even if its external Destiny is frustrated. Mechanism in politics will give way to the Future just as mechanism in biology has long since yielded. The idea of individuals having power over the gigantic economies of superpersonal organisms is doomed, and this is one of the things the sub-Western, Future-hating elements wished to save for themselves. Materialism, their world-outlook, has given way almost everywhere in the West to historical scepticism, which will make way for mysticism and the Rebirth of Religion. The most they have salvaged from the general destruction is an accumulation of small personal advantages for themselves. To show their appreciation, the Barbarian and the distorter have appointed them their deputies in Europe. How symbolic it was that the puppets who were placed in the formerly important positions in Europe after the Second World War were old men! They were even old biologically

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speaking, but spiritually they were two centuries old, rooted in the dead parliamentaristic past. It did not matter to the new rulers of Europe that these superannuated appointees lacked vigour and creativeness—that is in fact precisely why they were chosen. Anyone with vigour of any sort was carefully scrutinized by the new rulers. Lethargy coupled with oratory was preferred to the will-to-accomplishment sans the stream of 19th century patriotic verbiage.

This is the result of Culture-Retardation. Without it, the outer forces could never have succeeded in grinding the flower of Western Culture under the heel of their primitivity and stupidity. It played, however, only a subordinate role. The study of pathology of other organic life-forms, plant, animal, and human, offer numerous examples of simultaneity of disease, in which the damage done by one promotes the spread of another. The simultaneity of pneumonia and tuberculosis in the human organism is but one case. The more serious disease which was running its course contemporaneously with the Culture-retardation illness, and which was promoted by the latter condition was an aggravation of Culture-parasitism, which becomes Culture-distorting when the parasite takes an active part in the life of the Culture.

CULTURE DISTORTION ARISING FROM PARASITIC ACTIVITY

The elementary effects on the Culture-body of Culture-parasitism have already been seen: reduction of the Culture-population by displacement, loss of Culture-energy in friction. These effects arise from the mere **existence** of the parasite, however passive it may be. Far more deadly to the healthy realization of the Culture is the mingling in the Cultural life of parasitic elements, the **activity** of the Culture-parasite, his participation in creation and formation of Culture-tasks, ideas, and policy. The activity of the parasite generates at a higher level of intensity the repetition of the frictional phenomena which accompany the passive presence of the parasite. In California, every accretion of economic strength, every public display of collective energy on the part of the Chinese called forth new outbreaks of anti-Chinese activity among the Americans. The same applied to the Japanese group. The worst riots have been those attendant on the progressive advance of the Negro into American public life. As long as the Negro was passive, there was a minimum of bitterness between the races. The year 1865 marked the beginning of a transition from passivity of the Negro to his activity. It was naturally not spontaneous; white Rationalist elements, Liberals, "tolerance" enthusiasts, Communists, created the movement to ignore the distinction between the races, and under their direction it grew to dimensions where recurrent race riots caused temporary cessation of public life in the largest cities of America. Tulsa, Beaumont, Jersey City, Chicago, Detroit, New York—these are only a few of the scenes of mass riots during the past quarter of a century. Each riot is preceded by a deluge of

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“tolerance” propaganda and sentimentalizing, and afterwards a public investigation is held which decides that the cause was lack of “tolerance” and “education.”

During the American occupation of England, 1942-1946, several large race battles occurred, with both sides using automatic weapons, between American troops and Negro troops, both of whom were there on a mission against England and Europe. The limited utility of Culturally-parasitic groups for purposes of military conscription is shown by this example. Actually, these Negro troops were a part of an American command engaged in the destruction of Europe, but a slight social incident in a public-house was enough to cause a flaming-up of the racial hatred developed by the sharing of the same life by parasite and host. Troops from parasitic groups have little value if they are always two steps away from a race riot, and the Rationalists and Liberals discovered this by experimentation, rather than by looking at the chronicles of 5,000 years of the history of High Cultures. These Negro troops showed their willingness to destroy America as well as Europe. These examples of heightened tension between host and parasite are but the simpler form of the disease of Culture-distortion arising from parasitic activity. They differ only in degree from the resistance to Culture-parasitism. Much more serious is that form in which the parasite moves squarely into the public life of the Culture, or the Culture-nations, and directs their policy into his own channels. Neither in America nor in South Africa has the Negro attained to this significance. Nor yet have the Japanese, Chinese, Levantine, or Indian groups in America.

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One group, however, has brought about a major Culture-distortion throughout the entire Western Civilization and its colonies on every continent, and that is the rear-guard in the West of the fulfilled Arabian Culture, the Church-State-Nation-People-Race of the Jew.

From the Arabian Culture, which was inwardly fulfilled by about 1100 A.D., the Jew derived his world-outlook, his religion, State-form, Nation-Idea, People-feeling, and unity. From the West however he has derived his race and his Life-mission. We saw the developing of this race in the ghetto-existence during the first 800 years of our Western Culture. As Rationalism became more articulate—from 1750 on—and the Jew sensed the wider possibilities for him of the new Life-phase of the West, he began to agitate against the ghetto which he had created for himself in the early days as symbol of his unity, spiritual and physical. This race had a different **ideal type** from the Western, and this influenced the material which passed into the collective blood-stream of the ghetto-race. In the middle of the 20th century one sees Jews with Nordic pigmentation, but the racial purity has adapted the new material to the old racial look. To 19th century vertical racism, these phenomena were uncanny, but the 20th century has seen the primacy of the spiritual in race-formation. When it is said, therefore, that the Jew derived his race from the West, it is not meant that he drew entirely on the stock of the Western peoples to recruit his own—although this did, and does, go on to some extent—but that by serving, through its own Cultural imperative, as a totally alien mass around the

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Jew, the West prevented the dilution and disappearance of the Jewish unity.

For, it must be said, that while contact with the foreign is harmful to an organism when the foreign is **within** the organism, it is the opposite when the foreign is **without**—such contact strengthens the organism. That generates war, and war is strengthening to an organism. The Crusades, the birth-cry of the West, made the new organism firm, proved its viability. The wars of Castile and Aragon war against the Barbarian gave Spain the inner strength to bear its grand Ultramontane mission. England's victories on colonial battlefields all over the world gave it the compelling sense of a mission. Rome's wars in its national infancy gave it the inner firmness which enabled it to undertake the Punic Wars which gave it mastery of the Classical Civilization at last.

Thus it is obvious that the mutual contact of the West and the Jew had an opposite signification for the two organisms. To the Jew, it was a source of strength, and informing; to the West it was a drain of strength, and deforming. The Jew was within the West, but the West was not within him. Persecution **strengthens**, if it stops short of extermination. The quotation which stands at the beginning of this work is as true for the West now as it was for the Jew in the early days.

When the subject of persecution is touched upon, the source of the Life-mission of the Jew has been named. A millennium of massacres, robbery, cheating, burning, insults, mistreatment, expulsions, exploitation—these were the gift of the West to the Jew. They not only strengthened him, made him race-hard, but gave him a mission, the mission of revenge and destruction. The

Western peoples and monarchs were storing up explosives in the soul of the alien in their midst.

The great organic regularity of war governs Life: even primitive tribes in Africa engage in war, when they have, as far as a Culture-people can see, nothing whatever to fight about. The appearance of a High Culture on the earth, and the concentration of power which its high organization and articulation give to it, bring about in the human surroundings a **counter-will** to destroy, balancing the will-to-create of the High Culture. In Life, not-to-belong is the same as to oppose. The opposition may be in abeyance long or forever because of other, stronger oppositions, but it remains, latent and potential. The contact of two superpersonal organisms can only engender opposition and war. The West and the Jewish organism were engaged during the millennium of their contact in constant, unremitting war. It was not the warfare of the battlefield, of the clash of ships-of-the-line, but a different form of war.

The total alien-ness of the Jew made him **politically invisible** to the West. It did not regard him as a nation, for he had no dynasty, no territory. He spoke the prevailing language of whatever landscape he was in. He had no visible State in the Western style. It seemed that Jewry was simply a religion, and as such not a political unit, for even in the Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648, religion played a subordinate role to dynastic politics, and Fronde politics. Therefore, even though the West itself had given the Jew his political mission of revenge and destruction, it could not see him as a political unit.

And so the war between the Western Culture and the

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Jew was a subterranean one. The Jew could not emerge in his unity and fight the West openly, for the reason of the odds involved. The West would at once have united against an open Jewish attack, and destroyed him utterly. The Jew had perforce to carry on his politics by the method of penetrating the conflicts among Western forces, ideas, States, and trying to influence the outcome in his favour. He favoured always the side pointing toward materialism, triumph of economics, opposition to absolutism, opposition to the religious unity of the West, freedom of trade and usury.

The tactics of this Jewish warfare was employment of money. His dispersion, his materialism, his finished cosmopolitanism, all precluded him from taking part in the heroic form of combat on the field, and he was thus confined to the war of lending, or refusing to lend, of bribing, of gaining legally enforceable power over important individuals. Since the early days when the Western Popes had forbade Christians to take interest, the Jew had enjoyed a favoured economic position. Cromwell brought them back to England when he decided there was "not enough money in the land." Theirs were the largest banking houses in the West in the 17th century. The Bank of England itself was founded on concessions granted to Ali-ben-Israel by Cromwell. This bank proceeded to give $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on deposits, and re-lent to the Government at 8 per cent.

This tactic had not been freely available to him before the middle of the millennium. Scholastic philosophy, the laws of the Church, the Spirit of the Age, the power of the feudal barons to rob him—all were against the Jew. St. Thomas Aquinas, for instance,

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in the 13th century, taught that trade was to be despised, as being the creature of desire for gain, which tends to become measureless, that the taking of interest was injustice, that the Jews should be deprived of the money they had taken through usury, and forced to work and give up their lust for gain. Various Popes directed bulls against the economic practices, the materialism, the rising influence, of the Jew.

But the Soul of the West itself was slowly externalizing. The decisive turning-point of 1789 was prepared for by centuries of slow changes. The old inwardness of the West, which gave to the feudal centuries their self-evident spiritual cohesion, gradually was undermined by new conflicts, especially those of town versus country, of trade-nobility versus land-nobility, of materialism against the spirit of religion. The Reformation was a schism in the whole soul of the West. In it appeared as a symbol of the coming triumph of materialism the system of Calvinism. Calvin taught the sanctity of economic activity; he sanctioned usury; he interpreted wealth as a sign of Election to salvation. This spirit was abroad; Henry VIII legalized usury in England in 1545. The old Western doctrine of the sinfulness of usury was rejected.

This represented liberation for the Jew, accessibility to power, even if disguised, invisible power. In the Reformation time, the Jew was found everywhere fighting against the Church, and, as between Luther and Calvin, supporting Calvin, for Luther also rejected usury. The victory of Puritanism in England, an adaptation of Calvinism, gave the Jew favourable conditions. The Puritan writer Baxter even recognized a religious **duty**

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to choose the more gainful of two economic choices. To choose the less gainful was to disregard the will of God. This atmosphere protected and increased the Jew in his possessions, so that none of the old robbery by monarchs and barons could occur again.

II

From the beginning of the 17th century, an under-current appears in Western history, a twist, a distortion. It had its greatest effect in England, and there in the economic life. Many of the most rapacious aspects of the ascendancy of usury and finance-capitalism were not English at all, but ascribable to the rising influence of the Jew. Again, these effects do not redound to the **blame** of the Jew. The religious side of the Jewish unity permitted the taking of interest, and prescribed a different ethic as between Jews and goyim from that between Jews. It was meritorious according to the religion of the Jew to inflict injury on the goy. This religious tenet might have remained a dead letter, but for the life-mission of the Jew, whose formation in the centuries of persecution has been seen. The Jew was merely being himself, but his influence was not Western, and was a **distortion** of Western Culture. Even in the 19th century, after this sanctification of greed had been firmly established, Carlyle, a high representative of the Western soul, cried out in horror at the spectacle of universal thievery and throat-cutting with cunning economico-legal weapons, at the utter lack of social conscience which sacrificed whole strata of nations to want and misery.

The distorting effects of the presence of the Jew on

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Western economic life from the very beginning have been comprehensively set forth by the outstanding European economic thinker Werner Sombart in his work on the Jews and Modern Capitalism. After the awakening within the Western soul of a stronger interest in the material world, the Jew became more secure, more indispensable, and more powerful. Even if he had wished to go into callings other than usury, they were closed to him, for the Western guilds admitted only Christians. His original economic superiority was thus maintained, and highly-placed Westerners in many cases became dependant on him. They in turn could not attack him, for the new commercial laws, reflecting the growing spirit of trade, protected him in his possessions, his bonds, and his contracts. The story of Shylock shows the dual picture of the Jew—socially cringing on the Rialto, but emerging as a lion in the court-room. It was the West that cast him into these two roles. It expected him to play a purely subordinate part, and at the same time it gave him a path to a leading part.

The more materialistic the Culture became, the more it approached the Jew, and the greater was his advantage. The West gradually abandoned its exclusiveness, but he retained his, invisible to the West.

The epoch is the appearance of Rationalism, the radical affirmation of Materialism. Around 1750, the new ideas are ascendant in the West: "freedom," "humanity," Deism, opposition to religion and to absolutism, "democracy," enthusiasm for "the people," belief in the goodness of human nature, "Return to Nature." Reason challenges tradition, and slowly the

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old, highly-refined Western structures of thought and statecraft go down. Lessing, in this period, put the Jew into a leading role in his play *Nathan der Weise*, what a century before would have been ridiculous. The intellectuals became enthusiastic for the ghetto man with his highly refined caste system, his private religion existing side by side with his external materialism. He was the cosmopolitan and, as such, seemed to the Western intellectuals to be pointing toward the Western future. For the first and last time, Westerners and Jews worked together on Cultural tasks—the spreading of the new ideas. The Cultural distortion now spread to the political life. The form of the French Revolution was due to Culture-distortion. The particular epoch that this great episode marks is of course, an organic Western development. The distortion is manifest in these **particular facts**, occurring in this particular way, in this particular time and place. Otherwise put—the distortion occurred on the **surface** of history, not in its depths, for there distortion cannot occur. A human analogy is offered in incarceration: it distorts the surface of a man's life, by changing all the facts of it, but it does not touch his inner development, physical or spiritual. Distortion is twisting, warping, frustration; it is not killing, nor can it kill. It is a chronic illness, a running sore, a waste, an impurity in the Cultural life-stream.

The philosopher has treated in full outline the best known example of Culture-distortion in the Arabian Culture. There it was the old, civilized, Romans who permeated the new upspringing life of the Aramaean world. This new Culture had to force its way through

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the entire corpus of life-forms of the Roman world in order to express itself. Its early centuries are a progressive emancipation from Culture-distortion, a fight against Culture-distortion. The Mithradatic Wars are an early outbreak of this fight. The Romans were the "Jews" of that world; i.e., the finished economic thinkers, with complete Cultural unity, in the midst of an area of awakening religion. The distortion extended into every direction of Life—law, philosophy, economics, politics, literature, war. Its occurrence was at the very inception of the Culture, which slowly freed itself from the completely alien world of the Roman. But the inmost soul of this new Culture was not touched by the distortion—it was its actualization, its surface, its expression, its facts, that were distorted.

Similarly, it is only the facts of the period 1775-1815, the period of the French Revolution, that were distorted. The great transition which was symbolized by this horrible event—the change of direction of the soul of the West from Culture to Civilization—could have happened in innumerable other ways.

It was the policy of the distorters to make the French public finance dependent on debts and interest, as they had long since made the English government. An absolute monarchy however, with its centralization of power, militates against the subservience of the State to the power of Money. Therefore the idea was to introduce constitutional monarchy into France, and for this purpose, the distorters and their instrument, Necker, forced the summoning of the Estates-General. Its membership was also determined by the distorters

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to a large extent, and a constitutional monarchy was instituted.

Necker immediately tried to raise two large loans, without success. A solution of the financial crisis was suggested by Talleyrand in the form of confiscation of the real property of the Church. Mirabeau supported this and further suggested the issue of currency against the confiscated property. Necker refused, since such money, non-interest bearing and unconnected with debt, would not serve the distorters.

In the financial crisis, Necker was exiled, and Mirabeau became dictator. He immediately issued land-money to save the country from the panic the distorters were trying to bring about. But outside France, Necker, representing the power of Money and the distorters, then launched a continental war against France, exciting it from both within and without. The idea was that a war would necessitate large foreign purchases by France in England, Spain, and elsewhere; that the land-money, the assignats, would be refused by the Money powers outside of France, and that France would be forced to succumb to the gold-monopolists. From this war a straight line led to the Terror.

At the very beginning of the Civilization we see the same gigantic conflict between Authority and Money that lasts for generations into the Future. It is the battle of Napoleon against six coalitions. Napoleon has been painted by a distorted history-writing as a mere conqueror; his State-philosophy is ignored. But his autarchic economic ideas were clearly outlined by him to Las Casas and to Caulaincourt. He saw economy as production, not trade, and based primarily on agricul-

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ture, **secondarily** on industry, and **lastly** on foreign trade. He was opposed to interest-bearing money.

The battle of the distorters against these ideas contributes much to the form of the facts of Western history from Napoleon's assumption of the Consulate to 1815. Regardless of what these facts would have been otherwise, it was a distortion of Western history that a Culture-parasite engaged actively and decisively in the expression of the Western soul. In the battle between Western forces, the outcome of which is organically shaped by the progressive development of our Culture-soul, the casting of totally foreign power into the balance is a warping and frustration.

We do not know what Western history had otherwise been, but it is quite obvious that the power of Money never would have enjoyed its absolute sway during the 19th century if it had not been for the disease of Culture-distortion. There would have been two poles in the Western soul—reaching down into every individual—the pole of money-thinking, and the pole of authority and tradition. The absolute triumph of Money exacted a horrible toll of Western lives and health. It sacrificed the agricultural class of whole countries to the selfish interest of Trade. It let loose wars for private interests with the blood of patriots. The Opium War is enough to name—a war in which English soldiers and sailors had to die in order to force upon the Chinese Emperor recognition and protection of the opium monopoly enjoyed by distorters based in the Western Civilization.

The debt system was forced onto every European State. Prussia borrowed from Nathan Rothschild in

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1818. Russia, Austria, Spain, Portugal, followed in order. But the shallow materialistic Spirit of the Age, hostile as it was to deep thinking and probing beneath the surface remained blind, Philosophy, which had produced Berkeley and Leibnitz, was contented now with Mill and Spencer. Economic thinking was satisfied with Adam Smith, who taught—in the face of the ruin and destitution of millions—that the pursuit of his own selfish economic interests by each man would advance the collective life. When amazing propositions like these were accepted generally, it is not surprising that but few Westerners were conscious of the distortion of the Cultural life of the West. Byron was one of these few, as *The Age of Bronze*, and lines in *Don Juan* and other poems, show us. Charles Lamb and Carlyle were also aware, but for the most part Westerners were bent upon execution of the command of Louis-Phillipe: *Enrichissez-vous!*

III

The economic life, although influenced in its forms by Culture, is really only the raw material of Culture, a preliminary condition of the higher life. The role of economy in a High Culture is precisely analogous to its part in the life of a creative man, like Cervantes, Dante, or Goethe. For such a man to be tied to a bench is a distortion of his life. Every High Culture is creative—its whole life is a continuous superpersonal creating. Thus to place the economic life in the centre, and to say that it is Life, and all else is secondary, is a distortion of Culture.

But that was the effect of the distorters from two

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sides. The masters of money worked solely for the spread of the Sovereignty of Money over the old traditions of the West. From the under side, the distortion of Marxism denied everything else in the world except economics, and said that the proletariat must exploit the Western Civilization for its own benefit.

From the examination of the articulation of a High Culture, the Cultural importance of the "proletariat" is known. In one word, it is—nihil. This is a plain fact, not an expression of an ideology, and because it is a fact, the distorter Marx, with his abysmal, snarling hatred of the Western Civilization, chose it as an instrument of destruction. From above and below, the distorters sought to employ the only techniques they understood, economic ones, in an instinctive attempt to destroy the body of the hated West. This, it cannot be said too often, is outside praise and blame: the distorters were acting from **compulsion**, their conduct was irrational, unconscious, springing from organic necessity.

The idea of Money, and the idea of class-war on an economic basis, both appear in other Cultures at a corresponding time. The distortion of our life was not manifest in the mere existence of these phenomena, but in their universality, their absolute form, and the bitterness with which they confused and divided the entire West. The presence of the distorter, a sort of organic catalyst, is interwoven into all these disintegrating, shattering ideas and developments.

The West only succumbed to this Culture-distortion because of its own externalization. Once the West began to dabble with Materialism, the distorters aggravated it. The breaking down of some barriers led

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the distorter to work for the removal of all distinctions. He turned Deism into atheism—but kept his own runes and phylacteries. In the battle of Rationalism against Tradition, he enhanced the division of the West by ever more absolute demands.

The very status of the distorter was the occasion of bitter discord in the Western nations. In England, public life was distorted over the question, which continually came up, of Jewish status. This question had nothing whatever to do with the English organism, but in battle after battle, Englishmen wasted themselves fighting for or against things like Jewish citizenship, membership in Parliament, in the Bar, the professions, government offices. Similar struggles divided Western society everywhere. The result of the steady financialization of the economic life, substituting the idea of **Money** for the idea of **goods**, was the steady ruination of the material and spiritual life of the working people and farmers in all the Western lands. The death of millions through the 19th and 20th centuries from conditions of dirt, malnutrition and sub-human living conditions, through typhus, hunger, and tuberculosis, is traceable to the transformation of the economy of production into a battlefield of the Master of Money against the entrepreneur and the industrialist. The Master of Money was the one who brought about the triumph of the corporate form of business ownership. This forced every business owner into interest servitude to the Master of Money, for it was the latter who bought the shares and then proceeded to grind the employees of the enterprises by turning the proceeds of the industry entirely into dividends. To a banker, wages paid to living human

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beings as the economic basis of their lives are merely a "cost of production." To lower this "cost" was to increase his own profits. It did not matter whether rachitic children, starvation of families, debased national life, was the result—the aim was **Profit**.

The ideology was that each working-man could, if he wished, become a Master of Money. If he did not, it was his own fault. The Money Masters owed no duty to anyone, for they had made themselves. Not the converse, however, for if their foreign holdings were attacked, it was the patriotic duty of the starvelings to rescue the Money Masters.

The terrible results of the ascendancy of Money in throwing whole sections of the population into existence on the margin of starvation, had, as was to be expected, a counter-effect. The resultant seething discontent of these masses was also rendered into an instrument of the policy of the distorters.

In between was the enemy—the body of the Western Civilization. Above was the financial technique of mastery over this body. Below was the trade-union technique. The millions of the others were the spoils of this war on two fronts. The role of the distorter was to increase the division, render it sharper, make it work for his advantage. No historian has ever presented the policy and effect of the Culture-distorters better than Baruch Levy presented it in his famous letter to Marx:

"The Jewish people, taken collectively, will be its own Messiah. It will attain to mastery of the world through the union of all other human races, through abolition of boundaries and monarchies, which are the bulwarks of Particularism, and through the erection of a universal

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Republic, in which the Jews will everywhere enjoy universal rights.

"In this new organization of mankind the sons of Israel will spread themselves over the whole inhabited world, and they, since they belong all to the same race and culture-tradition, without at the same time having a definite nationality, will form the leading element without finding opposition.

"The government of the nations, which will make up this universal Republic, will pass without effort into the hands of the Israelites, by the very fact of the victory of the proletariat. The Jewish race can then do away with private property, and after that everywhere administer the public funds.

"Then shall the promises of the Talmud be fulfilled. When the time of the Messiah has come, the Jews will hold in their hands the key to the wealth of the world."

This was the expression of the foreign body in the Western organism. There is nothing sinister about it to the distorter—to him the West is a brutish monster of pride, selfishness, and cruelty. The life-conditions of the two organisms, or any two organisms of this rank, are simply different. For the distorter to promote the economic obsession within the West, which undermines its soul and opens a path for him, is only obedience to the obvious. It is the eternal relationship of host and parasite, which is found in the plant world, the world of animals, and the world of human beings. For the West to be itself is to stifle the expression of the distorter and restrict his soul: for him to be himself is to frustrate the expression of the Western soul.

It must be clearly understood that Culture-distortion

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cannot kill the host, for it cannot reach to the Soul, but can only affect the expressions of that Soul, as they reach the phase of actualization. If distortion could reach into the Soul, it would no longer be felt as such, for the Soul would be changed. But the Soul continues in its purity and intensity, and its externalizing only is distorted. Here is the source of the tension: the disjunction between that which was possible and that which has become actual is **visible**. Reaction begins: with each victory of Culture-distortion, the feeling of frustration grows, and the more determined is the hostility of the Culture-bearing elements. Propaganda cannot touch this process, for it is organic, and **must** occur, while Life is present.

IV

Culture-distortion affects the Culture life on every plane. When the Culture is in a politically nationalistic stage, as the West was during the 19th century and the first part of the 20th century, not only the life of each nation may be distorted, but also their relations among one another.

The simplest illustration would be hypothetical. The Chinese parasitic group in America was never able to attain to the level of Culture-distortion, but let us suppose it had. If it had possessed public power in America at a time when, let us say, England was marking out spheres of influence for itself in China, the Chinese element in America would have inevitably worked for a war by America against England. If its degree of public power had been sufficient, it would have succeeded. This would have been distortion of the international life

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of the Western Civilization. It would have been an intra-Western war on a Chinese issue. This hypothetical case did occur, repeatedly, with other participants, throughout the 19th century. Whatever country was engaged in persecution of the Culture-distorter in Europe, or whatever country was slow in granting him the civil rights, legal protection, and financial possibilities that he needed, found itself the object of the policy of the Culture-distorter. The distortion was never **absolute**, for the public power of the distorter was never that. It was always a mere twisting, not a transformation; an influence, not a command; hidden, not visible; a deviation, not a straight line. The distorter never appeared as himself, for so to do would have been to destroy himself, a tiny parasite in a gigantic host. Distortion was always masked by Western ideals—freedom, democracy, liberty, and the like. This, again was not sinister, for it was a life-necessity of the distorter thus to conduct his policy. His small numbers precluded a challenge of the entire West on the battlefield.

During the entire 19th and early 20th centuries there was, in addition to the surface history of Western politics and Western economics, another history—that of the advance of the Culture-parasite through his own politics, with consequent distortion of Western politics and economics. The contemporary Europe could only catch glimpses of this second history. Because of its political nationalism, it could not conceive of a political unit without a definite territory, a definite language, a "Constitution," an army, a navy, a Cabinet, and the rest of the Western political equipment. It was not acquainted with the history of the Arabian Culture and

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its Nation-idea, nor with the unity of its remnant that was strewn through the West.

Within each nation it worked for the adoption of constitutions, the attenuation of the old aristocratic forms, the spread of "democracy," the rule of parties, the extension of the franchise, the breaking down of the old exclusiveness of the West. All of these transformations are quantitative, the negation of quality. The democratization of a land was a prerequisite to the conquest of power therein. If the resistance was too great within, other nations where power had already been gained were mobilized against the recalcitrant nation, and war was the result.

Throughout the 19th century Russia—which still figured then as a member of the Western State-system—Austria, and Prussia resisted Culture-distortion. The Church of Rome also stood out, and was marked down as an enemy.

By 1858 the point had been reached where the Culture-distorter could mobilize the government of France and the public sentiment of England in the case of the Mortara child. When an international incident among Western nations could be created by the case of one private Jewish child, it is not surprising that much larger Jewish affairs could bring about much greater international results in the Western political system.

The greatest enemy of all was Russia, the land of the pogrom. It has been seen that when there was a large pogrom in Kiev in 1906, the Roosevelt government in America broke off diplomatic relations with the Russian government. No Americans were concerned in any way in the pogrom, and so the case is indicative of

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the strength of the distorter. If the victims of the pogrom had been Laplanders, Cossacks, Balts, or Ukrainians, it would have passed unnoticed by Washington.

The First World War, both in its original form, and in its development, was not at all indicative of the Western problems of the time. The treatment of this great turning-point belongs to another place, but here the result for Russia, the great enemy of the distorter, can be shown. The connection of the Culture-distorter with Bolshevism was the subject of loud boasting in his press in the early days of Bolshevism. Romanov Russia was paid back a thousandfold for the pogroms of three centuries. The Tsar and his family were shot against a wall in Ekaterinburg, and a Kabbalistic symbol was scrawled above their bodies. The entire stratum which had been the vehicle of the Western Civilization in Russia was massacred or driven out. Russia was lost to Europe, and became the greatest threat to the Western body. In the Bolshevik wars, plagues, and famines, immediately following the Revolution, a number between ten and twenty millions perished. The slogan was: Destroy everything!—which meant—**everything Western**. Among other changes in Russia, anti-semitism was made a crime.

This example shows the magnitude to which Culture-distortion can attain. The tremendous formative power of the Western Culture had pulled Russia into its spiritual orbit. The instrument of this development was Peter the Great. The Romanov dynasty he founded in the 17th century had been the great symbol of the ascendancy of the Western spirit in the vast sub-

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continent called Russia, with its teeming millions of primitive populations. The transformation was, of course, not complete. It could not have been, since a High Culture has a situs, and does not move about. Nevertheless the Romanov dynasty and the Western stratum it represented in Russia gave Europe for three centuries comparative security in the East. Bolshevism removed this security.

When the armies of Alexander occupied Paris in 1814, they were compelled by the Western veneer of their leaders to behave as Western troops. It was somewhat as though Western troops were occupying a foreign Western capital. But the Bolshevik troops which planted the red flag in the heart of Europe in 1945 had nothing in common with the West whatever. In their primitive blood and instincts was the wordless imperative: destroy everything!

V

The phenomenon of Culture-distortion is not confined to the sphere of action. The ascendancy of the Classical Civilization over the early Arabian Culture, up to about 300 A.D., showed a complete distortion of the expressions of the new, rising, Culture. The philosopher has described the situation—which lasted for centuries—as a “Pseudomorphosis,” a “false-forming” of all the manifestations of the new Culture-soul.

The high refinement of our Western arts, and their esoteric nature, which made them accessible only to a few, made their distortion by Cultural outsiders impossible. Westerners themselves occasionally—for instance Chippendale, the Classicists in belles lettres,

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philosophy, and the arts of form—sought to introduce extra-Cultural motives in Western things, but they transformed them in their very using of them, adapting them to our feeling. But there are no Culture-distorters in a great Western art during its period of highest development. Calderon, Rembrandt, Meister Erwin von Steinbach, Gottfried von Strasburg, Shakespeare, Bach, Leonardo, Mozart, have no counterparts with extra-Cultural backgrounds. Oil painting and music remained entirely Western as long as they were in process of fulfilment. When, with the end of the 19th century, both of these great arts had become history, the distorters emerged with atrociousness in the pictorial realm, and clangour in the world of music.

Because of the extent of their public power, they were able to hold up these horrors as worthy successors to Rembrandt and Wagner. Any minor artist continuing to work in the old traditions was smothered, while a Culture-distorter was praised as a great artist. The tendency in the middle of the 20th century finally became simply to take old works of art and distort them, without any pretence as to the process. A form of "music" taken from the primitive culture of African aborigines was adopted, and the works of Western masters were forced into this form. The pretence of originality was given up. When a Culture-distorter produced a drama, it was often simply a Shakespearean play, distorted, twisted, and made to convey the social propaganda of the distorter. Any other drama was stifled by the total ascendancy of the Cultural outsider, and his control of the channels of publicity.

In this realm, as in the realm of action, it was

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exclusiveness that kept the Western soul pure in its expressions, and it was the victory of quantitative ideas, methods, and feelings that laid the life of the West open to the entrance of the Culture-distorter.

In the domain of action, Money, Democracy and Economics—all quantitative, none of them exclusive—had admitted the outsider to public power. Without Western materialism, money-thinking, and liberalism, the entry of the outsider into Western public life had been as impossible as the mastery of Talmudic casuistry would have been to a Westerner.

And with this, we come to the Future.

The coming developments of the Western Soul are known. Authority is re-appearing, the old Western pride and **exclusiveness** are back. The spirit of Money is giving way to Authority; parliamentarism is yielding to order. Social disarticulation will be replaced by cohesion and hierarchy. Politics is destined to move into a new realm: the Western nations are gone, and the Western nation is coming. The consciousness of the unity of the West supplants the petty-stateism of the 19th century.

Sternness and discipline are the characteristics of the Western soul in the 20th century. Gone are the pathological individualism and feebleness of will of 19th century Europe. Respect for the mystery of Life, and for the symbolic significance of living Ideas take the place of 19th century Materialism. Vitalism has triumphed over mechanism, the soul over Rationalism.

Ever since the appearance of Calvin the West has been steadily moving toward more absolute Materialism. The apogee of the curve was reached by the First World War, and this powerful epoch into a new world marked

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also the reappearance of the Western soul in its unimpaired purity. It had come through the long Cultural crisis of Rationalism, and its ever youthful Destiny produced the Resurgence of Authority and the unification of Europe in such a self-evident form that no force in Europe save retarders and distorters—both pathological—even opposed it.

This movement toward Materialism was a movement **toward** the Culture-distorter in the sense that it made his entry into Western affairs possible. When men were **counted**, naturally he too was included. But the counting-mania has ceased, and the old exclusiveness is coming back. The phenomenon of Disraeli, a Culture-distorter as prime minister of a Western State, would have been simply unthinkable a century previous, in Pitt's time, and it is just as unthinkable now and for the Western Future.

The movement away from Materialism is a progression **away from** the Culture-distorter. In the realm of thought, Materialism is fighting a desperate rear-guard action. It is vanquished in every realm: physics, cosmogony, biology, psychology, philosophy, belles lettres. This **irresistible** trend simply makes distortion impossible to him, for it makes the affairs of the West inaccessible to him. The Western was always esoteric: when Goethe's Collected Works were published in 1790, only 600 copies were subscribed. Yet this public was enough for his fame over all Europe. Buxtehude, Orlando Gibbons, Bach and Mozart wrote for a small public, including no Culture-distorters. Napoleon's policy was understood in its last ramifications by few persons in his contemporary Europe. The distorters could only see

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so much as touched **them**. The Culture-bearing stratum of the West is drawing together over the crumbled walls of vertical nationalism. The West is shedding the skin of Materialism, returning to the purity of its own soul for its last great inner task, the creation of the Culture-State-Nation-People-Race-Empire unity of the West, as the basis for the fulfilment of the Inner Imperative of Absolute Imperialism.

The problem of Culture-distortion is therewith fundamentally altered. The very possibility of a parasite being admitted to the public life of the West is fast passing away. With a sound instinct, the distorter has given up Europe, and bases himself henceforth outside Europe.

The old tools of finance-capitalism and class war have lost their efficacy in the presence of the Resurgence of Authority, and only armies matter now. From without, he carries on his same compulsory revenge-mission. In one Western colony, America, Culture-diseases are still present which from there have exerted and continue to exert, a decisive influence on world-happening.

CHAPTER TWO

AMERICA

"America's battle is yet to fight; and we, sorrowful though nothing doubting, will wish her strength for it. New Spiritual Pythons, plenty of them, enormous Megatherions, as ugly as were ever born of mud, loom huge and hideous out of the twilight Future on America; and she will have her own agony, and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of."

—Carlyle

"Will the intellectually primitive upper class, obsessed as it is with the thought of money, reveal all at once, in face of this danger, dormant moral forces that will lead to the real construction of a State and to spiritual preparedness to sacrifice possessions and blood to it, instead of regarding war as a means of gaining wealth, as hitherto?"

—Spengler.

INTRODUCTION

The point has now been reached when the historical-organic method which has been developed in the foregoing must be applied to the immediate Future. The thought-method has been perfected, it has shown us our historical position, our affinities, that from which we are forever inwardly dissociated, our organically-necessary inner imperative. It will now be brought to the material of happening of the immediate Future. Having answered the **what**, there remains yet the **how**. The first step in practical politics is the assessment of **facts**. Next is the intuition of possibilities. This is as true of the cheap practical politics of a self-seeking party-leader as it is of the practical politics of a great statesman like Pitt, Napoleon, or Bismarck. The facts and possibilities of Western politics in 1948 cannot be arrived at without a complete understanding of the significance and potentialities of America. Up to now, this has usually been absent in Europe. The time has come when all policies, ideas, and viewpoints, must be referred to **facts**. Prejudices, whims, abstractions, and ideals are out-of-date, and even if they were not ludicrous, they would still be a luxury, for a straitened, looted, occupied Europe must think **clearly** if it is to capture once more the custody of its own Destiny. Up to the Second World War, the mistake and confusion about America was well-nigh general in Europe. It was

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greater in some European countries than in others, but there is no point in separating them, since Europe is a **unit** for world-historical purposes, whether this fact is widely appreciated or not. Europe **suffers** as a unit, it **loses** in World Wars as a unit, and when it realizes its own unity, it can also **win** in World Wars and impose its inner imperative on the form of the Future. There is only one way this age can understand phenomena, and there is only one method to which organic units yield up the secrets of their Past and Future—that is the organic-historical method. The character and potentialities of America are found in its history. The theses of Cultural Vitalism afford the means of understanding the significance, both to itself, and to the Western Civilization, of the history of America.

THE ORIGINS OF AMERICA

The American continent was populated by **individual** migration. The greater number of the immigrants came from the Northern races of Europe during the period 1500-1890. During the early, the Colonial, period (1500-1789), the life-conditions under which the incoming settlers lived were rigorous in the extreme. The hinterland was populated by hostile savages. The secure territory was a narrow strip of seaboard some 1500 miles long. Beyond that was the vast, unexplored, unknown "frontier." This word, an important one in understanding the national souls of the former nations of Europe, had an entirely opposite significance in America. Instead of a **boundary** between two power-units, it referred to an **area**, vast, dangerous, and almost empty. It needed only to be conquered in order to be incorporated, and in this process, the greatest enemy was Nature, rather than the savages, for in no case were the latter highly organized. Thus America did not develop in the early centuries the consciousness of **political tension** which arise from a true frontier.

Whether or not a man penetrated into the hinterland to take land there for his own was a matter of his personal will. These millions of quadrate kilometres were not developed by State action, but by **individual imperialism**. This fact also is of the highest importance for subsequent American history. In the first place, these immigrants had in general the characteristic Gothic urge into the distance which had given to Western history its unique intensity. Whether they were adventurers or religious refugees, merchants or soldiers, they nevertheless left their European homes for an unknown and dangerous land of privation and

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primitive conditions. The new conditions under which they lived perpetuated and developed the instincts which had brought them there.

In small groups these early Americans cleared the forests, built forts and homes. The farmers ploughed the fields with rifles slung over their shoulders. The women worked in the homes with weapons at hand. The human characteristics encouraged were self-reliance, resourcefulness, bravery, independence.

Cities grew up along the coast—Boston, New York, Philadelphia—and in these cities arose in the 18th century something resembling society, and even a sort of American Encyclopedism.

The early colonies, thirteen in number, were organized as independent parts of the British Colonial Empire. The main connection with England was the defence it afforded against the French, whose colonial empire embraced Canada and part of the hinterland of the colonies. With the defeat and expulsion of the French armies from Canada, in the 1760's, the centrifugal forces in the colonies gained in strength, and French policy aided in every way to separate the colonies from England. Commercial and political motives were both present in the motivation of the American Revolutionary War, 1775-1783, but the thing of greatest interest at the present day was the ideology in which the colonial Encyclopedists formulated their war-aims. Most of the colonial propagandists—Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Thomas Paine, John Adams, John Hancock, Jefferson, and Franklin—had been in England and France and had thus absorbed the new Rationalistic Idea which had triumphed in English society, and was conquering the

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French State and Culture. The colonials adopted the French form of the Rationalist doctrines, demanding "The Rights of Man," rather than the rights of Americans.

It was not the ideologists—as usual—who fought the war. It was the soldiers who did that, and this war was the most difficult America has ever fought. The entire population of the colonies was only three millions, and these were stretched the entire length of the Atlantic seaboard. Their only common bond was opposition to England, and hope of mutual independence. The British were stronger on the sea than the French, who were aiding the colonials, and the British not only enlisted the savages on their side, but also hired mercenary troops from the European continent for this war. Owing to Prussian and French assistance, the colonials were finally successful in concluding the war on the basis of complete independence from England.

The war had been a civil war as well as a war for independence, and the leaders of the Revolution had to conduct a terror at home against the Loyalist elements of the colonial population. After the War, most of these emigrated to Canada, which remained British. If the Revolution had been unsuccessful, the colonial leaders would have all been hanged for treason, but their success meant that they are regarded as the Founding Fathers in America.

Owing to a small group of patriots and creators—History is always in the custody of a minority—the thirteen colonies were united into a federal union. The leaders who brought about the union were principally Washington, John Adams, Franklin, Pinckney,

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Rutledge—and, above all, Alexander Hamilton, the greatest statesman ever to appear in America. If this great soul had not there been at work, the subsequent history of the American continent would have been the history of a series of wars, which by now would have reached the stage of annihilation wars, and might not yet have united the continent.

The union was on the basis of a federal state, and the allocation of power between it and the component "States" was sought to be expressed by a written document, a "constitution." The leading French political theories of the time had developed an opposition, which exists only in literature, between "the State" and "the individual." The American Constitution, and also the various constitutions which were adopted by each component colony, tried to codify this "opposition" and listed a series of individual rights vis-a-vis the State.

It has not been noted sufficiently how totally different these developments were from contemporary phenomena on the home soil of the Culture. In the colonies, there had never been a State except as a word. Hence, the Constitution represented a **beginning**, and not a **denial** of tradition, with the attempt to replace the old form of the State by a piece of paper. In America there was no tradition. Hamilton wanted a monarchical State, on European traditional lines, but Rationalist ideology and propaganda was too strong to be overcome, and these demanded a republic.

The "individual rights" that were set down in the various documents had no analogy to European conditions. Since there had never been a State in America, and had never been a frontier in the European sense,

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there had been **only** "individuals." Land could be acquired by claiming it and settling on it. Any man who wished could at any time take his gun and go into the hinterland, and there live as farmer or trapper. Thus the talk of "individuals" was nothing new, and furthermore it represented no parallel to European conditions, since the State was the basis of the life of persons in Europe. It was only because there was a State in Europe that the "individual" was able to live and prosper. If there had been no Prussian State, half the population of Europe would have passed into Slavic conditions.

There had been no State in America—the closest thing to a State had been the far-away English government—and hence the American anti-State ideology was not denying any fact of life, but was merely affirming the **fact of individualism**, which had grown out of the empty and vast landscape. **State** is a unit of **opposition**—there were no other States on the North American continent, and thus no American State could arise.

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This **organic** individualism was formulated in written constitutions and in a literary-political literature. Typical of the spirit of this literature is the Declaration of Independence. As a piece of Realpolitik, this manifesto of 1776 is masterly: it points to the Future, and embodies the Spirit of the Age of Rationalism, which was then ascendant in the Western Culture. But, in the 20th century, the ideological part of this Declaration is simply **fantastic**: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." In 1863, the charlatan Lincoln delivered an address in which he speaks of America as "a nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." He then went on to say, referring to the War of Secession, then in progress, ". . . we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure."

This ideology continued right into the middle of the 20th century, and was even, after the First and Second World Wars, when a totally different and utterly incompatible outlook was in the ascendant, offered to the

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home of the Western Civilization as a model to imitate somehow. It was only the entirely fortuitous material success which attended American arms that enabled this ideology to survive late into a century which had outgrown it, and, not because it is important as a political outlook, but solely because it is an effective technique for splitting and disintegrating Europe, must this archaic ideology be examined here.

The Declaration of Independence is saturated with the thinking of Rousseau and Montesquieu. The basic idea, as in all Rationalism, is the equating of what **ought** to be with what **will** be. Rationalism begins with confusing the rational with the real, and ends by confusing the real with the rational. This arsenal of "truths" about equality, inalienable and inherent rights, reflects the emancipated critical spirit, devoid of respect for facts and tradition. The idea that governments are "instituted" for a utilitarian purpose, to satisfy a demand of "equal" men, and that these "equal" men give their "consent" to a certain "form" of "government," and then abolish it when it no longer serves the purpose—is pure Rationalistic poetry, and corresponds to no facts that have ever occurred anywhere. The source of government is the **inequality** of men—this is the fact. The nature of the government is a reflection of the Culture, the Nation, and the stage of development of both. Thus any nation may have one of two forms of government, an efficient or an inefficient government. An efficient government carries out the Idea of the nation—not the "will of the masses," for this latter does not exist if the leadership is capable. Leadership goes down, not when "the people" rationally decide to

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abolish it, but when that leadership becomes so decadent as to undermine itself. No government anywhere is "founded" on "principles." Governments are the expression of political instincts, and the difference between the instincts of various populations is the source of differences in their practice of government. No written "principles" affect the practice of government in the slightest, and the sole effect they have is to furnish the vocabulary of political struggles.

This is as true of America as it is of every other political unit that has ever existed in five millennia of the history of High Cultures. Contrary to a certain messianic feeling in America, America is not **completely** unique. Its morphology and destiny are readable in the history of other colonies, in our own, and in previous Cultures.

The reference in the Independence Declaration to government as having the purpose of effecting the "safety" and "happiness" of the population is more Rationalistic nonsense. Government is the process of maintaining the population in form for the political task, the expression of the Idea of the Nation.

The quotation from Lincoln still reflects the Age of Rationalism, and his contemporary Europe could feel and understand such ideology, although, since State, Nation, and Tradition existed still in Europe, even if weakened, there was always resistance to Rationalist ideologies, whether of the Rousseau, Lincoln, or Marx variety. No nation was ever "conceived in liberty," and no nation was ever "dedicated to a proposition." Nations are the creations of a High Culture, and in their last essence are mystical Ideas. Their coming, their individualities,

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their form, their going, are all reflections of higher Cultural developments. To say that a nation is "dedicated to a proposition" is to reduce it to an abstraction that can be put on a blackboard for the instruction of a class in logic. It is a Rationalistic **caricature** of the Nation-Idea. So to speak of a Nation is to insult and debase it: no one would ever die for a logical proposition. If such a proposition—which is also claimed to be "self-evident"—is not convincing, armed force will not make it more so.

The numen "liberty" is one of the main foci of the American ideology. The word can only be defined negatively, as freedom from some restraint or other. Not even the most rabid American ideologist advocates total freedom from every form of order, and similarly the strictest tyranny has never wished to forbid **everything**. In a country "dedicated" to "liberty" men were taken from their homes, under threat of prison, pronounced soldiers, and despatched to the antipodes as a "defence" measure on the part of a government which did not ask the "consent" of its masses, knowing perfectly well such "consent" would be refused.

In the practical sense, American freedom means freedom from the State, but it is obvious that this is mere literature, since there never was a State in America, nor any necessity for one. The word freedom is thus merely a concept in a materialistic religion, and describes nothing in the world of American facts.

Important also to the American ideology is the written constitution adopted in 1789, as a result of the labours of Hamilton and Franklin. Their interest in it was **practical**, their idea being to unite the thirteen colonies

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into a unit. Since the union could never have been brought about at that time on any sort of central basis, the most they were able to bring about was a weak federation, with a central government that could hardly be described as government at all, but only as a formulated anarchy. The ideas of the constitution were mostly derived from the writings of Montesquieu. The idea of "separation of powers" in particular comes from this French theorist. According to this theory, the powers of government are three, legislative, executive, and judicial. Like all crystal-clear Rationalistic thinking, this is muddy and confused when applied to Life. These powers can only be separated on paper, in Life they cannot. They were never actually separated in America, although the theory was retained that they were. With the onset of an internal crisis in the 30's of the 20th century, the entire power of the central government was openly concentrated into the executive, and theories were found to support this fact, still calling it "separation."

The various colonies retained most of the power that mattered to them—the power to make their own laws, keep a militia, and conduct themselves in economic independence of the other colonies. The word "state" was chosen to describe the components of the union, and this led to further confused ideological thinking, since European State-forms, where the State was an Idea, were thought to be equivalent to American "states," which were primarily territorial-legal-economic units, without sovereignty, aim, destiny, or purpose.

In the union, there was no sovereignty, that is, not even the legal counterpart of the State-Idea. The central

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government was not sovereign, neither was any state government. Sovereignty was represented by the agreement of two-thirds of the states and the central legislative, or in other words, a complete abstraction. If there had been fifty or a hundred million Slavs, or even Indians, on America's borders, there would have been a different notion of these things. The whole American ideology pre-supposed the American geopolitical situation. There were no powers, no strong, numerous, or organized hostile populations, no political dangers—only a vast empty landscape, sparsely populated with savages.

Also important to the American ideology was the feeling—expressed above in Lincoln's address—of **universality**. Although the War of Secession had nothing whatever to do with ideology of any kind—and in any case, the Southern legalistic rationale of the War was more consequent than the Yankee idea—Lincoln felt impelled to inject the issue of ideology into the War. The opponent could never be simply a political rival, bent upon the same power as the Yankee—he had to be a total enemy, intent upon wiping out the American ideology. This feeling informed all American Wars from that time onward—any political enemy was regarded ipso facto as an ideological opponent, even though the enemy had no interest whatever in American ideology.

In the Age of World Wars, this ideologizing of politics was extended to a world-scale. The power that America chose for enemy was perforce against "freedom," "democracy," "liberty," and all the other magic, but meaningless, words of that category. This led to strange results—any power fighting against the power America had gratuitously chosen for enemy became ipso facto

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a "liberty," or "freedom" power. Thus both Romanov Russia and Bolshevik Russia were "freedom" powers.

American ideology led America to claim countries as allies which did not return the compliment, but American ardour was not thereby dampened. This type of politics can only strike Europe as **adolescent**, and in truth, any pretence that 20th century forms and problems can be described in a 19th century Rationalistic ideology is immature, or to be more blunt, silly.

In the 20th century, when the Rationalist type of ideology had been discarded by the advancing Western Civilization, the American universalizing of ideology turned into **messianism**—the idea that America must save the world. The vehicle of the salvation is to be a materialistic religion with "democracy" taking the place of God, "Constitution" the place of the Church, "principles of government" the place of religious dogmas, and the idea of economic freedom the place of God's Grace. The technic of salvation is to embrace the dollar, or failing that, to submit to American high-explosives and bayonets.

The American ideology is a religion, just as was the Rationalism of the French Terror, of Jacobinism, of Napoleonism. The American ideology is coeval with them, and they are completely dead. Just as inwardly dead is the American ideology. Its principal use at the present time—1948—is in splitting Europe. The European Michel element battens on to any ideology whatever which promises "happiness" and a life without effort or sternness. American ideology thus serves a negative purpose, and that only. The Spirit of a bygone Age can give no message to a subsequent age, but can

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only deny the new age, and attempt to retard, distort, and warp it from its life-path. American ideology is not an instinct, for it inspires no one. It is an inorganic system, and when one of its tenets gets in the way, it is promptly discarded. Thus the religious doctrine of "separation of powers" was dropped from the list of sacred dogmas in 1933. Before that the holy tenet of Isolation had been put aside in 1917, when America entered into a Western War which did not concern it in any way. Resurrected after the First World War, it was again discarded in the Second World War. A political religion that thus switches the changes on its supernatural doctrines is convincing neither politically nor religiously. The "Doctrine" of Monroe, for instance, announced early in the 19th century that the entire Western Hemisphere was a sphere of American imperialistic influence. In the 20th century, this passed into the special status of an esoteric doctrine, being retained for domestic consumption, while the external dogma was called "good-neighbour policy."

The ideology of a people is merely intellectual clothing. It may, or may not, correspond to the instinct of that people. An ideology may be changed from day to day, but not the character of the people. Once that is formed, it is definite and influences events far more than they can influence it. The character of the American People was formed in the Secession War.

THE WAR OF SECESSION, 1861-1865

Politics in America in the European sense there was none. The American union was formed before the 19th century style of inner-politics was developed. Political parties in their later form were unknown to the authors of the Constitution. The word Party described a dangerous thing—factionalism, near-treason. George Washington in his farewell to public life, counselled his people against “the spirit of Party.” But ambitious men will always seek to have power, even the limited and irresponsible power available within the bounds of a loose federation. When tenure of power is limited to a few years (four years in the American union) the main inner-political problem becomes remaining in power. When the power is obtained by majorities in elections, the science of “electioneering” develops. Voters must be **organized** in order that the leaders may perpetuate themselves in office, and the technic of organization is the **party**. Organization takes funds, and it takes ideals. The ideals are for the masses of voters, the funds make it possible to spread them. The funds are more important because they are difficult to procure, whereas ideals are plentiful. This dependence of party-organization upon a supply of funds brought about the situation in which rich men were able to make the party-leaders and party-organizations run things to please them. Even a party-leader **in office** was not independent, for the rich man alone could keep him there. The name given in the books to this type of government is plutocracy, the rule of money. This was the American form during the whole 19th century, and it continued to the year 1933.

The source of the wealth of the richest men in

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America during the period 1789-1861 was manufactures and trade. The richest men were found in the Northern states, the manufacturing and trading places. The Southern states had a totally non-plutocratic organization. A society arose there on a patriarchal and hierarchical basis. Half of the population belonged to the African race and was held as slaves by white land-owners and planters. Slavery was less efficient than industrialism, for capitalistic purposes, because the slaves enjoyed complete security—protection against illness, unemployment, old age—whereas the Northern factory-workers were as completely unprotected in these respects. This gave the Northern industrialist one more advantage over the humanitarian slave-owner. The industrialists' "costs of production" were cheaper. Factory-workers who were wiped out by illness or other catastrophe were not the responsibility of the industrialists—they had only the disadvantages of slavery, whereas the Africans in the South had its advantages as well.

The South was thus less mobilized economically than the North and consequently desired the cheapest possible manufactures, which meant, at that time, English imports. Northern industry could not compete well with English imports, and demanded a high protective tariff. The tariff issue was the focus of a political struggle for three decades before the War finally broke out.

Once any issue, from whatever sphere of Life it derives, becomes of sufficient intensity to become **political**, other motives come in to support it. Thus Yankee ideologists fastened on the idea of slavery and

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made it a war-issue for the masses in the Northern states. The financial labour-exploitation of the Northern capitalists was held up as humanitarianism, and the patriarchal care of the Southern planter was branded as cruelty, inhumanity, and immorality. The ideological side of this war presaged coming American war-conduct.

The Secession-War arose on the issue whether the Southern states, comprising a unit based on an aristocratic-traditional life-feeling, with an economic basis of muscle-energy, could secede from the union, which had been captured by the Yankee element. The Yankee territory was organized on a financial-industrial basis, with an economic basis of machine-energy. For three decades, the main political issue in the union had been the balancing of the number of representatives in the central government from Northern states against those from the Southern states. The South was on the defensive, for the North was outstripping it in wealth, power, and control of the central government.

But because of its aristocratic tendency, the South had supplied a disproportionate number of the officers in the central army, and most of the war-material was in the South at the start of the War. The anti-financial heroic attitude of the South gave it an immense advantage in the field against the Yankee armies, who were inoculated with a war propaganda of jealousy of the superior life in the South. The War was a contest—not the last in Western history—between quality and quantity. The North had all the war-industries, most of the railroads, and four times the population available for military purposes.

The material weakness of the South was too great to

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be compensated for by its spiritual superiority on the field of battle, where its heroic spirit gained victory after victory over superior numbers. The South could not replace its human losses however, and this the Yankees could do, utilizing German and Irish immigrants in particular. This War was the largest-scale war in the Western Civilization up to the First World War. The armies numbered millions, the theatre of war embraced more than a million quadrature kilometres. Railroads and ironclads entered tactics for the first time.

Napoleon had calculated, from his experience on 150 fields, that the ratio in warfare of the spiritual to the material is as three is to one. Assuming this to be true, the defeat of the South was the result of Yankee material superiority of more than three times. This war had many lessons for Europe, but was mostly ignored in the European capitals, which were still in the nationalistic petty-state period, and not capable of large-space thinking. It showed the enormous military potentiality in America, it showed the Yankee character, which was thenceforth to be the American spirit, it showed the enormous will-to-power of the New York plutocracy—it showed, in short, that a base for a world-power had been laid here. The only European power which noticed it was the only one capable at that time of large-space thinking—England, and England's attitude toward the War was throughout one of benevolent neutrality toward the South, to say the least. England was prevented only by the attitude of Russia from declaring war on the Yankee government. Southern commerce raiders were fitted out in English ports, and the **Alabama** was even manned with English mariners. Yankee strength

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on the seas meant that the military task would have been too great for England. This war showed that America had passed the period when it needed to fear the intervention of any European power in North American or Carribean affairs. No European power could afford to ignore the European-Russian situation, and thus could only commit its surplus power, so to speak, to transatlantic affairs. American power had now become greater than the surplus power of any possible European combination, considering the situation of the European powers vis-a-vis one another.

This was the beginning of the **fact** of American isolation. Quite independent of any formulation of it, America was politically isolated from Europe as a fact, and furthermore it was the only power in a hemisphere. This fact, coupled with the vast inner landscape of America, developed the possibility of large-space thinking in America, as contrasted with the petty-stateism of Europe, which considered a hundred kilometres to be a great distance.

It was, of course, European petty-stateism which permitted the development of America, in the beginning, and at every subsequent stage. This is more fully treated in the history of American imperialism.

THE AMERICAN PRACTICE OF GOVERNMENT

The actual form of the government of America was a plutocracy, but the technic through which this government was maintained was usually taken by superficial thinkers to be the real government. The great epoch in the history of practice of government in America is 1828. In that year Andrew Jackson was elected President of the central government, and he immediately announced the new conception of office-holding as private economics. With his slogan "To the victor belongs the spoils" he dethroned forever the Federalist idea of a tradition of State-service. Government henceforth was "spoils" for successful party-politicians. The election of 1828 was the last appearance of the Federalist party in an election. It retained for itself, however, control of the Federal judiciary until the middle of the 19th century. Jackson's election also put an end to the aristocratic "congressional caucus" method of choosing the presidential candidates. Thenceforth the parties had nominating conventions for this purpose. The forces of tradition, which had been concentrated in the Federalist party, no longer appeared in inner-politics as an organized group. Their only remaining significance was social. Thus, all during the 19th century in America, there was no conflict of the European variety between Party and Tradition, between the Constitution-mongers and the aristocratic forces of Monarchy, State, Army, Church. The Constitution-idea meant three different things in America, in England, and on the Continent. In America the Constitution was the symbol of the beginning of the People. In England, the "unwritten" Constitution represented the organic link of the history of the English national soul binding to-

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gether Past and Future. On the Continent, Constitution represented the gathering point of all anti-traditionary forces, the break with the organic Past, and the attempt to destroy State and Society. In America, there was no tradition, but only a Constitution; in England Constitution and Tradition were synonymous; on the Continent, Constitution and Tradition were antitheses.

In America, the practice of government was determined by the great fact that there was no State in America, and hence only private- and party-politics. In England, the practice of government was slowly developed over the centuries and the English Constitution merely is the record of this development. On the Continent, the practice of government, developed through centuries of tradition was challenged root and branch by the Rationalistic Idea of substituting quantity for quality, wiping out History and Tradition, and substituting the rule of a reasonable piece of paper which would guarantee forever the rule of Reason, Humanity, Justice, and the rest of it. Consequently there were no forces opposed to the Constitution as such in America, and there are not to-day, while in Europe the traditionary forces were opposed to Constitutionalizing as such, since it was simply the symbol of anarchy.

Historical thinking is more interested in what is done with a written constitution than what it says, and the practice of government in America was actually quite independent of the Constitution, even though that document was constantly invoked by all party-politicians. In the first place, the Constitution did not recognize Parties, but only individuals. It did not foresee that political businesses would develop which would coerce

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the masses through employment of ideals, promises, and money. Nor did the Constitution recognize universal suffrage, since it was thought quite unnecessary to forbid a thing which was regarded by everyone at that time as synonymous with anarchy. If the Founding Fathers were to return, they would demand the abolition of Parties and their coercion of individuals, and forbid group participation in politics, as well as severely restricting the franchise by property, educational, racial, and social qualifications, since these restrictions were the actualities whose continuance was assumed by the authors of the American Constitution.

The first administration in America was the Federalist government of Washington and Hamilton. Hamilton established already in 1791 the doctrine of "implied powers" in the central government, as a measure for strengthening the central government. This was, of course, entirely against the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which "delegated" certain powers to the central government, and reserved all other powers to the States. Thenceforth, two ideas separated out: the idea of a strong central government, and the "states' rights" idea. This issue was the focus of secessionist movements, first in the Northern States, and later in the Southern States, and the theoretical formulation of the War Between the States, 1861-1865, was based on the right of a State to secede from the Union.

The Federalist Chief Justice Marshall was the last representative of the Federalist tradition in the government. He established the unique idea in America that laws can be upset by the judicial system, which can declare them "unconstitutional." This device was to play

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a large role in American inner-politics during the 19th and 20th centuries. More than anything else, the decisions of this Justice strengthened the central government. But the technique he developed was of necessity limited; its efficacy was purely negative. It could unmake laws, but could not make them. This too was entirely against the Constitution, like Parties, conventions, wide suffrage, "implied powers" and the rule of private persons. This judicial usurpation was one more refutation of Rationalistic theories that Life can be planned on a piece of paper and then actualized, for the piece of paper had specified that the judiciary was to be separate from the legislative.

Again, it was not logic, but History, which enabled Marshall to usurp this function of the judicial veto. Far back in colonial history, the idea of "paramount law" had emerged. At that time, it was simply an expression of the centrifugal political tendency in all colonies, for "paramount" law meant domestic law, as opposed to the law of the English King, which was supposed to be personal. The royal governors in the colonies came from Europe, while the judges in the colonies were native-born. Hence "paramount law," and the establishment of the unique institution of "judicial review."

A corollary development of this old colonial idea was American **legalism**. **Law** in the colonies meant opposition to the Crown, and hence the lawyer became a sort of defender of the public. The Founding Fathers were mostly lawyers; the membership of the Constitutional Convention comprised almost exclusively lawyers. The Constitution was a lawyer's document, with legal

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phraseology, and complete absence of political wisdom. Judicial veto of legislation thus seemed quite natural in America and conquered a place for itself. Consequently the strange usage developed of referring all manner of problems to the legal system, to be handled on common-law principles. The theory was that political, social, economic, racial, and other problems would thus receive an impartial treatment, free from any human bias.

Law however is the result of politics. Every judiciary is created by a political regime. If the judiciary usurps power which makes it more or less independent, it has become political itself. But in either case, its decisions are the result of politics, cast into legal form. And thus the history of legalism in America, in the form of constitutional law, is simply a reflection of the economic-political history of America. Its first phase was a series of decisions strengthening the central government, an expression of Federalist policy. In the same tradition was the Dred Scott decision in 1857, which reflected the Southern viewpoint on slavery, since the Federalist idea was not abolitionist. After the complete victory of industrialism and Money, 1865, the decisions represent the viewpoint of industrial—and finance—capitalism. The rising capitalism of the labour-unions was continually frustrated by the Supreme Court. No less than 300 times, between 1870 and 1933, it struck down laws made by various States and the central government which were aimed at the plutocracy.

The institution of judicial review could not have developed if there had been a strong central government or a true State. Nor could it have arisen except in a country dominated by economic activity, and lacking

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any real political issues. Before 1861, there was only one critical political issue, that of the balance of power between North and South. Between 1865 and 1933 there was no true political issue, but only party-politics, which is merely private or group business in the **form** of inner-politics. The Dred Scott decision would not have been allowed to stand, had not the War of Secession broken out, since the North-South issue was really political, which means that it could not possibly be settled otherwise than by political negotiation or by war, but absolutely not by legalistic ritual. In 1933, a real political issue again took shape, and there was an unsuccessful attempt to solve it by legalistic means.

In that year occurred the fateful Revolution, the seizure of the central power by the Culture-distorting group in America. The new regime did not at once dominate the judiciary, since it has life tenure of office. The judiciary vetoed every one of the principal internal measure of the new regime, until, in 1937, it was intimidated by the threat of creating enough new judges to outvote the opponents of the regime. Grant had successfully done this in 1870 to coerce a hostile Supreme Court, showing that judicial review was merely tolerated by the ruling forces in America so long as it was in their interests.

After 1936 the Court soon passed into the control of the Revolution, and judicial veto of political measures was terminated. It may possibly be used as a slogan, or resurrected as a show, but the forces which the 20th century has let loose do not take legalism seriously. The weapon of judicial review in America possessed some conservative efficacy during the first onslaughts of the

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Revolution of 1933, but it was a negative defence. Only a creative movement can prevail against a determined Revolution, only politics can defeat politics.

The "separation of powers" theory has worked out in practice to mean either the domination of all branches of the government by the same interests, or else the splitting of the branches between two opposing groups. The authoritarian spirit of the 20th century spells the end of attempts to "separate" the powers of government. Empty theorizing may continue, but this method of politics is dead, in America as well as elsewhere.

II

During the whole 19th century—except for the political issue which created the Secession-War—America was a country without true politics. Inner-politics was simply business, and any group could engage in it to further its own economic or ideological interest. In addition to parties, the usage of "lobbies" developed. The lobby is the means of exerting pressure on legislators after election. Private groups send private representatives to the legislature and there they persuade office-holders, by bribes of votes and money, to support, introduce, or oppose, legislation. Agrarian groups, racial groups, economic groups, societies of every description, use this method. By this means the anti-alcohol societies introduced nation-wide prohibition of the manufacture, sale or transportation of alcoholic liquors. This political technic continues. After the defeat of the Federalist party, early in the 19th century, there was a constant trend toward widening the suffrage, supported by all parties, and only opposed by social-traditionary forces.

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Party always wants the widest possible suffrage, since this completely deprives the electorate of power. If ten men decide an election, they all have some power, at least, but if ten million comprise the electorate, the masses deprive the higher elements of any significance. The inner development of America has followed the invariable pattern of Democracy, observable in all Cultures and all States.

Party-politics is tied to commercialism, Rationalism, Materialism, economic activity. With the Spirit of the Age of Resurgence of Authority, party-politics gives way to authoritarian forms, regardless of theories or technics employed. The power is simply there for an ambitious man or group to take. As the American Revolution of 1933 shows, this group can even be Culturally alien. The actual technic for instituting authoritarian rule in America was instructive: the two established parties, Republican and Democratic had enjoyed, under various names, a monopoly of inner-politics for a century. It was simple for a group determined on the seizure and maintenance of absolute power to penetrate both of these older formations, and so bring under its control the entire means of expression of internal politics. Only two candidates—or, rarely, three—could be nominated for the Presidency. If the same group nominated them all, it was secure against all means of eviction save revolution by force. This was done, and the result was shown by the elections of 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948.

During the 19th century of economic obsession in America, the idea of instilling efficiency into any phase of the public political life occurred to no one. The situation was allowed to develop in which forty-eight

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administrative units, theoretically "sovereign," are maintained, each making its own laws on all subjects, levying its own taxes, operating its own educational system, judiciary, police, and economic programme. Within the continental United States, there were, in 1947, 75,000 units levying taxes. Each unit can create a public debt, and this must be done through the great private banking houses. In 1947, the total public indebtedness of America was a greater figure than the total assessed tax valuation of the country. This wide distribution of the apparatus of public power has meant that exactly the opportunities of corruption and misrepresentation which inhere in the central government are reproduced in miniature thousands of times over.

The American Revolution of 1933 was not directed toward reorganizing this state of affairs, but was interested primarily in external affairs. The background of the intervention of this regime in world affairs is the history of American external affairs, after which the aims of the regime will be shown in detail.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

America acquired its far-flung empire with less bloodshed than any previous conquering nation in the history of the planet. Every other power that has ever held sway over subject peoples has purchased its position with long and heavy warring. An empire cannot remain at peace. Peace and Empire exclude one another. The hardest war America ever fought was its first one, from 1775 to 1783. From Lexington to the Treaty of Paris was a long, bloody road, and one that at any time could have taken the opposite turning. The American regime of those days was not one of full coffers and vast resources that could join late in a war on the winning side of a world-wide coalition against one power. It was not in the enviable position of a gambler who can keep his winnings, but need not pay if he loses. Those leaders actually risked their lives in that war, and if they had lost a hangman's noose would have been waiting for them.

The people who have supplanted the descendants of these proto-Americans would in that case call them "war criminals," which is the name they devised for the defeated leaders in a war. For were they not "conspirators against humanity," "wagers of aggressive war," and the rest of it? Could not this small band of generals, propagandists, statesmen, ideologues, financiers, have been easily fitted into a courtroom for a year-long "trial" where a pre-determined judgment could have been passed upon them? They had no need, however, to fear any such performance, but they were legally traitors to their sovereign King, and a legal tribunal

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with actual jurisdiction could have been constituted against them.

The American colonists were successful only because of aid from France and volunteer assistance from military men of high ability, like von Steuben, de Kalb, LaFayette, Pulaski. This foreign aid was decisive. England was involved elsewhere for bigger stakes, and was unable to devote sufficient military attention to the colonial uprising. Further contributing to the American effort was the Internal English opposition which favoured the colonies. The deliberate inactivity of General Howe is only one manifestation of this obstruction.

This long, hard, war marked the beginning of American political independence. The thirteen colonies stretched snake-like along the Atlantic seaboard. The hinterland was claimed by European powers whose days of empire were numbered in the Western Hemisphere: France and Spain. The political decline of Spain was reflected by the revolutionary figures of Hidalgo, Iturbide, Bolivar, who were bringing about the dissolution of the Spanish empire in the Western hemisphere. France was driven, under Napoleon's regime, to abandon the idea of a colonial empire which would replace the British empire overseas with a French one—Napoleon's original idea—and to adopt instead the idea of a European empire, the rebuilding of the Holy Roman Empire, but directed this time from Paris. To this end, the trifle of three million dollars was worth more to Napoleon than the vast Louisiana territory, and its purchase by the American union in 1803 was the most fantastic piece of luck any power has ever had. Frederick

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the Great had to fight seven heartbreaking years to gain tiny Silesia, and two more wars to hold it; Napoleon fought twenty years against six coalitions to control Western Europe; England paid a son for every square mile of its empire—and so on through the pages of imperial history. But America acquired an area the size of Western Europe for the price of a few ships-of-the-line. The latent Calvinism of the proto-American type regarded this, not as remarkable luck, but as a sign of predestination, of God's grace.

American boldness and Gothic instincts were shown by the Barbary War. This war demonstrated also that the human material in the colonies could produce the type demanded by successful imperialism: William Bainbridge, William Eaton, Edward Preble, Stephen Decatur.

The War of 1812 was another unbelievable piece of luck. Again Napoleon was fighting for American empire. England, involved to the hilt with the Colossus of the continent, was not even able to exploit its superior military position in America, and in spite of its military defeat, America was the political victor in the treaty of Ghent, 1814. The acquisition of Florida in 1819 was the result of negotiation and not of war. Already at this time, the Austrian maxim could have been paraphrased for America: *Bella gerant alii, tu, felix America, eme!*

The great Hamilton, at the very beginning of the union, had counselled the annexation of Cuba, and others demanded it during this decade, but it was not to become actual until 1900. But at this time, occurred an event that ranks with the great audacities of History:

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the manifesto to be known as the Monroe Doctrine was delivered in the year 1823. This manifesto announced that America was pre-empting an entire half of the globe for itself. This "Doctrine" was supported by the British fleet, as a device to dissolve the Spanish colonial empire. If England had opposed this doctrine, it would have been stillborn, but it served British policy, and enlisted America in the service of England. This remained, however, unknown in America, where it was thought that the bold pronouncement had frightened all the powers of Europe, since none of them challenged it. Furthermore, South America presented an inherently uninteresting field for further imperialistic ventures by the powers, and it thus happened that a **tradition of success** was slowly established in American foreign policy. The Calvinistic feeling spread that America was predestined to rule whatso it would. Almost a century elapsed before the "doctrine" was challenged, and by that time, the military force was present in America which its maintenance presupposed.

Simultaneously with the outer events, the "inner" imperialism, so to speak, continued unrelentingly. The aboriginal inhabitants of the continent, whose wishes were never consulted either by the European powers or by Americans, whether of the colonies or of the union, resisted unceasingly the steady westward drive of American imperialism. The answer of the Americans to this resistance by the Red Indians was the formula "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." American merchants supplied the Indians with arms, powder, and shot, and thus the Indian wars continued down to the beginning of the 20th century. Despite the money-payments for

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which European powers had given up vast claims, the Indians relinquished theirs only to superior American force. At that time the American practice and theory were the same: Might makes Right. Treaty after treaty was made with Indian tribes laying down frontiers over which Americans agreed not to pass. Each treaty was violated by the American imperial instinct. Such treaty violations gave rise to the Black Hawk War, the Seminole wars, and to a century-long series of wars which only ended with the political annihilation of the Indians.

During the 30's Americans had infiltrated into the Mexican Empire, and by a successful revolt, they separated the vast area of Texas from Mexico. Less than ten years had gone by before this area was annexed by the union. An area larger than any West-European power had been seized with only small-scale fighting. In 1842, by treaty with England, the northwest boundary was extended. Oregon was definitely incorporated in 1846.

But meantime, the imperial instinct looked from Texas toward the Pacific, over Mexico. It was decided to deprive Mexico of two-thirds of its territory, and since this could hardly be done by purchase or treaty, a war was planned. Mexico caused the war, by refusing to submit to American imperialistic demands. A short war ended in the dictate of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which stripped Mexico of its power.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 with England specifically referred to an American canal across Central America, and led first of all to the completion of an American railroad there in 1855. Japan was "opened"

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in 1853, over its feeble military resistance, to the commercial side of American imperialism.

After the War of Secession, the American union smashed the French attempt to add Mexico to its empire, and allowed Maximilian to be shot by a revolutionary firing squad. Also shortly after that War, Alaska was acquired by Yankee imperialism. This territory, of almost a million quadrante kilometres, was **purchased** by America from Russia for a trivial sum. In the same decade the border with Mexico was again rounded off, this time by a small money payment instead of a war, in the transaction known as the Gadsden Purchase.

American imperialism was everywhere active during the second half of the 19th century: Hawaii, Chile, Cuba, Colombia, China, Japan, Siam, Samoa. The American fleet bombarded foreign ports at will in the colonial areas of the world, and sent landing parties ashore when necessary to secure submission to American commercial-imperialistic or territorial demands.

In 1890 the last Sioux War was ended, and thereafter Indian resistance to American imperialism was scattered and local. Hawaii's turn had come, and soon a "revolt" prepared Hawaii for American annexation. This was mere preparation for an imperialistic venture on a larger scale than anything yet attempted. In 1898, Spain's possessions in the Caribbean and Pacific were attacked. As a result of the Spanish-American War, most of Spain's colonial empire was transferred to America, including the valuable Phillipines and Cuba.

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In passing, the Pacific islands of Tutuila, Guam, Wake, Midway and Samoa had been annexed.

II

In all this, one thing must be noted: American imperialism was purely instinctive. It was neither intelligent nor intellectualized, like contemporary European imperialism. No public man ever advocated the building of an American empire, and few even recognized openly what was going on. It would in fact have been indignantly denied that America was an imperialistic power. It is true that the phrase "Manifest Destiny" as an apology for imperialism came into use around the turn of the 20th century, but there was no definite imperial policy or programme. The colonies were acquired in a planless, purely instinctive fashion, without regard to position, significance, or economic value. William Jennings Bryan in his speech on Imperialism, August 8, 1900, did warn America against entering on a career of empire because it would destroy the American form of government, saying, "We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Phillipines without weakening that principle here."

But he was not heard, and the tradition of confidence that had taken root during a century of successful imperialistic ventures without a setback was not to be undermined by a minatory speech. Nor was the opposite aspect of Bryan's warning heard. What he meant by "self-government" was the habit of class war, constitutionalized civil war, freedom for everyone to gouge and exploit everyone else within the limits of the criminal law. Thus his admonition meant: an imperial

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nation cannot have internal disorganization and formlessness.

There was no class however in America interested in anything else except self-enrichment, and so no one concerned himself with such questions except a few writers like Homer Lea. Imperial situations are ever-changing, and one must be prepared for reverses. In that case, the home conditions must also be in order if the outer developments are to be mastered. In a country where even the word **politics** was completely misunderstood, and meant **corrupt economics**, it could not be expected that the political wisdom would be present that would inform the leadership that empire means war, and war presupposes internal order. In very fact, there was no leadership to tell. Every few years a new group of representatives of private economic interests were installed in the administration of the government, and there was no traditional policy, internal or external. There was no agreement on what was fundamental to America's interests, what would be *casus belli*, which powers were natural allies, which naturally inimical. The leaders at any one time were mainly self-interested, obsessed with the grand problem of perpetuating their tenure of office.

But American luck continued. Although isolated in its hemisphere, in the sense that no world power could afford to attack it, nevertheless America was not isolated in the sense that it could not send its gunboats and landing parties all over the colonial world on imperialistic adventures. Furthermore, as the Spanish War showed, America could easily defeat any European power in the Western Hemisphere.

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The Spanish-American War marked, what the War of Secession had foreshadowed, the emergence of America as a world-power. This made seven world-powers at that time; the others being England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Japan. Among these, only Russia, Germany, and England were in the first rank. America was excluded solely by reason of its geographical isolation. It could act against a world power in the Eastern hemisphere only with allies, and in a subordinate role. This was the situation at the beginning of the 20th century, the Age of Annihilation-Wars.

For a full century—1800-1900—America had been engaged in imperialism, in the Caribbean, in South and Central America, all over the Pacific, and in the Far East. The sphere of American military influence was by 1900 larger than that of any other power except England. It had not in any way condensed or formed its empire, because of the purely instinctive nature of American imperialism. Thus Canada, for instance, although defenceless and contiguous to the base for power, had not been politically incorporated into the American Empire. Nor had Mexico. The American instinct was content merely to be stronger within a certain sphere than any other power, so that its economic ascendancy was assured there. Empire-building, in the European sense, was not known in America. The idea of a grand power structure was not understood. The American Empire merely grew, through lack of resistance to American imperial instinct.

For its empire, America had fought only one large-scale war. The first war, that of 1775, was for independence, and the War of 1812 is more accurately called

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The Second War for Independence. The War of Secession extended the Yankee empire southward, removing an emerging power from the North American continent, and this was the sole serious imperial war Yankee America had to undertake in its century of empire-building. For the landing parties all over Central America, the Mexican War, the fighting in Japan, China, and in the Pacific islands, the Spanish War, all had had slight casualties. Never before had an imperial power acquired so much territory and influence for such a trivial price in blood.

Yet this was not understood, either in Europe or in America. Americans were either embarrassed or smug about their empire. Europeans either did not know about it, or thought it was the result of wise and mature political-thinking. Neither Europeans nor Americans wrote or thought much about the new world-power, its potentialities, its soul, its imperial abilities.

Other parts of the world understood American imperialism better, and Japan in particular noted the lack of political thinking in America which made it capable of an entirely negative policy, one against its own interests.

Certainly no power in Europe, no government, no person, in 1900 thought that it was within the realm of possibility that within two decades an American army of two millions would be transported across the Atlantic to fight in an intra-European war.

Keen political thinking in America would have seen that American imperialism was furthered by the mutual concern of all the other world-powers with the situation in the other hemisphere. This allowed America to pro-

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ceed with imperialism in the Western hemisphere without the interference of any other world-power.

Every other power, even England, was helpless to frustrate American actions in the Western hemisphere. But there was no American ruling class, no Idea, no Nation, no State. American imperialism was not a rationalized, planned effort, but a fortuitous agglomeration resulting from an imperialistic instinct at work against weak opposition, and with a background of luck.

Yankee financiers were not interested in creating a grand political structure which would stretch from Bering Straits to Cape Horn, nor in building any American empire whatever. Their personal interests were not only uppermost, but exclusive with them. The political leaders of America were dependent for their tenure of office on the financiers by 1900, for finance had by that time assumed dominance over industry and transportation. And the greatest financial coups were not to be made in South or Central American affairs, but in West-European affairs.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IN THE AGE OF ANNIHILATION-WARS

At this period, the Western Civilization stood before the great turning-point of the First World War. This great epoch was to mark the demise of an historical phase, and the beginning of another. The Age of Rationalism, of Materialism, of Criticism, of Economics, of Democracy and Parliamentarism, in short the first phase of the Civilization Crisis, was coming to an end, and the Crisis was about to be dissolved in the new Age, that of Absolute Politics, of Authority, of Historicism. New currents had appeared in all spheres of Western life, manifesting themselves more in the decadence or collapse of the forms of the older age, than in the appearance of the new forms. Only one man, the Philosopher of the coming Age, formulated them in their entirety. While he was preparing his work on the coming Age of Annihilation Wars, and delineating the form of the Future in all spheres of Life, the materialists were, from one standpoint or another, denying the possibility of a large-scale war, and even as they spoke, the First World War broke out, in August, 1914.

The old Spanish traditions of cabinet-diplomacy gave their last performance with the Austrian negotiations with Serbia in July, 1914, and then vanished forever from the Western Civilization.

The War was only the **political** aspect of the transition from one Age into the next, but since Action, and not Thought, is decisive for Life, the War took up into itself the entire significance of the world-epoch. The Cultural aspect of the War was the passing of the

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19th century stage into the 20th century stage of the Western Civilization. That meant the demise of the English world-Idea, and the triumph of the Prussian world-Idea, for England had been the Nation inwardly imbued with the Idea of the first phase of the Western Civilization—Rationalism, Materialism, the spirit of economics, parliamentarism, nationalism—and Prussia was the Nation destined to give to the 20th century its appropriate form. This conflict on the cultural plane was independent of any conflict on the political plane. Only **one** of these Ideas could triumph—only **one** expressed the Spirit of the New Age. The alternative to the Prussian Idea is chaos. The Prussian Idea could have triumphed on the cultural plane without a war between Prussia and England, in fact they could have been and remained allies for **political** purposes. The higher development is purely spiritual, and it could only have the result of Prussian victory—or chaos in the entire Western Civilization.

The War was occasioned in a grotesque manner, by a Balkan assassination. Previous incidents, like that at Fashoda, could have occasioned the First World War, and in such case the distribution of powers would have been entirely different, and the results, both spiritual and political, would also. The form it did take—through no necessity whatever—was that of a coalition of all the powers in the world against Prussia-Germany, and its sole ally, Austria-Hungary.

Through connections formed before the War, the American financiers were committed to an English victory, and they were the real force in the American plutocracy. No public "politician" knew anything

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whatever of external affairs, since they could not relate them to their tenure of office, their sole concern.

It was a fate for America that at this time there was an adventurer at the head of the government. He not only failed to oppose the demands of the bankers for American participation in the War on the side of England, but he had private notions of using the war to further his own unlimited ambition. He and his entourage projected the idea of a "league of nations" of which he would be the head. The English government gladly acquiesced, being in desperate military straits.

Now emerges in full clarity the weakness of American Imperialism. The moment of a European War was obviously a time for American action in its own hemisphere. It was already at war with Mexico, and could have concluded this war without hearing a voice from any other world power. Or, on a higher plane, America could have offered its good offices to terminate a war that all Europe was obviously losing, to the benefit of Asia. America could even have brought the war to a close against the will of the belligerents, for it could have forced England to give up the war.

But America pursued neither self-interest, nor the interest of the Western Civilization. Now the population of America was to reap the fruit of America's century of spiritual isolation, of insulation from History, from the sternness, harshness, cruelty and bitterness of History. Because America had fought only one hard war in its imperial history, because it had never been opposed by a great power, because it had acquired an enormous empire without any cost in blood, it had never developed any **political consciousness**. The word

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politics was not understood, nor was the fact of the power-struggle. There was no State, the focus of power. There was no ruling class, the custodian of the State. There was no Tradition, the guiding consciousness of the Nation. There **was** no Nation, no **Idea** in whose service the population-stream of the continent lived. There was no Genius in politics, since there was no politics, but only unclean personal struggles for offices and bribes. There was only the group of bankers, and the hapless opportunist Wilson, dreaming of world-rule.

The real, spiritual, significance of the War was known to no public person. Not even the superficial, purely political aspect of the War was understood. The closest thing to realism was found in Boise Penrose's public demand to enter the war because America had become financially tied to an English victory, which did not seem to be maturing.

If there had been a ruling class—a stratum dedicated by its existence to the actualization and service of the National Idea—America would either have remained out of the War, or have terminated it to save Europe. The atrocity-propaganda, the English monopoly of the news, the systematic efforts of private financial and social groups to bring about American intervention, would not have been allowed. A ruling-class tolerates no foreign propaganda or foreign political activity on the home soil.

II

The purely political aspect of the War was the struggle between two political powers, Germany and

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England. It wore this aspect for the first stage of the War. By 1916, the struggle had changed its nature, and a Pitt as Prime Minister would have seen it. By that time it was Western Europe against Asia, and in particular Russia. During the first two years, Russia, and the host of other powers against Germany, were serving English policy. After that, England had passed into the secondary role, having been surpassed in power by Asia and America. Every ship that England lost increased the strength of America and Japan. Every English soldier that was killed increased the strength of Russia, India, China and Japan. England had arrived at the point where military victory could no longer result in political victory. Its only hope for emerging unbroken from the War was to conclude peace in 1916.

Naturally the same was true of Germany. Every German ship that was sunk increased the strength of America and Japan, and every German battle-death increased Russian and Asiatic strength vis-a-vis the Western Civilization.

The white Western nations could not afford the losses that Asia and Russia could easily replace. The Western Civilization was outnumbered at that time already five to one by the outer forces. By engaging in an internal war—England versus Germany—Europe was fighting collectively only for the victory of Asia, Russia and America.

None of this was seen by responsible persons in America. A few thinkers and writers, like Frank Harris and John W. Burgess, saw more deeply into the real

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issues than any public man. Of these, only William Jennings Bryan opposed effectively for a time the trend toward intervention.

For what had the war to do with American imperialism? What could America gain from the war? Europe was not the enemy of America; both political realities, and the cultural bond prevented that. Asia—Japan and Russia—were not America's allies, that it was interested in their victory. There was nothing to be gained, from America's standpoint, by participation on either side of the European War.

This intervention did come about simply because there was no such thing as **America**. There were only private groups, economically self-interested, a loose government representing the strongest of these, and a prevalent total incomprehension of the world of politics and of the unity and destiny of the West.

This was the weakness of American Imperialism: no plan, no tradition, no policy, no design, no organization.

The English policy against Germany was the same it had used against Napoleon: the "Balance of Power" policy, by which the continent was to be kept divided into two groups of equal power, so that in every war English power would be decisive. Even by 1914, this policy was quite stupid and old-fashioned, for the increase of Russian power had superseded it. Those who had looked beneath the thin veneer of Western Culture, by virtue of which alone Russia belonged to the Western State-system, and who had the discernment to assess rightly the snarling Asiatic nihilism under that tenuous crust, knew that the long-range interests of the nations of Western Europe were identical, and that the con-

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tinuance of petty-stateism and intra-European wars would be fatal to Europe's monopolistic power position in the world, and to each European State.

This sort of thing was utterly unknown, unsuspected, undreamed-of, in economically-obsessed America. When the war did come, the populace reacted with a carnival-spirit, as if to a new type of public game or sport.

Nor did America learn anything about politics from the war. Its losses were almost nothing—although, proportionate to the length of front and length of time, they were greater than any European power's losses—and its concluding idea was that it had won the war. Actually, of course, the war was a defeat for America, since it was not in any way involved in the War. The American **situation** was neutral, regardless of any intervention policy whatever.

After the war, America collaborated with the powers of Europe, including Germany, in opposing Asiatic Bolshevism in Russia. America dispatched two expeditionary forces, one to Eastern Siberia, and one to Northern Russia, to fight the Bolshevism that the European War had unchained against Europe.

Every bit of material, and every life, that America had given to the War was a complete loss from the American standpoint. True, it had emerged from the war with vastly more power than it had entered it, just as had Russia and Japan. But it proceeded to throw this power away at the Versailles Conference and the Washington Naval Conference. Not understanding power, it had remained unconscious of the new world-power distribution resulting from the war. It flung away its new power without knowing it. This ignorance

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was on a national scale, but was also individual. The ambitious ideal-monger Wilson, who set out to remap the world, had only the most general notions of European geography, ethnography, and history. The balance of Europe's economy was unknown to him, and he even had no idea of what belonged to the Western Civilization and what did not. He regarded Serbia and Poland, for instance, as Western "nations."

America learned nothing from the war because it had been, it thought, "victorious," and this pragmatic test proved the soundness of its policy. By throwing away its new political power, it showed that it did not grasp the fundamental that war is waged to increase power. If any other power had behaved as America did—i.e., fought against its own national interest in a World War—it would have been ruined, and probably partitioned by its neighbours. This could not happen to America because of its isolation in its hemisphere.

It is of secondary importance, but nevertheless must be noticed, that the official propaganda in America was nothing deeper than the slogan that "the world must be made safe for democracy." It was not found necessary to link up American policy with American interests. This is sufficient testimony to the primitivity of American political thinking. No mention of the crisis in the Western Civilization, of the form of the Future, of any issue whatever. War for war's sake. It was the same compulsion that Lincoln had had, to inject an ideological issue into wars. Every war must somehow involve "democracy." If necessary, Tsarist Russia, or Bolshevik Russia, figures as a "democracy." The only group in America—outside of the few brains who think

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independently, and who comprise America's hope for the Future—which was not subject to these idealistic slogans and catchwords was that of the financiers. To them, ideals are commodities which Money can buy. Had they not done it? America could not have lost the First World War in a military sense, just as it could not have won in a political sense. In one word, the American intervention in the First World War was a venture into **political Unreality.**

The American delegates at the Versailles conference did not know what the nature of the gathering was. They regarded it as some sort of theologico-judicial tribunal where moral questions were being decided. This collective hallucination, which the European delegates did nothing to disturb, resulted in the strange moralistic terminology of the Versailles Dictate. The vocabulary of this Dictate was American, the provisions were English. The Americans were writing, as they thought, an epilogue to History, a sequel to the last of all wars forever. The English were preparing their initial positions for the next war.

III

The net result of the Versailles Conference was a complete failure for Europe. The petty-states retained their political sovereignty vis-a-vis one another; the transfer of power to areas outside of Europe was thus confirmed. The ground was laid for a Second World War on the exact lines of the First. To make more occasions for its outbreak, a host of microscopic "States" were created. Small-space thinking was the order of the day. Old-fashioned nationalism, which had brought the

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entire West to a colossal defeat, was reaffirmed. The stupid ideology of Wilson and his entourage was written into European political documents. Questions of "guilt" were introduced into politics, along with "international morality," "sanctity of treaties," and similar asininities.

Yet towering over the whole landscape was the great fact: all Europe and particularly England, had lost the war.

In the new world-picture, there were four powers: Russia, America, Japan and England. The strongest power, if it had only known it, was America, but, as we have seen, it relinquished most of its new power. The historical fact that had been demonstrated, however—the certainty of complete American ascendancy in any Anglo-American alliance—was not to be withdrawn, and remained there for the political instruction of all Europe.

The result of the European debacle was a powerful negative reaction throughout the American population. The soul of the American people turned with disgust against the European adventure, and no alert politician dared advocate America's entry into the "league of nations," or any of its appurtenances. The bankers had won the war, and had no interest in Wilson's personal world-rule ambitions.

But this reaction was not to be taken as an abandonment of American imperialism. That cannot be abandoned, coming as it does from the instinct of the People-soul. The War was detested precisely because it had been off the road of imperialism.

The American imperial march continued. American marines and naval forces continued to move about the

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coasts of the Carribean and the Pacific, bombarding, and landing troops, just as they had done for the previous century. Chinese ports were attacked, but no longer Japanese ports, for the First World War had made Japan into a Great Power, despite the fact that its war effort was nil.

Nicaragua was attacked and occupied for years by American forces in the 20's. Hardly had the troops in Nicaragua reached their objectives when America, allied with Japan, attacked China in 1927. The occasion of the war was Chinese resistance to Japanese and American commercial imperialism. Heavy reprisals were administered for the shelling of an American oil plant at Nanking.

While it was engaged in imperialistic fighting, America sponsored the Kellog Pact. This famous treaty was supposed to do away with war. The mere fact that numerous Western governments signed this elaborate piece of nonsense was a grave sign of the sickness of the Western Civilization. Together with the political defeat of all Europe, a surface-victory had also been gained in the First World War by the 19th century Idea over that of the 20th century. The result was chaos in Western Europe after the First World War—complete disorganization, lack of public comprehension of the new economic, social, spiritual and political problems created by the forward development of the Civilization, and as a result of the debacle of the War.

American commercial imperialism was busy in South and Central America during all this time. For instance, revolutions were brought about in Panama, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, and Salvador, all in the year 1931. Another

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revolution was brought about in Chile the following year. In 1931, private American forces exerted strong influence on the Spanish situation, and helped create the situation which was to result in the Civil War of 1936-1939. Cuba was another country—nominally independent—which felt American imperialism.

American imperialism followed, after as before the First World War, the same double pattern: continual grasping after more power on further horizons on the one hand; complete inability to organize, plan, or intellectualize this conquest, on the other hand. As an example of the confusion, there was the ideology of "non-recognition," according to which America would not "recognize"—whatever that means—the acquisition by another power of territory by "force of arms." And yet the entire American empire, including its original base, was acquired as the result of American armed force. This includes the purchases, which were only sold to America because of American military preponderance in its part of the globe. But to touch upon this subject is to arrive at the American Revolution of 1933.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION OF 1933

The American War for Independence, 1775-1783, was regarded by two different types of participants in two different aspects. The creative leader-types, like Hamilton, Washington, Franklin, Rutledge, saw it as an **international** war, between an American nation, in the formative stage, and England. This American nation was to them a new Idea, and the various ideological slogans and ideals which were used as propaganda material were not the essence, but only the temporary clothing of the new national Idea. For under-types like Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, and Jefferson however, the war was a **class war**, and the Independence-Idea was only a technique for actualizing the equality ideals of Rationalistic literature. The implementation of these equality ideals has always taken the form of jealousy, hatred, and social destruction, in America and in Europe. The class-warriors regarded the war as a struggle for equality, not a fight for American national independence. They hated monarchy, leadership, discipline, quality, aristocracy, anything superior and creative.

The Nation-Idea immanent in the minds of the creators, led by Hamilton, was the healthy and natural organic ranking of the population from the top down, with a monarch and aristocracy at the top, educated from birth to the idea of service of the National-Idea. They conceived, already at that early stage, the idea of a planned American Imperialism over the hinterland of the continent, and in the Carribean.

The two ideas continued through the history of America. Class-war is an autopathic Culture-disease which arises with the beginnings of the Civilization-crisis, and is only finally liquidated with the end of that

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crisis, and the beginning of the second phase of Civilization, the Resurgence of Authority. America's entire history up to now has been within the first organic phase of Civilization, which set in for the Western Culture about 1750, triumphed in 1800, and is now inwardly accomplished.

Class-war has thus always been looked upon as natural and normal in America, instead of as the expression of a great Culture-crisis with an origin, direction, and end.

The class-war forces, led by Jefferson at the time of the founding of the American union, in 1789, have been in the unique situation in which there was no ideology whatever opposed to them. Since the defeat of the Federalist Party, in 1828, there has been no spiritual, but only crude economic, resistance to class-war in America. That it has proceeded to lengths of destruction in America to which it never could proceed in Europe is owing, however, not to this alone, but to the presence of extra-Western forces. These forces have intervened in the public life of America, and of necessity have distorted that life, and warped it away from its Western origins.

The very nature of a Colony, as has been seen, not only generates centrifugal political tendencies, but also weakens the bond with the mother-soil of the Culture, whence the inner life of the Colony derives. This makes the Colonial area one of low Culture-sensitivity, and low resisting-power to extra-Cultural forces. It is this low resisting power to sub-Cultural and extra-Cultural forces that has brought about the obsession with economics and has allowed the unparalleled influx of

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Cultural aliens to take place over the past half century.

At the Constitutional Convention, 1787, Benjamin Franklin sought to have included in the projected Constitution a provision forever excluding the Jews from America. The "humanity" and "equality" ideologists, knowing nothing whatever of what Franklin had in mind, unacquainted completely with the Jew—for there were almost no Jews in America until a century later—rejected Franklin's advice. His warning that if they did not, their descendants would be working for the Jews within two centuries was not heard. These ideologists only knew of "humanity," and wished to ignore the vast differences between those human beings within and those without a given world-feeling.

Immigration into America during the 19th century was from all parts of Western Europe, but principally from England, Germany, and Ireland. Toward the end of the century began the Jewish immigration, and shortly thereafter the influx of Balkan Slavs, Russians, and Eastern Mediterranean peoples. Feeble defensive measures were taken, like the Immigration Act of 1890, which put a quota on populations from each European country, calculated so as to favour Northern European immigrants over Slavs and Levantines. None of this, however, affected the Jew, for, stemming from a different Culture, his movements are invisible statistically to Western nations. He came in under the English quota, the German quota, the Irish quota, and every other.

In the outline of Culture-parasitism, the effect of the presence of vast numbers of Negroes, Asiatics, and Indians upon the American life was traced. Added to these numbers are those of the Eastern European popu-

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lations—excluding the Jews—who, although assimilable, have not been assimilated. The world-feeling of Rationalism, which begets Materialism, Money-obsession, decline of authority, and political pluralism, worked against assimilation, and as Culture-distorters increased in social power and significance, assimilation was deliberately held up in order to keep America in a spiritually disarticulated, divided, and chaotic condition. Defensive efforts on the part of Americans of nationalistic feelings to restrict or abolish immigration were frustrated by Culture-distortion.

Between 1900 and 1915, fifteen million aliens immigrated into America. Few came from Western Europe. Nearly all were from South-eastern Europe, from Russia, Poland, and Asia Minor. Included in these masses were Jews, whose numbers are estimated in millions. The First World War interrupted the immigration-river, but it was resumed after the War, and was accelerated mightily by the European Revolution of 1933. The Jews who fled or were expelled from Europe went to America en masse.

It is worth noting that the lower Culture-exclusiveness in colonial areas had resulted in Jews being treated for civil purposes the same as Europeans from 1737 onwards in the American colonies, whereas a century had to elapse before this Rationalistic policy triumphed completely on the home-soil of the Western Culture. The only reason for it in the colonies was of course the fact that there were no Jews, as a group, but only a few scattered individuals, who were regarded as curiosities.

From 1890 on began the Jewish invasion of America.

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Within the next fifty years, the number of Jews in America increased from negligible proportions to a number estimated between 8 and 12 millions. New York City became in this period predominantly a Jewish capital. Of this Jewish immigration, approximately 80 per cent were Ashkenazic Jews. American reaction inevitably began against the phenomena which inevitably accompanied the immigration of these vast numbers with their own world-feeling, who immediately began to influence the American life in every sphere and on every plane. A clever propaganda making use of the American ideology to serve Jewish purposes was the answer to this reaction. America became a "melting-pot," after the phrase of the Jew Israel Zangwill, and the purely quantitative American ideology lent this picture convincingness in an America still in the money-obsession stage.

The word "American" was changed by this same propaganda to mean an immigrant who had improved his personal circumstances by coming to America, and to exclude the native American who was displaced by the immigrant. If the latter showed resentment, he was called "un-American." Thus native American movements like the second Ku-Klux-Klan, formed in 1915, as an expression of the reaction of the American organism to the presence of the foreign matter, were more or less successfully called "un-American" by the propaganda organs in America, which even by that time had come under strong Culture-distorting influences.

The words "America" and "American" were stripped of all spiritual-national significance, and were given a purely ideological significance. Anyone who came

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to America was ipso facto an American, regardless of the facts that he retained his own language, lived in his own racial-national group, nourished his old connections with Russia, South-eastern Europe, or the Eastern Mediterranean, and had a purely economic relationship with America. Americans of native stock however, the representatives before history of the new unit in the Western Civilization called the American People, were not ipso facto Americans. If they nourished any national feelings of exclusiveness whatever, they were "un-American." This transvaluation of values is an invariable accompaniment of Culture-Distortion, and represents a super-personal life-necessity of the Culture-distorting element. The values of the host-Culture, or host-colony, are hostile to the life of the Culture-distorter, and for him to adopt them would be to disappear as a higher unit. Assimilation of the Jews would mean that there would no longer be a Jewish Idea, a Jewish Culture-State-Nation-People-Religion-Race. In fighting against nationalistic feelings in America, the Jewish Idea is fighting for its continued existence against the hostile Western Civilization. It is a tribute to the political skill of the leaders of Jewry that they were able in the 20th century to identify their Jewish Idea with America, and to label the nationalism of America with the term "un-American."

II

For the inner history of America, four epochs had great significance: 1789, 1828, 1865, 1933. 1789 marked the formation of the Union of the colonies, through the adoption of the Constitution. 1828 marked the final

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defeat of the Federalist Party, the sole authoritarian force in the Union. 1865 was the complete financialization of the continent, but also the formation of the specific character of the American People. With 1865 however, the last barrier to economic obsession was removed, and the road was paved that was to eventuate in the utter triumph of the Culture-distorter in 1933. Future Western history will write down this date as the year of the American Revolution—or more accurately as the first phase of the American Revolution—for in that year, Culture-distortion began to penetrate the remaining spheres of American life, government, Army, administration, judiciary.

Yet this epoch passed unnoticed—not only by the great mass of Americans, for that is not surprising—but also by many of the custodians of the American national feeling.

On the surface, the profound meaning of events was not at once disclosed. To the population, and to the outer world, it looked as though there had been a mere change of administration, a substitution of one party-business for another. A gigantic revolution that in a European land would have brought about a war was slyly and invisibly put into effect in a politically-unconscious country.

Considerable opposition was aroused by the new regime from the very start, for it embarked, from inner necessity, on a programme hostile to, and in every way destructive of, the American national feelings.

Keen political instincts in the Cultural-aliens had given them a complete mastery of the technics of American party-contests, and they proceeded to monopolize the

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opposing party, so that thenceforward elections were mere pageantry, and no longer contained the possibility of a real change of government, but only the substitution of one Culture-distorting party for another.

Early in the Revolution foreign affairs were adapted to the policy of the distorter. Bolshevick Russia was accorded diplomatic recognition by the regime in 1934, and Litvinov-Finkelstein was sent from Russia to congratulate the successful regime in Washington. This was the first step in the formation of the American-Bolshevist coalition against Europe. The regime was still in the process of consolidating its hold on power, and had to proceed with caution, since the possibility still existed in 1936 of a national rebellion in the old, elective form.

Yielding to the popular concern with internal affairs, the distorter conducted the "election" of 1936 on domestic issues. This was to be the last election in American history where even a remote possibility existed of a national revolution through the old voting technic. Thenceforward elections were to be managed in such a way that the Culture-distorting regime could perpetuate itself in power indefinitely by that means.

III

Culture-distortion in America, as elsewhere in the Western Civilization, was only able to twist, warp, and frustrate the soul of the host. It could neither kill it, nor transform it. American autopathic tendencies, arising from the disintegratory influence of Rationalism and Materialism, are the source of the possibilities of which the Culture-distorter made use. His technique was to

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push them ever further in the direction of decadence, but at the same time he could always refer to Rationalistic doctrines, themselves products of the Civilization-crisis, as a semi-religious basis for his disintegratory work.

Thus the "equality" rhetoric of the Independence Declaration of 1775, and pious platitudes from Lincoln and other party-politicians, were used as the basis of the "tolerance" propaganda which teaches Americans that they must not in any way, not even in thought, discriminate against the Jew. This propaganda is spread from the highest official places down to the level of home, school, and church.

The Negro-movement is a powerful instrument of Culture-distortion, and was organized as such shortly after the advent to power in 1933. Similarly the numerous groups of recent alien provenance are artificially prevented from assimilating and becoming Americans, since every alien-thinking group in America is serviceable to Culture-distortion. Thus the Polish group, for instance, was very useful in war-agitation in the Fall of 1939. The usefulness of these alien groups is easily imaginable when it is realized that in 1947 only 3/4 of the entire population of America consists of whites born in America, that only 55 per cent of the population had both parents American-born, while more than 20 per cent had one foreign-born parent, and almost 15 per cent of the population consisted of foreign-born persons. More than one thousand foreign language newspapers and periodicals appear in America, in forty different foreign languages.

The whole result has been to put the native American

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completely on the defensive, to confer a privileged position on the Culture-distorter, who embodies at the highest potential the idea of alienness, and to disintegrate progressively the American national feeling. Culture-distortion to this degree would not have been possible in Europe, because of the higher Culture-sensitivity and the higher exclusiveness of Europe, even under democratic-materialistic conditions.

It is necessary to observe precisely the spiritual products of Culture-distortion in America, in every sphere of life, for the America that intervenes in Europe is not the true America, which still existed in 1890, but an empire consisting of a master-stratum with its own culture, and a great mass of subjects, comprising the Americans, and the almost equally numerous alien-thinking groups. The lower strata supply the soldiers who invade Europe, but the brains who decide belong to non-Americans.

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The technique for eliminating American resistance to Culture-distortion has been **uniformity**. Every American has been made to dress alike, live alike, talk alike, behave alike, and think alike. The principle of uniformity regards personality as a danger and also as a burden. This great principle has been applied to every sphere of life. Advertising of a kind and on a scale unknown to Europe is part of the method of stamping out individualism. Everywhere is seen the same empty, smiling, face. The principle has above all been applied to the American woman, and in her dress, cosmetics, and behaviour, she has been deprived of all individuality.

A literature, vast and inclusive, has grown up on mechanizing and uniformizing all the problems and situations of life. Books are sold by the million to tell the American "How to Make Friends." Other books tell him how to write letters, how to behave in public, how to make love, how to play games, how to uniformize his inner life, how many children to have, how to dress, even how to think. The same principle has been extended to higher learning, and the viewpoint is nowhere disputed that every American boy and girl is entitled to a "college-education." Only in America would it have been possible for a journalist to denounce higher physics because it was creating a type of aristocracy.

A contest was recently held in America to find "Mr. Average Man." General statistics were employed to find the centre of population, marital distribution of the population, family-numbers, rural and urban distribution, and so forth. Finally a man and wife with two children in a medium-sized town were chosen as the

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“Average Family.” They were then given a trip to New York, were interviewed by the press, feted, solicited to endorse commercial products, and held up for the admiration of all those who fell short in any way of the desirable quality of averageness. Their habits at home, their life-adjustments generally were the subject of investigation, and then of generalizing. Having found the average man from the top down, his ideas and feelings were then generalized as the imperative-average thoughts and feelings.

In the American “universities” husbands and wives attend lecture courses on marriage adjustment. Individualism must not even be countenanced in anything so personal as marriage. In America, the Culture-distorter has laid down **one** way of doing everything. The men change from felt hats to straw hats on one certain day of the year, and on another certain day, discard the straw hats. The civilian uniform is as rigorous—for each type of occasion—as the strictest military or liturgical garb. Departures from it are the subject of sneers, or interrogation. The arts have been co-ordinated into the master-plan. There is in America, with its 140,000,000, not a single continuing opera company, or a single continuous theatre. What theatre there is produces only “revues,” and journalistic propaganda plays.

For the rest, there is only the cinema, and it is, after all, the strongest single medium of the uniformizing of the American by the upper stratum of Culture-distorters.

In a land which produced West, Stuart, and Copley, there is to-day not a single painter of public note who continues in the Western tradition. “Abstractions,”

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pictorial insanity, and preoccupation with ugliness monopolize the pictorial art.

Music is seldom heard in America, having been replaced by the cultureless drum-beating of the Negro. As an American "musicologist" put it, "Jazz rhythm, taken from wild tribes, is at the same time refined and elementary and corresponds to the disposition of our modern soul. It incites us without pause, like the primitive drum-beating of the prayer-dancer. But it does not stop there. It must at the same time take account of the excitability of the modern psyche. We thirst for quickly exciting, constantly changing, stimuli. Music has an excellent, time-honoured means of excitation, syncopation."

American literature, which produced Irving, Emerson, Hawthorne, Melville, Thoreau and Poe, is to-day entirely represented by Culture-distorters who make Freudian and Marxist motives into plays and novels.

American family life has been thoroughly disintegrated by the Culture-distorting regime. In the usual American home, the parents actually have less authority than the children. The schools enforce no discipline, nor do the churches. The function of forming the minds of the young has been abdicated by all in favour of the cinema.

Marriage in America has been replaced by Divorce. This is said with no paradoxical intent. In the large cities, statistics show that one of every two marriages ends in divorce. Taking the country as a whole, the figure is one in three. This situation can no longer be described as Marriage, since the essence of Marriage is its **permanence**. The divorce trade is a large business upon which lawyers, private detectives and other char-

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latans thrive, and from which the spiritual standards of the nation suffer, as reflected in the emotionally indifferent attitude of American children.

The Western erotic, grounded in the chivalry of Gothic times, with the concomitant honour-imperative of the centuries of Western history, has been driven out. The ideal of Wedekind, the Culture-distorter who preached compulsory Bohemianism in Europe around the turn of the 20th century, has been realized by the Culture-distorting regime in America. **Inverted Puritanism** has arisen. In this new feeling, the Puritan outlook is retained in sexual matters only to scoff at it in the cinema and in literature. Baudelaire's thesis "In evil only lies bliss" has been taken over by the distorter, and has resulted in the progressive disintegration of American morality in all spheres. In this effort, jazz music is a useful appurtenance, for this primitive beating is nothing but the expression of lust in the world of sound, a world which is capable of expressing all human emotions, both higher and lower.

A part of this general perversion is the physical-youth-mania that has been spread abroad in America. Both men and women, but especially the latter are inwardly obsessed with the idea of remaining physically young in appearance. Advertising plays upon these fears and commercializes them. The "girl" is the ideal feminine type. The mature woman aspires to be a girl, but not vice versa. A "girl" cult has come into existence, which, together with cinema, revue, jazz, divorce, disintegration of the family, and uniformity, serves the vast purpose of destroying the national feelings of the American.

Together with uniformity is the technique of excite-

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ment. The press presents every day new sensations. For the general purpose, it is quite immaterial whether the sensation is a murder, a kidnapping, a government scandal, or a war-scare. But for particular, political purposes, the latter sensations are the most effective, and during the years of preparing the Second World War, the distorter administered every day a new "crisis." The process increased until the population was ready to welcome the outbreak of war as a relief from the constantly mounting nervous tension. When the War did appear, the distorter immediately called it a "World War" despite the fact that only three political powers were engaged, and the strongest powers were not involved. It was, of course, intended to rule out the possibility in the American mind of any localizing of the War, and to prepare for American intervention.

The straining after excitement, pleasure, and constant motion has created a vast night-life, a crime underworld which staggers the imagination of Europeans, and a hurrying from one thing to another which excludes the possibility of contemplation, or individual culture. Almost one per cent of the entire population makes its living from professional crime. The art of reading has been taken away from the Americans, since the idea is to "do something." Individual culture is generally strangled under such conditions, and the prevailing mass-ideals impose limitations on the form of such personal culture as is attained. All history, all thought, all events, all examples, are used to prove the soundness of the

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ideal of mass-life, and of the American ideology.

II

In the Rationalistic and Materialistic atmosphere of 19th century America, there was only a very weak link with the sublime Western Gothic traditions of the spiritualized meaning of life, but under the Culture-distorting regime since 1933, America has been completely disenchanted. On every plane, the ultimate reality of the world and life is materialistic. The aim of life is "happiness." This must be so, since life itself is only a physico-chemical process, and articles appear which treat as imminent the discovery of a "formula" for life by "scientists."

The contractual side of the old Puritan religion, which regarded Man and God as keeping accounts with one another, has been pushed to its uttermost limits, and all living is simply changing legal relationships. Patriotism is simply a legal duty to the world-proposition called America, which has been equated with the mission of distorting the entire Western Civilization through a process of "educating" Europe. Heroism in the Western sense is unknown, and the hero whom the population admires is a capitalist en grand who has converted a great part of the public wealth into his private resources, or else a smiling film actor. Such a thing as a great spiritual movement or a national rising is not understood in America, first because it has had nothing of the kind in its history, and secondly, because the distorter has made all such things ridiculous. The American is taught that life is a process of cultivating friendly relations with all, joining as many clubs and

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secret societies as possible, and confining all his thought and effort to the personal plane.

The "happy-end" is the ideal of life and literature. There is no thought of bearing up under the bitterest and most crushing blows of Fate. These are overcome by avoiding one's glance. The **lucky** man, and not the man who has suffered in silence and become stronger, is the central figure in the happy-end literature.

The opposition between the Western idea of Destiny-fulfilment and the Culture-distorters' disintegrating substitute called "happy-end" is actually the focal idea of the world-outlook that he wishes to force upon the prostrate American nation and its parent Western Civilization. The irreconcilability between these two ideas extends from the personal plane upward through national economy, society, State, religion and ethics.

The great Western Life-feeling is the necessity of being ones self, of preserving that within one which cannot be compromised, which is synonymous with Soul, Destiny, Honour, Race. The distorter's idea of "Happy-end" is opportunistic, weak, degenerate, and revolting to the Western honour-feeling. The empty, smiling, face, the uniform mind, the senseless chasing after noise, movement, and sensation, the obsession with money-making and money-spending, the rejection of all spiritual standards of attainment—all this merely reflects the basic interpretation of Life as a seeking for a happy-end. For happiness one will compromise anything, give anything, sell anything. Happiness becomes synonymous with pursuit of economic and sexual motives. It absolutely excludes any profitless struggle against odds, merely in order to be one's self. Understanding and

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respect for the tragedy of Life, the magic of Life, the power of the Idea, are precluded by the happy-end feeling.

Any idea of this kind is quite impossible for Europeans in the 20th century, even if they had not seen the horrible catastrophe of the Second World War, in which Europe succumbed to the double-invasion of barbarians and distorters. No great artist, no religionist, no deep thinker, has ever deluded himself that Life has the meaning of "happy-end." In miserable and crushing times, the Western man trains himself rather to bear whatever blows Fate may have in store for him. He does not talk of either happiness or unhappiness, and he does not try to avoid facts by looking away from them. Looking away is no solution, but only a postponement of a later reckoning. Happy-end has a purely negative significance. It is a denial of Life, an escape from Life. It is thus a deception, and an untruth.

The racial chaos in America, which, deliberately perpetuated by the distorter, delivers the American nation more securely into his hands, is only possible because of the de-nationalizing programme for Americans. This programme begins with propaganda in the schools to the effect that America was not colonized, cleared, conquered, or built by Americans, but by a great conglomeration of aliens. The contributions of the Jew and the Negro are taught as the decisive formative influences on the "American dream." In New York State, Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice is forbidden to be taught in the schools. The promoting of the anti-spiritual and anti-national "happy-end" idea, with its economic and sexual obsession, and its social atomism, is the

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prerequisite of continuing the whole programme of degeneration.

Races and nations express themselves at their highest potential in strong **individuals**, who embody the prime national characteristics, and acquire immense historical symbolic significance. Therefore, the efforts of the Culture-distorter to strangle American nationalism take the form of an offensive against individualism, not against freakish, insane, individualism, but against the only kind that is historically effective—individualism which concentrates in itself a higher Idea, and is devoted to its service.

Thus the highest social value is "getting along with people." Strong characteristics of independence or strength must be put aside, and the ideal of mediocrity embraced. The **universal** spirituality, the same intellectual nourishment for all classes, replaces the natural, organic stratification of society. This nourishment again has only a **quantitative** measure of value. Just as the best product is the one most advertised, so the best book is the one that has the largest sale. The best newspaper or periodical is the one with the largest circulation. This equation of quantity with quality is the complete expression of the mass-idea, the denial of individuality.

A natural corollary of the happiness-sickness is **pacifism**. Only intellectual pacifism is meant, for the Culture-distorter knows how to make use of the fighting instincts of the native American type. Intellectual pacifism is war-propaganda. The enemy is identified with the idea of war itself, and to fight him is to fight war.

I M P E R I U M

Naturally Hollywoodism is incapable of rousing a population to sternness, sacrifice, heroism, renunciation. Therefore American armies in the field in the Second World War had to be supplied with a vast, never-ending stream of picture-books, chocolate, soft-drinks, beer, juke-boxes, moving-pictures, and playthings of all sorts.

Fundamentals cannot be evaded, and so it was that despite eight years of preparation by the most intense bombardment of emotional artillery the world has ever seen, through film, press, stage, and radio, there was no war-enthusiasm whatever in the American population, and a negative feeling in the armies which were massed against Europe in the Second World War. Out of 16,000,000 men who were impressed into the armed forces from start to finish of America's brief military participation in the Second World War, less than 600,000 were volunteers. Almost twice this many volunteers out of half as many people were raised in one year in one European nation in the First World War. A large part of the American volunteers had already been notified of imminent conscription, and volunteered for appearance's sake.

The Western idea of destiny-fulfilment, with its inner imperative of honour and faithfulness to conviction, means that the vulgar are naturally the enemies of the upright. No higher idea is for everyone, and all creativeness comes from the few. Deeds with a high ethical content cannot be performed by all, and he who is capable of them has no reason to be ashamed, to renounce his spiritual values, and adopt the smiling face,

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the inner vacuum, and the ideal of "getting along with people," even at the cost of his soul.

Even destructiveness and distortion on the scale on which it has been successfully introduced into America is a task for a minority. The American and foreign masses are the mere object of the distortion. The organic unit which regards the disintegration of America as a part of its own life-mission is, at its very widest base, only ten per cent of the population of the American Union. And within this ten per cent, it is a comparatively few brains, and a reliable stratum of leaders who actualize the policy of the Jewish Culture-State-Nation-Religion-People-Race. To these leaders, the great mass of their own people are mere soldier-material in the non-military war against the Western Civilization all over the world. Nor need these brains be regarded as animated by any malice or evil motives. To them the Western Civilization is the repository of the collective evil and hatred of the world, the source of a thousand years of persecution, a cruel and unreasonable monstrosity, a sinister force working against the Jewish Messiah-idea.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICA

Democratic-materialistic conditions arise during the organically necessary Civilization-crisis, and are thus autopathic. Culture-distortion comes from the interference in the life of the host of a Culture-parasite, an organic unit which does not participate inwardly in the life of the Culture, but nevertheless lives in and on the body of the Culture. These two in conjunction increase the intensity of each other, and America is the clearest example of the multifarious effects these Culture-diseases can have on a people which cannot successfully resist them at the onset.

The population of America only consists now of a bare majority that is indisputably American racially, spiritually, nationally. The other half consists of Negroes, Jews, unassimilated South-eastern Europeans, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Levantines, Slavs and Indians. The Slavic groups are assimilable by the American race, but the process has been artificially held up by the intervention of Culture-distortion. The mass-ideals of noise, excitement, mental uniformity, and hurrying movement which the Americans share with these unassimilated alien groups do not represent any kind of assimilation, because these traits themselves are anti-national, demoralizing, destructive of individuality, State, People, Race.

The Negro problem is one of the numerous racial disjunctions which press for solution in America. At the time when, as a result of the War of Secession, the Negroes were deprived of their security and delivered to financial slavery in an industrial civilization with whose problems they could in no way cope, they were a contented, primitive people. They had no dynamism,

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no mission to destroy. Their numbers at that time were about four and a half million, and they were nearly all in the Southern states, where the social life was adjusted to their presence, and kept the white and Negro races separate in every way. No desire existed on either side to disturb this natural formulation of the relationship.

To a finance-capitalist, however, a Negro merely represents "cheap labour," or a prospect for a small loan. The Master of Money knows nothing of Nation, People, Race, Culture. He is a "realist," which means, on the primitive intellectual level, that he regards everything which is as the sum total of Reality. Actually, of course, that which is represents a stage already passed, an Idea already accomplished. True Reality is the Future at work, for this is the impetus of events. Thus no Money-thinker would ever think two or three generations into the future, for he regards larger conditions as stable, even though he seeks instability in immediate conditions.

After the War of Secession, progressively more Negroes went to the Northern States. This movement was vastly accelerated by the two World Wars, when millions of them went northward to replace conscripted white labourers in the Northern industrial districts. Reinforcing this proletarianizing process, Northern enterprises moved factories into the South to employ Negro "cheap" labour, and make larger profits.

The converting of the Negro into a wage slave has demoralized him completely, made him into a discontented proletarian, and created in him a deep racial bitterness. The soul of the Negro remains primitive

and childlike in comparison with the nervous and complicated soul of Western man, accustomed to thinking in terms of money and civilization. The result is that the Negro has become a charge of white society.

Marriage is almost unknown among the Negroes, and the women raise the large families. In the large cities, the Negro population supplies approximately ten times as many criminals as its numbers would indicate to be its proportion. Social diseases are general among this race, and the hospitals as well as the penitentiaries deal with highly disproportionate numbers of Negroes. Primitive violence is natural to the Negro, and the sense of social disgrace is lacking in him in connection with crimes. Negro sections of the Northern cities are dangerous to the life of white persons.

Bolshevism and Culture-distortion did not miss the potentialities of the Negro for purposes of inner disintegration and race war. Trials of Negroes for felony in the Southern states are made the object of widespread and intense Communist propaganda, along the old lines of "equality" and "tolerance." The Communist party supplies counsel to Negroes accused of crime.

Like all primitive races, the Negro race is fertile, and possessed of strong instincts. His numbers to-day, including the mulattoes, are approximately 14,000,000. This ten per cent of the total population of America is an adjunct of the programme of the Culture-distorter. Politically, this mass is organized as a unit, and supported the Roosevelt regime from the time of its seizure of power in 1933. The Negro has been the focus of much of the revolutionary activity of the

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Culture-distorting regime. From time to time, the distorter raises a racial issue publicly, in which the white Southerner is made the public enemy, and the Negro is the hero of "democracy." This results in increasingly serious race-war in the Northern and Southern cities.

The Negro has suffered more than anyone in being thrown into the slavery of finance-exploitation, and then into conscription for the race-war programme of the distorter. From the happy, deeply and primitively religious, cotton-picking slave, with complete protection and insulation from the dynamism of Western industrialism, he has been made into a malcontented, diseased, fighter in race-war and class-war. His life has been made into a round of factories, hospitals, public relief offices, jails, and roaming of the streets. The new Negro is a dangerous potentiality, and he has been fitted out by the distorter with a programme of demands, an ideology of his own within the Bolshevik framework, and dynamic leadership. A Negro writer has recently said: "Your land? How did it become yours? We were here before the Pilgrims landed. Hither we brought our three gifts and mixed them with yours: the gift of poetry and of song, tender and living melodies into a badly harmonized and unmelodious land; the gift of sweat and muscle-power, to defeat the wilderness and conquer the ground of this wide, rich, country, two hundred years before your weak white hands could have done it; the third gift, the gift of soul. Are these gifts worth nothing? Is this no work and striving? Could America have become America without its Negro folk?" This does not represent merely the thought of one mulatto, for these ideas have been drummed into the

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heads of the millions of the Negroes in the cities—not to mention the white element of weak instincts, the Liberal element which gives in to race-war and thus encourages it.

The Negro has a will strong enough to push his demands through, and to-day there are Negroes on all levels of the public life, officers, judges, administrators, labour-leaders, lawyers, doctors, professors.

For America there are two aspects to the Negro problem, the immediate, and the long-range. Immediately, the Negro movement is completely in the service of Culture-distortion, which controls all phases of domestic Bolshevism in America. An inner-crisis in which many issues of American public life will simultaneously present themselves, monstrous in their size and demands, will confront the American people in the near future. When, no one can tell, but it is inevitable, for America is no exception to five millennia of the history of High Cultures and their colonies. The position of the Negro vis-a-vis the organic existence of the American People is quite clear.

The long-range aspect of the problem is shown by the declining birthrate of the native American population, and the rising numbers of the Negro. The old white element is decreasing **absolutely** in numbers, and this process has been going on for two decades. The immediate relationship is spiritual-political; the more remote problem is spiritual-racial.

CULTURE-RETARDATION IN AMERICA

In its essence, as we have seen, Culture-Retardation is a mere negation of the Future. Destiny is not deceived, however, but only the minds of those who seek to maintain or restore dead conditions or ideologies. Only on the surface of History can Culture-retarders gain a victory, and then solely by virtue of their purely material preponderance. If they do gain such a temporary, surface, victory, it represents merely the defeat of quality by quantity.

America, being a colony, and therefore having lower organic resistance to Culture-disease, has succumbed more deeply to retarding influences than the home-soil of the Western Culture ever could have. In America, these retarding forces are managed and inspired by the larger Culture-illness, Culture-distortion, and they are heavily relied on in order to overcome the negative effect which would result from the open appearance of the alien distorter.

The popular world-picture which has been made compulsory for the uniformized American is simply the old, materialistic picture which Europe had already outgrown by the First World War. Thus in the American universities, Darwinism is taught in biology, along with Mechanism.

In sociology, Mill and Spencer are the last word. In history, the naïve, linear, Ancient-Mediaeval-Modern scheme is retained, and Buckle and Gibbon represent the perfection of historical method. Carlyle, Lamprecht, Breysig, Meray, Eduard Meyer, Spengler, are entirely unknown. In psychology, the mass idea has triumphed, so that "genius" is equated with high intelligence, and the latter with "college education." Again—no qualitative

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differences among persons. The commercial maxim is "You can buy brains." For the rest, Freudianism is gospel. It is possible for the holder of high academic degrees in America to be entirely unacquainted with the history of the Western Culture, with the significance of Carlyle, Nietzsche, Spengler, of the revolt of the Western Civilization against Democracy and Materialism. His picture of events for the last 75 years in Europe is delineated by a few journalistic catchwords. The widening and deepening of the 20th century world-picture is unknown to him, and leads him to deny the very existence of facts and possibilities which are incomensurable with laboratory materialism.

Culture-retardation as a grotesque reality is illustrated by the fact that America is actually from 30 to 50 years behind the parent Western Civilization in the world of thought. No American university has heard of geopolitics, or anything resembling it. Mahan's sea-power theories are the last word on grand strategy, and the eventuation of the First and Second World Wars—which Americans are taught to regard as "victories"—only reinforce the sea-power idea, despite the fact that world-shaking events have fundamentally altered the relationship between continental power and sea power. This fundamental misconception in America will bear fruit in the Third World War.

In the theory of economics, the situation is similar. Adam Smith is the great foundation. Abstractions like "world economy" are regarded as concrete realities. List is unknown, although Marx is regarded as an economist. Sombart was put away after the American Revolution of 1933. The currency problem is handled

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on the basis of the gold-standard theory. The European departure from gold-thinking is regarded as morally wrong. The Classical economic theories of the Manchester school are the focus of **belief**, rather than historical curiosity. Departures from them are treated as downright wicked, or else as regrettable, temporary necessities. These 19th century doctrines are always described as "the laws of economics."

This retarded mentality has of course had serious effects in the sphere of **action**, that is of politics and economics.

Since America developed into a world-power in a part of the world where there was no opposition, it failed to develop a State, or true political consciousness. Consequently, in exception to all other Western powers, economics had always undisputed precedence over politics. Inner **politics** in the true sense did not exist in America—party-contests were understood by all to be mere business competition between the two party-trusts. True **political** events in America—disjunction of opposing groups into friend and enemy—have been only three: the War for Independence, 1775-83, the North-South hostility culminating in the War of Secession, 1861-65, and the Revolution of 1933, when Culture-distortion captured complete control of the American destiny.

This exclusive concern of all levels of the population with economics was responsible for the total ascendancy of the Master of Money over American life, the failure to develop a true Nation-consciousness, and the rise to power of Culture-distortion.

The larger cycles of financial fluctuations, with alter-

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nating "booms" and "depressions" ruined millions in each swing, and until recent decades these pauperized millions could always claim and settle new land in the West, and begin economic life anew. Political class war was never strong in America until recent years. The prevailing Puritan-Calvinistic sentiment of economic predestination militated against fundamental-political class-war, since each worker thought he might one day be chosen for wealth.

With the disappearance of the "frontier" however, the masses of industrial labourers, became material for the professional labour-leader to organize. From small beginnings, the labour-movement in America developed into a powerful political organization, which was able to make politicians in industrial areas dependent upon its votes for election. This point was reached by the 80's of the 19th century. This labour-movement embraced anarchists, Marxian Communists, nihilists, and liberal-capitalistic leaders. The political elements never dominated this movement, even after the Revolution of 1933, for the American labouring class thinks and feels economically and capitalistically, not politically and socialistically. "Socialism" in America means even **now** what it meant in Europe in the 19th century, i.e., capitalism of the lower classes. Of true Socialism, nothing is known or understood in America, since Socialism is **not** primarily an economic organizing-principle, but a political-ethical-Idea, the Spirit of a

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Political Age, and politics is not yet understood in America.

II

Generally speaking, the economy of America is still in the capitalistic condition which Europe began to out-grow fifty years ago, and which was definitely ended for Europe for all time with the European Revolution of 1933.

Agriculture in America for instance is completely on a money basis. There is no policy of insulating it from the city-economy, or of safeguarding the farmers from financial exploitation. Thus during that part of the cycle when the finance-capitalists are contracting the volume of currency, the farmers are thrown into destitution, and their farms are foreclosed.

There is almost no peasantry in the European sense. The peasant has a spiritual connection with the soil, whereas the American farmer has only a financial relationship with it, and will leave at any time if better economic opportunity presents itself. This purely **economic** attitude has resulted in ruthless exploitation of the soil, with sharp decrease in its productivity, and even greater decrease in the nutritional value of its products. Farming is nearly all on an **extensive** basis, and the lack of care of the soil has resulted in devastating losses by erosion.

The exploitation of sub-surface mineral deposits is also on a purely financial basis, and a coal mine or oil well may be abandoned with 80 per cent of the mineral remaining in it. Opening of one well or shaft immediately causes an entire area to be opened up, since

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ownership of the surface includes ownership of the sub-surface in American law. The resultant waste can only be described as looting of the treasures of the soil, and is in the very sharpest contrast to the 20th century attitude of trusteeship toward the soil and its minerals.

Industrial production is merely a battleground for profits and control between the managers and the labour-leaders. The social damage and economic waste of strikes are regarded as normal in America, whereas the 20th century idea has no room for any inner strife in a political unit. Behind the struggle of the managers whom he appoints, and the labourers whom he hires, the finance-capitalist dominates the economic scene. The outcome of the strike cannot injure him, for he controls the motive forces of the money economy.

This brings us to the currency of America. Since the War of Secession, 1865, the entire country has, financially speaking, been an empire of ignorant subjects, and the owners of the large banks in New York have been the economic monarchs. The codification of this situation took place in the year 1913, when the Federal Reserve System was created by law. It provided for a system of twelve central banks upon which the central government would be dependent for financing. These banks are privately owned, and issue money against government bonds, which are sold through these banks. Thus the American war effort in the Second World War earned approximately \$7,500,000,000 in interest for the owners of this system. The only currency known in America is the private issue of these central banks. This currency is spoken of as "secured by government bonds." These bonds however are payable only in this

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currency. The whole system of course is simply a device for private control of the economic life of the country. The volume of currency may be increased or decreased at the will of finance-capitalists, and in a country without a State, this is a technic of domination.

To the 20th century soul of the Western Civilization, the resting of public power in private hands is unthinkable. Equally so is the domination of the economic life of a Nation-State by money-thinking. Thrice abominable to the 20th century is the conferring of any power whatever on the banker-mentality, which regards human beings as a "cost of production," which looks upon politics as a field for private trickery, and which regards the heroism of soldiers as a useful device for conquering new financial domains abroad.

Finance-capitalism belongs to a past age, the Age of Money. Even in America, it has passed into the second place, and has become a mere **technic** of the absolute domination of the Culture-distorter. More important as a technic is the control of men's minds, and an understanding of America and its potentialities for Europe necessitates a knowledge of its propaganda system.

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If the 18th century ideology of "equality" were actually believed in, there would be no such thing as propaganda, since every man would think quite independently, and would resent any attempt whatever to form his mind. This ideology however is shown precisely by the example of America, the country in which it was adopted with religious fervour, to have no correspondence to reality whatever. Spiritual equality may have more or less obtained in the salons of aristocrats and rationalist intellectuals, whether in France, Germany, England or America, in the 18th century, but by the middle of the 19th century, when the masses had been mobilised, there was no possibility of any equality, for these masses demanded leadership by their very existence. The more the mobilization of the masses proceeded, the greater was the feeling of need for strong leadership. As Nietzsche said: "Finally the insecurity becomes so great that men fall in the dust before a strong will-power."

There are two techniques of leadership, both of which are indispensable: discipline, and persuasion. The first is based on confidence, faith, loyalty, duty-sense, good instincts. The second is addressed to the intellectual side, and adjusts itself to the characteristics of the person or population to whom it is directed. Both techniques use sanctions, whether penal, moral, economic, or social. In a period when the organizing and forming of huge masses is the leading action-problem, persuasion, or propaganda, is correspondingly necessary, for only an elite is capable of the highest discipline, and masses must be continually re-convinced.

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Thus, in America, the country where mass-thinking, mass-ideals, and mass-living dominate the collective life, propaganda is the prime form of dissemination of information. There are no publications in America addressed solely to the intellect; a Culture-distorting regime rests on its invisibility, and independent thinking by strong individualities is ipso facto hostile to such a regime. Nor are there any publications which purvey only facts. Any facts, and any viewpoints, are coordinated, with their presentation, into the ruling propaganda-picture.

The technics of American propaganda is inclusive of every form of communication. The leading instrument is the cinema. Every week, some 80,000,000 people attend the cinema in America, there to absorb the propaganda message. During the period of war-preparation, 1933-1939, the cinemas produced an endless succession of hate pictures directed against the European Revolution of 1933, and its 20th century outlook and actualizations.

Second in effectiveness is the radio. Every American has in his home one or more wireless receivers, and through them, the mass-picture of events is brought to him again. He has already read the same compulsory viewpoint in the press, seen it in the cinema, and now he hears it. The press, both newspaper and periodical, is third in effectiveness. It should be said that in America, effectiveness of propaganda is measured solely by the numbers which it reaches, since the mass-thinking ideal has triumphed over individuality, quality, and intellectual stratification of the population.

Fourth is the book press. Only such books may be

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printed as represent or fit into the larger propaganda framework. Thus an edition of the Arabian Nights for children was recently withdrawn in America because some of the contents were said to have the possible effect of prejudicing readers against Jews, and one objectionable illustration showed an unscrupulous merchant with the features of a Jew, in the story about Aladdin and his lamp. During the years 1933-1939, the larger policy of the distorter was entirely unquestioned in any paper, book, or magazine of wide circulation.

Next are the universities and colleges. The mass-idea, as applied to education means that "higher education" is generalized to an extent that the high academic standards of Europe make impossible. America, with only half the population of the Western homeland, has more than 10 times as many institutions granting academic degrees. Actually what is disseminated in these institutions is primarily a slightly more esoteric version of the prevailing ideological and propaganda world-view of the Culture-distorting regime.

Last is the stage. Outside of New York City, the spiritual capital of the ruling regime, this hardly exists, but in New York, the journalistic play is an important propaganda-technic. Particularly during the period 1933-1939 did the stage play an important role. A constant stream of hate-plays was produced directed against the world-outlook of the 20th century and its European representatives. Many of these plays were in the Yiddish language, since the leaders in America require uniformity also in their own people.

The propaganda-picture has two aspects, the domestic, and the foreign. The domestic propaganda is a revolu-

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tionary one, supporting the American Revolution of 1789. All ideological revolutions, from the French in 1789, through the 19th century ones in Europe, down to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1918, have the tendency to take on the form of a cult. In France Reason-worship was the focus of the religious frenzy; in Russia, it was machine-worship, according to the God Marx. The American Revolution of 1789 is no exception. The central-motive of the new cult is "democracy." In the propaganda-picture, this concept takes the place of God, as the centre and ultimate reality. Thus, a Supreme Court Justice, speaking to the graduating class of a Jewish college, said in 1939: "In a larger sense there is something more important than religion, and that is the actualization of the ideals of democracy."

The word has been endowed with religious force, and has in fact attained to the status of a religion. It has become a numen, and cannot be the subject of critical treatment. Apostasy or heresy bring immediate response in the form of a criminal prosecution for sedition, treason, income tax evasion, or other allegation. The saints of this cult are the "Founding Fathers" of the War for Independence, particularly Jefferson—despite the fact that they uniformly detested the idea of democracy, and were nearly all slave-owners—and also Lincoln, Wilson, Roosevelt. Its prophets are journalists, propagandists, film stars, labour-leaders, and party-politicians. The fact that the word "democracy" cannot be defined is the surest evidence that it has ceased to be descriptive, and has become the object of a mass-faith. All other ideas and dogmas of the propaganda-picture are referred to "democracy" for their ultimate justification.

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Immediately below "democracy" in importance is "tolerance." This is obviously fundamental to a Culturally-alien regime. Tolerance means primarily tolerance of Jews and Negroes, but it can mean the cruelest persecution of Europeans or other persons with a viewpoint differing fundamentally from the prevailing mass-idea. This persecution is social, economic, and, if necessary, legal.

To continue the atomizing of the host-people, class-war is a basic tenet of the total view. It is preached as "labour's right to organize," "the right to strike," and similar slogans. But "capital" also has its rights, since neither side in any contest must gain a decisive victory. **Division** is here, as always, the technic of conquest.

Feminism is preached, pursuing the mass-uniformity idea into the realm of the sexes. Instead of the polarity of the sexes, the ideal of the merging of the sexes is promulgated. Women are taught to be the "equal" of men, and the Western recognition of sexual polarity is branded as the "holding down" and "persecution" of women.

Pacifism is preached as a part of the propaganda. This is of course not true pacifism, for that supervenes without anyone preaching it, and often without anyone knowing it, and always without anyone being able to do anything about it. In practice, doctrinaire pacifism is always a form of war-propaganda. Thus, in America, Europe means war, and America means peace. American imperialism is always a crusade for peace. A prominent member of the regime recently spoke of America's "duty to wage peace around the world."

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"Religious tolerance" is also a part of the propaganda, and it is so interpreted as to mean religious indifference. Dogmas and doctrines of religion are treated as quite secondary. Churches are often merged or separated for purely economic considerations. When religion is not merely a compulsory weekly social amusement, it is a political lecture. Co-operation between the churches is constantly being organized, and always for some utilitarian aim, having nothing to do with religion. What this means is: the subservience of religion to the programme of Culture-distortion.

II

Far more important to Europe than the propaganda about domestic affairs in America is that about foreign affairs.

The numen "democracy" is used also in this realm as the essence of reality. A foreign development sought to be brought about is called "spreading democracy"; a development sought to be hindered is "against democracy," or "fascistic." "Fascism" is the numen corresponding to evil in theology, and in fact they are directly equated in American propaganda.

The prime enemy in the propaganda picture was always Europe, and especially the Prussian-European spirit which rose with such self-evident force in the European Revolution of 1933 against the negative view of life, with its materialism, money-obsession, and democratic corruption. The more surely it appeared that this Revolution was not a superficial **political** phenomenon, a mere transfer of one party-regime for another, that it was a deep **spiritual, total revolution**, of a new, vital

spirit against a dead spirit, the more violent became the hate propaganda directed against Europe. By 1938, this propaganda had reached an intensity, both in volume and in emotional frenzy, that could not be surpassed. Ceaselessly the American was bombarded with the message that Europe was attacking everything worth while in the world, "God," "religion," "democracy," "freedom," "peace," "America."

This excessive use of abstractions was itself indicative that there was a lack of concrete realities to use. The failure to arouse excitement, despite the propaganda bombardment, led to the thesis that Europe was planning to invade the United States with fleets and armies. Ideas like these indeed conquered the intellectual side of the American mass-mind, but did not penetrate to the emotional level of rousing genuine apprehension or effective hate.

"Aggressor" was another leading word in the intellectual assault. Again, it did not relate to facts, and was only allowed to work one way as a term of abuse. "International morality" was invented and formulated so that the enemy of the Culture-distorter became ipso facto immoral. If they could not find political reasons for their politics, they were all the more resourceful in creating moral, ideological, economic, and esthetic reasons. Nations were divided into **good** and **bad**. Europe as a whole was bad when it was united, and if Culture-distortion was able to secure a foothold in any European land, such land became thereby good. The American propaganda machine reacted with venomous hatred against the European partitioning of Bohemia in 1938. Every European power which had participated in

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the negotiations was denounced as evil, aggressive, immoral, anti-democratic, and the rest of it.

Fundamental in this political picture was the thesis that politics was a matter of "forms of government" struggling against one another. Not nations or States, but abstractions like "democracy" and "fascism" were the content of the world-struggle. This imposed the necessity of calling the opponent of the momentary situation as "democratic" or "fascistic," and changing it from month to month, year to year. Serbia, Poland, Japan, Russia, China, Hungary, Rumania, and many other units, have been both "fascist" and "democratic," depending upon precisely what treaty they had made, and with what power.

The division into "democratic" and "fascistic" corresponded exactly with that into **treaty-breaking** and **treaty-observing** powers. Supplementing it was the dichotomy: peace-loving nations, and—the other kind. The phrase "international law" was popularized, and it was used to describe something which has never existed, and cannot exist. It had no connection whatever with the real international law of 500 years of Western practice. It was popularized to mean that any change in the international territorial status quo was "forbidden" by "international law."

Any words whatever that had good connotations were linked with the leading catchwords of the picture. Thus **Western Civilization** was too impressive to treat as a hostile term, and it was used to describe parliamentarism, class-war, plutocracy, and finally—Bolshevik Russia. It was insisted by the propaganda machine during the time of the battle at Stalingrad in the Fall of

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1942 between Europe and Asia that the Asiatic forces represented Western Civilization while the European armies were the enemies of Western Civilization. The fact that Siberian, Turkestani, and Kirghizian regiments were being used by the Bolshevik regime was adduced as proof that **Asia had saved Western Civilization.**

To Europeans, this sort of thing testifies to two great facts: the **total** lack of any political or cultural consciousness whatever in the masses of the American population, and the deep, total, and implacable enmity toward Europe of the Culture-distorting regime in America. Japan was also treated in the propaganda picture as an enemy, but not as an irreconcilable enemy, like Europe. The propaganda against Japan was never allowed to take a **racial** form, lest the racial instincts of the American population be awakened into a storm that would sweep away the *distorter*. The generally milder tone of the anti-Japanese propaganda was owing to the fact that Japan had not experienced, and could not possibly experience, anything like the great European Revolution of 1933.

Because of the primitive intellectuality in a country whose population had been mentally uniformized, this propaganda was able to adopt extremely crude expedients. Thus during the war-preparation, 1933-1939, the press, cinema, and radio were filled with stories of insults to the American flag abroad, of secret documents accidentally discovered, of conversations heard over tapped wires, of discoveries of arms caches in the possession of American nationalists groups, and the like. "Newsreels" purporting to have been filmed abroad, were actually made in some cases in Hollywood. So

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fantastic did it all become that when, a year before the Second World War, a wireless programme carried an imaginative story of an invasion from Mars, there were symptoms of widespread panic among the propagandized masses.

Because America had never come strongly under the impression of the Spanish cabinet-politics usages which became engrafted on the European spirit, the Culture-distorting regime was able to engage in propaganda attacks of an extremely repulsive and vile kind directed against the private lives and characters of European leaders who represented the 20th century world-outlook. These leaders were represented as having been panders, homosexuals, dope-fiends, and sadists.

The propaganda was entirely free from any cultural basis, and was completely cynical with regard to facts. Precisely as the cinema-factories of Hollywood ground out lying plays and "newsreels," did the propagandists of the press create what "facts" they needed. When the Japanese air forces attacked the American naval base at Pearl Harbour in December, 1941, the Culture-distorters did not know that Europe would take this occasion to retaliate against the undeclared war which the Culture-distorting regime in Washington had been waging against Europe. The regime therefore at once decided to exploit the Japanese attack as a European military measure. To this end, the propaganda organs at once spread the "news" that European planes with European pilots had participated in the attack, and had even led it. Although every capital ship in the base was sunk in this attack, the regime officially announced that only slight damage had been done. These fact-creations

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were as nothing, however, to the massive, post-war, "concentration-camp" propaganda of the Culture-distorting regime based in Washington.

This propaganda announced that 6,000,000 members of the Jewish Culture-Nation-State-Church-People-Race had been killed in European camps, as well as an indeterminate number of other people. The propaganda was on a world-wide scale, and was of a mendacity that was perhaps adapted to a uniformized mass, but was simply disgusting to discriminating Europeans. The propaganda was technically quite complete. "Photographs" were supplied in millions of copies. Thousands of the people who had been killed published accounts of their experiences in these camps. Hundreds of thousands more made fortunes in post-war black-markets. "Gas-chambers" that did not exist were photographed, and a "gasmobile" was invented to titillate the mechanically-minded.

We come now to the **purpose** of this propaganda which the regime gave to its mentally-enslaved masses. From the analysis in *The 20th Century Political Outlook*, the purpose is seen to be only one: it was designed to create a total war in the spiritual sense, transcending the limits of politics, against the Western Civilization. The American masses, both military and civilian, were given this mental poison in order to inflame them to the point where they would carry out without flinching the post-war annihilation-programme. In particular: **it was designed to support a war after the Second World War, a war of looting, hanging, and starvation against defenceless Europe.**

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Propaganda is merely an adjunct of policy however, and we come now to the conduct of foreign affairs by the America-based regime from the time of its seizure of power in 1933.

THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM 1933

As was noted in the outline of the general thesis of Culture-distortion as a form of Culture-pathology, the Russian anti-semitic outbreaks after the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905, brought about a rupture of diplomatic relations with the United States. Since no other racial, cultural, national, or religious outbreaks of this kind directed against non-Jewish elements in Russia, or in any other country, had ever caused an American government to break relations, this can only be explained as an example of Culture-distortion. The actual inspiration for this startling international move came from certain elements in the entourage of the then President Theodore Roosevelt, which belonged to the same Culture-State-Nation-People-Race as the victims of the pogrom.

Historians will be able to trace the appearance of Culture-pathology through American foreign policy from about 1900. The immediate period under consideration however is that since 1933, a year of fate for both America and Europe.

The first positive act of a non-routine nature by the revolutionary regime, after its preliminary consolidation of power, was the diplomatic recognition of Bolshevist Russia. It was explained away to a loudly resentful American public as being merely a routine act, without ideological significance, and quite harmless politically. Actually it was the beginning of a co-operation between the two regimes which continued with only surface interruptions until the Russian and American armies met in the heart of the Western Civilization, and London and Berlin had been thrown into the dust.

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In 1936, the Bolshevist revolution and the 20th century Western authoritarian spirit met on the battleground of Spain. The officials of the America-based regime privately expressed their sympathy with Red Spain. The unequivocal opposition of the Catholic Church to American aid for Bolshevist Spain prevented intervention. The Catholic Church in America has twenty million adherents, and the Culture-distorting regime had not sufficiently consolidated its power to engage in a domestic conflict of the type that would have resulted. It was about to contest its second national election, and large organized groups were still in the field against it. A blunder in foreign policy could have been fatal at that stage.

The perfection of its election technic continued the regime in office. In October, 1937, the open preparations for a Second World War were begun. It was officially announced that the American government was going "to quarantine aggressors." The propaganda organs had identified the word "aggressor" with Europe, and the custodians of the European Future. To satisfy nationalist elements, Japan was included in the term, but the regime continued to equip Japan with essential raw materials for its war-industry, while at the same time it refused to sell raw materials to Europe, and boycotted importation into America of European goods originating in areas not dominated by the Culture-distorting regime.

By the fall of 1938, the stage was set for a World War. The propaganda of almost half Europe had been brought under the control of Washington, and the governments of nearly half Europe were its puppets. The incorporation of Bohemia into Europe was the

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result of the mutual understanding of four European leaders, making their own decision, and the plans of Washington were completely frustrated, despite careful preparations. The American treasury had been made available to the regime as a "Stabilization Fund," and it could draw upon its billions without accounting to anyone. The subsidization of its representative propagandists in European countries was increased to such proportions that soon almost half Europe had been made to hate the leaders who had prevented an intra-European war.

But an Eastern border-state was needed for the next incident, since there was no direct possibility of a war in Western Europe. Poland was therefore co-ordinated into the plans of Washington. The Polish government, ostensibly the custodian of the national interests of Poland, brought about a hopeless war, and that precisely after Russia had publicly agreed to the partitioning of Poland. The government which had arranged the war's beginning disappeared promptly upon the outbreak of war, and was never heard of again. It had earned its pension. The American domestic propaganda at this time was to the effect that Poland could resist for years.

The war began in earnest in 1940. France and the Low Countries were detached from America in a few weeks. The American regime found its control of Europe severely limited, and a domestic population on its hands not only devoid of war enthusiasm, but hostile to any form of intervention in the war which the Washington dictatorship had itself created.

The non-intervention movement in America was then taken over by the Culture-distorter, and the propaganda

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was devised that sending war material abroad was a method of remaining out of the war. In other words, limited participation was non-intervention. American political unconsciousness being what it is in a country with no tradition, no State, and no higher History, this was convincing, and the overwhelming sentiment against intervention was thus brought into the service of the intervention plans of Washington.

The limited participation was ever less limited. A law which nationalist elements had passed long before the War, to prohibit this sort of involvement in wars, was cynically put aside. American expeditionary forces were sent abroad, American naval vessels were ordered to engage European vessels on the high seas, merchant ships of European origin were requisitioned—and all this from a government that had been giving pontifical lessons in International Law to the world.

The widening of the theatre of war by the involvement of Bolshevik Russia against the Western Civilization led within a fortnight to the breaking of relations with Europe. But the domestic situation still prevented Washington from direct American involvement, and Europe had failed to react to the undeclared American war on the high seas. The sole remaining American bastion in Europe was the island, and it was only held by political and financial means which could at any moment give way. Direct intervention with the total military potential of America was essential if the war was not to terminate in a Western victory over Asiatic Russia and a general settlement of all old political problems in Western Europe, which would result in the creation of a Culture-Nation-State-People-Race unity of

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the West with an authoritarian political basis that would be impermeable to Culture-distortion, and would moreover, by its example, inevitably call forth an American nationalist revolution against the Culture-distorting regime.

Since efforts to antagonize Europe by undeclared war had not had the desired results, it was sought to create a Far Eastern war by which it was hoped involvement in the real war against the Western Civilization could also come about. To this end, an ultimatum was delivered to the Japanese Government in November, 1941. The ultimatum demanded Japanese evacuation of all its conquests since July, 1936. The answer of Japan was to sink the American battle fleet in Pearl Harbour in December, 1941. Public and official investigations carried out by nationalist elements after the war proved conclusively that the **Washington regime knew this attack was coming**, and even the day of it, since it had been reading Japanese diplomatic messages. **Nevertheless it took no military precautions**, and thus cynically threw away the lives of thousands of American soldiers and sailors. The propaganda machine was already geared to attribute this Japanese attack to the Western Civilization, but the Western war-declaration, following in a few days, made this propaganda pointless.

Thenceforward, 80 per cent of the American war-effort was devoted to the war against the hated Western Civilization. Australia and India were ignored except for weak efforts to contain a second Japanese attack-wave which never came. Had it come, the white population in colonial Australia would have passed into subjection to Japan, as a result of the presence in the

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Western Civilization of a pathological distortion. Europeans should note the significance of the statement of the American commander, precisely in this threatened quarter of the white world, made in the summer of 1942: "The future of civilization rests with the worthy banners of the Russian Army." From this, it is apparent that uniformity of mind is a prerequisite also to military rank.

II

The conduct of the American war effort, on the higher level, departed entirely from the principles of honour which have always governed the intercourse of Western nations and leaders. The prime attack against Europe was by bombing planes based on the European island which from 1942 was occupied by American troops. The air-bombardment was directed almost entirely against the civilian population of Europe, even though it was known that no decision could be achieved by this means. The American press spoke blood-thirstily of "block-busters" by which was meant a bomb which could wipe out a city-block of civilian homes, and kill several hundred civilians. Photographs were proudly displayed of the results of this dishonourable type of warfare against families and homes. A propaganda was developed that anyone opposing the armies or ideology of America was a criminal, and subject to a "trial" for his "crimes."

Europe was already familiar with atrocity propaganda stemming from America. Owing to the primitive intellectual level which Culture-distortion and Culture-Retardation have generalized in America, this sort of

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thing is taken literally, whereas the responsible minds of Europe recognize it for what it is, a mass-propaganda designed to reach marginal brains. Thus during the First World War, the American press circulated stories of atrocities committed—of course—by the opponents of American armies. Belgium was selected as the site of these stories, and it was said that Belgian civilians were crucified by occupying armies. There was much more of the same: hands cut off babies, and the like. So seriously was this taken in America that after the First World War a deputation of American journalists travelled in a group to Belgium to investigate the stories, and then reported to the American public that they had all been found to be untrue.

Thus the thesis that anyone opposing America was ipso facto a criminal was not taken seriously in Europe, but served as a preparation of the American mind for the post-war horrors to be committed in Europe.

A leadership that had been talking about "war crimes" for years, while waging its own warfare against homes and families, armed itself finally in 1945 with a projectile which could be used **only** against civilians, the "atomic" bomb. Under the tactical conditions then prevailing, this bomb could not be used against military forces, but only against cities, which in war are stripped of men of military age. This bomb was used without demonstration, and without warning, and obliterated hundreds of thousands of civilians in a few seconds.

In the period after the Second World War, American foreign policy retained its continuity. Occupied Europe was treated as an area to be devastated, factories were dismantled of machinery, which was given to Russia,

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and other installations were blown into the air as part of a deliberate policy of destroying the industrial-potential of Europe. The population was treated as sub-human, and a large-scale starvation policy was introduced, which continues in 1948. Although America was exporting food all over the world, not being under any obligation of honour or morality to do so, nevertheless it refused to send enough food to maintain human life into occupied Europe. Human rations were fixed far below qualitative and quantitative minima for health, and within a short time, malnutrition, skin-ailments, infections, and degenerative diseases began to kill millions. In the first wild exultation of its "victory," the American army forbade its personnel even to **speak** to the population. This continued until court-martials became too numerous, and it was discarded while in its place was substituted a violent hate propaganda among the American troops. The population of Europe was treated as totally and essentially inferior to the conquering Americans. It was officially referred to as "the indigenous population." In public buildings special sanitary facilities were set aside for them, while the superior Americans and Negroes used their own.

Requisitioning of homes was on a mass-scale: American soldiers and civilians were allowed to bring their families from America and to put them into undamaged houses, in which had been living perhaps fifteen or twenty members of "the indigenous population." The owners of these homes were allowed usually to take with them only their clothes and their food. No provisions were made for housing the dispossessed, for they were regarded and treated as

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sub-human.

This population was deprived of the physical right of self-defence against Americans. Europeans who struck Americans in reply to a blow were sentenced to imprisonment by American military courts. One European was sentenced to two years imprisonment for a hearsay reference to a Jewish member of the American forces as a "dirty Jew."

The ghastly **dishonour** attending the American occupation of Europe is sufficient to show that the presence of Culture-alien elements, for no Western nation or colony could possibly proceed to this type of conduct. Its very inner constitution, its historical essence, a thousand-year honour tradition, would preclude the possibility. What Western nation would reduce the women of another to the legal status of concubines, and forbid marriage between its members and those of another Western nation? Yet this is what the American command did. It permitted concubinage, and forbade marriage. As a result of this policy, venereal disease assumed plague proportions in occupied Europe.

In the presence of this starving, disease-ridden European population, the American armies and their families, guarded by guns and barbed wire, live in the houses which their bombs did not damage, and eat an unrationed diet. The spiritual qualities developed by these conditions are not the highest. In the early phase of the occupation, waste food and clothing were actually burned in the physical presence of the starving and freezing "indigenous population."

When, in the summer of 1947, a food revolt threatened, one of the American governors announced

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officially that the American people had no duty in fact, in international law, or in morals, to feed its subject population in occupied Europe, and that if a revolt did occur, it would be put down with bayonet and machine gun. That which is here described is only partial, but the pattern of the facts is universal in American-occupied Europe. It continues to-day, and has a deep and wide influence on European thinking on the most important level.

III

As was revealed in the analysis of the motivation of politics, power-contests in our century derive their motivation from Cultural phenomena. In the early Western centuries, this motivation often came from the struggle between Emperor and Pope for universal rule; later it came from religious differences; later still from dynastic ambition; then from nation-units and from economic-commercial rivalry. Now the main fact in the world is the spiritual unity of the Western Civilization, just becoming conscious, and the awakened will-to-destroy of the outer world. In the realm of action it takes the form of a political struggle between the Western Civilization and its colonies on the one side, and the non-Western forces on the other. The enmity between America and Japan was therefore natural, and all nationalist elements in America so regarded it. The distorting elements in America however never regarded this enmity as important, for there was no anti-semitism in Japan. This throws the necessary light on the American policy in the occupation of Japan.

Upon the conquest of Japan, the utmost friendliness

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was at once put into effect as the policy of the army toward the Japanese population. The American army officially established brothels with Japanese women for its soldiers. Houses were not requisitioned for the troops, but barracks were built. The diet was adequate to maintain human health. The Emperor retained his rank and position, and his Godhead was not disturbed in the public mind. The Japanese self-respect was maintained by the dignified treatment generally accorded to Japanese civilians. The American policy was to restore the industrial potential of the country, and allow Japanese autonomy. The Japanese Diet, government and administration were maintained. Former political leaders were respectfully told to report for trial for war crimes, for this pettifogging nonsense has become a compulsion wherever American armies penetrate. The only exaction made of the population was the adoption of the American religion of "democracy" worship. For a population whose national religion already consisted of Confucianism, Buddhism, Shintoism, and Emperor-worship, this was no great sacrifice.

The leaders over whom the protracted ritual of war-crime exorcism was practiced were not abused either in the Japanese press or in the American press. They were not photographed endlessly, subjected to Freudian inquisitions, tormented, forced to pick up the cigarette-ends of American soldiers, or systematically degraded as had been the case with the victims of American armies in Europe. Above all, the "war-crime" process was not extended throughout the entire organization of Japanese life, both civilian and military, as was done in Europe, and as continues to be done in 1948.

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The difference in policy between these two occupations is quite sufficient to explain by itself the entire formative influence of American foreign policy. The dominating impulse of the occupation-policy in occupied Europe is **revenge**. As the analysis of politics showed, however, revenge is not a part of politics, but transcends politics. Politics is not carried on for the purpose of humiliating the enemy, nor of exterminating the population of the enemy-unit if it is defeated. Politics has the aim of increasing power, and the American regime has not consulted power-realities at any point in forming and executing its policy in occupied Europe. In an area with an enormous war-potential which it controls and could use for its own power purposes, it systematically destroys plant and machinery. Among a population which could furnish it with millions of the best soldiers in the world, the Americans conduct themselves with a ferocity and an affected superiority calculated to alienate the "indigenous population" forever. Finding themselves captors of the best military leaders in the Western Civilization, to whom they should go to school, they proceed to hang them for the crime of opposing American armies in the field.

In short, instead of increasing American power, the occupation-policy has decreased American power in every way. This shows conclusively that the motivation of this conduct is outside politics. Its motivation is derived from the complete, deep, and total organic irreconcilability between a High Culture and a parasitic organism within it. This relationship is one transcending ordinary international politics. It is somewhat similar to the relationship between the Roman legions and the

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barbarians of Mithridates and Jugurtha, or to that between the Crusaders and the Saracens, or between Europe and the Turk in the 16th century. It is deeper even than these, because of the revenge-twist introduced into the soul of the parasite through centuries of silent sufferance of the unassailable superiority of the host. When defeated Europe—and in particular, the most vital part of it, the bearer of the grand European Idea of the 20th century—lay at the feet of this totally alien conqueror from a Culture of the past, no feelings of magnanimity, chivalry, generosity, mercy, were in his exultant soul. There was only there the gall which he had been drinking for a thousand years while he had bided his time under the arrogance of the alien Western peoples whom he had always considered, and still considers, barbarians, goyim. Seen from this standpoint, the American armies were just as completely defeated as the armies from the mother-soil of the Culture. The real victor was the Cultural alien, whose triumph here over the entire Western Civilization marked the highest refulgence of his destiny.

IV

The ultimate significance of American policy since the American Revolution of 1776 has been negative as far as America is concerned. America's natural, geopolitical, national interests lie in Central and South America, and in the Far East. In a world-struggle for control of the planet between the Western Civilization and the outer forces, the natural policy of Europe is directed toward Africa, the Near East, and the vastness of Asiatic Russia. America, being a colony of the Civilization, deriving all

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its spiritual nourishment from it, naturally complements this interest, and in no way conflicts with it. What interest has a nationalist America in Russia, Africa, the Near East? Correspondingly, what political interest has Europe in Central or South America? Europe and America have no natural, organic, power-convergence. America and Japan have.

American foreign policy violates every feature of this natural disposition. It allied America to Russia—not against Japan, which could have been understood, but against Europe, which was madness for true American interests. It fought Japan, and proceeded after the conquest to rehabilitate Japan instead of reorganizing it into a permanent part of the American empire. It fought its main ally, Europe, not a mere political ally, but its spiritual parent and total, Cultural ally.

When the fortunes of war gave military victory to American arms it could have redeemed its previous mistakes. Japan could have been incorporated into the American overseas empire. Europe could have been rehabilitated. The exact opposite was done. Europe was looted, starved, and despoiled, while Japan, the natural enemy, was rebuilt for its next war against America.

In short, the foreign policy of America **was not American**. From its objective acts alone, this appears in a conclusive fashion.

Culture-distortion has exercised in America, since 1933, the supreme power of deciding the issue of war or peace for Americans. From the victorious dispersal of American arms, America gained no power. Japan has been an expense—much of its machinery has been given to Russia, and the burden of making up its food-

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deficit has been laid on the American people. While Russia has gained enormously in industrial strength by the machinery it has taken from Europe, and from what America has given it from its half of Europe, America has only incurred more expenses. So thoroughly has it devastated its area of occupied Europe that many material needs of its armies have to be brought from America.

American armies have evacuated China and India, North Africa and Persia, giving up the largest empire in the world's history. At the close of the Second World War, Washington was the capital of a military empire embracing 18/20ths of the surface of the earth, including all the seas as subject to American control.

The policy of the Culture-distorter was thus not at all, as some people said, directed toward world-control. This grandiose idea could only arise in a Western stratum. An alien organism in the body of the Western Civilization can only **distort** the life of the West. The parasite cannot become Western, and world-domination is a Western idea. Nor is it an idea for everyone, but like all formative Western ideas it excludes persons without depth or intensity. This is why America could not hold the great empire it had gathered together. America has not yet had sufficient historical experience, it has not the consciousness of **politics**, to administer or create an empire. In the mass-mind of the American, the entire Second World War had the one negative aim: destroy the European Idea.

Thus Culture-distortion in America neither followed America's national interest, nor did it aim at world-conquest, either for itself or for America. As a result,

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it led America to a political defeat in the Second World War.

This fact is quite patent to Europe. More important is the question of how far this is realized in America. This involves the problems of the form of the Future in America, American nationalism, the prospect of continued Culture-pathology, and the spiritual possibilities of America.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

The origin of America contains its Future. As Leibniz said, "The Present is loaded with the Past, and pregnant with the Future." America originated as a colony of the Western Culture. The organic unity called a High Culture is tied to its landscape of birth. Here it is born, and here it solves its last and mightiest problems. In its present stage, the Western Civilization dominates the spiritual orientation of the whole world. Units like Japan and Russia exist merely as active revolts against the Western Civilization, as denials of its world-outlook. The Western Civilization has created even its own opponents; its dynamism has mobilized the outer forces into their present activity. The colonies which this Culture planted around the world during the period 1600-1800 have maintained their spiritual relationship with the mother-organism. The leading souls of Argentina, South Africa, Australia, America, Canada, and the other scattered smaller colonies, reside spiritually in Europe, and from the fructifying and wider-working creations of the parent Western Civilization, they derive their world-outlook, their plans, ideas, and inner imperative. These colonies remain the spiritual allies of the Western Civilization. Their political interests cannot possibly be hostile to those of the West, for they will share with it a common fate.

In this Age, the motivation of politics is derived from Culture. The world divides into the Western Civilization, and that outside. A victory of Europe over Russia or India is a victory for America, and a victory of America over Japan or China is also one for Europe. **America and Europe together constitute a spiritual unit.** The possibility thus is real and organic that America and

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Europe will once again be politically united. That which shares a common Destiny is actually a political unit, and the continuance of political disunity is artificial and hostile to the Life-interests of the organism. The prime aim of Life is the actualizing of the possible. This is Life. Owing to the frightfully dangerous world-position of the Western Civilization, a condition which will not vanish even with a successful war, the organic tendencies to Reunion of Europe and America are inevitably going to express themselves by impressing the best brains of America and Europe with the necessity of Reunion. The time-span involved in the beginnings of this tendency is not longer than one generation. Whether the tendency will be actualized is unforeseeable, just as the fate of Karnak was unforeseeable to the Ramessids. But its Life-necessity will dictate that this tendency will become the focus of action.

But the organic Idea of Reunion is impossible of realization while the West is suffering from inner Culture-diseases. This poses the question of reaction to Culture-pathology in America.

The original stirrings of the soul of the American People were manifested by the early types of the independent colonial, the pioneer, the militiaman, the explorer, the frontiersman. The characteristics of this type were resourcefulness, fearlessness, technical competence. It was simply the old Gothic urge into the distance once more, and the will to conquer that which lies between. The early American people had a powerful instinct of racial superiority coupled with its spirit of self-reliance. This human material was the basis of the Yankee type created by the War of Secession. That war

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had the result of engrafting onto this human material the form of the Age of Economics, Money and Materialism. It was a natural result, for the entire Western Civilization was at that time in the grip of the Civilization-Crisis. The soul of the American People was formed in that upheaval. It is a late people, by which is meant, technical, hard, externalized, but devoid of possibilities in the field of culture in the narrower sense. This hardness and externalization, this technical competence will always remain in the American soul, for they are of its essence. The ideological trappings were mere clothing, and they belonged to the Spirit of the Age. The 19th century spirit is quite dead, and America cannot perpetuate its charnel ideas any more than an organism can develop backwards, from age to youth.

The American ideology and world-outlook have no Future; the soul of the American people however has, for this people is an organism. The beating of this people into a thing of mass-ideals, mass-thinking, mass-conduct, mass-living, was a distortion and an exaggeration of the tendencies of the American soul, and of the possibilities of the Age of Materialism. This twisting and warping of the American Destiny was only possible because of the diseases of Culture-Retardation and Culture-distortion. Culture-Retardation in America was a reflex of the presence of the same disease in Europe: the Age of Materialism had been fortuitously victorious, on the surface of History, in the First World War, and the actualizing of the Idea of the 20th century in both America and Europe was thereby delayed. Culture-distortion in America was the result of the presence in huge masses of a Culturally alien group. The immediate

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future of America is therefore bound up with Culture-distortion and the American reaction against it. The distribution of power, spiritual and material, must be assessed which will be called into play. First the Culture-distorting group.

The numbers of the Jewish Culture-Nation-State-Race in America are estimated between eight and twelve millions. The numbers are however not of the first importance, for this organic unity has strong racial instincts and a powerful sense of a mission. The numbers do indeed play a part, both in the extent of Culture-distortion and the form and extent of the reaction against it, but the public power of the Culture-distorting group is based on its control of highly focused central organizations.

In propaganda, its control is **absolute**. This covers the cinema, the radio, the press—newspaper, periodical, book—the universities, and the stage. The radio is controlled by means of the few large nation-wide networks, which control the programmes of the member stations, even though these may be privately owned. The newspaper press is dominated by its ownership of the few great news-gathering associations, which control the presentation of the news of the member-newspapers, who are dependent on the associations, even though they may be privately owned, and who may not change anything given them by the associations. Periodicals and books are controlled by means of ownership, in most cases, of the magazines, publishing houses, and printing presses, and social, economic, moral, and legal compulsion for the other cases. The stage is controlled by ownership of the theatres, and the other compulsory

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means. The universities are dominated by the disproportionate numbers of the Culture-distorting group, both in teaching and student personnel, as well as the organized and aggressive activity of these numbers.

Both political parties are controlled by the Culture-distorting group, forcing all the accepted kind of inner-political activity in America into its service. The technic of political control is through a vast bureaucracy, created since 1933, which is dominated and disproportionately staffed with members of the group. This administrative control is extended also over the armed forces.

In the financial world—which completely owns and controls the industrial—the power of this group is heavily disproportionate to its population-percentage. Its hold in this realm goes back to the War of Secession, when a few of the precursors of the invasion of 1890-1950 engaged in the arms traffic between the Confederate and Federal armies.

The result of all this is a powerful **spiritual** influence on the American people. This people reads the books which aliens write or edit for it. It sees the plays and cinemas it is allowed to. It thinks the thoughts that are put into its head. It is thrown into wars against American interests, which it can only lose. The issue of war and peace, life and death, is decided for America by the Cultural alien. America has been given a semitic countenance. Americans who hold power hold it in deference to the alien. To oppose him dare no public men. Americans were told that they must be concerned with the partitioning of Arabia, and no national channel existed through which an American could deny

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fundamentally the world-picture which supported such a policy.

But he who has looked into the essence of History knows that the alien and the proper **cannot** merge, they can **only** oppose one another. Disguise, terror, threats, dictatorship, pressure, propaganda—none of these can reach the essence of the relationship. The American people—not yet a nation—has its own soul, and it is only its lack of historical experience, and the stage of development of the Culture which created this people, which have made possible the wide and critical diffusion of Culture pathology throughout this people.

The very fact of Culture-distortion presupposes the existence, in its inner purity, of the soul of the host-people. Distortion cannot destroy the host, but can only direct the energy of the host onto false problems, and into the direction of the interests of the parasite.

II

As Europe now knows, the Second World War was a phenomenon of Culture-illness. It was created in America, skilfully prepared during the years 1933-1939, and it was cleverly cast into the superficial form of a contest between two European powers of yesterday, although the real world-issue was the uniting of the West against the threat to its life from the gathering outer forces—Russia, China, India, Islam, Africa. The true form of the war was disclosed to everyone in 1945, when the victors emerged as the Culture-distorting regime in America, and the Mongols in the Kremlin. For the first time in world history, the world was divided between two powers. Europe had lost the war,

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and achieved the unity in defeat which it had not entirely reached in its victories. Europe passed temporarily into the same status that China and India formerly occupied—spoils for powers from without.

The result of this war was also a defeat for America, first because the issue was false, and secondly because the exploitation of its military successes was false.

Facts of this magnitude cannot be concealed.

A knowledge of the organic nature of History would tell one that a reaction exists in America, even though he knew none of the facts concerning it. The facts of the American nationalist reaction are precisely what we would expect. History works through minorities, and the size of these minorities is a direct reflex of the necessity of the historical phenomenon. The nationalist minority in America has at least ten million members. This minority is almost completely unorganized. There are approximately a thousand resistance organizations, but they are ineffectual politically, even though they are strongly symptomatic spiritually.

In 1915 began the nationalist reaction to the invasion of Culturally alien elements, with the founding of the second Ku Klux Klan. This year will be marked in retrospect as the beginning of the second phase of the American Revolution. The figure of ten millions as the strength of these elements is of course an estimate, but it refers to persons whose souls are strongly influenced by the immanent Nation-Idea in America. At less intensity, this feeling is general in the American population. Thus, no one denied ever that the overwhelming desire of the population was to stay out of the Second World War which the Culture-distorting regime in

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Washington had created in Europe. This was despite the heaviest propaganda barrage ever levelled at any population anywhere.

It is not traceable to true pacifism, for this does not exist in America. It reflects the fact that the soul of this people instinctively distrusted and hated the whole attempt. In 1940, it was given no chance to express its feeling in the "election," since both candidates for power were committed to intervention. The management of elections has so far frustrated expression of the true American soul.

This nationalism is increasingly radical, even though it has not yet assumed political proportions. Certain American nationalists were held in gaol for having said in 1941 that a military defeat was to be desired for the welfare of America, since a defeat would destroy the hold of the Culture-distorting group. The American nationalist element generally hoped for a defeat of the conscript armies which had been massed out of the unenthusiastic and unwilling American youth. At the same time, it supported the war against Japan, the natural, geopolitical enemy of America.

The principle of individuality, of continuity of soul and character, applies to Peoples as well as to persons, and thus it is known that the Spirit still lives which was effective in such men as Nathanael Greene, Mad Anthony Wayne, Ethan Allen, Nathan Hale, Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, Daniel Morgan, Davy Crockett, the men of the Alamo and San Jacinto, Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, William Walker, and Homer Lea. The century of materialism and money-obsession naturally called forth no heroism, but the 20th century will change

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the spiritual aspect of America as it has changed Europe. The latent heroism of the American People will again be summoned forth by the stern creativeness of the Age of Absolute Politics.

Despite the extent of Culture-distortion and its attempts to render a People permanently into a feckless, uniformized mass, there are millions who have held themselves instinctively aloof. These people are the focus of great historical forces. They fight against gigantic odds, and they fight under enormous handicaps.

American nationalism has no connection with a grand tradition of life, thought, and action. It finds itself charged with a politically revolutionary mission, but the American people is not revolutionary. Its reaction to a Cultural disease is in a crude racial form. It faces a mighty political task, but is unconscious of the necessities of power-thinking. Its intellect is not free from the superannuated ideology of "equality," born in 1775, and still used by the distorting element for its own purpose.

The hammering of the mass-mind into the American people was at bottom merely a **technic**, an artifice. Strong individuality was **submerged**, it is true, but strong individuality cannot be **annihilated**. The Age of Absolute Politics will wake once more what there is of Genius in the American stock, and a powerful reaction may be expected from the mass-veneer over the American soul in the form of individual leaders upon whom absolute power will be conferred.

America is not a country with creative possibilities in the field of philosophy, and its higher understanding of the great realities of our time will come from its deep,

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determining connection with the mother-soil of the West.

The elements which will enter into the coming struggle between American nationalism and the Culture-pathological element will be numerous. It is probably no longer possible for the American Revolution to take a constitutional form. The perfected parliamentary-electoral technics of late democratic conditions seem to exclude that possibility. There is left only civil war. In such a war, the race-war between the Negro and the white, the class-war of the unions against the managers, the financial-war of the money-dictators against the coming authoritarian nationalism, and the war for survival of the Culture-distorter against the American people, will all step forth for resolution.

Whether this crisis will be sharp and critical in nature, like the Secession-War, or in the form of an uncertain and long-drawn out evolution, like the Thirty-Years' War, or the struggle between the Spirit of Cromwell and the Restoration, cannot be foreseen. In any case, the struggle is one which is demanded by organic necessity, and only its occurrence can be foretold, but neither the form thereof, nor the date thereof.

These are Imponderables. When the American National Revolution takes political form, its inspiration will come from the same ultimate source as the European Revolution of 1933. Therefore what is written here is also for the true America, even though the effective America of the moment, and of the immediate future is a hostile America, an America of willing, mass-mind tools in the service of the Culture-distorting political and total enemy of the Western Civilization.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WORLD-SITUATION

“Imagination rules the world.”

—Napoleon.

“For the tasks of the next century, the methods of popular representation are the most inappropriate imaginable. The condition of Europe in the next century will once again lead to the breeding of manly virtues, because men will live in continual danger. I see over and beyond all these national wars, new Empires, and whatever else lies in the foreground. What I am concerned with—for I see it preparing itself slowly and hesitatingly—is the United Europe. The nations which **got to be worth anything** never attained to that condition under liberal institutions: **great danger** made out of them something which deserves reverence, that danger which alone can make us aware of our resources, our virtues, our means of defence, our weapons, our **genius**—which **compels** us to be strong.”

—Nietzsche.

“Pacifism will remain an ideal, war a fact, and if the white race decides to wage it no longer, the coloured will, and will become the rulers of the world.”

—Spengler.

THE POLITICAL WORLD

Politics is related to war, and war uses strategy. Strategy immediately involves the fundamental realities of physical and human geography. And so an examination of the facts and possibilities of world-politics begins with geography.

In this Age of Absolute Politics, the entire earth-ball is the object of the power-instincts of both the Western Civilization, and, by a process of outer negation that is just as total as the Western Imperialistic affirmation, also the extra-Western forces. Therefore the general geographic picture of the planet is the point of departure.

Dividing the world into two longitudinal hemispheres along the 20th meridian, it is seen that in the Eastern Hemisphere is the land-mass Asia-Africa, the outlying islands Australia and Oceania, and most of Antarctica. The total land-mass is more than 100,000,000 quadrate kilometres. In the Western Hemisphere are the two connected islands North and South America, and part of Antarctica. These areas are 47,000,000 quadrate kilometres, less than half the land-mass in the Eastern Hemisphere. More important than area is population, for power means control over **people**, and they can only be controlled politically where they **are**. The population of the Eastern Hemisphere is approximately 1,700,000,000 persons, while that of the Western is only 300,000,000.

This means that the world—politically speaking—is in the Eastern Hemisphere. The planet can also be divided into a Northern and Southern Hemisphere, along the Equator. In this division, more than 9/10ths of both land-area and population lie in the Northern Hemisphere.

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If the planet be divided into quadrants, it is seen that more than half of the population of the great land-mass Asia-Africa, or approximately half the total population of the planet, is in the North-East quadrant. This includes Europe, most of Russia, India, Asia Minor, and most of Africa. This entire land-mass is contiguous except for indentation by the narrow seas, the Mediterranean, the Arabian Gulf, the Persian Gulf, the Baltic. The whole area is controllable by land-power, including the narrow seas, whose entrances are commanded by the land.

It is thus quite obvious that world-control means in the first instance control of this north-east earth-quadrant. In the second instance, world-control means domination of the land-mass Asia-Africa. Thirdly, it means control of the Northern Hemisphere, and lastly, control of all the waters and land of the planet. The north-east quadrant, being the most important area, is the focus of all 20th century Imperialism.

These fundamental geographical facts are the basis of all large-scale political thinking. The **basis**, but not the **source**, for the origin of grand thinking of any kind whatever is a High Culture, making itself effective through a Culture-bearing stratum of human beings. The science of geopolitics was itself a knowledge-system created by a High Culture which had arrived at the stage of unlimited Imperialism, the Age of Absolute Politics. It bore however within it a remnant of materialistic thinking which led to the error of placing the origin, determination, or motivation, of politics in physical facts. This was an absolute error, since all Materialism, as a description of facts, is an absolute error. The origin of ideas, impulses, experience, is the soul. The origin of

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politics itself is the human soul. The origin of grand creative politics is the soul of a High Culture. The origin of destructive politics is in the negation, by the souls of outer populations, of the political imperative of a High Culture.

In the present stage of the Western Civilization, the motivation of politics is in Culture, and no longer in nationalism or economics, as was often the case in the 19th century. The spiritual unity of the Western Civilization and its colonies is a fact, and this prime fact is the source of the great political contest in this century. The unlimited Imperialism of the West has created in the outer populations an equally strong will to destroy Western Imperialism. The only way it can do this is by its own Imperialism. Thus the Idea of Imperium dominates the form of the world-struggle of this century and the next. Whether one is in its service or opposing it, he is coerced by its universality.

The error of geopolitics was in thinking that the outer could determine the inner. But the soul is always primary, and the use made of material, or of geographic position, is a mere reflex of the type of soul. The American Indians had far more resources than the American Colonials, yet their primitivity in technics left them helpless. Total technical superiority however is not material superiority, but spiritual superiority.

Geopolitics, as developed before this time, was not founded on the 20th century view of history and politics, but on tacit materialistic ideas left over from the 19th century. The researches of this science have, however, permanent value, and its assertion of large-space thinking was an historically essential development. The name

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of Haushofer will remain honoured in Western thought. The future of geopolitics will be readaptation of the whole structure to the fundamental spiritual orientation of the world—the division between the West and its colonies on the one hand, and the outer forces on the other.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

After the successful conclusion by England of the Boer War in 1901, and the Western crushing of the Boxer Rebellion in China, the entire world, with the exception of a few small areas, was under the direct rule of the West and its colonies. In the Far East, only Japan and Siam were excluded; in the Near East, only Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan; in Africa, only Abyssinia and Liberia; in the other hemisphere, only Haiti and Mexico. Of these, Western control was indirect in Turkey, Mexico, and Afghanistan. In Islam and in China, Westerners were under the exterritorial jurisdiction of their national representatives, and not under local tribunals. The conduct of the outer peoples to the Westerners was respectful and deferential. In one word: the entire outer world was **politically passive**.

This passivity alone made possible the grotesque disproportion between numbers and control. In India, for instance, England maintained its rule over 350,000,000 subjects with a garrison of less than 100,000 white soldiers. In the Indian Mutiny of 1857, England found its control of India restricted in a few days to parts of the coast and a few points in the interior. So swiftly can white rule of non-Western territory vanish when the subject populations become **active** politically.

With the political passivity of the outer subjects went another important fact in the world-wide power-monopoly of the West before 1914. This was the **comity** of the Western peoples. Paul Kruger was a symbol of this comity. In the Boer War, fighting against crushing odds though he was, he nevertheless resolutely forbade the employment of Negro barbarians against white Englishmen. The political genius his conduct showed was

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not appreciated.

Two great historical developments were on foot in the world in the period of preparation of the First World War: the emerging within the Western soul, of the superpersonal Idea of Ethical Socialism as the form of the next Western Age; and the growth, in the outer forces, of a world-wide revolt against Western domination.

These two developments on the planet were the actual problems of the First World War. They were the world-historical tendencies which would form the inner content of the coming World War, the inexorable approach of which was seen by all the leading brains of Europe. This great development was seen and described by many men of action and thinkers; among them Rudolf Kjellen, Werner Sombart, Paul Rohrbach, Bernhardt, Lord Kitchener, Homer Lea.

The Age of Capitalism was drawing to its close. England, the power which had been created by this Idea, and which had been in its service, had actualized completely this phase of the organic development of the Western Soul. Prussia-Germany was the power embodying the next phase, the actualization of Ethical Socialism. Thus the inner development of the West tended to take the form of a contest between these two powers.

Prussia-Germany was in the nation-style of the Age of Capitalism. It too was parliamentary-democratic, and was engaging in commercial imperialism. It was differentiated from England by the presence within it of the new superpersonal Idea of Ethical Socialism.

England had conquered, with its historically magnificent Inner Imperative, the largest empire in history up

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to that time. The Western world-monopoly of power was based primarily on the British Empire. To the outer forces which were waking into anti-Western political activity—in Africa, China, Japan, the East Indies, Russia—there was no difference between the Western nations. The great fact of Western nationalism was already by that time a great illusion, from which, however, only the Western peoples were suffering. The outer world knew better than the West that the West was historically a **unit**, not a collection of spiritually sovereign “nations.”

The superficial form of the First World War was a nationalistic contest between two 19th century style Western nations. Superficially, it was England v. Prussia-Germany; **actually it was Capitalism v. Socialism**. Superficially it was a war between two nationalistic coalitions; **actually it was a war of the outer forces against the entire Western Civilization**.

By 1916, it was quite clear that the military contest between Germany and England was a draw, and that continuance of the war between them would only result in a defeat for them **both**. The longer the war continued, the more clear this became. Japan's famous Twenty-One Demands were a test of Western strength in the Far East, and the West yielded in the middle of its suicidal war. Japan was obviously winning the war by remaining out of it; America was obviously winning; the Revolution in Russia showed that the entire West was losing. The power that had resided in Europe was steadily transferred, as the First World War continued, to the outer forces, Japan, Russia, America. From the old-fashioned, nationalistic, standpoint, England was losing, and from the new viewpoint, the whole West was

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losing. If senile, uncreative brains had not dominated events, a European peace would have been concluded in 1916 to salvage Europe's world power-position. But weak heads, finance-capitalistic thinking, and mental rigidity, prevailed. Not only was the suicidal war continued to its bitter end, but the outer forces were mobilized to take part in the actual fighting.

England and France scraped their colonial empires for coloured forces to use against the entire Western Civilization—including themselves, for, the outer forces had always regarded the West as a unity. The genius of Paul Kruger had not been understood. If the only way to defeat an opponent is through suicide, the war has lost its meaning, and should be terminated. But the realizing of simple propositions like these takes genius, and that was nowhere present at the helm of European affairs.

For more than a century England had been arbiter of Europe: it had been able to prevent any power taking first place. During this period, it had controlled all the seas of the world: it had been able to deny them to any power it wished, and over them it had maintained uninterrupted communications with its overseas empire. Therewith, it had also been commercially supreme in the world, and could gain any foreign market it wished or needed.

In 1918, with the "victory" of England in the First World War, it found that it now had to share the seas with America and Japan. Its commercial supremacy was gone, and its military-political power was steadily declining in relation to the outer forces. Germany had lost in a military sense, but still had lost far less than

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England, for it had less to lose. The true, **political**, victors were Japan, Russia and—in a purely external sense—America. The great loser was the Western Civilization.

This brings us to the large-scale political results of the War. The world-problems of 1914 were two, the inner one of the rising Ethical Socialism, and the outer one of the growing world-revolt against the West. How were they resolved? The inner problem was resolved in the only way such an organic development can be resolved: Socialism triumphed over Capitalism, and the further behind the World War was left, the more obvious this became. The parliamentary-capitalistic-materialistic method of thought and action could not cope with the new world-situation and its organization-problems. Sickness spread over the life of the West—spiritual, political, social, economic. This sickness could only be cured by the new attitude of Ethical Socialism toward all these problems. The great, outer problem of the War was resolved against the West. All over the world, the subject populations stirred threateningly. Foundations of the empires of the old-style Western nations were shaking, cracking.

Where yesterday the Westerner had commanded, he now had to cajole and to promise. Where formerly he could move freely and proudly, he had now to be circumspect, and fearful, as official, of revolt, and as individual, of sudden death. The saddling of barbarian occupation troops on a Western nation after the First World War confirmed and strengthened the outer revolt against the West. The barbarians were given the feeling they could lord it over the white man. Anti-Western

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activity flamed all over the world: in South America, Mexico, the East Indies, Islam, Japan, China, **Russia**. What did this mean?

The indispensable basis of the Western domination of the entire outer world had been the political **passivity** of the subject peoples. After the First World War all over the Asiatic-African land-mass, the subjects became **active**; they began to stir, revolt, oppose, boycott, sabotage, demand, hope, and hate. **The War had undermined the very basis of the Western world-system.**

The third result of the First World War was on the same scale: an old spiritual world was swept away, the entire spiritual foundation of the 19th century vanished. Economic individualism, parliamentarism, capitalism, materialism, democracy, money-thinking, trade-Imperialism, nationalism and petty-stateism. The end of capitalism and nationalism was symbolized by the creation and the genius of Benito Mussolini, who proclaimed in the teeth of the apparent world-victory of 19th century ideas, the organization-will and Inner Imperative of the 20th century, the Resurgence of Authority, and Ethical Socialism. Precisely when the materialistic ideologists were playing logical exercises with international politics, and creating a stupid and useless "league of nations," this herald of the Future defied the stillborn nonsense of Geneva, and re-embodied the will-to-power and heroism of Western man. Over the paeans of "democracy," Mussolini spoke of the corpse of democracy.

The word **nationalism** changed its meaning after the First World War. From having meant frontier-squabbling, and jingo-patriotism, it meant henceforth the

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idea of Western unity. The "nationalists" in every country sought the welfare of their own countries in Western unity, through the doing away with intra-Western wars, which would automatically create a new political organism.

The old petty-stateism of the West was in fact destroyed by the First World War, although this was not historically visible at the time. Not one of the former Western "nations" had sufficient political strength to engage the outer political forces. In other words, each one of them had ceased to a political unit fit for the great world-struggle. But they had not yet realized their own unity, and hence the outer world was able to continue along the same lines of growing anti-Western activity which the War had begun.

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The First World War was a failure as far as solving the two great problems which formed the true, historical issues of that war. It resolved the issue of Capitalism v. Socialism by giving the apparent and material victory to Capitalism, which represented the Past, and could not possibly form the Future. In other words the result of the War was a mere political negation of the coming Spirit of Ethical Socialism. It resolved the issue of the world-revolt in favour of the outer forces, and against the Western Civilization. This result was historically completely false, for such an outcome did not reflect the great spiritual realities. In reality, the Spirit of the West was then only entering upon its grandest Imperialistic stage, possessed of the necessary material power to actualize its Inner Imperative of unlimited, authoritarian, **political** Imperialism. The historically false eventuation of the War had not corresponded to these great spiritual realities, but had made it appear superficially as though the West was tired, and in retreat from its world-position, and that the outer world had sufficient vigour to dethrone the Western master of yesterday.

In its third great result—the complete sweeping away of the spiritual foundations of the 19th century—the War was also a failure to the extent that it only accomplished this great transformation in the depths, but on the surface of History the ideals and slogans of the dead Past were still the object of the lip-service of the uniformly stupid leaders whom the War had tossed up. These ideals were even carried to limits of comedy which would have been out of the question for the 19th century. For, apart from its tragic significance as a symbol of the victory of the barbarian over the West,

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the League of Nations was simply a huge world-historical joke.

But Destiny is irreversible, and the Spirit of Socialism, with its latent Resurgence of Authority and its youthful will-to-power moved steadily forward. The Spirit of the Age caught up the former powers of Europe, one after another. Only the intervention of two extra-European regimes, those in Moscow and Washington, prevented the complete inner pacification of Europe. This inner pacification would have meant, as the analysis of politics showed, the automatic creation of a new world-political unit—Europe—the Civilization of the West organized as a politico-economic-spiritual-cultural-national-military unit.

The powers that had existed in the 19th century had become in the last analysis mere spectators in the world-struggle. Russia, America, and Japan were the new arbiters of the world situation during the 20's and 30's of the 20th century. This was the legacy of the First World War and of the blindness that had continued it to the point where England's allies had triumphed over England as well as over Prussia-Germany.

The rise to absolute dictatorship of the Culture-distorting group in America enabled American power to frustrate the pacification of Europe as the prelude to European reconquest of its lost world-position of 1900—the status of power-monopolist of the world. By parliamentary-financial-propaganda means, Culture-distortion brought part of Europe under the control of Washington, and determined the form of the Second World War.

The European Revolution of 1933 let loose the most tremendous spiritual force that History knows—Destiny,

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the advancing Spirit of the Age. It was this same force that had given to the armies of France their victories on hundreds of fields all over Europe during the wars from 1790 to 1815. Against this Destiny, no inner forces of the Culture could prevail. To defeat Napoleon, it was necessary to call in Russia, and even then the "victory" was only on the surface, for Napoleon had been the symbol of destruction of the foundations of the 18th century. These foundations could not be rebuilt, even though the gentlemen of the Vienna-Congress thought it could be done.

In form, the Second World War started along the same lines as had the First. Superficially it appeared to be a petty-state contest between two European powers of yesterday. In its depths, the war was no such thing. Even the struggle between Socialism and Capitalism, which was an apparent issue of the War, was not real, for the issue had been settled in favour of Socialism. The alternative to Socialism was not Capitalism, but chaos.

This brings us to the real problems of the Second World War. During the years 1918-1939, the 20th century idea had triumphed all over the West, and only the intervention of the outer forces based in Moscow and Washington had frustrated the foundation of general European unity. In the outer world, the revolt against the West had increased to frightful dimension: in India, China, Japan, Islam, Africa, Mexico, Central and South America, the Carribean, the East Indies, and above all in **Bolshevist Russia**. This outer development had been **accelerated** by the First World War, instead of being denied and put down as the true distribution of military

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force would have brought about. As a consequence, this gigantic outer revolt dominated the world-picture. The reversing of this outer revolt, and the reassertion of the Imperialistic vigour of the West, was the great problem of the world-situation in 1939. In its shade stood the problem of completing the unity of the West by driving out extra-European influence from the home-soil of the West.

Nevertheless, owing to the American Revolution of 1933, and the conquest of American power by Culture-distortion, the War started in a disastrous form, that of a struggle between two former European powers. The Culture-distorting group had not only its old mission of revenge against the West for a millennium of insult and persecution, but it was flaming with the unparalleled injury that was done to it by the renewal of Western exclusiveness in the European Revolution of 1933. For the first time, anti-semitism was as total as semitism. Mere social anti-semitism was welcome to the Culture-distorter, for it unified his followers. But **Cultural** anti-semitism meant the end of the sway of power within the West of the distorter. Against this threat, the Culture-distorter armed for a War which he was willing to continue if necessary to the physical extinction of the Western world. He developed a senseless formula, entirely new in European history—"Unconditional Surrender." This formula transcends politics. Politics aims at **political** surrender, not personal humiliation, deprivation of life, of honour, of rank, of humanity and decency.

In the form in which it started, its grand problem was doomed. The revolt of the outer forces against the

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West was temporarily overshadowed by the suicidal struggle between white Western troops against white Western troops, all of whom were slaughtered for the defeat of the West and the triumph of outer forces.

Who won the Second World War? First of all, in the military sense: America and Russia—for at the conclusion of the War, the world presented the picture of being divided between them. Russia dominated half of the political world—most of the North-east quadrant of the planet—and America dominated the other half. But, as we have seen, America threw away the greater part of its military victory, since the force governing American policy was not American, and hence could not pursue a Western policy of Empire-building, but could only exercise a distorting influence on American policy.

Second, in the political sense: Russia, and, probably, Japan. America cannot be said to be a political winner, since it has steadily lost power since the end of the War. A country in the custody of total, Cultural, aliens cannot gain a political victory, since whatever military victories it may achieve will be used only for the benefit of the alien, and not for the benefit of the subject nation. This lies in the nature of the host-parasite relationship, and America is an instance of it. Russia however, gained enormously in strength in every way through its "victory," which was won for it by American forces. Russia's power is ascendant everywhere as the result of the War, and it is the only power which can definitely be said to have won the War. After two decades however, it is probable that Japan also will be seen to have won the War, although naturally such a view is put forward with reservation as to intervening

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events. But the benevolent and protective occupation by American forces to rebuild the Japanese economy and political power might reach a certain point at which the occupier will find that a new power-relationship exists.

Third, in the spiritual sense: the great collective victor is the world-revolt against the West. Leading them is the Architect of the War, the Culture-distorter. From the top of a mountain of Western dead, he can regard his mission of revenge as having been apparently completely accomplished. Behind him is the spirit of Asiatic Bolshevism, which now lords it over "the rotten West," as 19th century Russian litterateurs named the Europe they hated so much. Then, everywhere, stand the outer forces, renewed in hope and success by the retreat of the West they have forced and continue to force daily. In India, Egypt, China, the East Indies, they stride forward, and the white man retreats steadily.

Those are the victors. Who are the vanquished?

First of all—Europe, the home-soil of the West. The organism of Western Civilization lost the War just as definitely as Russia won. The millions who died in battle, the hundreds of thousands slaughtered in their homes by American warfare against civilians, the millions who have been starved and frozen to death by the American-Russian occupation, the millions who are still starving and freezing—all these died and are dying for the victory of Asiatic Russia, Culture-distortion, and the world-revolt against the West.

The awful reality of the defeat of the West raises another aspect of the Second World War, the economic.

As already seen, the **political** basis of the Western power-monopoly in the world before the First World

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War, 1914, was the political **passivity** of the subject peoples. Its **economic** basis was the technical-industrial monopoly of the Western Civilization. The hundreds of millions who live in the tiny area of Europe are there because this economic monopoly permitted them to live from food-imports. The food-imports, and the fabulously high Western living-standard, were maintained by Western production of manufactured goods for the outer markets. The many hundreds of millions of Asia and Africa had to meet all their requirements for manufactured goods in the Western Civilization.

The first two World Wars undermined this situation completely. Giant industrial areas have been built up all over the outer world; the revolt against the West is **economic** as well as **political**. What does this mean?

It means this: that not only the power of the West is undermined, but the **livelihood of the West has also been cut off**. The great problem of the Second World War, the restoration of Western world-power, had thus also an **economic** aspect. **It was a struggle for the biological existence of more than one hundred million Westerners.**

The world-situation of the moment thus wears the aspect not only of a struggle for power—what is usual and universal in Nature—but of that which is extremely rare, but hideous and unheroic—a **struggle for physiological existence.**

Not only Europe, but also the American People, lost the War. Since the Revolution of 1933, this People has been working, producing, and exporting. It has given its treasures and the lives of hundreds of thousands of its sons; it has blindly obeyed Culturally alien leaders

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not of its choosing, and in obedience to them it has curtailed its standard of life and parted with its soul—and in return it has received nothing of any kind, spiritual or material. Nor is its time of sacrifices over. It will continue to pay for the Second World War, which it lost, for many a year. In America's cup of "victory," there was poison for the soul of America.

RUSSIA

The participation of Russia as a political unit in Western History begins with Peter the Great. Before that Russia had only engaged in political competition with Slavic States bordering on the Western Culture-area. During the centuries before Peter, there had always been two ways of thinking in Russia: the one was the feeling in the broad masses of peasants and men of strong instincts; the other was the more intellectual desire to adopt Western forms of thought and action and force them on the Slavic population. This latter was confined to a small stratum, the physical descendants of the Varangians, who had invaded Russia from Scandinavia during Charlemagne's time, and was recruited from time to time with new blood from Sweden and Germany. With this stratum, Peter overcame the "Old-Russian" faction, and dragged an unwilling Russia into the comity of Western nations.

Never did he succeed, nor did his Romanov dynasty after him, in implanting Western ideas below the surface of the Russian soul. Russia, the true, spiritual, Russia, is **primitive** and **religious**. It detests Western Culture, Civilization, nations, arts, State-forms, Ideas, religions, cities, technology. This hatred is natural, and organic, for this population lies outside the Western organism, and everything Western is therefore hostile and deadly to the Russia soul.

The true Russia is the one which Petrinism tried to coerce. It is the Russia of Illya Muromyets, Minin, Ivan Grosny, Pozharsky, Theophilus of Pskov, Avakkum, Boris Godunov, Arakcheyev, Dostoievski, the Skoptski and Vassili Shuiski. It is the Russia of Moscow, "the Third Rome," the mystical successor to Rome and

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Byzantium. "A fourth there cannot be," wrote the monk Theophilus. This Russia identifies itself with humanity, and despises the "rotten West."

Being primitive, Russia's spiritual centre of gravity is in instinct, and thus it was that even during the Rationalistic-equalitarian 19th century, Russia was a land of pogroms. The Russian felt the complete alienness of the Culture-State-Nation-Church-Race of the Jew, and the Tsarist regime marked out a Pale of Settlement in which alone Jews could reside.

The upper Russia, the Westernized stratum which played with Western materialistic philosophy, spoke German and French, travelled to the spas of Europe, and concerned itself with European cabinet-politics, was the object of the fierce hatred of the pure Russians, the Nihilists, who embodied the wordless idea of complete destruction of the West, and the Russification of the world. Whether this great destructive Idea was expressed in the religious form of the assertion of the sole truth of Eastern Orthodox Christianity, or of the later political form of Slavophilism and Pan-Slavism, or of the present-day Marxist-Bolshevism, it continues to have the same inner imperative of destroying everything Western, which it feels is stifling its Russian soul.

The Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, was a political epoch both for Russia, and for Europe. The possibility of such a revolution had, of course, always been there, as shown by Pugachev's insurrection during Catherine the Great's reign, by the numerous assassinations in the 19th and 20th centuries, by the huge underworld shown in the writings of Dostoievski, by the huge secret police and spy network. The actual form of the

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Revolution when it did occur was dual: there was a revolt of the primitive Russian soul against the Western Romanov regime and all that it represented, and there was a simultaneous assumption of the leadership of this revolt by the Jewish Culture-Nation-State-Race. The necessary financing was procured in New York from members of the Culture-distorting group in America.

The influence of Culture-distortion on Russian policy has not been of the same degree as its influence in America, at least in foreign policy, for the world-aim of Russia is the same as the aim of the Culture-distorting group—destruction of the Western enemy. Nevertheless it is present, and is responsible in a great measure for Russian policy. With means both skilful and brutal, it maintained its power in Russia.

The duality of the Bolshevik Revolution meant that the one side of it was a failure, the primitive, Asiatic, instinctive, side. The aim of the Russian side of the rising was to sweep away **all** Western institutions, ideas, forms, and realities. Thus it wished to extirpate the Western technology and economic forms as well as the other aspects of the Westernization of Russia. In this it did not succeed, for the Bolshevik minority set itself to Western-industrialize Russia to the highest possible degree in preparation for a series of wars against hated Europe.

During the period 1918-1939, Russian policy abroad was actualized through its international organization, the Comintern, comprising all the Communist parties in the Western Civilization. The policy of the distorting group and the true Russia coincided in undermining the West from within by making use of the remnants of the out-

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worn 19th century outlook in their most degenerate forms: class-war, trade-unionism, financial-manipulations, pacifism, parliamentarism, democracy, corruption of art and letters, social-traditional decay.

Such inner undermining was to be, of course, simply the prelude to complete domination. If necessary the last, military stage was to be applied at the time when the inner rottenness had made resistance hopeless. But the European Revolution of 1933 completely destroyed the value of this technic. By its positive and vigorous reassertion of the primal instincts of the West, and of the world-mission of the West, it made any undermining attempts hopeless, for the exclusiveness of the 20th century West is organically inaccessible to anything Culturally alien.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 was brought about by Culture-distortion within the West, in co-operation with the Bolshevik regime in Moscow. The Bolshevik assessment of the possibilities was that the intra-European war would bleed the West to the point where Russian armies could occupy the entire West with a comparatively small military effort, and establish the world rule of "The Third Rome" on a foundation of the ruin of the West.

Things did not work this way at once, and the Bolshevik regime almost found itself in New York at one point in the Second World War. But the total intervention of America was finally brought about by the Culture-distorting group in America, and as a result, Russia was not only saved, but given a military victory which made it master of the largest contiguous empire ever to exist in the history of the world, and an empire

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situated moreover in a commanding position in the centre of the political world, the Northeast quadrant of the planet.

II

Thus, there are two Russias: the Bolshevik regime, and the true Russia underneath. Bolshevism, with its worship of Western technology, and of a silly foreign theory of class-war, does not express the soul of the true Russia. This broke out in the insurrection of the Streltse against Peter the Great, and of Pugachev against Catherine the Great. In his rebellion, Pugachev and his peasants massacred every officer, official, and nobleman that fell into their hands. Everything having any connection with the West was burned or destroyed. Whole tribes joined in the mass-movement. For three years, 1772-1775, it continued, and the Moscow court itself was at one time in danger. When arraigned after his capture, Pugachev explained that it was God's will that he should chastise Russia. This spirit is still there, since it is organic, and cannot be killed, but must express itself. This is the spirit of Asiatic Bolshevism, which is at present harnessed to the Bolshevism of the Moscow regime, with its economic-technical obsession.

This brings us to the part that Bolshevist ideology plays in the present world-situation. The equating, in the Western Civilization, of Russia with a class-war theory is itself a triumph of Russian propaganda. Theories in politics are **technics**. Politics is power-activity, not reasoning or arguing or proving. For any Westerner to believe that Russia represents some sort of desire to reform society or economics along the lines

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of favouring this class or that class is to show himself utterly incapable of political-thinking. Nor is it any more correct to think that Russia wishes to organize the whole world along the same economico-socio-political lines as present-day Russia. The Russian mission is to destroy the West, and any inner agitation within the West promotes this mission. Class-war, race-war, social degeneration, crazy art, decadent films, wild theories and philosophies of all kinds, serve this vast Russian programme. Communism is just one of these, but if another were more effective to-morrow, it would replace it.

The ideal of Communism, as a theoretical programme for the reorganization of society, does not exist in the world of facts, either in Russia, or America. The communism that the West has to fear is of two varieties, neither of them in the least bit theoretical: first, class-war, and second the Communist organization. The first is an entirely native thing which can only be liquidated by the 20th century Idea of Ethical Socialism; pending this liquidation, it serves the Russian purpose of weakening and disintegrating the West from within. The second is simply the direct enforcing agent within the West of the political commands from Moscow.

At the moment, 1948, Russia's sole remaining enemy in the field is America. Towards America it occupies a position superior in every way except the technical. Its weapon against America is inner undermining through propaganda and social degeneration. These methods are efficacious against America because of the great spiritual split in that country between the true soul of the American People and the upper Culture-distorting

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stratum. Culture-Retardation in America makes 19th century materialistic propaganda and ultra-crazy social ideals effective in that country.

The presence of the distorter in Russia is shown by the fact that the ruling personnel are disproportionately drawn from this group, by the fact that anti-semitism is a crime, and more than anything else by Russian policy in regard to Palestine. For the four years, 1944 to 1948, Russian policy was the negation, at every point, of American policy. Nonetheless in the question of partitioning of Palestine, a part of the world of Islam, the Moscow regime was divided on the supporting of world-policy of the Jewish Culture-State-Nation-Race, even though it was in the imperialistic interests of Russian policy to oppose America on this issue.

But the nature of Culture-distortion as a mere illness is shown again by the situation of the moment. Despite their parallel inner situations, Russia and America are moving to war against one another. This period is one of preparation of and for the Third World War. The nature of politics, of the political side of human nature, impels this war, and the presence of active alien groups in the two existing political powers plays only a subordinate role in this great fact. Its role is to manage the war so that its own world-position is not damaged by the outcome. Russia's strategic position vis-a-vis America is vastly superior. First the great fundamental fact of Russia's position on the planet confers an inestimable advantage. The North-east quadrant, as already seen, is the prime focus of world-control in the Age of Absolute Politics. Russia is situated within this quadrant, whereas America is not even in the **political**

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world, which lies in the Eastern Hemisphere, the ultimate source of six times as much power as the Western Hemisphere.

The North-east quadrant, in a military sense, is controlled partly by Russian arms, and partly by American arms. The Russian holdings are contiguous and integrated. The Russian diplomatic method is that of terror, military occupation, kidnapping, and assassination. The American method is degenerative propaganda, puppet regimes which conduct their own terror, and financial conquest. Of these two methods, Russia's is entirely superior. Wars are fought with soldiers, and not with money, and diplomacy is simply war-preparation and war-exploitation. Financial means therefore are subsidiary to military means, a mere adjunct to them.

The American holdings in the North-east quadrant are bought, but they can never be finally paid for. They are dependent upon the maintenance of puppet governments consisting of the least valuable stratum in Europe, the party-politicians who will sell themselves for money. Thus revolts, in the American spheres in Europe, of the more vigorous and honourable stratum, would automatically terminate America's ascendancy, whereas revolts in Russia's sphere under present conditions would be drowned in blood. Of course, in the last analysis, America's financial diplomacy is backed by American bayonets, but the dangerous illusion in the American mind as to the value of financial means is nevertheless there.

Russian diplomacy increases Russian prestige, while American diplomacy rouses hopes of material gain in its

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subject populations, and panders to the lowest instincts of greed and laziness. America conducts a gigantic hanging-holiday called "war-crimes," which is aimed at settling old semitic-vengeance scores. Russia values subject individuals according to their **present** and **future** value to Russian plans, and is not interested in their past actions. However, if Russia did choose to institute a "war-crimes" slaughter, it could instruct the Americans in technique. The precedent of the Florinsky "trial" during the Red Terror in Kiew in the summer of 1919 is illustrative. Professor Florinsky of Kiew University was suspected of anti-semitism. Irritated by his lack of humility, one of his judges, Rosa Schwartz, drew a revolver and shot him dead at his "trial."

Russia's situation in the North-east quadrant bestows upon Russia the possibility of a high degree of application of the strategic principles of Concentration, and Economy of Force. America's remoteness on the other hand compels it to support an enormous naval and marine establishment before it can put a soldier into the theatre of war. Russia has the advantages of the inner line against America.

And now the concluding remarks can be made about Russia, its mission, and its potentialities.

Russia is outside the West; its Imperialism is a mere negative of Western unlimited organizatory Imperialism. Russia's mission is thus purely destructive as far as the West is concerned. Russia is the bearer of no Utopian hopes for the West, and anyone who believes it is a Cultural idiot. Russia is internally split; the ruling regime does not represent the true, Asiatic, religious, primitive, soul, but is a technological caricature of

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Petrinism, and the possibility is inherent in this relationship that one day this regime will go the way of the Romanov. This split can be used against Russia, just as it tries to use inner-revolutionary tactics against its political enemies. Such a tactic was used with success against the Romanov regime in 1917 by the West. By virtue of its physical situation, on the border of the West, Russia will, and must always, remain the enemy of the West, as long as these populations are organized as a political unit.

JAPAN

The creation of the world-power Japan was one of the results of American commercial Imperialism of the 19th century style. It was "opened"—the hypocritical terminology that always accompanies the spirit of Trade!—in 1853 by a cannonade from an American fleet. Not having technological equality, the Japanese Emperor surrendered at once. From then on, the development of Japan was the history of Japanese imitation of the material technics of the West and the methods of Western diplomacy. Its development was a course of high political achievement: it studied the art of the possible, and practiced it with invariable success. In less than a generation after the "opening," Japan secured its foothold on the Asiatic mainland, for its leaders knew that world-political power cannot be based on overcrowded islands, but must be based on control of land masses and the populations thereon, like the British Empire was based on India. By the last decade of the 19th century it was ready for war. In the Sino-Japanese War, it was successful, and extended the mainland base. By 1904, it judged the situation favourable for a war against the greatest Western land power—for at that time, Russia figured in the world as a member of the Western State-system. In this second great war, it was victorious both from the military and political standpoints. Its capable political tradition knew how to exploit a military victory. In 1914, it cleverly attacked the weakest of the national garrisons in the Far East, and acquired all the German Far Eastern Empire for no military cost whatever. Its mainland position was constantly expanded. After the First World War, it suffered a diplomatic defeat at the hands of England and America,

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and retired to wait.

In more than three-quarters of a century, from 1853 until 1941, Japan did not make a political mistake. This is a remarkable achievement in world-history, and it built up a strong tradition of confidence in the national tradition and leadership. This tradition was reinforced by the primitive religiousness of Japan, which believes in the humanity of God, the divinity of the Emperor, and the divine mission of Dai Nippon.

In 1941, the Japanese government was faced with a new political situation. In the war between the West and Russia, its purely political interests lay in a Western victory. This would have extended Japan's mainland position to vast limits—to the borders of India, to Tibet, to Sinkiang. But another Western power, America, was in the possession of part of the mainland, thousands of islands in Japan's expansion-sphere, a mighty Pacific fleet, and the will to annihilate Japan. Leaving Europe to fight its battle against Russia, it decided to devote all of its military energy to the war against America. Only in a limited sense can this be called a mistake, for there is no certainty America would not have attacked if Japan had engaged Russia instead of America. But on fundamental grounds, it is better to attack a power already battling for its life than to engage a fresh one. Any possible attack from the new quarter can then be sought to be contained while the embattled power is disposed of.

In any case, the Second World War was ended by a negotiated peace between Japan and America. The Japanese Nation, State, Emperor, and institutions were to be maintained, the Japanese Army was to be honour-

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ably disbanded, and American troops were to be permitted to occupy Japan. This decision was carried out with religious discipline. It involved no loss of Oriental face to the leaders, the Nation, or the individuals, for it was the command of the God-Emperor to adopt new conditions. The technological American superiority that had brought about the disciplined transformation from enmity to the teacher-pupil relationship within a few days had put Japan back into the spiritual situation of 1853. A period of learning was required. Once more America would teach it the technics necessary to world-power. The American troops were seen as the Emperor's servants to instruct his people.

Does any Westerner think that the tradition of the Samurai dissolved in a week? In a nation with the Japanese spiritual integration and firmness, a nation which produced an endless succession of Kamikaze pilots, whose generals surrendered to save the lives of their troops and then committed harakiri? So to think is to fail to understand History and its silent, irresistible force, Destiny. The soul of the Japanese People has a Destiny. Its mission, like the Russian, and the other non-Western forces, is simply denial and destruction of the West.

Even co-ordinated and intelligent American policy in Japan cannot wipe out this soul, but can only hope to monopolize the means of its politico-military expression. But the American policy, springing from Culture-distortion in America, of rebuilding and aiding Japanese tradition, of asserting and solidifying Japanese spirituality, strengthens Japan enormously, and makes its Future more hopeful. What this Future may be, no

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one can tell. An American Revolution could sharply reverse the direction of affairs. The Third World War could affect it one way or the other. When a power is submerged, as Japan is, its own will counts for little.

Japan is, and will remain the enemy of the West, because it belongs to the outer forces, and the motive force of world-politics in this Age of Absolute Politics is in Culture. In the great spiritual division of the world, Japan belongs with the non-Western forces. Japan's threat to Europe is mitigated by geographical distance, but its threat to Australia makes the American-Japanese enmity more real, for America has the Cultural duty of protecting Australia since stupid Western diplomacy has lost all European influence in this area.

Japan is not in a class with India and China, for it is integrated. Politics is a struggle of will against will. India and China have, as such, no will. They are not organic units, but mere collections of areas and populations brought under one name for convenience. Their negative will is diffused throughout all the individuals, whereas the will of Japan is concentrated and articulated into a nation-bearing stratum. Japan is thus the potentiality of a power of the Future, while India and China will always remain mere spoils for powers from without.

More important than the outer forces to Europe and to its Future is America. The external situation, plans, and possibilities of America must be examined.

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The armed forces under the command of the Washington regime control Northern and Western Europe, part of South-eastern Europe, the entire Mediterranean, part of the Near East, Middle East, and Far East, as well as all of Central America, and most of South America. In addition, this regime controls all the seas of the world. The vastness of this empire is attenuated by its looseness. The physical remoteness of America from the political world is the first weakness of this empire. The second is the lack of Imperial thinking in its rulers. The third is the old-fashioned financial-diplomacy which is the sole link holding large areas of the empire. The fourth is the terrible inner tension created by the split between the true soul of the American People and the Culturally-alien regime.

The first weakness dictates that America's war effort against Russia for control of the world must be much greater than Russia's. This weakness of the American empire is not realized in America, where complete ignorance of present-day power relationships perpetuates the 19th century belief of the supremacy of sea-power over land-power. There was perhaps something to support this belief when the entire hinterland of Asia—the world—was politically passive, and the control of a few bridgeheads and strong-points along the coast automatically gave access to and control over the hinterland. But in the new conditions of outer revolt, the reflex of the stage of development of the Western Civilization, when all the formerly subject populations of the world are politically restless or active, land-power emerges as the only power, and sea-power is a mere auxiliary. It is simply communication and transporta-

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tion, but it is **fighting** that decides power-struggles. This means **armies**, and whereas Russia can put its entire effort into land-power, America must have gigantic sea-power as a mere **prerequisite** to engaging in the battle for control of the world. In addition, the most reliable populations in the Russian empire, for military purposes, are half again as numerous as the most reliable in the American empire, and the Russian birth rate is primitively high, while that of America's fighting elements is in a severe decline.

Another aspect of the same weakness of the American empire is its reliance on technical superiority. This is another form of the sea-power fallacy, in that it thinks that power can have another basis than armies. Weapons are mere adjuncts in a fight: primary is, and always has been, the spirit. Against this fundamental life-fact, no weapon can prevail. Technical superiority is helpless in the last analysis unless it is accompanied by superiority of will-power, of the will-to-conquer. The same weapon that could give a military victory might be helpless afterwards against a country occupied by soldiers of the "victorious" power, which might find itself politically defeated.

The second weakness of the American empire is the fact that the Culture-disease of Retardation in America has prevented the arising of true Imperial thinking. Imperial thinking cannot develop in a land saturated with pacifist propaganda, with pleasure-madness as the content of life, and intellectual averageness as the spiritual ideal. Imperial thinking cannot be built on "league of nations" dawdling, nor on drooling idealism of any kind, and much less on blind hatred as the corner-

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stone of a foreign policy. Yet, for foreign-political purposes, this is all there is in America. There is no level of the populace, no American group, which feels any higher task than self-enrichment. There is no Samurai, no Comintern, no Black Dragon Society, no nobility, no Idea, no Nation, no State.

Nor will Imperial thinking begin to develop merely because an inner Culturally-alien group wants to use the supine American populations as biological units to carry out its revenge-imperative against the Western Civilization. It must arise spontaneously in the higher strata. Precisely because these higher strata are lacking as a guiding elite in America no true Imperial thinking can arise in America in the near Future.

The third weakness, that of reliance on puppet-regimes secured primarily by financial means, and only secondarily by military means, is simply one more effect of Culture-Retardation. The financial method of conquest is outmoded. This is the Age of Absolute Politics, and power is not to be bought, nor is it secured as a means of enrichment. Whoever does not realize this Spirit of the Age will find himself suddenly defeated by gigantic events which he could not foresee.

Financial-diplomacy is in this Age simply stupidity.

The fourth weakness is the inner tension in America itself. The Future of American Nationalism is quite definite spiritually: it will participate in the struggle for American control of the American Destiny. This struggle arises out of the organic nature of things. The host and the parasite are hostile, and the hostility cannot be abolished. How, when, with what initial success—these are Imponderables.

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In any case: Europe must know, and realize deeply, that both of the occupying powers, America and Russia, are inwardly split horizontally. In both of them the ruling stratum is inwardly spiritually alien to the great mass of dominated peoples. This is a primary, elemental, fact. It is essential to a long-range view of world-possibilities, a view which puts aside both optimism and pessimism, cowardice and bravado, exultation and despair. These powers differ for Europe's purposes in that the true America belongs to the Western Civilization, and the true Russia can never possibly belong thereto. But in the **immediate**, short-range view, extending over only the next quarter of a century, one of them is more dangerous than the other.

Russia's total alienness is realized all through Europe, horizontally and vertically. Under a Russian occupation of Europe, even the very European Communists would soon be in the great, never-ending revolt against the Barbarian. The European Michel element, with its weak urge toward parliamentary babbling and money-loving, and its detestation of the firm, strong, Prussian-European will-power, would find itself cleansed of its spiritual sickness under the lash of the Mongolian. It would become European. Nor could a Russian occupation hope forever to hold Europe down. First, the European will and intelligence are stronger than the will and intelligence of the Barbarian. Secondly, the Barbarian has not sufficient human resources to enslave the Western Civilization at this stage of its development, when its Inner Imperative is cast in the form of will-to-power, and the urge to unlimited authoritarian Imperialism.

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America, on the other hand, is not generally understood in Europe. Even in the Culture-bearing stratum of the West there is no clarity that America under Culture-distorting leadership is Europe's total enemy. Only the development of historical thinking has enabled Europe to understand the organic nature of Culture, and of Culture-Pathology. For the first time, Europe can now see America in its duality: underneath, the America of Hamilton, George Washington, John Adams, of the frontiersman, the explorer, the men of the Alamo; above, the America of Culture-distortion with its monopoly of cinema, press, radio, mind and soul, and with its revenge-imperative directed against the body and soul of the Western Civilization. By making use of Culture-Retardation in Europe, the distorter in America is able to split Westerners and divide them against one another on old, outgrown, 19th century nationalistic lines. The spiritual splitting and Balkanizing of Europe serves his purpose. For those who oppose this purpose, he is now demonstrating the sanctions he will employ against them, in his "war-crimes" slaughter.

The differing relationship between Russia and America to Europe is thus simply that Russia, even though it try to split Europe, can only unite it. The effect of American occupation however is to split, for it appeals to the sub-Europeans, the Retarders, the Michel element, the money-worshippers, the lazy and the stupid, and to the worst instincts in every European. The material destruction accompanying a Russian occupation is considerable; so is that accompanying an American devastation. What difference does it make to

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Europe whether the Russians move a factory to Turkestan, or the Americans blow it into the air? The difference between the spiritual effect of the two occupations makes the Russian less harmful. Russian arrests in the night, assassinations, deportations to Siberia, convince no one. American "war-crimes" slaughters are another technic for splitting Europe while simultaneously actualizing the revenge-imperative of the Culture-distorter.

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"It is a weakness, in fact stinginess of heart, not to speak well of one's enemies, and not to pay them the honour they deserve."

—Friedrich the Great,
Preface to his "History of
the Seven Years War," 1764.

Within each High Culture, the universally prevailing feeling has been the same as the quoted sentiment of Friedrich II. The onset of the Civilization-Crisis itself has not served completely to destroy this wordless honour-feeling. However fierce the battles, or prolonged the war, every victor over an opponent within the same Culture has always shown generosity and respect to his former foe. It inheres in the very nature of politics within a High Culture that it is carried on solely for power, and not for the massacre of individuals after the war, whether by hanging or starvation. Once the power is gained, the objective is reached, and the individuals of the former enemy are seen no longer as enemies, but simply as human beings. In the thousand years of Western History, there have naturally been a few exceptions; dishonour has always existed. But the exercise of malice against a defeated opponent was never countenanced on a large scale, or over a long period, and it simply could not have occurred between two groups both belonging to the Western Culture.

In very late times this organic imperative has been well illustrated. For example, when Lee surrendered at Appomattox in 1865, the fierce warrior Grant, so ruthless in the field, showed himself a magnanimous and kindly victor. The case of Napoleon shows the same organic imperative at work in his captors, both after

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Leipzig, and even after Waterloo. Earlier, the English government, even when at war with him, had notified him of a plot against his life. Similarly, after the capture of Napoleon III, Bismarck saw to his honourable treatment and safety.

But between a power belonging to a High Culture and one belonging to a different Culture, these honour-usages have never been generalized, either in the conduct of warfare or in the treatment of a conquered foe. Thus in Gothic times, the Church forbade the use of the crossbow against members of the Western Culture, but sanctioned its employment against the barbarian. In such cases, the opposing group has not been looked upon as a mere opponent, but as a true enemy, as the 20th century once more uses that word to describe elements outside the Western Civilization. The Spanish court-martial which "tried" the last Inca, and sentenced him to death, did not feel bound by the same honour-obligation toward him that they would have felt to any Western leader of his status. A fortiori, the community of honour which arises within a Culture does not extend to the outsider belonging to no Culture whatever—the barbarian. Thus Jugurtha, Mithridates, Sertorius, and Vercingetorix were all hunted down to their personal deaths by the Romans. The barbarian understands the relationship in the same way, as the massacres of Mithridates, Juba, the Goths, Arminius, and Attila all show. It is not people, nor race, but the great fact of belonging, or not belonging, to a High Culture, which is decisive in this connection, as is shown by the slaughters of Genghis Khan's Mongolians and the present-day Russians, both outside a High Culture.

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Thus when, after the Second World War, a huge and inclusive programme of physical extermination and politico-legal-socio-economic persecution was instituted against the defenceless body of Europe, it was quite clear that this was no intra-Cultural phenomenon, but one more, and the most transparent and admonitory, manifestation of Culture-distortion. That which was here distorted was, specifically, the politico-military honour-usages of a millennium of high Western traditions. These usages were still observed by Europe during the Second World War, and a whole group of heads and high officials of petty States survived European imprisonment throughout the Second World War, for it had occurred to no European mind that they could be subjected to mock-trials and hanged. These usages were even extended to protect the life of the son of the barbarian leader Stalin, who was a captive in Europe during the War, and were even observed in some cases by barbarian Japan, which spared the lives of high-ranking American officers, when it could have killed them either with or without mock-trial. But the unconditional obligation of the honour of war, hitherto absolute throughout the Western Civilization, was twisted away by Culture-distortion after the Second World War.

Since Culture-disease can never influence the Culture-soul in its inmost depths, it can never permanently change that soul, but must wage an endless fight against it. In this fight, there can be no peace, no truce. The Culture-instincts will always resist disease elements, whether parasitical, retarding, or distorting. Since this is so, Culture-distortion proceeded to wage a European Terror after the War, when there was no longer any

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political struggle whatever going on in the Western Civilization.

The history of the "war-crimes" programme shows its nature. Its foundations were laid in the anti-European propaganda with which America was deluged from 1933 onward. The propaganda itself showed that extra-Cultural influences were at work, since it rejected the comity of nations and political honour. The leaders of Europe were represented as common criminals and sexual perverts, and through this vile propaganda, the idea was spread that these leaders could and should be killed. Gradually, the thesis was widened and the 20th century Idea of Ethical Socialism was equated with evil itself, and the populations in its service were described as suffering from mass-insanity, and in need of "re-education" by America.

Culture-distortion must always use the prevailing means, and established ideas and customs, in order to work its effects. Thus in America, it appealed to American patriotism and American legalism. During the Second World War, the propaganda explicitly began to demand "trials" of European leaders and of the Culture-bearing stratum of the West. A mass "treason-trial" was ordered in America during the war of American elements hostile to Culture-distortion and friendly to Western Empire. In order to overcome, at least temporarily, the native Western honour-instincts, the war was represented as **unique**, as a war of "humanity" against "immorality," of "peace" against "war," a war which should therefore be followed by **unique** measures against the enemy in case of victory, a war in which the enemy should not only be defeated, but

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should be physically exterminated as "punishment" for "crimes." Law was brought in, as usual, to prop up the structure, and the lawyers were instructed to prepare new "crimes," to devise new tribunals, procedures, jurisdictions, penalties. Not only the leaders, but the armies and even the populations must be brought into new "crimes."

On the lower intellectual plane, this operation was represented frankly as revenge, but this necessitated the creation of new facts, since nothing like this programme had ever occurred before in five millennia of the history of High Cultures. Therefore the infamous "concentration-camp" propaganda was devised, in order to inflame the public imagination. Fantasy became fact, lie became truth, suspicion turned into proof, persecution-mania transformed itself into blood-thirst. Since Europe had conducted no mock-trials for which there could be revenge, the propaganda said that it would have if it had won the War, and this demonstrable lie took rank as a fact.

The natural affinity of disease-elements in a Culture was shown by the fact that the leaders of Culture-retarding groups in the West, particularly in America, supported the programme. Without the Culture-retarding forces in America, the whole operation of "trials" and "crimes" had been impossible. As would be expected, the best minds of the Western Civilization, both in America and Europe, rejected the entire shame, but the power to carry it through lay with the exotic victor.

The "crimes" scheme had three great facets: first the mass-trial of the highest European leaders, the authors

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of the European Revolution of 1933; second, the mass-trials of soldiers of all grades who had distinguished themselves in the War, of the military personnel who had served as guards of the prison-camp, and of civilians who had taken part in air-raid defence; third, the individual trials of millions of small civilian members of mass political organizations.

Although these proceedings were called trials, they were not actually that at all, for there was no legal system in existence which authorized any such action. Western International Law excluded the possibility that the leaders of an enemy State could be tried and hanged as a part of the exploitation of victory, for its basic principle was that of sovereignty of States. International Law thus rested purely on comity, and not on force. A genuine trial presupposes, on the purely legal side, a pre-existing legal system, a pre-existing judiciary empowered to enforce the law, jurisdiction of the subject matter, and jurisdiction of the person. Without a pre-existing law, there can be no offence, no tribunal, no jurisdiction of subject matter or person. Mere custody is not jurisdiction, or else a kidnapper could be said to have jurisdiction of his victim.

Mock-trials are nothing new in Cultural history, but as between members of the same Culture, they are simply dishonour, and dishonour reflects on its author, and on him only, and never on the victim. They are dishonour, merely because they are deceit and subterfuge; they are an attempt to do by form of law, that which instinct and conscience forbid. Thus the preliminaries to the killing of Louis XVI and of Charles of England were not trials even though they were so named

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by those who participated in them, for under the existing law in both France and England at these times the monarch was sovereign and thus answerable to no tribunal.

Entirely apart from strictly legal grounds, and considerations of the intra-Cultural honour-community, there is an independent source of reasons why the "war-crimes" processes could not be described as trials, and that is human psychology. A true trial presupposes **impartiality** in the court—actual mental impartiality, apart from mere legalistic presumption of innocence. But the actions in question were openly and avowedly against **enemies**. The victims were legally formulated as enemies, and the War was declared to be in legal continuance. Enmity excludes impartiality, and this was nowhere present in the "crimes" programme. In an earlier age, the "trials" by which Phillip the Fair eliminated the Knights Templar as a power, the "trials" of Joan of Arc, of Lady Alice Lisle, and of the Duc D'Enghien, were not true trials because of partiality in the court. A fortiori, where the "trials" are the result of the impact of two different Cultures upon one another, there can be no question of an actual and fair trial, as the "trial" of the Christ by the Roman Procurator and the "trial" of Atahualpa by a Spanish court-martial are there to show. The Nürnberg spectacle was one more, and the most conclusive, instance of the complete irreconcilability of two Culture-souls, and of the abysmal depth to which Culture-disease can attain. Even while the "trial" was going on, its organizers ordered their press to speculate for the public on what method of execution would be used against the victims.

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It is of course, impossible to deceive the entire population of a Culture forever. There is a certain stratum which sees through devices to the reality, and in this stratum, the "crimes" propaganda and "trials" had precisely the opposite of the intended effect. Every one who has oriented himself historically knows that the epithet "criminal" can be placed, with superficial and temporary success, on any one in the power of another. During the millennium of Western History, hundreds of creative men or persons in high places have been either charged with crime, or imprisoned. The Holy Roman Emperor Conradin Hohenstaufen was beheaded even though he was the most highly placed secular person in Christendom. A few others either gaoled or charged with crime were: Coeur de Lion, Roger Bacon, Arnold of Brescia, Giordano Bruno, Columbus, Savonarola, Joan of Arc, Galileo, Cervantes, Charles of England, Shakespeare, Oldenbarneveldt, Louis XVI, Lavoisier, Voltaire, Napoleon, Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, Thoreau, Wagner, Charles XII, Friedrich the Great, Edgar Poe, Napoleon III, Garibaldi.

The French Reign of Terror, beginning in 1793, lasted little more than a year, even though it grew out of prolonged and continuing conditions of inner and outer political activity heightened to a degree thitherto unknown in Europe. The new French Republic was carrying on in the field a struggle for its life, and fighting simultaneously against the majority in its own population. Under these conditions of struggle for power, the horrors of the Terror can be seen historically to fit into the political scene. The dramatic qualities of the Terror cannot obscure the fact that it only put to the guillotine

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a number calculated by its opponents at between two and four thousand.

Quite different was the Terror after the Second World War. Its entire motivation was beyond politics, as that word is used in intra-Cultural power-activity. It was not a phase of a struggle for power. Defeated Europe was completely occupied by armies serviceable to Culture-distortion. No physical resistance was present. Thus, from pure revenge-imperative it embarked on a programme of persecution and mass-killing.

The elaborate pretence of legalism is another sign of Culture-disease. So prolonged an orgy of self-deception to attempt to cover up patent dishonour would be impossible to any group belonging to a High Culture against an intra-Cultural opponent. Suffice it to say that there is no record of any such proceeding in five millennia of higher history.

Culture-distortion is also evinced by the **indefinite prolongation** of the killing-programme. The organizers of the scheme had no honour-community with the people they tried to death, and could have continued it forever. Three years after it began, the enterprise was on a larger scale than when it started. No development of self-disgust takes place in a Culture-alien, the way it finally did even in the intransigent Jacobins and the canaille of Paris.

The ridiculous legalistic equipment, which was used purely pro forma, and which was in no case allowed to interfere with "conviction" and "sentence," is a further sign of extra-Cultural origin. Western law-thinking has never been extended to the annihilation of Western honour, even though it has often been put to political,

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economic, or religious use in the disguise of "pure" legal-thinking. But to the Cultural alien, the fine sense of limitation is lacking, and he continues to wear the disguise even after he is recognized.

Nor is the "crimes" programme a manifestation of barbarism, for barbarism is far more hostile to the polysyllabic legerdemain of the lawyers than is even the honour-feeling of the upper strata of a High Culture. Thus, in its occupation of Europe, the Russians carried on no "crimes" killings, but simply slew when they wished, without mock-trials.

The French Terror had also a positive idea for the nation, and the killing and destruction was for the purpose of imposing a new regime through intimidation and destruction of the old. When it had attained its political objective, the Terror was spent. The Terror after the Second World War, however, started with the political objective already gained, and had thus no Cultural-political *raison d'être*. Its motive was **existential hatred**, and the aim was simply total, apocalyptic, revenge—but revenge is no part of Culture-politics.

Groups within a Culture, in previous history, have always extended generosity to a conquered foe within the same Culture, even in the stage of annihilation-wars. It is only the enemy **State** that is sought to be destroyed, not the sum total of individuals. The very length of the "trials" themselves shows Culture-disease. The French Terror tried to death even such an important person as the Queen of France in two days, but the infamous "concentration-camp" mock-trials were dragged out to many months, and the Nürnberg torture was prolonged to a year.

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The cruellest aspect of the larger scheme was undoubtedly that directed against the small people, since it aimed at **millions** of persons. Puppet regimes, set up by the American regime, instituted "denationalization" courts to implement the grand programme of mass-persecution. The victims were completely deprived of their property in every form. Professional men were forced to become manual labourers. Young men were forbidden to attend universities. Lower food-rations were issued, this technic having been learnt from Lenin's programme of exterminating the "bourgeoisie" in Russia. Opponents of Culture-distortion were sent to gaol for years. The families of the victim were treated similarly so that they could not help him.

The entire programme, in all its aspects, was of course contrary to the documented international conventions binding all Western States to a common code of Cultural-international community of politico-military honour. These conventions represented Western feelings, or they would not have been concluded, and thus their total disregard by America in its post-war occupation of Europe is the final proof of the Culture-pathological nature of the vast Terror-programme. No Western force could ever have engaged in the prolonged and fraudulent attempt to present Western International Law as a **penal** code, for it never had any penal provision whatever. But Culturally alien elements, in the last analysis, never penetrate to the feeling behind Western ideas and institutions, any more than Westerners could ever grasp the last subtleties of the Kabbalah or the Maimonidean philosophy.

Last, and spiritually most important, is the desperate

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attempt which the Terror made at a transvaluation of all Western values. The life and health of the host are the death of the parasite, and the flourishing of the parasite is the sickness and distortion of the host. Therefore any natural and normal attempt by Culture-bearing elements within the West to oppose Culture-pathological phenomena in the Western Civilization were represented as criminal and morally reprehensible. Opposition to Culture-distortion and its instruments was declared as a "crime," and support of the European Revolution of 1933 was declared subject to the penalty of death. In the attempt at transvaluation of values, an official of the American Forces, himself not a member of the Western Civilization, went so far as to say officially that if Bismarck were alive, he would be "tried" as a criminal by the American forces. Finally the notorious "Control Council Law No. 10" actually defined as "criminals" the leaders in the political, military, industrial, and financial life of Europe and its Eastern associated States, in those very words.

This Terror shows the significance of an American occupation of Europe. The nature of America, as a colony, separated by great distance from the mother-soil of the Western Culture, explains fully why Culture-disease has been able to play such a dominating role there. Western honour-usages, extant also in America, have never taken such deep root in that country, and thus the Cultural alien was able to engraft his revenge-imperative onto the America organism. Such a process is organic and therefore has a direction. It cannot go on forever without a deep and powerful challenge by the national instincts of America, but in this decisive

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age, the meaning of America to Europe is symbolized in the Terror programme of Culture-distortion which it let loose in the former States of Europe, now become its colonies, after the Second World War.

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Europe is in a spiritual-political abyss. The history of the West since 1914 is exacting now its price of shame and horror. Frontier-obsession has developed to the point where there are no longer any European frontiers, and the frontiers of extra-European powers meet in Europe. Universal poverty, disease, starvation, looting, cold and deliberate killing of members of the Culture-bearing stratum of the West—these are the legacy of nationalism and yesterday-patriotism. They thought about the Rhine, and not about the Amur, the Ob, the Yangtse, the Ganges, the Nile, the Niger. As a consequence, Europe has become spoils, and marauding powers from without dispose of its lives and treasures, even of the works of art which express its inmost soul.

Have we seen in the past nine years events which spell the end of the Western Civilization? The sacred soil of our Culture is occupied by armies of Barbarians and distorters of our Cultural instincts and heritage. Once Rollo, William of Normandy, the Hohenstaufen, Coeur de Lion, de Bouillon, the Teutonic Knights, Rainald van Dassel, Gustav Adolf, Wallenstein, Alba, Cromwell, Richelieu, Turenne, de Saxe, Frederick the Great, Pitt, Napoleon, Bismarck, trod this soil. To-day, as I write, it is occupied by Kirghizians, Mongolians, Armenians, Turkestani, Sengalese, Negroes, Americans, Jews. These Culturally alien armies rule through traitor governments, whose members have sprung up from between the cracks in the pavement, and who deal in hatred of the Spirit of the Age.

Since 1900, Europe has been declining steadily in world-power. The First World War accelerated vastly the outer Revolt against the West, and the Second

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World War eliminated Europe entirely from the combinations of world-power. The European Revolution of 1933 was a ray of hope for Europe. It seemed that Europe also would be able to engage in the struggle for world-dominion, and could reconquer the world-position which is the basis of the physical life of Europe's millions, instead of being the mere spoil for Barbarians from without.

What resources can Europe muster in the struggle for its spiritual and physical survival? This is another way of asking, what are the inner possibilities of Europe?

II

The false and distorted form of the Second World War may perhaps lead some to think that Culture is not the motive force of politics in this Age of Absolute Politics. But in actuality the Second World War is the proof of it. In reality, three separate wars were going on within the phenomenon called the Second World War. First there was the war of the Culture-distorting group against the Western Civilization. Secondly, there was the war of the Western Civilization against Russia. Third was the war between America, as colony of the Western Civilization, against Japan. All three of these wars were Culturally motivated.

The conflicts now going on in the world also are based on Culture-contrasts. Throughout the entire Western Civilization there is a horizontal struggle: underneath, the vigorous and heroic Idea of the 20th century, Ethical Socialism; above, the disease-phenomena of parasitism, retardation, and distortion. Added to this

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are the struggle of Japan against America, also a Cultural struggle, and the conflict between America and Russia.

The present situation in Europe is dominated by the fact that in the depths the 20th century idea triumphed in the Second World War, and only on the surface did the 19th century ideas of Capitalism, Materialism, nationalism, and yesterday-patriotism prevail. All over Europe, and not alone in Prussia-Germany, the birth-place of the 20th century Idea of Ethical Socialism, the Spirit of the Age is present. There are attempts to confuse it, to distort it, to direct its energy onto false issues. In particular is the technic employed of trying to rouse 19th century national hatred and old-fashioned patriotism, the suicide of Europe. In the first phase of annihilation-wars, all the nations of Europe were the victim of annihilation, and the outer forces were the victor over the whole Civilization. This process cannot be undone. Whatever has once become a fact remains, and forces adaptation to it.

Thus it is, that both for material and spiritual reasons, **nationalism of the 19th century type is dead.** It is dead spiritually for the reason that Europe has reached in its Cultural development the stage of Imperium. Even if there were no such frightful outer threat as exists, this would still govern. But, in addition, the basis of the power of every one of the old Western nations has been destroyed. No single one has sufficient resources, spiritual or material, to engage in world-politics independently. Their only choice is to be vassals collectively, or to form a unity of Culture-State-Nation-Race-People. This creates automatically an economic-political-military unit.

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On the other hand Europe can resist the 20th century Prussian-German Idea of Ethical Socialism, and continue the present chaos. The result of this will be the political elimination of the Western Civilization forever from the world-struggle. Russia, Japan, or other powers not now in existence, will fight one another for control of the ruins of the West, as the barbarian outsiders waged endless wars for the control of the Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Roman, and Islamic Empires. The purely spiritual and intellectual tasks remaining to our Culture can fulfil themselves under a barbarian domination, but the grandest inward task of all, and the sternest Imperative of the strongest will-power ever known to History, will remain unaccomplished: the creation of the Western Empire.

In every stratum of Europe it must be realized that the unity of the West is something that can only be accomplished on **one** basis. From 1940 to 1944, nearly all Europe was united, and the eventuation of the Second World War showed to the entire world the unity of Europe, for all Europe was defeated, despite the tricky attempt to make some parts of the West feel "victorious." European unity can only be brought about by force, since that is the sole weapon History knows. The way the outer forces defeated Europe is the same way it can be liberated and reunited. Whether this takes the form of civil or international wars is unimportant: the two fronts are the same. On the one side, the Barbarian and the distorter, Chaos and Death, on the other the Spirit of the Age, the Prussian-European Idea.

This Idea is not "national" in the old 19th century sense—this was the propaganda of parasitic elements,

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and convinced only the sub-Europeans. This Idea cuts straight across the old "national" divisions of the West. It is itself simply the soul, the mission, the ethical form, of a new Nation, a nation whose population and home-

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territory are coterminous with those of the older "nation" formations of the West: Spain, France, Italy, England and Germany. It is no federation, no "customs union," no economic device to maintain Europe at a marginal level of existence sufficient to keep it from revolting against the Barbarian and distorter. It is a **spiritual** unity, and naturally as a result an economic unity. But this spiritual unity would have to occur even though it were economically injurious, for economics no longer motivates History.

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The history of nations in the Western Culture follows a great Triadic development. The Thesis was Western unity, the unity of the Crusades and the period of Empire and Papacy. This continued, in the great essential of preserving this unity vis-a-vis the Barbarian, down to the middle of the 18th century. The Antithesis was the period of political nationalism, which accompanied Materialism, and which exercised such a powerful sway that at one time men thought the nations produced Culture, instead of the reverse. Finally the insistence upon nationalism became so great, that some leaders were willing to betray their nations into bondage to extra-Western forces rather than join a united Western organism. The Synthesis is the period of the Future. It exists everywhere in the minds of the Culture-bearing stratum of the West, and for a while it was actualized, in its first crude, provisional, form during the Second World War. It returns to the Thesis, but retains the creations of the Antithesis, for this great Synthesis is not a mere negative. No European "nation" of the older type can any longer, under this new Idea, be the object of any forcible attempt to change or abolish its local characteristics. Considered as a spiritual reality, the Synthesis cannot be spread by physical force.

Not only in the sphere of nations, but in the totality of the life-manifestations of the Western Civilization, the Synthesis penetrates with its new values, its higher imagination, and its new creative powers.

During the progressively radical disuniting of the West, the antagonism of the various Ideas for one another sharpened itself into mania. Trade contested against Authority, the Third Estate against Society,

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Protestant against Catholic, North against South, England against Spain, France against Spain, England against Prussia, Science against Religion, Rationalism against the Soul, class-war against Authority and Property. The nationalist fever, the worst of all, was spread everywhere by the armies of France under the great Napoleon. The same nationalistic fervour of his troops which gave him his victories on 150 fields communicated itself, since it was the content of the Spirit of the Age. This Spirit infected the entire West, and informed the Spanish resistance and the Prussian rising which finally brought him down.

There was no inner necessity for the horrible denouement of the Age of nationalism, of annihilation-wars. It was not Destiny, but Culture-pathology, that the entire West went down, and that outsiders came in to fight their wars over its soil, and with its blood. Nevertheless it happened, and the gruesome result of the Second World War imposes a new way of thinking upon the entire Culture-bearing stratum of the West. On the contrary, however, there is inner necessity in the final passing of the Age of nationalism and annihilation-wars. The great Synthesis, Imperium, replaces it. The Synthesis contains within it the older components of Thesis and Antithesis. The primal Gothic instincts of the Western Culture are still present in the Imperium-Idea. It cannot be otherwise. Also present are the various Ideas which these instincts, within the framework of this Culture, shaped for itself, the religions, the nations, the philosophies, languages, arts and sciences. But they are present no longer as contrasts, but as mere differences.

Gone—forever gone—is any notion that one of these

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Ideas—national, linguistic, religious, social—has the mission of wiping out another Idea. The adherents of Empire are still distinct from the adherents of Papacy—but this distinction does not rule their minds, for uppermost now is the Idea of Imperium, the return to superpersonal origins, and both of these mighty Ideas have the same spiritual source. The difference between Protestant and Catholic—once excited into a *casus belli*—had gone the same way. Both continue to exist, but it is inconceivable that this difference could again rend the Western Civilization in twain. There have been also the racial and temperamental differences of Teuton and Latin, of North and South. Once these may have contributed to the furnishing of motives to History—this can they no longer do. Again, both are part of the West, even though different, and the Imperium-Idea monopolizes the motivation of History.

The former nations, the religions, the races, the classes—these are now the building-blocks of the great Imperial structure which is founding itself. Local cultural, social, linguistic, differences remain—it is no necessity of the Imperium-Idea that it annihilate its component Ideas, the collective products of a thousand years of Western history. On the contrary, it affirms them all, in a higher sense it perpetuates them all, but they are in its service, and no longer in the centre of History.

Nor is the Idea of Imperium to be confused with any stupid rationalistic doctrine or system, any cowardly millennium. It is not a programme, it is no set of demands, no scheme for justice, no juristic quibbling with the concept of national sovereignty. Just as the

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Future has had always to fight against the entrenched forces of the Past, so must this powerful, universal Idea. Its first phase is the spiritual conquest of the minds and souls of the Culture-bearing stratum of the West. This is entirely inevitable. The next phase is the external actualizing, in a new State-form and Nation-form, of the Idea. In this phase there may be civil wars, perhaps belated "international" wars between former Western nations, possibly Wars of Liberation against the outer forces.

The first phase has already begun, with slow, irresistible rhythm. The other phases must succeed it, whether the last perfection of the Idea in Actuality is reached or not. The Treaty of Fontainebleau, 1763, concluded before his birth, had fateful consequences for Napoleon, against which he struggled, as it developed, in vain. The West has to fight against the legacy of two World Wars, which dethroned Europe, and made it vassal to barbarians and colonials. It must reconquer the world-supremacy which the jealous little opponents of the Hero flung to the winds.

The sole hope of success lies in the intensity and thoroughness of the accomplishment of the first stage, the victory, in the significant minds, of the Imperium-Idea. No force within the Civilization can then resist the Cultural Reunion which will unite North and South, Teuton and Latin, Protestant and Catholic, Prussia, England, Spain, Italy and France, in the tasks now waiting.

II

The employment of military force is for the purpose

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of combating the Outer, for it is not subject to the Destiny of the West. Every non-Western political organism, by its very existence, denies the West, its Destiny, its Imperative, and its right to physical existence. This struggle for power cannot be evaded.

As already seen, the present situation of the West imposes upon it not only a struggle for power, a fight to keep from passing into slavery to the Barbarian, but also—a **struggle for the continued biological existence of the population of Europe**. There are 100,000,000 too many Europeans for the territory of Europe. These millions are there to carry out the tremendous life-task of the Western organism. Before this, their lives were maintained by the Western monopoly of industry and technics. Two disastrous and stupid World Wars have destroyed this monopoly. The labour of these millions is not wanted. They are facing dispersal, starvation, and slavery. If the present situation continues, this result cannot be evaded. The Persepolis of Europe is beginning to take shape.

Within a century, Berlin, London, Rome, Paris, Madrid can occupy the status of Tenochtitlan, Luxor, Samarra, and Tel-el-Amarna, if the present Conquest of Europe can be maintained. Shall this be?

The spiritual preconditions for the contest have been shown. This entire work has been devoted to setting forth the sole world-outlook and single Inner Imperative which can enter this contest for the liberation of the West. How can the liberated West solve this great task of saving one hundred million Western lives? There is only one solution, and it is the nearest one. The agricultural territory of Russia provides the means

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of preserving the population of the West, and the necessary base for world-dominion of this Civilization, which alone can save the West from the threat of annihilation by the outer forces. It is thus a military solution—and there is no other. Our commercial-industrial-technical monopoly is gone. Our military-technical superiority remains, as does our superior will-power, organization talent, and discipline. The glorious days of 1941 and 1942 show what the West can do against the Barbarian, however superior his numbers. Like Russia, the Western Civilization is situated in the North-east quadrant. Against the West, therefore, Russia enjoys none of the military advantages it has against America. The common land-frontier enables the West to dispense with a gigantic assemblage of sea-power as a prerequisite to the land-fight. The West will be able to deploy all of its forces on to the plains where the battle for the Future of the West will be fought.

This military solution presupposes a liberated and united Western Culture. Its precondition is the setting free of the Western soul from the domination of traitors and parasites. I set forth here then the two great action-tasks of the Inner Imperative of the West:

First, the liquidation of the tyranny of 19th century ideas. This means the complete cleansing of the Western soul from every form of Materialism, from Rationalism, Equality, social chaos, Communism, Bolshevism, liberalism, Leftism of every variety, Money-worship, democracy, finance-capitalism, the domination of Trade, nationalism, parliamentarism, feminism, race-sterility, weak ideals of "happiness" and the like, of every form of class war. Replacing these ideals is the strong and

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manly Idea of the Age of Absolute Politics: Authority, Discipline, Faith, Responsibility, Duty, Ethical Socialism, Fertility, Order, State, Hierarchy—the creation of the Empire of the West.

Second, the solution of the immediate Life-problem of the West by conquest on the eastern plains of a base for the further existence and fulfilment of the world-mission of the Western Civilization.

III

Does the situation of the year 1948 allow us even to dream that this grand Imperative can be fulfilled? Millions are starving in Europe as I write, and no one in the outer world concerns himself with it. Other millions are living in a sub-human condition in gaols, concentration-camps, or as an Untouchable caste, devoid of human status. Not only has the West no Army, but its former leaders are in gaol, those who have not yet been hanged. The power in Europe to-day is held by two kinds of men: Cultural aliens, and traitors. Can a Civilization die thus? Will two formless powers be able to strangle a Culture, starve and disperse its population? This work is an expression of my belief that they cannot, that the inscrutable force of Destiny will prevail over outer forces as well as against the inner obstacle of the Past. Precisely at the moment when their victory seems full-blown and permanently secured, Europe begins to stir. Widened and chastened by tragedy, defeat, and catastrophe the Western soul is emerging from the ruins, unbroken in its will, and purer in its spiritual unity than ever before. The great dream and aim of Leibniz, the uniting of all the States of

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Europe, is closer by virtue of Europe's defeat, for in that defeat, it perceives its unity. The mission of this generation is the most difficult that has ever faced a Western generation. It must break the terror by which it is held in silence, it must look ahead, it must believe when there is apparently no hope, it must obey even if it means death, it must fight to the end rather than submit. Fortifying it is the knowledge that against the Spirit of Heroism no materialistic force can prevail. Like the men of Aragon and Castile who fought the Moor, like the Teutonic Knights and Prussians who fought the Slav, the men of this generation must fight for the continued existence of the West. Ultimately nothing can defeat them except inner decadence.

The West has something to devote to the contest that neither the Barbarian nor the parasite has: the force of the mightiest superpersonal Destiny that has ever appeared on this earth-ball. This superpersonal Idea has such tremendous force that no number of scaffold-trials or massacres, no heaps of starved or pyramids of skulls, can touch it.

The West has two centuries and tens of millions of lives of the coming generations to give to the war against the Barbarian and the distorter. It has a will which has not only emerged unbroken from the Second World War, but is now more articulate all over Europe, and is gaining in strength with every year, every decade. Merely material superiority will do them little good in a war whose duration will be measured, if necessary, in centuries. Napoleon knew, and the West still knows, the primacy of the spiritual in warfare. The soil of Europe, rendered sacred by the streams of blood which

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have made it spiritually fertile for a millennium, will once again stream with blood until the barbarians and distorters have been driven out and the Western banner waves on its home soil from Gibraltar to North Cape, and from the rocky promontories of Galway to the Urals.

This is promised, not by human resolves merely, but by a higher Destiny, which cares little whether it is 1950, 2000, or 2050. This Destiny does not tire, nor can it be broken, and its mantle of strength descends upon those in its service.

Was mich nicht umbringt, macht mich stärker.

FINIS

These troubled years are in actuality the beginnings of a New Age—the Age of Absolute Politics.

IMPERIUM states a single great thesis: the entire significance of this Age—its great duality, its provenance, its **historical** necessity, its **destined** direction, its inevitable **inward** conclusion.

IMPERIUM demands for this Age the modern, **historical** outlook, and traces the genealogy of that organic thinking which alone can grasp so creative a conception.

IMPERIUM rejects the Nineteenth Century: the barren survivals of its thought—Darwin, Marx, Freud and the Scientific-Technical World Outlook; its exhausted political nostrums—the pluralistic State, Liberalism, “Democracy,” Communism and “League of Nations” ideas, all of which fail to satisfy the organically vital realities of Politics.

IMPERIUM creates the discipline of Cultural Vitalism, the biography of the elements of Cultural history. The unity and articulation of a Culture rule the components of its organism: Tradition, Genius, Race, People, Nation and State.

IMPERIUM demonstrates, from the development of each of these components, the organic necessity of the coming State form—the Authoritarian State. It heralds the Resurgence of Authority, the powerful movement now dominating the inner life of the Western Culture.

IMPERIUM is more than a formal study, more than an abstract philosophy of history. It is a presentation of the fundamentals which at present determine our souls even though we deny or oppose them, an imperative to a world-outlook worthy of our tradition and the destiny of the Western Culture, and a summons to political action in keeping with the Spirit of the Age.