



ULICK  
VARANGE

---

Imperium  
Volume 1

---

WESTLOPA  
PRESS

**Imperium**





# Imperium

by

ULICK VARANGE

**First Published, 1948**

**All Rights Reserved  
including  
that of Translations**

**WESTROPA PRESS  
LONDON, N.W.1**

TO  
THE HERO OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR



**Was mich nicht umbringt, macht mich stärker**

**—Nietzsche**



# CONTENTS

## FOREWORD

## CHAPTER I.

### THE 20TH CENTURY HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

Perspective - - - - -	5
The Two Aspects of History - - - -	20
The Relativity of History - - - -	24
The Meaning of Facts - - - - -	29
The Demise of the Linear View of History - -	33
Structure of History - - - - -	43
Pessimism - - - - -	52
The Civilization-Crisis - - - - -	65
Darwinism - - - - -	74
Marxism - - - - -	87
Freudianism - - - - -	99
The Scientific-Technical World-Outlook - -	109
The Imperative of Our Age - - - -	122



## CHAPTER II.

### THE 20TH CENTURY POLITICAL OUTLOOK

Introduction - - - - -	139
The Nature of Politics - - - - -	143
The War-Politics Symbiosis - - - - -	153
The Laws of Totality and Sovereignty - - - - -	170
The Pluralistic State - - - - -	175
The Law of Constancy of Inter-Organismic Power - - - - -	178
The Law of Constancy of Intra-Organismic Power - - - - -	181
The Political Pluriverse - - - - -	184
League of Nations - - - - -	189
The Inner Aspect of the Law of Sovereignty - - - - -	194
Political Organisms and War - - - - -	203
The Law of Political Plenum - - - - -	211
The Law of Protection and Obedience - - - - -	215
Internationale - - - - -	220
The Two Political Anthropologies - - - - -	227
Liberalism - - - - -	231
Democracy - - - - -	249
Communism - - - - -	256
Association and Dissociation of Forms of Thought and Action - - - - -	259

## CHAPTER III.

### CULTURAL VITALISM. (A) CULTURE HEALTH

Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	275
The Articulation of a Culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	279
Tradition and Genius	-	-	-	-	-	-	291
Genius	-	-	-	-	-	-	296
Genius and the Age of Absolute Politics	-	-	-	-	-	-	302
Race, People, Nation, State	-	-	-	-	-	-	305
Subjective Meaning of Race	-	-	-	-	-	-	326
Horizontal Race v. Vertical Race	-	-	-	-	-	-	334
Race and Policy	-	-	-	-	-	-	338
People	-	-	-	-	-	-	352
Nation	-	-	-	-	-	-	364
Nation and History	-	-	-	-	-	-	370
Nation and Rationalism	-	-	-	-	-	-	375
Nation in the 20th Century	-	-	-	-	-	-	386
State	-	-	-	-	-	-	392



## FOREWORD

**THIS BOOK** is different from other books. First of all, it is only in form a book at all. In reality, it is a part of the life of action. It is a turning-point in European history, a late turning-point, but a real one. There is nothing original in the content of this book, the book itself only is original. The craze for originality is a manifestation of decadence, and the decadence of Europe is the ascendancy of the Barbarian.

This is the first of a line of works—the political literature of Europe. Heretofore all political works on the imperative side have been addressed to one nation of Europe alone. Among other things, this book marks the end of Rationalism. It does not bring it about—not books but only the advance of History can accomplish anything of that sort—it merely rings its funeral knell. Thus the imperative side of Life returns to its pristine source, the will-to-power. Henceforth there will be no discussion of action in terms of abstract thought.

This is addressed to all Europe, and in particular to the culture-bearing stratum of Europe. It summons Europe to a world-historical struggle of two centuries' duration. Europe will partake in this struggle either as a participant, or as the booty for marauding powers from without. If it is to act, and not merely to suffer in this

## IMPERIUM

series of gigantic wars, it must be integrated, and there is **only one way** this can occur. The **Western Culture** is suffering from disease, and the prolongation of this disease is the prolonging of Chinese conditions in Europe.

The word Europe changes its meaning: from now on it means the **Western Civilization**, the organic unity which created as phases of its life the nation-ideas of Spain, Italy, France, England and Germany. These former nations are all dead; the era of political nationalism has passed. This has not happened through **logical** necessity, but through the organic advance of the History of the **West**. It is this **organic** necessity which is the source of our imperative, and of the integration of Europe. The significance of the organic is that its alternatives are either to do the necessary, or to sicken and die.

The present chaos—1948—is directly traceable to the attempt to prevent the integration of Europe. As a result, Europe is in a swamp, and extra-European forces dispose of former European nations as their colonies.

In this book are the precise, organic foundations of the **Western soul**, and in particular, its Imperative at this present stage. Either Europe will become totally integrated, or it will pass entirely out of history, its peoples will be dispersed, its efforts and brains will be at the disposal for ever of extra-European forces. This is shown herein, not by abstract formulae and intellectualized theories, but organically and historically. The conclusions therefore are not arbitrary, not a subject for choosing or rejecting, but **absolutely compelling** to minds which wish to take part in affairs. The real author

## FOREWORD

is the Spirit of the Age, and its commands do not admit of argumentation, and their sanction is the crushing might of History, bringing defeat, humiliation, death and chaos.

I condemn here at the outset the miserable plans of retarded souls to "unite" Europe as an economic area for purposes of exploitation by and defense of the Imperialism of extra-European forces. The integration of Europe is not a subject for plans, but for expression. It needs but to be recognized, and the perpetuation of nineteenth century economic thinking is entirely incapable here. Not trade and banking, not importing and exporting, but Heroism alone can liberate that integrated soul of Europe which lies under the financial trickery of retarders, the petty-stateism of party-politicians, and the occupying armies of extra-European forces.

The imperative integration of Europe takes the form of unity of People, Race, Nation, State, Society, Will—and naturally also—economy. The spiritual unity of Europe is there, its liberation will automatically allow the full blooming of the other phases of the organic unity, which all flow from the spiritual.

And thus, this book is a renewal of a war-declaration. It asks the traitors to Europe, the miserable party-politicians whose tenure of office is dependent upon their continued serviceability to extra-European forces, "Did you think it was over? Do you think that your misery and shame will remain securely forever on a world-stage which has seen true heroes upon it? In the war which you let loose, you taught men how to

## IMPERIUM

die, and thereby you have freed a spirit which will engulf you next, the Spirit of Heroism and Discipline. There is no currency that can buy this spirit, but it can overcome any currency."

Lastly, this book is itself the first blow in the gigantic war for the liberation of Europe. The prime enemy is the traitor within Europe, who alone makes possible the starving and looting of Europe by the outer forces. He is the symbol of Chaos and Death. Between him and the spirit of the twentieth century is unremitting war.

ULICK VARANGE

Brittas Bay, January 30, 1948.



## CHAPTER ONE



## THE 20TH CENTURY HISTORICAL OUTLOOK

**“ Thus, as we do nothing but enact history, we say little but recite it: nay, rather, in that widest sense, our whole spiritual life is built thereon. For, strictly considered, what is all knowledge too but recorded experience, and a product of history; of which, therefore, reasoning and belief, no less than action and passion, are essential materials!”**

**—Carlyle**

**“ The individual's life is of importance to none besides himself: the point is whether he wishes to escape from history or give his life for it. History recks nothing of human logic.”**

**—Spengler**



## PERSPECTIVE

Far out in exterior darkness where no breath stirs, no light shines, and no sound is heard, one can glance toward this spinning earth-ball. In the astral regions, illumination is of the soul, hence all is dark but this certain star, and only a part of it is aglow. From such a distance, one can obtain an utterly untrammelled view of what is transpiring on this earth-ball. Drawing somewhat closer, continents are visible; closer yet, population-streams. One focal point exists whence the light goes forth in all directions. It is the crooked peninsula of Europe. On this tiny pendant of the great land-mass of the earth-ball, the greatest intensity of movement exists. One can see—for out here the soul and its emanations are visible—a concentration of ideas, energy, ambition, purpose, expansiveness, will-to-form. Hovering above Europe we can see what never before was so clearly visible—the presence of a **purely spiritual organism**. A close look reveals that the light stream is not flowing from the surface of Europe **upward** into the night sky, but **downward** from the hitherto invisible organism. This is a discovery of profound and revolutionary importance, which was only vouchsafed to us by reason

## IMPERIUM

of our complete detachment from terrestrial events in the outer void, where spirit is visible and matter visible, only by reason of the light from the spirit.

More discoveries follow: on the other side are two islands, small in comparison with the land-mass. The pale glow diffused over isolated parts of these two islands is seen at once to be a reflection from the other side.

What is this supra-terrestrial phenomenon? Why does it hover over Europe in particular? What is the relationship between it and the human material under it? The latter is shaped up into intricately formed pyramidal structures. Ranks are formed. Movements proceed along channels of labyrinthine complexity. Persons stand to one another in defined relationships of command and obedience. Apart from this tiny peninsula, the human currents are horizontal, swirling, eddying like the water in the streams, the currents in the ocean, the herds on the vast plains. It is, then, the spirit-organism which forms and impresses the population of the peninsula into their intricate organic shapes.

With what can we compare this being, which could not be seen by us while we were earth-bound? It is alone at present.

But out here we have the freedom of time as well as the freedom of space. We are allowed to look upon a hundred generations as the earth-bound look upon the life-span of a fruit-fly. In our search for something similar to the spirit-organism we have seen, we go back two hundred generations. The ball is the same, but is in almost complete darkness. Things are almost indistinguishable; matter has not passed through the

## PERSPECTIVE

alembic of spirit, and is not apprehensible. A glance backward reveals a continuation of the void. We let a few generations pass in a moment, and spirit begins to make itself felt. A feeble, but promising, glow appears in north-east Africa. Then another, a thousand miles to the north-east, in Mesopotamia. They take names, Egypt, Babylonia. The time is around 3000 B.C. They increase in intensity and the first thing clear in each case is armies marching against the outer populations, who are felt as **the barbarian**. These spiritual organisms do not mix—their higher frontiers are sharp and clear; each being has its own hue, which adheres to it. Each organism seizes the human material in its landscape and impresses them into its service. First it gives them a common **World-Idea**, then it refines this into **nations**, each nation embodying a separate idea of the higher organism. A nobility and priesthood arise to embody different aspects of the Idea. The populations are stratified and specialized, and the human beings live out their lives and destinies in a way entirely subordinate to the higher organism. The latter compels these humans with **ideas**. Only a small spiritual stratum of each human population is adapted to this kind of compulsion, but those who belong to it remain in the service of the idea, once it is felt. They will live and die for it, and in the process they determine the destinies of the population whence they spring. These **ideas**—not mere abstractions, strings of concepts, but living, pulsating, wordless necessities of being and thinking—are the technic by which these higher beings utilize human beings for their purposes. Religions of high complexity of feeling and rationale, forms of architecture, con-



## IMPERIUM

ceived in the spirit of that religion and put into its service, lyric poetry, pictorial art, sculpture, music, orders of nobility, orders of priesthood, stylized dwellings stylized manners and dress, rigid training of the young up to these developments to perpetuate them, systems of philosophy, of mathematics, of knowledge of nature, prodigious technical methods, giant battles, huge armies, prolonged wars, energetic economics to support this whole multifarious structure, intricately organized governments to infuse order into the nations created by the higher being acting on the different types of human material—these are some of the floraison of forms which appear in these two areas. Each form is different in Egypt from the corresponding form in Babylonia. If an idea is taken over, it is only apparently adopted; actually it is misunderstood, re-formed, and adapted to the proper soul.

But the higher being approaches a crisis. It has expended itself in this earth-transforming process. It shudders, it apparently weakens, it palpitates—chaos and anarchy threaten its terrestrial actualizations—forces outside gather to strike it down and wipe out its grand creations. But it rouses itself, it puts forward its greatest effort of all—no longer in the creation of inward things, arts, philosophy, theories of life, but in the formation of the purely external apparatus of power: strict governments, giant armies, industry to support them, fleets of ships for war, legal systems to organize and order the conquests. It expands across areas never before investigated or even known, it unifies all of its proper nations into one, which gives its name to the rest and leads them on to the last great expansive effort.

## PERSPECTIVE

The same great rhythm is observable in each of them. As one watches, the two lights die down from their splendid hues to an ever-paler earth-light. They go out slowly, leaving a glow of memory and legend in the minds of men, and with their last great creations lying in the widened landscape—Imperium.

Outside these two areas, the rest of the earth has remained unchanged. The human bands are distinguishable from the herding-animals only by a primitive culture, and a more intricate economy. Otherwise their existence-forms are devoid of significance. The primitive cultures are the sole thing existing above the plane of economics, in that they attribute symbolic significance to natural occurrences and human conduct. But there is nothing in these movements resembling the High Cultures which transformed the entire appearance of the Egyptian and Babylonian landscapes for almost forty generations from their first beginning until the last sinking.

Physical time flows on and centuries pass in darkness. Then, precisely as in Egypt and Babylonia, but again of a different hue, and to different music, a light appears over the Punjab. It becomes bright and firm. The same wealth of forms and significant happenings work themselves out as in the earlier two organisms. Its creations are all in the highest degree *individual*, as different from its two predecessors as they were *vis-a-vis* one another, but they follow the same grand rhythms. The same multi-coloured pageant of nobles and priests, temples and schools, nations and cities, arts and philosophies, armies and sciences, letters and wars, passes before the eye.

## IMPERIUM

### II

Before this high culture was well on its way, another had started to actualize itself in the Hwang-Ho valley in China. And then a few centuries later, about 1100 B.C. in our way of reckoning, the Classical Culture begins on the shores of the Aegean. Both of these cultures have the stamp of individuality, their own way of colouring and influencing their terrestrial creations, but both are subject to the same morphology as the others observed.

As this Classical Culture draws to its close, around the time of Christ, another one appears in a landscape subjugated by the Classical in its last expansive phase—Arabia. The fact of its appearance precisely here makes its course an unusual one. Its forms are inwardly as pure as those of all the other Cultures, inwardly it borrows nothing any more than they did—but it was inevitable that the material contiguity of landscape, temporal succession, and contact with the civilized populations of the older organism would influence the new soul to take over the wealth of classical creations. It was subjugated to them only in a superficial way however, for into these old bottles it poured its new wine. Through selection, reinterpretation, or ignoring, it expressed its own soul despite the alien forms. In its later, expansive phase, this culture embraced European Spain as the Western Caliphate. Its life span, its end form, its last great crisis—all followed the same organic regularity as the others.

Some five centuries later the now familiar manifestations of another High Culture begin in the remote landscapes of Mexico and Peru. It is to have the most tragic

## PERSPECTIVE

destiny of any we have yet seen. Around 1000 A.D. the European Culture is meanwhile born, and at its very birth shows itself to be distinguished from the others by the extraordinary intensity of its self-expression, by its pushing into every distance both in the spiritual realm, and in the physical. Its original landscape was even of an extent many times the size of its predecessors, and from this base, in its middle life, it enters upon an Age of Discovery, in which it finds for itself the very frontiers of the earth-ball, and converts the world into the object of its politics. Its Spanish representatives in the two warrior bands of Cortez and Pizarro discovered the Civilization of Mexico and Peru, then in its very last stage of refinement of the material life. The two grand Empires of Mexico and Peru, with social forms, economico-political organization, transportation, communication, city life, all developed to the utmost limits for this particular soul made the invading Spaniards seem like mere naive barbarians. But the technical disinterestedness of these empires left them helpless before the few cannon and horses of the invaders. The last act of this Culture-drama is its obliteration in a few years by the invaders from another world. This consummation is instructive as to the attention that the World-Spirit pays to human values and feelings. What soothsayer would have dared to tell the last Aztec Emperor, surrounded with the pomp of world-historical significance, clothed with the power of the world, that in a short time the jungle would reconquer his cities and palaces, that his armies and systems of control of his world-Empire would vanish before the onslaught of a few hundred barbarians?

## IMPERIUM

Each Culture-soul is stamped with individuality; from the others it takes nothing, and to them it gives nothing. Whatever is on its frontiers is the enemy, whether primitive or Culture-populations. They all are barbarians, heathens, to the proper culture, and no understanding passes between them. We saw the Western peoples prove the lifeworthiness of the European culture by their crusades against the highly civilized Saracens, Moors and Turks. We saw the Germanic populations in the East and their Visigothic brothers in the South push the barbarian Slavs and the civilized Moors continually back during the centuries. We saw Western ships and Western armies make the whole world into the object of booty for the West. These were the relations of the West to that and those outside.

Within the Culture arose Gothic Christianity, the transcendent symbols of Empire and Papacy, the Gothic cathedrals, the unlocking of the secrets of the world of the soul and the world of nature in monastery cells. The Culture-soul shaped for its own expression the nations of the West. To each it gave individuality, and at the last, each thought it was a Culture in itself, instead of being a mere organ of a Culture. Cities grew out of the hamlets of Gothic times, and from the cities grew Intellect. The old problem of the relation of Reason and Faith, the central problem of early Scholastic, is apparently being slowly decided in these cities in favour of the Supremacy of Reason. The nobility of superior unless they voluntarily recognized him, become Gothic times; the masters of the earth who had no subject to an Idea—the **State**. Life slowly externalizes: political problems move into the centre; new economic

## PERSPECTIVE

resources are developed to support the political contests; the old agricultural economy metamorphoses into an industrial economy. At the end of this path stands a ghostly and terrifying Idea: **Money**.

Other Cultures also had seen this phenomenon appear at the same stage and grow to similar dimensions. Its slow growth in importance proceeds *pari passu* with the gradual self-assertion of Reason against Faith. It reaches its highest point with the Age of Nationalism, when the parts of the Culture tear one another to bits, even as outer dangers loom threateningly. At its highest point, Money, allied with Rationalism, contests for the supremacy over the life of the Culture with the forces of State and Tradition, Society and Religion. In our brief visit to interstellar space, we found the position of detachment whence we could see this grand life-drama unfold itself seven times in seven High Cultures, and we saw each of the seven surmount the last great crisis of two centuries' duration. The Mexican-Peruvian Civilization overcame the inner crisis only to fall before marauders appearing out of the blue sea.

The great crisis of the West set in forcefully with the French Revolution and its consequent phenomena. Napoleon was the symbol of the transition of Civilization into Culture—Civilization, the life of the material, the external, of power, giant economies, armies, and fleets, of great numbers and colossal technics, over Culture, the inner life of religion, philosophy, arts, domination of the external life of politics and economics by strict form and symbolism, strict restraint of the beast-of-prey in man, feeling of cultural unity. It is the victory of Rationalism, Money and the great city over

## IMPERIUM

the traditions of religion and authority, of Intellect over Instinct.

We had seen all this in the previous high cultures as they approached their final life-phase. In each case the crisis had been resolved by the resurgence of the old forces of Religion and Authority, their victory over Rationalism and Money, and the final union of the nations into an Imperium. The two-century-long crisis in the life of the great organism expressed itself in gigantic wars and revolutions. All the Cultural energy that had previously gone into inner creations of thought, religion, philosophy, science, art-forms, great literature, now goes into the outer life of economics, war, technics, politics. The symbolism of power succeeds to the highest place in this last phase.

But at this point, we are suddenly back on the surface of the earth. No longer detached, we must participate in the great Culture-drama, whether we will or no. Our only choice is to participate as subject or as object. The wisdom that comes from the knowledge of the organic nature of a High Culture gives us the key to the events transpiring before our eyes. It can be applied by us, and our action can thereby become **significant**, as distinguished from the opportunistic and old-fashioned policy of stupidity which would try to turn the Western Civilization back in its course because stupid heads are incapable of adjusting themselves to new prevailing ideas.

### III

With the knowledge of the **organic nature of a High Culture**, we have achieved an unparalleled liberation from the dross of materialism which hindered hitherto



## PERSPECTIVE

the glimpse into History's riddle. This knowledge is simple, but profound, and is therefore shut off from the inward appreciation of all but the few. In its train flow all the consequences of the necessary historical outlook of the coming times. Since a Culture is organic, it has an individuality, and a soul. Thus it cannot be influenced in its depths from any outside force whatever. It has a destiny, like all organisms. It has a period of gestation, and a birth-time. It has a growth, a maturity, fulfilment, a down-going, a death. Because it has a soul, all of its manifestations will be impressed by the same spiritual stamp, just as each man's life is the creation of his own individuality. Because it has a soul, this particular culture can never come again after it has passed. Like the nations it creates to express phases of its own life, it exists only once. There will never be another Indian culture, Aztec-Mayan Culture, Classical Culture, or Western Culture, any more than there will be a second Spartan nation, Roman nation, French or English nation. Since a Culture is **organic**, it has a life-span. We observed this life span: it is about thirty-five generations at highest potential, or about forty-five generations from its first stirrings in the landscape until its final subsiding. Like the life-span of organisms, it is no rigid thing. Man has a life span of seventy years, but this term is not rigid.

The High Cultures belong at the peak of the organic hierarchy: plant, animal, man. They differ from the other organisms in that they are invisible, or in other words, they have no light-quality. In this they resemble the human soul. The body of a High Culture is made up of the population streams in its landscape. They furnish it

## IMPERIUM

with the material through which it actualizes its possibilities. The spirit which animates these populations show the life-phase of the Culture, whether youthful, mature, or at the last fulfilment. Like each man, a Culture has ages, which succeed one another with rhythmic inevitability. They are laid down for it by its own organic law, just as the senility of a man is laid down at his conception. This quality of direction we call **Destiny**. Destiny is the hallmark of everything living. Destiny-thinking is the type of thought which understands the living, and it is the only kind which does. The other method of human thought is that of **Causality**. This method is inwardly compulsory in dealing with **inorganic** problems, of technics, mechanics, engineering, systematic natural philosophy. It finds the limits of its efficacy there, however, and is grotesque when applied to Life. It would tell us that youth is the **cause** of maturity, maturity of old age, that the bud is the **cause** of the full-blown flower, the caterpillar the **cause** of the butterfly.

The Destiny-Idea is the central motive of organic thinking. If anyone thinks it is merely an invisible causality, he understands it not. The idea of Causality is the central motive of systematic, or inorganic thinking. The latter is scientific thinking. It aims at **subjugation** of things to understanding; it wishes to name everything, to make outlines distinct, and then to link phenomena together by classification and causal linkage. Kant is the height of this type of thinking, and to this side of Western philosophy belong also Hume, Bacon, Schopenhauer, Hamilton, Spencer, Mill, Bentham, Locke, Holbach, Descartes. To the organic side belong

## PERSPECTIVE

Macchiavelli, Vico, Montaigne, Leibniz, Lichtenberg, Pascal, Hobbes, Goethe, Hegel, Carlyle, Nietzsche and Spengler, the philosopher of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Scientific thinking is at the height of its power in the realm of matter, that which possesses **extension**, but no **direction**. Material happenings can be controlled, are reversible, produce identical results under identical conditions, are recurrent, can be classified, can be successfully comprehended as though they are subject to an a priori, mechanical, necessity, in other words, to **Causality**.

Scientific thinking is powerless in the domain of Life, for its happenings are uncontrollable, irreversible, never-recurring, unique, cannot be classified, are unamenable to rational treatment, and possessed of no external, mechanical necessity. Every organism is something never seen before, that follows an **inner necessity**, that passes away, never to reappear. Every organism is a set of possibilities within a certain framework, and its life is the process of actualization of these possibilities. The technique of Destiny-thinking is simply **living into** other organisms to understand their life-conditions and necessities. One can then apprehend what **must** happen.

The word **Fate** is an inorganic word. It is an attempt to subjugate Life to an external necessity; it is of religious provenance, and religion comes from the causal type of thinking. There is no science without a precedent religion. Science merely makes the sacred causality of religion into a profane, mechanical necessity.

Fate is **not** synonymous with destiny, but the opposite to it. Fate attributes necessity to the **incidents** of a life,

## IMPERIUM

but Destiny is the inner necessity of the organism. An incident can wipe out a life, and thus terminate its destiny, but this event came from **outside** the organism, and was thus apart from its destiny.

Every fact is an incident, unforeseeable and incalculable, but the inner progression of a life is destined, and works itself out through the facts, is helped or hindered by them, overcomes them, or succumbs to them. It is the destiny of every child that is born ultimately to become senile; incident may intervene in the form of disease or accident, and this destiny may be frustrated. These outer incidents—that may elevate a man to the heights despite his blunders, or cast him into defeat despite his efficiency and mastery of the Idea of his time—are without meaning for Destiny-thinking.

Destiny inheres in the organism, forces it to express its possibilities. Incident is **outside** the organism, is blind, uninformed by necessity, but may nevertheless play a great role in the actualization of an organism, by smoothing its way, or imposing great obstacles to it. What is called Luck, Doom, Fate, Providence, express the bafflement and awe of men in the presence of this mystery, forever unknowable.

Destiny-thinking and Causality-thinking are related to one another, however, through their common provenance: both are products of Life. Even the most inorganic thinker or scientifico, the crassest materialist or mechanist, is subject to his own destiny, his own soul, his own character, his own life-span, and outside this framework of destiny his free, unbound flight of causal fancy cannot deliver him. Destiny is Life, but Causality is merely a thought-method by which a certain form of

## PERSPECTIVE

Life, namely Culture-man, attempts to subjugate all around him to his understanding. Thus there is an order of rank between them: Destiny-thinking is unconditionally prior, for all Life is subject to it, while Causality-thinking is only an expression of a part of Life's possibilities.

Their differences may also be expressed in this way: Causality-thought is able to understand because its non-living material opposes no resistance, but submits to any conditions imposed upon it, having no inner compulsion of its own. When however, Causality attempts to subjugate Life, the material itself is active, moving independently, will not stand still and be classified or systematized. Destiny-thinking can understand because each one of us is himself moved by Destiny, has an inner compulsion to be himself, and can thus, by transference of inwardly-experienced feelings, live himself into other forms of life, other individuations. Destiny-thinking moves along with its subject-matter; Causality stands still, and can only reach satisfactory conclusions with subject-matter that is also standing still.

Just as even the most highly developed systematizers are subject to Destiny, so do they—all unwittingly—apply Destiny-thinking in their daily lives and relationships with other human beings. The most rabid reflexologist unconsciously applies some of the psychological wisdom of the Abbe Galiani or Rochefoucauld, even though he has never heard of these seers of the soul.

## THE TWO ASPECTS OF HISTORY

The total difference between the methods of human thinking represented by the central-ideas of **Destiny** on the one hand, and **Causality** on the other, was sharply accented for the reason that only one of them is adapted to the understanding of **History**. **History** is the record of fulfilled destinies—of **Cultures**, **nations**, **religions**, **philosophies**, **sciences**, **mathematics**, **art-forms**, **great men**. Only the feeling of **empathy** can understand these once-living souls from the bare records left. **Causality** is helpless here, for at every second a new fact is cast into the pool of **Life**, and from its point of impact, ever-widening circles of changes spread out. The subterranean facts are never written down, but every fact changes the course of the history of facts. The true understanding of any organism, whether a **High Culture**, a **nation**, or a **man**, is to see—**behind** and **underneath** the facts of that existence—the soul which is expressing itself by means of, and often in opposition to, the external happenings. Only so can one separate what is significant from what is unimportant.

**Significant** thus is seen to mean: having a **Destiny-quality**. **Incidental** means: without relationship to **Destiny**. It was **Destiny** for **Napoleon** that **Carnot** was

## TWO ASPECTS OF HISTORY

Minister of War, for another man would probably not have seen Napoleon's project for an invasion of Italy through the Ligurian Hills, buried as it was in the files of the Ministry. It was a Destiny for France that the author of the plan was a man of action as well as a theoretician. It is thus obvious that the feeling for what is Destiny and what is Incident have a high subjective content, and that a deeper insight can make out Destiny where the more superficial sees only Incident.

Men are thus differentiated also with regard to their capacity for understanding History. There is an **historical** sense, which can see behind the surface of history to the soul that is the determinant of this history. History, seen through the historical sense of a human being has thus a **subjective aspect**. This is the first aspect of History.

The other, the objective, aspect of History, is equally incapable of rigid establishment, even though at first glance it might seem to be. The writing of purely **objective** history is the aim of the so-called reference, or narrative, method of presenting history. Nevertheless, it inevitably **selects** and **orders** the facts, and in this process the poetic intuition, historical sense, and flair of the author come into play. If these are totally excluded, the product is not history-writing, but a book of dates, and this, again, cannot be free from selection.

Nor is it history. The genetic method of writing history attempts to set forth the **developments** with complete impartiality. It is the narrative method with some type of causal, evolutionary, or organic philosophy superimposed to trace the growth of the subsequent out of the precedent. This fails to attain objectivity

## IMPERIUM

because the facts that survive may be either too few or too numerous, and in either case artistry must be employed in filling gaps or selecting. Nor is impartiality possible. It is the historical sense which decides importance of past developments, past ideas, past great men. For centuries, Brutus and Pompey were held to be greater than Caesar. Around 1800, Vulpius was considered a greater poet than Goethe. Mengs, whom we have forgotten, was ranked in his day as one of the great painters of the world. Shakespeare, until more than a century after his death, was considered inferior as a playwright to more than one of his contemporaries. El Greco was unnoticed 75 years ago. Cicero and Cato were both held, until after the First World War, to be great men, rather than Culture-retarding weaklings. Joan of Arc was not included in Chastellain's list, drawn up on the death of Charles VII, of all the army commanders who fought against England. Lastly, for the benefit of readers of 2050, I may say that the Hero and the Philosopher of the period 1900-1950 were both invisible to their contemporaries in the historical dimensions in which you see them.

The Classical Culture looked one way to Winckelmann's time, another way to Nietzsche's time, yet another way to the 20th and 21st centuries. Similarly, Elizabethan England was satisfied with Shakespeare's dramatization of Plutarch's Caesar, whereas fin-de-siècle England required Shaw to dramatize Mommsen's Caesar. Wilhelm Tell, Maria Stuart, Götz von Berlichingen, Florian Geyer, all would have to be written differently to-day, for we see these historical periods from a different angle.



## TWO ASPECTS OF HISTORY

What then, is History? **History is the relationship between the Past and the Present.** Because the Present is constantly changing, so is History. Each Age has its own History, which the Spirit of the Age creates to fit its own soul. With the passing of that Age, never to return, that particular History picture has passed. Seen from this standpoint, any attempt to write History "as it really happened" is historical immaturity, and the belief in objective standards of history-presentation is self-deception, for what will come forth will be the Spirit of the Age. The general agreement of contemporaries with a certain outlook on History does not make that outlook **objective**, but only gives it rank—the highest possible rank it can have—as an accurate expression of the Spirit of the Age, true for this time and this soul. A higher degree of truth cannot be attained, this side of divinity. Anyone who prates of being "modern" must remember that he would have felt just as modern in the Europe of Charles V, and that he is doomed to become just as "old-fashioned" to the men of 2050 as are the men of 1850 to him. A journalistic view of History stamps its possessor as lacking in the historical sense. He should therefore refrain from talking of historical matters, whether past or in the process of becoming.

## THE RELATIVITY OF HISTORY

History must always have its subjective aspect, and its objective aspect. But the determining thing is always neither the one, nor the other, but simply the **relationship** between the two. Each of the first two aspects can be arbitrary, but the relationship is **not** arbitrary, but is the expression of the Spirit of the Age, and is therefore **true**, historically speaking.

Each of the eight Cultures which passed in brilliant review before us had its own relationship to History generally, and this relationship developed in a certain direction through the life-course of the Culture. It is only necessary to mention the Classical in this connection. Tacitus, Plutarch, Livy, Suetonius were regarded as historical thinkers by the Romans. To us they are simply story-tellers, totally lacking in the historical sense. This could not be a reflection on them, but only tells us something about ourselves. Our view of History is as intense, fierce, probing and extensive, as the whole cast of our Western soul generally. If there were ten millennia of history instead of five, we would find it necessary to orient ourselves to the whole ten instead of to the mere five.

## RELATIVITY OF HISTORY

Not only are the Cultures differentiated from one another also in their historical sense, but the various Ages within the Culture's development are so distinguished. Although all tendencies exist in all the Ages, it is nevertheless correct to say that one certain Life-tendency dominates any one Age. Thus in all Cultures, the **religious** feeling is uppermost in the first great Life-phase, lasting some five centuries, and is then superseded by the **critical** spirituality, lasting somewhat less long, to be succeeded by the **historical** outlook, which gradually merges again into the final rebirth of religion. The three Life-tendencies are, successively, sacred, profane, and sceptical.

They parallel the political phases of Feudalism, corresponding to religion; Absolute State, and Democracy, corresponding to early and late Critical philosophy; and Resurgence of Authority and Caesarism, the counterparts of skepsis and rebirth of religion.

The intra-Cultural development of the idea of Science, or Natural Philosophy, is from **Theology** through, in succession, **physical sciences and biology**, to pure, untheoretical, **Nature-manipulation**, the scientific counterpart of skepsis and resurgent authority.

The Age which succeeds to the Age of Democracy can only see its predecessors under their purely **historical** aspect. This is the only way it can feel itself as related to them. This too, however, as will be apparent, has its imperative side. Culture-man is always a **unity**, and the mere fact that one Life-tendency is uppermost cannot destroy this organic unity.

In all Ages, the individuals therein are separated from one another also by their varying development of the

## IMPERIUM

historical sense. Think of the different historical horizon of Frederick II and one of his Sicilian courtiers, of Cesare Borgia and one of his captains, of Napoleon and Nelson, of Mussolini and his assassin. A political unit in the custody of a man with no historical horizon, an opportunist, must pay with its wasted blood for his lack.

Just as the Western Culture has the most intensely historic soul, so does it develop men with the greatest historical sense. It is a Culture which has always been conscious of its own history. At each turning-point there were many who knew the significance of the moment. Both sides, in any Western opposition, have felt themselves as clothed with and determining the Future.

Therefore Western men have been under the necessity of having a History-picture in which to think and act. The fact that the Culture was continually changing meant that History was continually changing. **History is the continuous reinterpretation of the Past.** History is thus continually "true," because, in each Age, the ruling historical outlook and values are the expression of the proper soul. The alternatives for History are not true or false, but effective or ineffective. Truth in the religio-philosophical-mathematical sense, meaning timelessly, eternally valid, dissociated from the conditions of Life, does not pertain to History. History that is true is History that is effective in the minds of significant men.

The highly refined historical sense is the characteristic of two groups: history-writers and history-makers. Between these two groups also there is an order of rank. History-writing has the task of setting forth for the Age its necessary picture of the Past. This picture, clear and

## RELATIVITY OF HISTORY

articulate, then becomes effective in the thoughts and actions of the leading history-makers of the Age.

This age, like others, has its own appropriate History-picture, and it cannot choose one of a number of pictures. The determining thing in our outlook on History is the Spirit of our Age. Ours is an external, factual, sceptical, historical, Age. It is not moved by great religious or critical feelings. That which to our Cultural forebears was the object of joy, sorrow, passion, necessity, is to us the object of respect and knowledge. The centre of gravity of our Age is in Politics. Pure historical thinking is the close relative of political thinking. Historical thinking always seeks to know what *was*, and not to prove something. Political thinking has the first task of ascertaining the facts and the possibilities, and then of changing them through action. Both are undissociated *realism*. Neither begins with a programme, which it desires to prove.

Ours is the first age in Western history in which an absolute submission to facts has triumphed over all other spiritual attitudes. It is the natural corollary of an historical Age, when critical methods have exhausted their possibilities. In the realm of Thought, historical thinking triumphs; in the realm of action, Politics occupies the centre of the stage. We follow the facts no matter where they lead, even though we must give up dearly cherished schemes, ideologies, soul-fancies, prejudices. Previous ages in Western history formed their History to fit their souls; we do the same, but our view has no precedent ethical or critical equipment in it. On the contrary—**our ethical imperative is derived from our historical outlook and not vice versa.**

## IMPERIUM

Our outlook on History is no more arbitrary than that of any other age of the West. It is **compulsory for us**; each man will have this outlook, and his level of significance will depend on the focus in these matters which he can attain and hold. Insofar as a man is an effective representative of this time, he has this particular History-picture and no other. It is not a question of whether he **should** have it; so to read is completely to misunderstand. He **will** have it, in his feelings and unconscious valuation of events, even if not in his articulate, verbal, ideas.

## THE MEANING OF FACTS

Whether or not a man's History-outlook is also intellectually formulated as well as effective in his unconscious doing, thinking, and valuing is merely a function of his general personality. Some men have a greater inner need to think abstractly than others.

It must not be supposed that the sense for facts, the historical sense, dispenses with creative thinking. The development of fact-sense is primarily the seeing what is there without ethical or critical preconceptions of what should or should not be there, might or might not.

Life-facts are the data of History. **A Life-fact is something which has happened.** It does not matter to its status as a fact that no one may know of it, that it has vanished without trace. Obviously creative thinking enters into the process of interpreting the data of History, and a moment's reflection shows also that the process of assessing the data of History is a creative one.

Physical facts, like resistance, sourness, redness, are accessible to everyone. Life-facts are not accessible to a man who has a rigid view of History, and who knows that the **purpose** of all previous happening was to make this age possible, who **knows** that History has the sole

## IMPERIUM

meaning of "Progress." Remnants of social ethics, preconceived historical notions, utility dogmas—all shut out their victims from inner participation in the life of the 20th and 21st centuries.

To this century the new vista now opens of assembling the **lost facts** in previous ages and previous Cultures. Not tiny incidental data, but the broad outline of necessary organic developments that **must** have taken place. From our knowledge of past Cultures and their structures, we can fill in missing developments in some from what has survived in others. Most important to us now alive—we can fill in what remains to the fulfilment of our own Culture. This can be done in the way that a palaeontologist can reconstruct in broad outlines an entire organism from a single skull-fragment. The process is legitimate and trustworthy in both cases, for Life has patterns in which it actualizes its unique individuals. From an anonymous work of literature remaining, a creative thinker can reconstruct a general picture of the unknown author. Can one not draw quite accurately the soul-portrait of the unknown author of *Das Büchlein vom vollkommenen Leben*? So also can the "Crusades" period of a Culture be reconstructed if one has knowledge of its "Reformation" stage, or its "Enlightenment" phase.

The realm of Thought is interested in the missing stages of past Cultures, and the future of our own, but Action is interested in the Past only as the key to effective performance. Thus the higher importance of history-writing and history-thinking is that they serve effective action.

The fact-sense is only operative when dogma, socio-



## MEANING OF FACTS

ethical ideas, and critical trappings are put aside. To the fact-sense, it is important that hundreds of millions of people in a certain area believe in the truth of Confucian doctrines. To the fact-sense, it is **meaningless** whether or not these doctrines are true—even though to religion, Progress-ideologies, and journalism, the truth or falsehood of Confucianism is important.

To a 21st century history-writer, the most important thing about the cells, ether-waves, bacillae, electrons, and cosmic rays of our times will be that we believed in them. All of these notions, which the age considers **facts**, will vanish into the one fact for the 21st century that once upon a time this was a world-picture of a certain kind of Culture-man. So do we look upon the nature-theories of Aristarchus and Democritus in the Classical Culture.

And thus **facts** too have their subjective and objective content. And again, it is the relationship between the man and the phenomenon that determines the form of the fact. Each Culture has in this way its own **facts**, which arise out of its own **problems**. What the fact is, depends on what man is experiencing the phenomenon: whether he belongs to a High Culture, to which Culture, to which age thereof, to which nation, to which spiritual stratum, to which social stratum.

The facts of the Second World War are one thing in this year 1948, in the brains of the Culture-bearing stratum of Europe, and something **totally** different in the minds of the newspaper-reading herds. By 2,000 the view of the present Culture-bearing stratum will have become also the view of the many, and by that time, more facts will be known to the independent thinkers

## IMPERIUM

about the same War than are now known to the few. For one of the characteristics of Life-facts is that distance—particularly temporal distance—shows up their lineaments more clearly. We know more of Imperial history than Tacitus knew, more of Napoleonic history than Napoleon knew, vastly more of the First World War than its creators and participants knew, and Western men in 2050 will know our times in a way that we can never know them. To Brutus his mythological ancestry was a fact, but to us a more important fact is that he believed it.

Thus the fact-sense, the prerequisite of the historical outlook of the 20th century, emerges as a form of the poetry of Life. It is the very opposite of the prosaic, drab insistence of the materialistic outlook that facts had to submit to a "progress" ideology in order to be cognized as significant. This view absolutely excluded its victims from any insight into the beauty and power of the facts of history, as well as from any understanding of their significance. The 21st century—whose men will be born into a time when this historical outlook is self-evident—will find it fantastic, if it ever takes notice of it, that in an earlier time men believed that all previous history was merely tending toward them. And yet that was the outlook of the 19th century: whole Cultures, equal by birth and spirituality to our own in every way, lived and died merely that the philistinism of the "progress"-ideologists could chalk up their "achievements" on the wall, meaning a few notions or technical devices.

## THE DEMISE OF THE LINEAR VIEW OF HISTORY

Life is a continuous battle between Young and Old, Old and New, Innovation and Tradition. Ask Galileo, Bruno, Servetus, Copernicus, Gauss. All of them represented the Future, yet all were overcome, in one way or another, during their own lives, by the enthroned Past. Copernicus was afraid to publish during his lifetime, lest he be burned as heretic. Gauss only revealed his liberating discovery of non-Euclidean geometries after his death, for fear of the clamour of the Boeotians. It is therefore not surprising when the materialists persecute, by maligning, by conspiracy of silence, cutting off from access to publicity, or by driving to suicide, as in the case of Haushofer, those who think in 20th century terms and specifically reject the methods and conclusions of 19th century materialism.

The 20th century view of History has to make its way over the ruins of the linear scheme which insisted on seeing History as a progression from an "Ancient" through a "Mediaeval" to a "Modern." I say ruins, for the scheme collapsed decades ago, but they are heavily defended ruins. Hidden in them are the materialists, the posthumous inhabitants of the 19th century, the "Progress" philistines, the social-ethicians, the superannuated

## IMPERIUM

devotees of critical philosophy, the ideologists of every description whatever.

Common to them all is **Rationalism**. They assume as a tenet of faith that History is **reasonable**, that they themselves are **reasonable**, and that therefore History has done, and will do, what they think it should. The origin of the three-stage view of History is found in St. Joachim of Floris, a Gothic religionist who put forward the three stages as a **mystical** progression. It was left for the increasing coarseness of intellect devoid of soul to make the progression a **materialistic-utilitarian** one. For two centuries now, each generation has regarded itself as the peak of all the previous striving of the world. This shows that Materialism is also a Faith, a crude caricature of the precedent religion. It is supplanted now, not because it is wrong—for a Faith can never be injured by refutation—but because the Spirit of the Age is devoid of materialism.

The linear scheme was more or less satisfactory to Western man as long as he knew nothing of history outside the Bible, Classic authors, and Western chronicles. Even then, it would not have held up if the philosophy of history had not been a neglected field of endeavour. However, a little over a century ago began a spate of archaeological investigation including excavations and deciphering of original inscriptions in Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, Crete, China and India. It continues to-day and now includes also Mexico and Peru. The result of these investigations was to show the historically-minded Western Civilization that it was by no means unique in its historical grandeur, but that it belonged to a group of High Cultures, of similar struc-

## DEMISE OF LINEAR VIEW

ture, and of equal elaboration and splendour. The Western Culture is the first to have had both the intense historical impetus as well as the geographic situation to develop a thorough archaeology, which includes now within its purview the whole historical world, just as Western politics at one time embraced the whole surface of the earth.

The results of this profound archaeological science broke down the old-fashioned linear scheme of regarding History. It was utterly unable to fit in the new wealth of facts. Since there was some **geographic**, even though no **historical**, community between the Egyptian, Babylonian, Classical, and Western Cultures, it had been able to distort them somehow into a picture that could convince those who already believed. But with the opening up of the history of the Cultures that were fulfilled in India, China, Arabia, Mexico, Peru—this view could no longer convince even believers.

Furthermore, the materialistic spirit, which had posited the "influence" of preceding Cultures on subsequent ones, meanwhile died out, and the new, **psychological** outlook on Life recognized the primacy of the soul, the inner purity of the soul, and the superficiality of the process of borrowing of externalia.

The new feeling about History was actually coeval with the tremendous outburst of archaeological activity which broke down the old linear scheme. The new outlook became a soul-necessity of the West Civilization at the same time that the history-seeking activity did, even though it was to remain half-articulate until the First World War. This intense outburst of probing of the Past was an expression of a superpersonal feeling

## IMPERIUM

that the riddle of History was **not** touched with the old linear device, that it **had to be** unlocked, that the totality of facts **must be** surveyed. As the new facts accumulated, the higher-ranking historians took a wider view, but not until the latter part of the 19th century did any historian or philosopher actually treat Cultures as separate organisms, with parallel existence, independence, and spiritual equality. The idea of "cultural history" itself was a forerunner of this view, and was a prerequisite to the development of the 20th century outlook on History. The rejection of the idea that History was merely the record of reigns and battles, treaties and dates, marked an epoch. The feeling spread that "universal history" was wanted, the combination of the history of politics, law, religion, manners, society, commerce, art, philosophy, warfare, erotic, literature, into one great synthesis. Schiller was one of the first to articulate this general need, although both Voltaire and Winckelmann had written specific histories along these lines.

Hegel, on a spiritual basis, and Comte and Buckle, materialistically, developed further the idea of **total** history, i.e., **cultural** history. Burckhardt not only produced a quite perfect example of a cultural history in his Italian Renaissance book, but developed a philosophy of history-writing pointing toward the 20th century outlook. Taine, Lamprecht, Breysig, Nietzsche, Meray, all are milestones in the development away from the linear view of history. In their times, only Nietzsche, and to a lesser extent, Burckhardt and Bachofen, understood the 20th century idea of the unity of a Culture. But two generations later the idea of the unity of a High

## DEMISE OF LINEAR VIEW

Culture is general in the highest spiritual stratum of Europe, and has become a prerequisite to both historical or political thinking.

What was this linear view of History? It was either a mere arbitrary breaking-up of historical materials for handling and reference, without any claim to philosophical significance, or else it was an attempt at a philosophy of history. Its pretensions to the latter could not very well hold up in view of the fact that for generations the starting-point of the "Modern" age has been shifted around from century to century with complete freedom. Each writer has formulated the significance and dates of the three stages differently and the various formulations exclude one another. But if they are not the same view, why the same terminology?

Thus it was no philosophy of history, but a mere set of three names which were retained because of a sort of magic which was supposed to inhere in them. Nor was it a satisfactory method of breaking up the historical facts for reference purposes, since it left no place for China and India, and since it treated the Babylonian and Egyptian, in every way the historical equals of the Classical and our own, as though they were mere episodes, together constituting a prelude to the Classical. For this grotesque History-outlook, a millennium in Egypt was a footnote, while ten years in our own century were a volume.

### II

The basis of the linear view was **Cultural egocentricity**, or in other words the unconscious assumption that the **Western Culture** was the focus of the whole meaning

## IMPERIUM

of all human history, that previous Cultures had importance only insofar as they "contributed" something to us, but that in themselves they had no importance whatever. This is why the Cultures which lived in areas remote from Western Europe are hardly even mentioned. These famous "contributions"—what was meant was a few technical devices from the Egyptian and Babylonian Cultures, and the Cultural remains generally of the Classical. The Arabian, again, was almost totally ignored, for geographic reasons. And yet Western architecture, religion, philosophy, science, music, lyric, manners, erotic, politics, finance, economics—all are totally independent of the corresponding Classical forms. It is the archaeological cast of the Western soul, its intensely historical nature, that prompt it to reverence what mere geography might indicate is a spiritual ancestor.

And yet—who believes, or ever did actually believe, that the Rome of Hildebrand, of Alexander VI, of Charles V, or of Mussolini, had any continuity whatever with the Rome of Flaminus, Sulla, Caesar? This whole Classicistic yearning of the West, with its two high points in the Italian Renaissance and above all, in Winckelmann's movement, was actually nothing but a literary-Romantic pose. If we had known less of Rome and more of Mecca, Napoleon's title might have been Caliph instead of First Consul, but nothing would have inwardly altered. The endowing of words and names with magic significance is quite necessary and legitimate in religion, philosophy, science, and criticism, but is out of place in an outlook on History.

Even in the Italian Renaissance, Francesco Pico wrote



## DEMISE OF LINEAR VIEW

against the mania for the Classical: "Who will be afraid to confront Plato with Augustine, or Aristotle with Thomas, Albert, and Scotus?" Savonarola's movement also had cultural, as well as religious, significance: into the bonfires went the Classical works. The whole Classicist tendency of the Italian Renaissance has been too heavily drawn: it was **literary, academic**, the possession of a few small circles, and those not the leading ones in thought or action.

And yet this movement has been put forward as the "link" between two Cultures that have nothing in common in order to create a picture of History as a straight line instead of as the spiritually parallel, pure, independent, development of High Cultures.

To the religious outlook, with its branches, philosophy and criticism, "Progress-philistinism," and social ethics, facts figure only as **proof**, and lack any other interest. To the historical outlook, facts are the material sought after, and even doctrines, dogmas, and truths, are treated as simply facts. Previous Western ages were thus satisfied by the linear scheme, despite its complete independence of the facts of history. To the 20th century, however, with its centre of gravity in politics, History is not a mere instrument of proving or illustrating any dogma, or socio-ethical "Progress" theory, but the **source** of our effective world-outlook.

And so, in implicit obedience to the Spirit of the Age, the leading minds of the 20th century reject the old-fashioned, anti-factual, linear theory of History. In its place the Spirit of the Age has shown the actual structure of human history, the history of eight High Cultures, each an organism with its own individuality and

## IMPERIUM

destiny. The older type of philosophy of history forced the facts to prove some religious, ethical, or critical theory; the 20th century outlook takes its philosophy of history from the facts.

The 20th century outlook is none the less subjective because it starts from facts; it is merely obeying the inner imperative of its own historical soul in seeing its History-picture thus. Our view is none the less peculiarly **ours** because it gives priority to facts; other types of men, outside the Western Culture, or beneath it, will never be able to understand it, any more than they can understand higher Western mathematics, Western technics, physics, or chemistry, Gothic architecture or the art of the fugue. This picture of History, absolutely compulsory as it is for the leading men of thought of action in the Western Civilization, is no compulsion for the masses that throng in the streets of the Western capitals. Historical relativity is, like physical relativity, the possession of a few leading minds. History is not experienced, nor made, in the streets, but on the heights. The number of men in the Western Civilization who were aware of the **actual meaning** of the Second World War is countable in thousands. Western philosophy, from the days of Anselm, has always been esoteric. No less so is the 20th century outlook, and correspondingly small is the number of those for whom it is a soul-necessity. But the number for whom the decisions of these few will be decisive is not numbered in hundreds, but in hundreds of millions.

To the 20th century, the regarding of all previous human happening as merely introductory to, and preparatory to our own Western history, is simply immense

## DEMISE OF LINEAR VIEW

naïvete. Evolutions that required just as long as our millennium of Western history are contracted into mere casual events; the men in these other Cultures are treated as though they were children, dimly trying to attain to one or another of our specifically Western ideas. But in each of these previous Cultures, the stage was reached and passed that we attained to in the 19th and 20th centuries: free science, social ethics, democracy, materialism, atheism, rationalism, class war, money, nationalism, annihilation-wars. Highly artificial living conditions, megalopolitan sophistication, social disintegration, divorce, degeneration of the old arts to mere formlessness — they exhibited all these familiar symptoms.

The vast amount of historical knowledge of which the 20th century must take account—knowledge unearthed by the historical age which succeeded to the age of Criticism—can tolerate no arbitrary forcing of the facts of history into a preconceived scheme with three magical stages, which must remain three even though no one can agree where one begins and the other leaves off, and of which the third stage has been prolonged indefinitely since Professor Horn of Leyden announced in 1667 his discovery of "the Middle Ages."

The first formulation of the 20th century outlook on History only came with the First World War. Previously, only Breysig had definitely broken with the linear scheme, but his earlier work covered only a part of human history. It was left to Spengler, the philosopher of the age, to set forth the full outline of the structure of History. He himself was the first to recognize the superpersonal nature of his work, when

## IMPERIUM

he said that an historically essential idea is only in a limited sense the property of him to whose lot it falls to parent it. It was for him to articulate that at which everyone was groping. The view of others was limited by one or another specialist horizon, and their projects were consequently incomplete, one-sided, top-heavy. Like all products of genius, Spengler's work seems perfectly obvious to those who come afterwards, and again, it was directed to those to come and not to contemporaries. Genius is always directed toward the Future; this is in its nature, and this is the explanation of the usual fate of all works of genius, political and economic, as well as artistic and philosophical, that they are understood in their grandeur and simplicity only by the after-world of their creators.

## THE STRUCTURE OF HISTORY

One of the unconscious assumptions of the linear scheme was the idea of the **singularity of civilization**. The concept "civilization" was used as though all highly symbolic Life, wherever and whenever it appeared, was really a manifestation of the same thing—"civilization." "Civilization" outside of the West was imperfect, striving to be Western, stammering and fumbling. This "civilization" was something that previous ages had stupidly allowed to slip away, but somehow it was always found again, hidden in a book somewhere, and "passed on" to the Future.

Again this was Rationalism: it assumed that men made their own history, and whatever happened was traceable to human excellence or to human mistakes.

But, to the pinnacle of historical insight and self-conscious grand historical creativeness of deeds that is the 20th century, History is the record of the lives of eight High Cultures, each an **organism**, impressed with the principle of individuality, each thus a member of a Life-form. The type **High Culture** is a Life-form at the peak of the organic hierarchy of which plants, animals, and man are the lower members. Each of the Cultures that we have seen is a member of this higher genus, an individual. Belonging as they do to one genus, they have

## IMPERIUM

common characteristics in their general habitus, their life-necessities, their technic of self-expression, their relation to landscape and population-streams, and their life-span.

The differences among the Cultures are in their souls, their individualities, and thus, despite their similar structure, their **creations** are in the highest degree dissimilar. In the organic hierarchy, the principle of individuality is manifested at an increasing level of concentration from plants, through animals, to man. Cultures are even more highly individual than men, and their creations are correspondingly less capable of any inward assimilation by other Cultures.

With the passing of the Age of Materialism, the West knows once more that the development of an organism is the unfolding of a soul. The matter is the mere envelope, the vehicle of the expression of the spirit. It is this ancient and universal wisdom that is the primary source of the liberation of our History-outlook from the darkness and oppressiveness of Mechanism. The events of a human life are the expressions of the soul of that human at its successive stages of unfolding. The identical outward occurrence is a different **experience** for each human being: **an experience is a relationship between a soul and an outer event.** Thus no two persons can have the same experience, because the identical event is quite different to each different soul.

Similarly the reactions of each Culture-soul to externals of landscape, population-streams, and events and movements outside the Culture-area, are **individual** to each Culture. The religious experiences of each Culture are unique: each Culture has its own non-trans-

## STRUCTURE OF HISTORY

ferable way of experiencing and depicting the Godhead, and this religious style continues right through the life-span of the Culture, and determines completely the philosophy, science, and also the anti-religious phenomena of the Culture. Each Culture has its own kind of atheism, as unique as its religion. The philosophy and science of each Culture never become independent of the religious style of the Culture; even Materialism is only a profane caricature of the basic religious feeling of the Culture.

The choice of art-forms, and the content of the art-forms, are individual to each Culture. Thus the Western is the first to invent oil-painting, and the first to give primacy to music. The number-feeling of the Culture develops in each its own mathematics, which describes its own number-world, which again is inwardly non-transferable, even though external developments may be partially taken over, and then inwardly transformed by other Cultures. The State-idea is likewise individual, as are the Nation-idea, and the style of the final Imperium, the last political creation of the Culture.

Each Culture has its own style in technics—weak and crude in the Classical and Mexican-Peruvian, colossal and earth-shaking in our own—its own war-style, its own relation to economics, its own history-style, or organic tempo.

Each Culture has a different basic Morale, which influences its social structure, feelings, and manners, its intensity of inner imperative, and thus the ethical style of its great men. This basic morale determines the style of public life during the last great phase of the life of the Culture—the Civilization.

## IMPERIUM

Not only are the Cultures differentiated from one another by their highly developed representation of the principle of individuality, but each age of each Culture has its own stamp, which sets it off from its preceding age, and from the succeeding. These differences loom larger to the humans within a Culture than the difference between one Culture and another. This is the optical illusion of greater size produced by nearness. To us the difference between 1850 and 1950 seems vast—to the history of 2150 it will be much less so. We have the feeling before we study history that 1300 and 1400 were spiritually much the same, but in fact, in that century there were spiritual developments as far-reaching as those between 1850 and 1950.

Here again, the linear scheme distorted History utterly: it said "Ancient" and thought that thereby it was describing one thing, one general spirituality. But Egypt and Babylonia both had their own corresponding phenomena to our Crusades, Gothic religion, Holy Roman Empire, Papacy, Feudalism, Scholasticism, Reformation, Absolute State, Enlightenment, Democracy, Materialism, Class War, Nationalism, and annihilation wars. So did the others—the Chinese, Indian, Arabian, Classical, and Mexican. The extent of information available is quite different with regard to the various Cultures, but enough remains to show the structure of History. Between one age of Egyptian history and the next, there was as much difference as between 1700, the period of our Spanish Succession Wars, and 1800, our Napoleonic Wars. This illusion about distance finds an analogy in the spatial world; a distant mountain range looks smooth; nearer, it is rocky.



## STRUCTURE OF HISTORY

The idea that "civilization" was one certain thing, rather than an organic life-phase of a Culture, was a part of the "Progress" ideology. This profane religion, its own peculiar mixture of Reason and Faith, satisfied a certain inner demand of the 19th century. Further research will probably discover it in other Cultures. It seems to be an organic necessity of Rationalism to feel that "things are getting better all the time." Thus "progress" was a continuous moral improvement of "humanity," a movement toward more and better "civilization." The ideology was formulated slightly differently by each materialist, but it was not allowed to dispute that "Progress" occurred. To do so marked one as a "pessimist." The ideal toward which there was continual "progress" was necessarily unattainable, for if it could be attained, "progress" would cease, and this was unthinkable.

Such a picture fitted the Age of Criticism, but in an historical Age, this picture becomes just one more object of interest, as being the expression of one certain life-stage of a certain Culture. It is on a par with the world-picture of imminent catastrophe of mid-14th century, the witch obsession of the 16th century, the Reason-worship of the 18th century. All these outlooks possess now only historical significance. What interests us is that once they were believed. But as for trying to force the old-fashioned "progress" ideology on the 20th century, such an attempt is ludicrous; whoever would try stamps himself as an anachronistic mediocrity.

### II

The word history has been employed to cover all human events, those manifesting the development of a

## IMPERIUM

Culture, and those outside of any Culture. But the two classes of events have nothing in common. **Man as a species is one Life-form, Culture-man is another.** The word history therefore designates separate things in the two cases.

In what is man as a species distinct from other Life-forms, such as plants and animals? Simply in his possession of a human soul. This soul shapes for man a different world from the world of other forms of life. Man's world is a world of **symbols**. Things that for animals contain no meaning, and no mystery, have for man a symbolic significance. Outside of a High Culture, this symbolizing-necessity shows itself in the formation of primitive culture. Such cultures have an animistic religion, an ethic of tabu and totem, and social-political forms on the same level. Such cultures are not a unity, i.e., no single **prime symbol** is actualized in all the forms of the culture. These cultures are mere **sums**, collections of motives and tendencies.

Nowhere is primitive man without some primitive culture of this type. Man as a **pure animal** does not exist. All animals have a purely economic-reproductive existence: their whole individual lives consist in the process of nourishing and reproducing themselves, their lives have no spiritual superstructure above this plane.

Nevertheless, man's life in primitivity, and in an area where a High Culture is fulfilling itself, are two incommensurable things. The difference is so vast as to constitute one of kind, and not of mere degree. Vis-a-vis the history of Culture-man, primitive man seems merely zoological. The history that Stanley found in progress on his African explorations was of the one kind, and

## STRUCTURE OF HISTORY

Stanley himself represented the other kind. Similarly zoological is the history of the lake-dwellers in Switzerland, the Chinese to-day, the Arabs, Bushmen, Indians, Amerindians, Lapps, Mongols, and the countless other tribes, races, and peoples outside our Western Civilization.

The animal is solely concerned with economics, primitive man sees hidden meanings in the world—but Culture-man regards his high symbols as the content of Life. A High Culture re-shapes entirely the economic practice of the populations upon whom it sets its grip; it reduces economics to the bottom of the pyramid of life. To a High Culture, economics has the same significance that the function of eating has to an individual. Above economics are all the manifestations of the High Culture's life: architecture, religion, philosophy, art, science, technics, education, politics, erotic, city-building, imperialism, society. The significance an individual has is the reflex of his personal connection with the symbols of the Culture. This valuation itself is produced by the Culture—to an **anti-cultural** outlook such as the curious "materialistic interpretation of history," any proletaire is worth more than Calderon, for Calderon was not a manual labourer, and therefore accomplished nothing in a world whose entire significance is economic.

The difference between the history of man as a species and the history of man in the service of High Culture is that the first is devoid of grand meaning, and that only the second is the vessel of high significance. In high history, men risk all and die for an **Idea**; in primitivity there are no superpersonal ideas of this force, but only personal strivings, crude lust for booty or formless

## IMPERIUM

power. Consequently it would be an error to regard the difference as merely quantitative. The example of Genghis Khan shows this: the events he let loose were considerable in size, but in the cultural sense they have no significance whatever. There was no *Idea* in this sweeping descent of the followers of an adventurer. His conquests were fatal to hundreds of thousands, the empire he erected lasted generations beyond him, but it was simply *there*—it stood for nothing, represented nothing beyond itself. Napoleon's empire on the other hand, brief though it was, was laden with symbolic meaning that is still at work to-day in the minds of Western men, and that is, as we shall see, pregnant with the Future of the West. High Cultures create the greatest wars, but their significance is not merely that they open rivers of blood, but that these men fall in a struggle of ideas.

After a High Culture has fulfilled itself, the populations in its former area return to the condition of primitivity, as the examples of India, China, Islam and Egypt tell us. The world-cities empty themselves, the outer barbarians plunder them bare, and the men that are left are once more clans, tribes, nomads. When outer events do not destroy the remains utterly, the caste system of the last stage remains indefinitely, as in India and China, but it is the mere skeletal remains of the former Culture, which, like everything living, passes away, never to return. The memory of the Culture remains, but the attitude of the remaining populations toward its products is once more entirely primitive, unchanging, purely personal.

The abandoned world-cities return once more to the

## STRUCTURE OF HISTORY

landscapes which they once dominated. World-cities that were once as proud as Berlin, London, and New York disappear under jungle vegetation or the sands of the plain. This was the fate of Luxor, Thebes, Babylon, Pataliputra, Samarra, Uxmal, Tezcucó, Tenochtitlan. In the latter cases, even the names of the great cities have perished, and we call them after nearby villages. But it is an unimportant detail whether the city lies dead upon the surface, inhabited by a few clans who farm in the open spaces, fight in the streets, and shelter in the abandoned structures, or whether the sands shift over the crumbling remains.

## PESSIMISM

It was a remarkably curious phenomenon that when the organically necessary **historical** outlook on History, replacing the religious and critical-philosophical outlooks of previous Western ages, appeared early in the 20th century, it was greeted by the day-before-yesterday thinkers with a cry of "Pessimism." By this word it was apparently thought possible to conjure away the spirit of the coming age, and summon to new life the dead spirit of an age that had passed away. To abstract inorganic thought this feat did not seem considerable, since it regarded History as the field wherein one could do whatever he wanted to make the Past dance to his own tune.

The word pessimism was a polemical word—it described an attitude of general despair, which was supposed to colour opinions and assessments of facts. Any person who seriously used this word showed thereby that he was willing to treat a world-historical philosophy in an electioneering fashion. Obviously an asserted fact should be examined entirely independently of the attitude of him asserting it. The whole pessimism cry is thus an *ad hominem* argument, and worthless.

## PESSIMISM

Facts are not pessimistic or optimistic, sane or insane—an optimist may assert a fact, a madman may, a pessimist may. Describing the man who uttered the fact still leaves entirely open the correctness or incorrectness of the fact. Its purely *ad hominem* nature was the first weakness in the "Pessimism" view of the 20th century outlook on History.

Pessimism only describes an **attitude**, and not facts, and hence is entirely **subjective**. The attitude toward life that Nietzsche continually belaboured as "Pessimism" in its turn described Nietzsche as a pessimist, and both were undoubtedly correct. If someone else thinks my plans are doomed, I consider him a pessimist, from my standpoint. Similarly, if I think his aspirations will come to naught, he thinks me a pessimist. We are both correct.

The "Progress" ideologists, smug in their secure mental armour, insulated from all contact with Reality, naturally felt it to be insulting in the extreme when it was suggested that their particular Faith also had a life-span, was also, like all previous world-pictures, merely a description of a particular soul of a certain age, and thus was destined to pass away. To say that the "Progress" religion would come to an end with the Age whose inner demands it satisfied was to deny the truth of this religion, since it claimed to be a universal description of all human history. What was worse was that the 20th century outlook on History was formulated in such a strict factual way as to be **compelling** to the 20th century mind. This meant that catchwords had to be employed against it, since no other form of disputation would avail. With the single word "Pessimism," it

## IMPERIUM

was hoped to strangle the 20th century outlook on History.

It would be mistaken to put this down to the malice of the "Progress" religionists. No age submits quietly to the Spirit of the coming age.

The witchcraft religionists certainly did not agree with the first materialists who denied the very existence of witches. The conflict between the Established and the Becoming goes on continually, and the Becoming always prevails. It does so, not because it is true, and the Established was false, but because both were the life-stage of an organism, a Culture. Truth and falsehood have as little to do with this process as they do with the transformation of the boy into a youth, the youth into a man, the man into a dotard. The grandson is no more true than the grandfather, yet he will prevail, because of the organic advantage he has. Similarly does the historical attitude of the 20th century supplant the 19th century religion of Materialism. Materialism, Rationalism, "Progress," are all worn out, but the historical attitude of the 20th century is full of vigour and promise, eagerness to set itself to its great factual tasks, to create its great deeds. This organic necessity alone gives it its compelling quality. No one in this gigantic age when nations are world powers in one decade, and colonies in the next, can conscientiously maintain even before himself any shallow and infantile pretense that underneath all these cataclysms there is the meaning of a steady "moral improvement" of "humanity."

Some men have been rational for short periods—this is the sum total of the appearance of Reason in History. But such men have never made History, for it is irra-



## P E S S I M I S M

tional. The pretense of Reason being the meaning of History was itself irrational, since it was a product of History. When the worship of Reason was instituted in Revolutionary France as a religion—a Faith—a *filie de joie* was crowned as the Goddess of Reason. Even Rationalism bears the stamp of Life—it is irrational.

The meaning of the word pessimism must be further laid bare. As we have seen, the word is subjective, and thus describes everybody, if he has a conviction that something is doomed. Suppose I say—Imperial Rome inwardly decayed, and within a few centuries the Roman idea was completely dead. Is this pessimism? My grandfather is dead—am I a pessimist to say so? Some day I shall die—pessimism? Everything living must die—pessimism? To Life belongs Death—pessimism? Is there any example of an individual which has moved completely outside the organic sequence of that Life-form to which he belongs, and remained constantly at one life-stage for such long time-periods as to justify the conclusion that it was a case of Life without Death? An example would be a man who lived for—not 100 years, for we all believe such a man will eventually die—but two or three hundred years, and continually at one life stage, say the biological age of 65 years.

We know no such man, no such life-form. The criers of pessimism will call this pessimism, no doubt. We should keep up the pretense before ourselves all of our individual lives that we shall not die, for to admit mortality is pessimism.

History discloses seven precedent High Cultures to us. Their gestation-periods were morphologically identical, as were their birth-pangs, their first life-activities, their

## IMPERIUM

growth, their mature stages, their great Civilization-crises, their final life-forms, the gradual relaxing, the coming to each of a time when one had to say, looking at the landscape where the mighty being had fulfilled itself, that it was no longer, that it had died. This realization gives extreme pain to the "Pessimism" wailers, and I know of no remedy for their pain. These seven Cultures are dead—it would have been much more remarkable if they had gone forever.

### II

But our Civilization is itself a stage of a High Culture, the Culture of the West. Its millennium of history shows that it is an individual organism belonging to the Life-form High Culture. Can fact-thinkers pretend that it belongs to the Life-form but has no Life-span?

The question can now be formulated: exactly how is it "Pessimism" to say that since seven High Cultures fulfilled themselves that an eighth will also? If this is "Pessimism," then anyone admitting his own mortality is inevitably a "Pessimist." The alternative to pessimism thus becomes idiocy.

However pessimism is an attitude, and if someone says that to admit the fact that Life is fulfilled in Death is pessimism, he shows something about himself. He shows his own cowardly fear of death, his entire lack of heroism, of respect for the mysteries of Being and Becoming, his shallow materialism. One must never forget that these same people are the ones who write and read, in their book and magazine press, a literature on indefinitely prolonging the life-span of the human species. Again, this shows something about them. How

## PESSIMISM

they delight in juggling insurance statistics in such a way as to make them think they are living **longer!** This is their valuation of life: the longest life is the best. To this mentality, a short and heroic life is **sad**, not inspiring. Heroism generally is thus merely foolish, since indefinitely prolonged life is the aim of "Progress."

In the Gothic religious times, the Western form of the idea of immortality of the soul was formed and developed. With the age of Materialism, this became caricatured into the immortality of the **body**. The doctor of medicine became the priest of the new religion, and a whole literature glorified him as the ultimate human type, since he was **saving life**. And yet, shocking though it is to these people, Death continues to accompany Life. 20th century wars take more lives than 19th century wars. The generations continue their procession to the grave, and even the most cowardly materialist, who can never admit that anything living will ever die, goes the way of the materialists in the other eight Cultures.

To people who live in a nameless terror of personal death, naturally the idea of the passing away of a superpersonal soul is also horrible and frightening. Materialists have never been respecters of **facts**—whatever was not measurable by their ruler did not exist. Historical facts are per se uninteresting to a rationalist outlook, which begins with a critical principle, and not with facts, and it was hardly to be expected that a view of history resting on five millennia of history rather than on a simple philosophical platitude would take them along with it.

It is curious that the Pessimism-wailers, who denied

## IMPERIUM

the Culture would ever die, also denied the organic nature of a Culture. In other words, they also denied it lives. Their materialism compelled them to the last, their cowardice to the first. Most important about all their attitudes was that they **did not understand** the central idea of the 20th century outlook. The hundreds of volumes that they wrote against it—each one echoing the magic word "Pessimism"—show that distressingly clearly. On every page is a fundamental misunderstanding of the great thesis. By their lack of comprehension, they provided another proof of the accuracy of the outlook, for the view of one age only reflects the soul of that age, and the 20th century outlook was definitely not adapted to their 19th century outlook.

One great historical fact could have given them consolation: the passing of this Culture, which was not alive, and also would never die, according to them, would mean little to them in particular. In the first place, a Culture is not born, nor does it die in a few years; these processes are measured in generations and centuries. Thus no man could ever see a Culture appear or disappear, and no materialist would ever be obliged to undergo the painful experience of watching it die. More important, the lives of the ordinary people, on the everyday plane of life, are little affected by the presence of the Culture or the Civilization, during and after its passing, the life of the ordinary people, in its stark fundamentals, is simply life. The great numbers vanish, since they were only there to perform the last great life-tasks of the Civilization; the artificial living-conditions go, the great wars cease, the great demands, the great deeds. Pacifism—organic pacifism, not ideological

## P E S S I M I S M

pacifism, which stirs up wars—is the end-condition of a Culture.

Now then, the materialists are exclusively among the ordinary people—what concern have they with great things like heroism, great wars, and imperialism? Therefore the end of a Culture should beckon to them. Actually, however, their whole terror rested on an illusion. It would be as foolish for someone now to worry about the events of 2300 A.D. as it would have been for Frederick the Great to worry about the conditions of 1900. He could not have **imagined** those exact conditions, hence he could not have planned for them, hence it would have been foolish for him to **dread** them. They were to be the concern of other people. The day's demands, as Goethe said. They constitute one's immediate duty. We living in Europe to-day have a certain task imposed upon us by the situation, the times, and our own inner imperative. The most we can do about forming the remote Future is to do our utmost in giving to this age the strong and manly form it demands. The generation after the next will have its task also, and the only way we can make ourselves effective in their age will be so to conduct ourselves now that our deeds and example will live after us.

To a materialist, this is pessimism.

### III

There are many intellectuals who stop at the title of leading works of an historical age: these gathered the basis for their charge of pessimism against the 20th century world-outlook from the title of the first book fully to outline it: *The Decline of the West*. **Decline**

## IMPERIUM

had a definitely pessimistic sound to these gentlemen; they needed no more. In his essay *Pessimism?* (1921), Spengler mentioned that some people had confused the sinking of a Culture with the sinking of a steamship, whereas, as applied to a Culture, the idea of a catastrophe was not contained in the word. He explains further that this title was decided upon in 1911, when, in his words, "the shallow optimism of the Darwinistic age lay over the West-European-American world." He prepared the book, in which he set forth the thesis of an age of annihilation-wars for the immediate future, for the coming age, and chose the title to contradict the prevailing optimism. In 1921, he wrote, he would choose a title that would contradict the equally shallow pessimism then prevailing.

If pessimism be defined as seeing nothing more to be done, it does not touch a philosophy which sets forth task after task remaining to the Western Civilization. Apart from the political and economic, to which this work is devoted, Western physics, chemistry and technics all have their peaks before them, as have also archaeology and historical philosophy. The formulation of a legal system freed from philology and conceptualizing is also a need. National economy needs to be approached and organized thoroughly in the 20th century spirit, and above all, an education must be created, in the grand sense of consciously training the coming generations, in the full light of the historic necessity of our Future, for the great life-tasks of the Civilization.

The cry of "Pessimism" is dying down—the 20th century outlook on History surveys from its historical peak and to its own unique, vast, historical horizons, the life-

## PESSIMISM

courses of eight High Cultures accomplished, and even looks boldly and confidently into its own Culture's future, yet to be accomplished. Readers in 1950 have forgotten, and readers in 2050 will possibly have no way of finding out, that before the 20th century outlook on History appeared, unrealized history was regarded as a blank tablet on which man might write whatever he wished. This was of course the instinctive attitude of no single man of action—they have to know better in order to accomplish the veriest trifle, but even they had to maintain the pretense that the Future was *carte blanche*.

No one thinks in this fashion during the second half of the 20th century; the bleating of the rationalists and the whimpering of the materialists are growing fainter. Even they are now talking about History, instead of about their old platitudes. Even their press now fits out its herd of readers with a history-outlook. History begins in 1870, and it ends after the next war; each war is portrayed as the last. This History-picture did service for more than a generation, and its very existence in materialistic journalism is a sign of the increasingly historical attitude of the age. After the First World War, a "League of Nations" was established to bring about "World Peace," and there was a considerable number of persons in the Western Civilization who took it seriously. Within the short space of one generation, however, a second "League" was founded after a Second World War, but this time, owing to the inner victory in the West of the 20th century world-outlook which had occurred meanwhile, almost no one looked upon the "League" as anything other than a localiza-

## IMPERIUM

tion of diplomatic war-preparations between the two remaining powers. We have come a long way from the old "Progress" days.

The tables are turned on the wailers of "Pessimism." Actually they are merely the representatives of the Spirit of an Age that has gone forever. Thus they are anachronistic in this Age, and to the extent that they try to intervene in its Life, they must fight against its every expression-tendency. They can only negate the Future with their hopeless attempt to revive the Past. Does not this make **them** pessimists?

The definitive word can now be said about pessimism, and about optimism, for the two are inseparable as concepts. If pessimism is despair, optimism is cowardice and stupidity. Is there any need to choose between them? They are twin soul-diseases. Between them lies realism, which wants to know what is, what **must** be done, how it **can** be done. Realism is historical thinking, and it is also political thinking. Realism does not approach the world with a preconceived principle to which things **ought** to submit—it is this prime stupidity which begets both pessimism and optimism. If it looks as though things will not fit, so to declare is pessimism. Optimism continues to pretend that they do, despite the entire course of History, to the contrary. Of the two diseases, optimism is more dangerous to the soul, for it is more blind. Pessimism, by not being afraid to affirm the unpleasing, is at least capable of seeing, and may yield to a flaring-up of healthy instincts.

Every captain must prepare for both victory and defeat, and tactically, the latter part of his plan is more important, and no captain would refrain from taking



## P E S S I M I S M

measures to apply in defeat because someone said to him that this was pessimism. Let us go further—a hundred odd Americans were surrounded in 1836 in the Alamo by Mexican armies numbering thousands. Was it pessimistic for them to realize that their position was hopeless? But there happened something which the materialists—the real pessimists—can never understand. The members of the tiny garrison did not allow the obvious hopelessness of the situation to affect their personal conduct—every man chose to fight on rather than surrender. They thought rather of what was left to do than of the ultimate annihilation.

This was also the attitude of the Kamikaze pilots who in the Second World War drove their explosive-laden airplanes on to enemy ships of war. Not only is this attitude entirely outside any stupid optimism-pessimism scheme, but it is the essence of heroism itself. Fear of death does not prevent the hero from doing what has to be done. The 20th century has this heroic attitude once more, and it thinks of its task, and not of the ultimate end of all Life in Death. Least of all does it fear death so much, both individual death and the fulfilment of the Civilization within which we must actualize our possibilities, that it attempts to deny Death in any way. It wants to live Life, not cringe before Death. Optimism and pessimism are for cowards, weaklings, fools, and stupid persons, incapable of appreciating the mystery, power, and beauty of Life. They shrink from sternness and renunciation, and escape from the brutality of facts into dreams of immortality of the body, and indefinite perpetuation of the world-outlook of the 19th century.

## IMPERIUM

As I write—1948—these cowardly pessimists lord it over the submerged Western Civilization, propped up by extra-European forces. They pretend that all is well, now that Europe is the spoils for powers from without, sunk to the level of India and China. The 20th century spirit, however, which they hate because it is young and full of Life, intends to sweep them one day soon into History's dust-bin, whither they were long since consigned. Theirs is the attitude—Do nothing. And yet they have the temerity to brand the representatives of the 20th century spirit with the positive attitude of accomplishment as "Pessimists." The materialists and Liberals talk of "return" to better conditions—always **return**. The new spirit commands: Forward to our greatest Age of all.

This age and its spirit would not shrink from entering upon its task of building the Empire of the West even if it were told that the outer forces are too strong, that they will never succeed. It prefers to die on its feet rather than live on its knees, like the materialists and other cowards who now make themselves serviceable to the outsiders in their great task of looting and destroying the Western Civilization.

The great ethical imperative of this age is **individual truth-to-self**, both for the Civilization and its leading persons. To this imperative, an unfavorable situation could never bring about an adaptation of one's self to the demands of the outsider, merely in order to live in slavish peace. One asserts himself, determined on personal victory, against whatever odds exist. The promise of success is with the man who is determined to die proudly if it is no longer possible to live proudly.

## THE CIVILIZATION-CRISIS

All the Cultures arrived at the point in their development when their possibilities for culture—in the narrower sense—were fulfilled. The Life-directions of religion, philosophy, and the arts of form, were fully expressed and formed definitively. The Counter-Reformation was the period of the definitive shaping of Western religious formative potentialities, and thenceforward religion was on the defensive against profane tendencies, which gradually increased and finally, with the turn of the 19th century, gained the upper hand. Kant is the high point of Western possibilities in inorganic philosophy, as was his contemporary Goethe for organic philosophy. Mozart is the high point of music, the art that the Western Culture chose as its most perfect for its own soul.

Naturally the Culture had always had both an inner and outer life; politics and war had always continued, since they are inseparable from the life of Culture-man. But in the first centuries of the Culture—say until 1400—Religion had dominated the total Cultural life. Gothic architecture, Gothic sculpture, glass-painting and fresco—all these arts had served religious expression, and these centuries may be called the Age of Religion.

## IMPERIUM

This period yielded to new tendencies, less inward, reflected also in the greater development of trade and economic production. The new tendencies are more urban; they contain more adaptation to the external world, but they are still primarily inward. The arts pass into the custody of "Great Masters," and become emancipated from religion. The maturity of the Culture shows itself in its development at this time of its greatest and most refined art. In the West, this was music; in the Classical it was sculpture.

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation are both steps away from the Age of Religion. Philosophy becomes independent of theology, and natural science challenges dogmas of Faith. The basic attitude toward the world is still sacred, but the illuminated foreground widens constantly. This period is the Baroque in our Culture, lasting from 1500 to 1800, the Ionic in the Classical.

During these centuries, the politics reflected the strict formative stage of the Culture. The struggle for political power was strictly within the bounds imposed by the Culture-soul. Armies were small, professional; war was the possession of the nobility; peace treaties were arrived at by negotiation and compromise; honour was present at every decision of politics or war.

The later Baroque produced the Age of "Enlightenment." Reason was now felt as all-powerful, and to challenge its almightiness became as unthinkable as it would have been to challenge God in Gothic times. The English philosophers from Locke onward, and the French Encyclopaedists who adopted their ideas, were the custodians of the spirit of this age.

## CIVILIZATION-CRISIS

By 1800, the externalizing tendency has prevailed completely over the old inwardness of the strict Culture. "Nature" and "Reason" are the new gods; the outer world is regarded as primary. From having examined his own soul, and having expressed its formative possibilities to the limit in the inner world of religion, philosophy, and art, Culture-man now finds his imperative directed to subjecting the outer world to himself.

The great symbol of this transition in our Culture is Napoleon, in the Classical, Alexander. They represented the victory of Civilization over Culture.

Civilization is in one way a denial of the Culture, in another way it is the sequel. It is organically necessary, and all the Cultures went through this stage. This present work is concerned throughout with the problems of Civilization in general, and of our immediate problem for the period 1950-2000 in particular. Therefore it is not necessary to do more than present in this place a bare outline of the significance to the organism of the Civilization-phase.

With the triumph of Reason comes an immense **liberating** effect on the Culture-populations. The feelings that were formerly expressed only in strict forms, whether in art, war, cabinet-politics, or philosophy, are now given free rein, increasingly independent of Culture-bounds. Rousseau for instance, advocated the doing away with all Culture, and the descent of Culture-man to the purely animal plane of economics and reproduction. Art develops increasingly away from strict form, from Beethoven to our day. The ideal of the Beautiful yields finally to the ideal of the Ugly. Philosophy becomes pure social-ethics, when it is not a coarse

## IMPERIUM

and crude metaphysics of materialism. Economics, formerly merely the foundation of the great structure, now becomes the focus of immense energy. It too succumbs to Reason, and in this field, Reason formulates the quantitative measure of value, Money.

Reason applied to politics produced Democracy; applied to war, it produced the mass army to replace the professional one, and the dictate instead of the treaty. The authority and dignity of the Absolute State are felt as tyranny by the new life-tendencies, and in heavy battles, the forces of Money, Economics, and Democracy overcome the State. For its responsible, public, leadership, is substituted the irresponsible, private, rule of anonymous groups, classes, and individuals, whose interests the parliaments serve. The psychology of monarchs is replaced by the psychology of crowds and mobs, the new base for power of the man of ambition.

Production, technics, trade, public power, and—above all—**population-numbers** increase fantastically. These numbers are produced by the enormous final life-task of the Culture, namely **the subjection of its known world to its domination**. In an area where formerly there were 80 millions there are now 260 millions.

The great common denominator of the Civilization ideas is **mobilization**. The masses of the Culture-populations, and the masses whom they conquer, the earth itself, and the power of intellectual ideals—all are mobilized.

### II

From the standpoint of the whole life of the organism this stage is a **crisis**, for the whole idea of the Culture

## CIVILIZATION-CRISIS

itself is attacked, and the custodians of the Culture must wage a battle of more than two centuries against inner attacks, in class war. Down beneath the Culture, the idea awakens in the minds of intellectuals that this Culture is a thing that must be done away with, that man is an animal and is corrupted by development of his soul. Philosophies appear, denying the existence of anything but matter; life is defined as a physico-chemical process; its twin-urges are economic and reproductive; anything above this level is sinful. Both from the economic leaders and from the class-warriors comes the doctrine that all life is nothing but economics. From self-styled "psychologists" comes the doctrine that life is nothing but reproduction.

But the strength of the organism, even in crisis, is too great for a few intellectuals and their mobs to destroy it, and it goes its way. In the Western Civilization, the expansive tendency reached the point where by 1900, 18/20 of the surface of the earth was controlled politically from Western capitals. And this development merely brought an aggravation of the crisis, for this power-will of the West gradually awakened the slumbering masses of the outer world to political activity.

Before the inner war of classes had been liquidated, the outer war of races had begun. Annihilation-wars and World Wars, continuous internal strain in the form of unrelenting class-war, which regards outer war merely as a means of increasing its demands, the revolt of the coloured races against the Western Civilization—these are the forms which this terrible crisis takes in the 20th century.

## IMPERIUM

The peak of this long crisis exists now, in the period 1950-2000, and possibly in these very years will be decided forever the question whether the West is to fulfil its last life-phase. The proud Civilization which in 1900 was master of 18/20 of the earth's surface, arrived at the point in 1945, after the suicidal Second World War, where it controlled no part whatever of the earth. World power for all great questions was decided in two outer capitals, Washington and Moscow. The smaller questions of provincial administration were left to the nations-become-colonies of the West, but in power-questions, the regimes based in Russia and America decided all. Where formal control was left with Europe, as in Palestine, actual control was retained in Washington. The food-rations, trade-union policy, leaders, and tasks of the former Western nations were decided upon outside of Europe.

In 1900, the State-system of Europe reacted as a unit when the negative will of Asia thought, by the Boxer rebellion, to drive out the Imperialism of the West from China. Western armies from the leading States moved in, and smashed the revolt. Less than half a century later, extra-European armies are moving freely about Europe, armies containing Negroes, Mongols, Turkestani, Kirghizians, Americans, Armenians, colonials and Asiatics of all areas. How did this happen?

Quite obviously, through the inner division of the West. This division was not material—material cannot divide men if their minds agree. No, it was **spiritual** division that brought Europe into the dust. Half of Europe had a completely different attitude toward Life, a different valuation of Life, from the other half. The



## CIVILIZATION-CRISIS

two attitudes were respectively the 19th century outlook, and the 20th century outlook. The division continues, and the amount of food a man in the Western Civilization can eat is dependent on the decision of someone in Moscow or Washington. When the spiritual division of Europe comes to an end the extra-European powers will be unable to hold down the strong-willed populations of Europe.

The first step in **action** is thus the liquidation of the spiritual division of Europe. There is only **one** basis on which this can be done; **there is only one Future, the organic Future.** The only changes that can be brought about in a Culture are those which its life-stage necessitate. The 20th century outlook is synonymous with the Future of the West, the perpetuation of the 19th century outlook means the continuation of the domination of the West by Culture-distorters and barbarians. The task of the present work is the presentation of all the fundamentals of the 20th century outlook necessary as the framework for comprehending and thorough **action.** First is the **Idea**—not an ideal which can be summed up in a catchword, or one which can be explained to an alien, but a living, breathing, wordless feeling, which already exists in all Westerners, articulate in a very few, inchoate in most. This **Idea**, in its wordless grandeur, its irresistible imperative, must be **felt**, and thus only men of the West can assimilate it. The alien will understand it as little as he has always understood Western creations and Western codes. In his victory parade in Moscow in 1945, the barbarian exhibited his Western captive slaves to the jeering crowds of his cities, and made them drag their national flags behind them in

## IMPERIUM

the dust. If any Westerner thinks that the barbarian makes nice distinction between the former nations of the West, he is incapable of understanding the feelings of populations outside a High Culture toward that Culture. To-morrow the captive slaves offered up to the annihilation-instincts of the Moscow mobs may be drawn from Paris, London, Madrid, as well as from Berlin. A continuation of the spiritual division of the West makes this not only possible but **absolutely inevitable**. Both the outer forces are working for the continued division of the West; within they are helped by the least worthy elements in Europe. This is addressed however to the only people that matter—the Westerners who can feel the Imperative of the Future working within them.

It is necessary that their world-outlook be the same in all its fundamentals, and we know in this historical age that the prevailing spirituality of an age is a function of its soul, and that comparatively little latitude is allowed in its necessary formulation. Therefore, the present work contains not arguments, but **commands** of the Spirit of the Age. These thoughts and values are **necessary for us**. They are not personal, but super-personal and compulsory for men who intend to do something with their lives.

Our action-task is dictated for us by the fact that the soil of our Civilization is occupied by the outsider. Our inner imperative and outlook on Life is determined for us by the Age. A part of the outlook of any age is simply the **negation** of the outlook of the previous age. Each age has to assert its new spirit **against** its predecessor, which would continue, even in the stage of

## CIVILIZATION-CRISIS

rigor mortis, to dominate the spiritual landscape of the Culture. In establishing itself, the new spirit must deny the hostile old one. In a substantial part, therefore, our 20th century outlook is the negative of the 19th century materialism. Having destroyed this dank ruin, it erects over it its own, appropriate, view of the world and Life.

Since this is written for those whose world-view is researched to its very foundations, the preliminary, negative, aspect must be equally thorough. The world-view of the millions is the task of journalism, but those who think independently have an inner necessity for a comprehensive picture. The great foundations of the old outlook were Rationalism and Materialism. They will be completely examined in this work, but here it is proposed to treat only three thought-systems, Darwinism, Marxism, Freudianism, products of materialistic thought, all of which were the focus of great spiritual energy in the 19th century, and which, continuing to have a vogue in the early 20th century, contributed greatly to lead Europe into its present abyss.

## DARWINISM

One of the most fruitful discoveries of the 20th century was the metaphysics of **nations**. The unveiling of the Riddle of History showed that nations are different manifestations of the soul of the High Cultures. They exist only in Cultures, they have their life-span for political purposes, and possess—vis-a-vis the other nations of the Culture—individuality. Each great nation is given an Idea, a life-mission, and the history of the nation is the actualizing of this Idea. This Idea, again, must be **felt**, and cannot be directly defined. Each Idea, to actualize which a given nation was chosen by the Culture, is also a stage of the development of the Culture. Thus Western History presents during the recent centuries, a Spanish period, a French period, an English period. They correspond to Baroque, Rococo, and early Civilization. These nations owed their spiritual and political supremacy during these years solely to the fact that they were the custodians of the Spirit of the Age. With the passing of the Age, these custodians of its Spirit lost their spiritually dominating position in the Culture.

## DARWINISM

The early Civilization was the English period of the West, and all the thought and activity of the whole Civilization was on the English model. All nations embarked upon economic imperialism of the English type. All thinkers became Anglicized intellectually. English thought-systems ruled the West, systems which reflected the English soul, English life-conditions, and English material conditions. Prime among these systems was Darwinism, which became popular, and thus politically effective.

Darwin himself was a follower of Malthus, and his system implies Malthusianism as a foundation. Malthus taught that population increase tends to outrun increase of food supply, that this represented an economic danger, and that "checks" on this population increase alone can prevent it from destroying a nation, such as epidemics and wars, unhealthy living conditions and poverty. Malthusianism expressly regards care for the poor, the aged, and orphans, as a mistake.

A word on this curious philosophy; first it has no correspondence whatever to facts, and therefore is not valid for the 20th century. Statistically it has no basis, spiritually it shows complete incomprehension of the prime fact of Destiny, Man, and History—namely that the soul is primary, and that matter is governed by soul-conditions. Every man is the poet of his own History, and every nation of its History. A rising population shows the presence of a life-task, a declining population points to insignificance. This philosophy would legitimate a man's existence by whether or not he is born into an adequate food-area! His gifts, his life task, his Destiny, his soul, are put at naught. It is one example

of the great philosophic tendency of materialism: **the animalization of Culture-man.**

Malthusianism taught that the food-population ratio imposed a continuous struggle for existence among men. This "struggle for existence" became a leading-idea for Darwinism. The other leading ideas of Darwinism are found in Schopenhauer, Erasmus Darwin, Henry Bates, and Herbert Spencer. Schopenhauer in 1835 set forth a Nature-picture containing the struggle for self-preservation, human intellect as a weapon in the struggle, and sexual love as unconscious selection according to the interest of the species. In the 18th century, Erasmus Darwin had postulated adaptation, heredity, struggle, and self protection as principles of evolution. Bates formulated before Darwin the theory of Mimicry, Spencer the theory of descent, and the powerful tautological catchword "survival of the fittest" to describe the results of the "struggle."

This is only the foreground, for actually the road from Darwin back to Calvin is quite clear: Calvinism is a religious interpretation of the "survival of the fittest" idea, and it calls the fit the "elected." Darwinism makes this election-process mechanical-profane instead of theological-religious: selection by Nature instead of election by God. It remains purely English in the process, for the national religion of England was an adaptation of Calvinism.

The basic idea of Darwinism—evolution—is as little novel as the particular theories of the system. Evolution is the great central idea of the philosophy of the 19th century. It dominates every leading thinker and every system: Schopenhauer, Proudhon, Marx, Wagner,

## DARWINISM

Nietzsche, Mill, Ibsen, Shaw. These thinkers differ in their explanation of the purpose and technique of evolution; none of them question the central idea itself. With some of them it is organic, with most purely mechanical.

Darwin's system has two aspects, of which only one is treated here, for only one was effective. This was Darwinism as a **popular philosophy**. As a scientific arrangement it had considerable qualifications, and no one paid any attention to these when converting it to a journalistic world-outlook. As the latter, it had a sweeping vogue, and was effective as a part of the world-picture of the age.

The system shows its provenance as a product of the Age of Criticism in its **teleological** assumptions. Evolution has **purpose**—the purpose of producing man, civilized man, English man—in the last analysis, Darwinians. It is anthropomorphic—the “aim of evolution” is not to produce bacilli, but humanity. It is free trade capitalism, in that this struggle is economic, every man for himself, and competition decides which life-forms are best. It is gradual and parliamentary, for continual “progress” and adaptation, exclude revolutions and catastrophes. It is utilitarian, in that every change in a species is one that has a material use. The human soul itself—known as the “brain” in the 19th century—is only a tool by which a certain type of monkey advanced himself to man ahead of his fellow-monkeys. Teleology again: man became man in order that he might be man. It is orderly; natural selection proceeds according to the rules of artificial breeding in practice on English farms.

## IMPERIUM

### II

As a world-view, Darwinism cannot of course be refuted, since Faith is, always has been, and always will be, stronger than facts. Nor is it important to refute it as a picture of the world, since as such it no longer influences any but day-before-yesterday thinkers. However, as a picture of the facts, it is grotesque, from its first assumptions to its last conclusions.

In the first place, there is no "Struggle for existence" in nature; this old Malthusian idea merely projected Capitalism on to the animal world. Such struggles for existence as do occur are the exception; the rule in Nature is abundance. There are plenty of plants for the herbivores to eat, and there are plenty of herbivores for the carnivores to eat. Between the latter there can hardly be said to be "struggle," since only the carnivore is spiritually equipped for war. A lion making a meal of a zebra portrays no "struggle," between two species, unless one is determined so to regard it. Even so, he must concede that it is not **physically, mechanically,** necessary for the carnivores to kill other animals. They could as well eat plants—it is the demand of their animal souls however to live in this fashion, and thus, even if one were to call their lives struggles, it would not be imposed by "Nature," but by the soul. It becomes thus, not a "struggle for existence," but a spiritual necessity of being one's self.

The capitalistic mentality, engaged in a competition to get rich, quite naturally pictured the animal-world also as engaged in an intensive economic contest. Both Malthusianism and Darwinism are thus **capitalistic** outlooks,



## DARWINISM

in that they place economics in the centre of Life, and regard it as the meaning of Life.

Natural selection was the name given to the process by which the "unfit" died out to give place to the "fit." Adaptation was the name given to the process by which a species gradually changed in order to be more fit for the struggle. Heredity was the means by which these adaptations were saved for the species.

As a factual picture, this is easier to refute than it is to prove, and factual biological thinkers, both Mechanists and Vitalists, like Louis Agassiz, Du Bois-Reymond, Reinke, and Driesch rejected it from its appearance. The easiest refutation is the palaeontological. Fossil deposits—found in various parts of the earth—must represent the possibilities generally. Yet they disclose only stable specie-forms, and disclose no transitional types, which show a species "evolving" into something else. And then, in a new fossil hoard, a new species appears, in its definitive form, which remains stable. The species that we know to-day, and for past centuries, are all stable, and no case has ever been observed of a species "adapting" itself to change its anatomy or physiology, which "adaptation" then resulted in more "fitness" for the "struggle for existence," and was passed on by heredity, with the result of a new species.

Darwinians cannot get over these facts by bringing in great spaces of time, for palaeontology has never discovered any intermediate types, but only distinct species. Nor are the fossil animals which have died out any simpler than present-day forms, although the course of evolution was supposed to be from simple to complex Life-forms. This was crude anthropomorphism—man is

## IMPERIUM

complex, other animals are simple, they must be tending toward him, since he is "higher" biologically.

Calling Culture-man a "higher" animal still treats him as an animal. Culture-man is a different world spiritually from all animals, and is not to be understood by referring him to any artificial materialistic scheme.

If this picture of the facts were correct, species ought to be fluid at the present time. They should be turning into one another. This is, of course, not so. There should actually be no species, but only a surging mass of individuals, engaged in a race to reach—man. But the "struggle," again, is quite inconclusive. The "lower" forms, simpler—less fit?—have not died out, have not yielded to the principle of Darwinian evolution. They remain in the same form they have had for—as the Darwinians would say—millions of years. Why do they not "evolve" into something "higher"?

The Darwinian analogy between artificial selection and natural selection is also in opposition to the facts. The products of artificial selection such as barnyard fowls, racing dogs, race-horses, ornamental cats, and song-canaries, would certainly be at a disadvantage against natural varieties. Thus artificial selection has only been able to produce less fit life-forms.

Nor is Darwinian sexual selection in accordance with facts. The female does not by any means always choose the finest and strongest individual for a mate, in the human species, or in any other.

The utilitarian aspect of the picture is also quite subjective—i.e., English, capitalistic, parliamentarian—for the utility of an organ is relative to the use sought to be made of it. A species without hands has no need

## DARWINISM

of hands. A hand that slowly evolved would be a positive disadvantage over the "millions of years" necessary to perfect the hand. Furthermore, how did this process start? For an organ to be utile, it must be ready; while it is being prepared, it is inutile. But if it is inutile, it is not Darwinian, for Darwinism says evolution is utilitarian.

Actually all the technics of Darwinian evolution are simply tautological. Thus, within the species it is individuals which have a predisposition to adapt themselves that do so. Adaptation presupposes adaptation.

The process of selection affects those specimens with definite aptitudes which make them worthy of selection, in other words, they have already been selected. Selection presupposes selection.

The problem of descent in the Darwinian picture is treated as finding the interrelations of the species. Having assumed their interrelationship, it then finds they are interrelated, and proves the interrelationship thus. Descent presupposes descent.

The utility of an organ is a way of saying it works for this species. Utility thus presupposes the existence of the very species which has the organ, but lacking that organ. The facts however, have never shown a species to pick up a certain missing organ, which seemed necessary. A Life-form needs a certain organ because it needs it. The organ is utile because it is utile.

The naive, tautological, doctrine of utility never asked "Utility for **what?**" That which serves duration might not serve strength. Utility is not a **simple** thing, but entirely relative to what already exists. Thus it is the inner demands of a life-form which determine what

## IMPERIUM

it would like to have, what would be useful to it. The soul of the lion and his power go together. The hand of man and his brain go together. No one can say that the strength of the lion causes him to live the way he does, nor that the hand of man is responsible for his technical achievements. It is the soul in each case which is primary.

This primacy of the spiritual inverts the Darwinian materialism on the doctrine of utility. A lack can be utile: the lack of one sense develops others; physical weakness develops intelligence. In man and in animals alike, the absence of one organ stimulates others to compensatory activity—this is often observed in endocrinology in particular.

### III

The whole grotesquerie of Darwinism, and of the materialism of the entire 19th century generally, is a product of one fundamental idea—an idea which happens also to be non-factual to this century, even though it was a prime fact a century ago. This one idea was that Life is formed by the outer. This generated the sociology of "environment" as determining the human soul. Later it generated the doctrine of "heredity" as doing the same. And yet, in a purely factual sense, what is Life? Life is the actualizing of the possible. The possible turns into the actual in the midst of outer facts, which affect only the precise way in which the possible becomes actual, but cannot touch the inner force which is expressing itself through, and, if necessary, in opposition to, the outer facts.

## DARWINISM

Neither "heredity" nor "environment" determine these inner possibilities. They affect only the framework within which something **entirely new**, an individual, a unique soul, will express itself.

The word evolution describes to the 20th century the process of the ripening and fulfilling of an organism or of a species. This process is not at all the operation of mechanical-utility "causes" on plastic, formless, protoplasmic material, with purely accidental results. His work with plants led de Vries to develop his Mutation theory of the origin of species, and the facts of palaeontology reinforce it to the extent of showing the **sudden** appearance of new species. The 20th century finds it quite unnecessary to formulate mythologies, either in cosmogony or biology. Origins are forever hidden from us, and a historical viewpoint is interested in the **development** of the process, not in the mysterious **beginning** of the process. This beginning, as set forth by scientific mythology, and by religious mythology, has only an historical interest to our age. What we note is that once these world-pictures were actual and living.

What is the actual History of Life, as this age sees it? Various species of Life exist, ranked, according to increasing spiritual content, from plants and animals, through man, to Culture-man, and High Cultures. Some of the varieties, as shown by fossils, existed in former earth-ages in their present form, while other species appeared and disappeared.

A species appears **suddenly**, both in fossil-finds, and in the experimental laboratory. Mutation is a legitimate description of the process, if the idea is free from any mechanical-utility causes, for these latter are only

## IMPERIUM

imagined, whereas mutations are a fact. Each species has also a Destiny, and a given Life-energy, so to speak. Some are stable and firm; others have been weak, tending to split off into many different varieties, and lose their unity. They have also a life-span, for many have disappeared. This whole process is not at all independent of geological ages, nor of astral phenomena. Some species, however, outlast one earth-age into the next, just as some 19th century thinkers have survived into the 20th century.

Darwinians offered also an explanation of the metaphysics of their evolution. Roux, for instance, holds that the "fit for the purpose" survive, while the "unfit for the purpose" die. The process is purely mechanical, however, and is thus fitness for purpose without purpose. Nägeli taught that an organism perfects itself because it contains within it the "principle of perfection," just as Moliere's doctor explained that the sleeping potion worked because of a dormitive virtue inherent in it. Weismann denied the heredity of acquired characteristics, but instead of using it to destroy Darwinism, as it obviously does—if every individual has to start anew, how can the species "evolve"?—he props up the Darwinian picture with it by saying that the germ-plasm contains latent tendencies toward useful qualities. But this is no longer Darwinism, for the species does not evolve if it is only doing what it tends to do.

These tautological explanations only convinced people because they believed already. The age was evolutionary, and materialistic. Darwinism combined these two qualities into a biologico-religious doctrine which satisfied the capitalistic imperative of that age. Any experi-

## DARWINISM

ments, any new facts, only proved Darwinism; they would not have been allowed to do otherwise.

The 20th century does not see Life as an accident, a playground for external causes. It sees the fact that Life-forms begin suddenly, and that the subsequent development, or evolution, is only the actualizing of that which is already possible. Life is the unfolding of a Soul, an individuality. Whatever explanation one gives of how Life started only reveals the structure of his own soul. A materialistic explanation reveals a materialist. Similarly the imputing of any "purpose" to Life as a whole transcends knowledge, and enters the realm of Faith. Life as a whole, each great Life-form, each species, each variety, each individual, has however a **Destiny**, an inner direction, a wordless imperative. This Destiny is the primary fact of History. History is the record of fulfilled (or thwarted) destinies.

Any attempt to make man into an animal, and the animals into automata, is merely materialism, and thus a product of a certain type of soul, of a certain age. The 20th century is not such an age, and looks upon the inner reality of the human soul as being the determinant of human history, and the inner reality of the Soul of the High Culture as being the determinant of the history of that Culture. The soul **exploits** outer circumstances—they do not form it.

Nor does the 20th century, not being capitalistic, see any struggle for existence going on in the world, either of men or animals. It sees a struggle for **power**, a struggle that has no connection with cheap economic reasons. It is a struggle for domination of the world that the 20th and 21st centuries see. It is not because there

## IMPERIUM

is a shortage of food for the human populations of the world—there is plenty of food. The question is power, and in the decision of that question, food, human lives, material, and everything else that the participants can dispose of, will come into play as **weapons**, and not as **stakes**. Nor will it ever be decided, in the sense that a lawsuit can be decided. Readers living in 2050 will smile when told that there was once a rather widespread belief in the Western Civilization that the First World War was the “last war.” The Second World War was also so regarded, all during the preparations for the Third. It was a case of wish-thinking pacifist idealism being stronger than facts.

Darwinism was the animalization of Culture-man by means of biology; the human soul was interpreted as a mere superior technique of fighting with other animals. We come now to Marxism, the animalization of man through economics, the human soul as a mere reflex of food, clothing and shelter.



## MARXISM

Although England was the nation which actualized the ideas of the early Civilization phase of the West—the period 1750-1900—namely, Rationalism, Materialism, Capitalism, yet these ideas would have been actualized otherwise, even if England had been destroyed by some outer catastrophe. Nevertheless, for England these ideas were **instinctive**. They were wordless, beyond definition, self-evident. For the other nations of Europe, they were things to which one had to adapt oneself.

Capitalism is not an economic system, but a **world-outlook**, or rather, a part of a whole world-outlook. It is a way of thinking and feeling and living, and not a mere technique of economic planning which anyone can understand. It is primarily **ethical** and **social**, and only secondarily economic. The economics of a nation is a reflection of the national soul, just as the way a man makes his living is a subordinate expression of his personality.

Capitalism is an expression of **Individualism** as a principle of Life, the idea of every man for himself. It must be realized that this feeling is not universal-human, but only a certain stage of a certain Culture, a stage that in

## IMPERIUM

all essentials passed away with the First World War, 1914-1919.

Socialism is also an **ethical-social principle**, and **not an economic programme** of some kind. It is antithetical to the Individualism which produced Capitalism. Its self-evident, instinctive idea is: each man for all.

To Individualism as a Life-principle, it was obvious that each man in pursuing his own interests, was working for the good of all. To Socialism as a Life-principle, it is equally obvious that a man working for himself alone is ipso facto working against the good of all.

The 19th century was the age of Individualism; the 20th and 21st are the ages of Socialism. No one has understood if he thinks this is an **ideological** conflict. Ideology itself means: the rationalizing of the world of action. This was the preoccupation of the early phase of the Western Civilization, 1750-1900, but no longer engages the serious attention of ambitious men. Programmes are mere **ideals**; they are inorganic, rationalized, anyone can understand them. This age however is one of a struggle for power. Each participant wants the power in order to actualize himself, his inner **idea**, his soul. 1900 could not understand what Goethe meant when he said, "In Life, it is Life itself that is important, and not a result of Life." The time has passed away in which men would die for an abstract programme of "improving" the world. Men will always be willing to die however, in order to be themselves. This is the distinction between an ideal and an idea.

Marxism is an ideal. It does not take account of living ideas, but regards the world as a thing that can be planned on paper and then set up in actuality. Marx

## M A R X I S M

understood neither Socialism nor Capitalism as **ethical** world-outlooks. His understanding of both was purely **economic**, and thus a misunderstanding.

The explanation Marxism offered of the significance of History was ludicrously simple, and in this very simplicity lay its charm, and its strength. **The whole history of the world was merely the record of the struggle of classes.** Religion, philosophy, science, technics, music, painting, poetry, nobility, priesthood, Emperor and Pope, State, war, and politics—all are simply reflections of **economics**. Not economics generally, but the "struggle" of "classes." The most amazing thing about this ideological picture is that it was ever put forward seriously, or taken seriously.

The 20th century finds it unnecessary to contradict this History-picture as a world-outlook. It has been supplanted, and has joined Rousseau. The foundations of Marxism must however be shown, since the whole tendency which produced it is one that this age is impelled to deny as a premiss of its own existence.

Being inwardly alien to Western philosophy, Marx could not assimilate the ruling philosopher of his time, Hegel, and borrowed Hegel's **method** to formulate his own picture. He applied this method to capitalism as a form of economy, in order to bring about a picture of the Future corresponding to his own feelings and instincts. These instincts were negative toward the whole Western Civilization. He belonged with the class-warriors, who appear at a corresponding stage of every Culture, as a protest against it. The driving-force of class-war is the will to annihilation of Culture.

The ethical and social foundations of Marxism are

## IMPERIUM

capitalistic. It is the old Malthusian "struggle" again. Whereas to Hegel, the State was an Idea, an organism with harmony in its parts, to Malthus and Marx there was no State, but only a mass of self-interested individuals, groups, and classes. Capitalistically, all is economics. Self-interest means: economics. Marx differed on this plane in no way from the non-class-war theoreticians of capitalism—Mill, Ricardo, Paley, Spencer, Smith. To them all, Life was economics, not Culture. To them all, it was the war of groups against group, class against class, individual against individual, whether they say so expressly or not. All believe in Free Trade, and want no "state interference" in economic matters. None of them regard society or State as an organism. Capitalistic thinkers found no ethical fault with destruction of groups and individuals by other groups and individuals, so long as the criminal law was not infringed. This was looked upon as, in a higher way, serving the good of all. Marxism is also capitalistic in this. Its ethics have superadded the Mosaic law of revenge, and the idea that the competitor is evil morally, as well as economically injurious.

The competitor of the "working-class" was the "bourgeoisie," and since the "victory of the working-class" was the sole aim of the entire history of the world, naturally Marxism, being a philosophy of "Progress," ranged itself with the "good" worker against the "evil" bourgeois. The necessity for thinking things are getting better all the time—a spiritual phenomenon which accompanies every materialism—was as indispensable to Marxism as it was to Darwinism and 19th century philistinism generally.

## M A R X I S M

Fourier, Cabet, Saint-Simon, Comte, Proudhon, Owen, all designed Utopias like Marxism, but they neglected to make them inevitable, and they forgot to make Hate the centre of the system. They used Reason, but Marxism is one more proof that Hate is more effective. Even then, one of the older Utopias (that of Marx was the last in Europe, being followed only by Edward Bellamy's in America) might have played the Marxian role, but they came from countries with lower industrial potential, and thus Marx had a "capitalistic" superiority over them.

## II

In the Marxian scheme, History got almost nowhere until the Western Culture appeared, and its tempo accelerated infinitely precisely with the appearance of Marxism. The class-war of 5,000 years was ready to be finally wound up, and History was to come to an end. The "victory" of the "proletariat" was to abolish classes, but it was also to dictate. A dictatorship of the proletariat implies someone to receive the dictate, but this is one of the mysteries of Marxism, which kept the conversation of disciples from flagging.

By the time Marxism appeared, there were, says the theory, only two "classes" left, proletariat and bourgeoisie. Naturally, they had to carry on war to the death, since the bourgeois was taking nearly all the proceeds of the economic system, and were entitled to nothing. Au contraire, it was precisely the proletaire who was getting nothing who was entitled to everything. This reduction of classes to two was inevitable—all History had only existed in order to bring about this

## IMPERIUM

dichotomy which would finally be liquidated by the dictate of the proletariat. Capitalism was the name given to the economic system whereby the wrong people were taking everything, leaving nothing for the right people. Capitalism created the proletariat by mechanical necessity, and equally mechanically, the proletariat was fated to swallow up its creator. What the form of the Future was to be was not included in the system. The two catchwords "Expropriation of the Expropriators" and "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" are supposed to contain it.

Actually it was, of course, not even in theory a plan for the Future, but simply and solely a theoretical foundation for class war, giving it an historical, ethical and economic-political rationale. This is shown by the fact that in the preface to the second Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto, a theory was put forth by Marx and Engels according to which Communism could come directly from Russian peasantry to Proletariat-dictate, without the long period of bourgeois-domination which had been absolutely necessary in Europe.

The important part of Marxism was its demand for active, constant, practical, class-war. The factory-workers were selected as the instruments for this struggle for obvious reasons: they were concentrated, they were being mistreated, they could thus be agitated and organized into a revolutionary movement to realize the completely negative aims of the coterie of Marx.

For this **practical** reason, Hate finds its way into a picture of History and Life, and for this reason, the "bourgeois"—simply mechanical parts of a mechanical evolution, according to Marx—are endowed with malice

## M A R X I S M

and evil. Hatred is useful in fomenting a war which does not seem to be occurring of itself, and to the end of increasing hatred, Marx welcomed **lost** strikes, which created more hatred than successful ones.

Only to serve this purpose of **action** are the absurd propositions about labour and value put forth. Marx understood journalism, and had no scruple whatever about saying that the manual labourer is the **only** person who works, who creates economic value. To this theory, the inventor, the discoverer, the manager, are economic parasites. The fact is, of course, that the manual type of labour is merely a **function** of the value-creating, precedent, prerequisite labour of organizer, intrepeneur, administrator, inventor. Great theoretical importance was attached to the fact that a strike could stop an enterprise. However, as the philosopher said, even a sheep could do that if it fell into the machinery. Marxism, in the interests of simplification, denied even a subsidiary value to the work of the creators. It had **no** value—only manual labour had value. Marx understood propaganda long before Lord Northcliffe was heard of. Effective mass-propaganda cannot be too simple, and in the application of this rule, Marx should have received some sort of prize: all History is class-war; all Life is class-war; they have the wealth, let us take it.

Marxism imputed Capitalistic instincts to the upper classes, and Socialistic instincts to the lower classes. This was entirely gratuitous, for Marxism made an appeal to the capitalistic instincts of the lower classes. The upper classes are treated as the competitor who has cornered all the wealth, and the lower classes are invited to take it away from them. This is capitalism. Trade unions are

## IMPERIUM

purely capitalistic, distinguished from employers only by the different commodity they purvey. Instead of an article, they sell human labour. Trade-unionism is simply a development of capitalistic economy, but it has nothing to do with Socialism, for it is simply self-interest. It pits the economic interest of the manual labourers against the economic interest of the employer and manager. It is simply Malthus in new company. It is still the old "struggle for existence," man against man, group against group, class against class, everyone against the State.

The instinct of Socialism however absolutely precludes any struggle between the component parts of the organism. It is as hostile to the mistreatment of manual labourers by employers as it is to the sabotage of society by class-warriors. Capitalism convinces itself that a "Struggle for Existence" is organically necessary. Socialism knows that any such "struggle" is unnecessary and pathological.

Between Capitalism and Socialism there is no relationship of true and false. Both are instincts, and have the same historical rank, but one of them belongs to the Past, and one to the Future. Capitalism is a product of Rationalism and Materialism, and was the ruling force of the 19th century. Socialism is the form of an age of **political** Imperialism, of Authority, of historical philosophy, of superpersonal political imperative.

It is not at all a matter of terminology or ideals, but a matter of feeling and instinct. The minute we begin to think that a "class" has responsibilities to another class, we are beginning to think Socialistically, no matter what we call our thinking. We may call it Buddhism,



## M A R X I S M

for all History cares, but we will think that way. If we use the terminology of Capitalism and the practice of Socialism, no harm is done, for practice and action are what matter in Life, not words and names. The only distinction between types of Socialism is between efficient and inefficient, weak and strong, timid and bold. A strong, bold, and efficient Socialist feeling will, however, hardly use a terminology deriving from an antithetical type of thought, since strong, ascendant, full Life is consonant in word and deed.

### III

Marxism showed its Capitalistic provenance in its idea of "classes," its idea toward work, and its obsession with economics. Marx was a Jew, and had thus imbibed from his youth the Old Testament idea that work was a curse laid upon man as a result of sin. Free Capitalism placed this same value on work, regarding it as something from which to be delivered as a prerequisite to the enjoyment of Life. In England, the classic land of Capitalism, the ideas of work and wealth were the central ideas of social valuation. The rich had not to work; the "middle classes" had to work, but were not poor; the poor had to work to exist from one week to the next. Thorstein Veblen, in his "Theory of the Leisure Class," showed the wide ramifications in the life of 19th century nations of this attitude toward work.

The whole atmosphere of the Marxian Utopia is that the necessity for the proletariat to work will vanish with its "victory." After the "Expropriation," the proletariat can retire, and even have *ci-devant* employers for servants.

## IMPERIUM

This attitude toward work is not universal-human, but a thing tied to the existence of English Capitalism. Never before in the Western Culture was there a prevailing feeling that work should be despised; in fact, after the Reformation, the leading theologians all adopted a positive attitude toward work as a high, if not the highest, value. From this period comes the idea that to work is to pray. This spirit is once again uppermost, and Socialist instinct regards a man's work, not as a curse laid upon him, a hated thing from which money can free him, but as the content of his Life, the earthly side of his mission in the world. Marxism has the opposite valuation of work from Socialism.

Similarly, the Marxian concept of "class" has nothing to do with Socialism. The articulation of society in Western Culture was at first into **Estates**. Estates were primarily **spiritual**. As Freidank said in Gothic times

"God hath shapen lives three,

Boor and knight and priest they be."

These are not **classes**, but organic ranks. After the French Revolution came the idea that the articulation of society was a reflection of the situation of money-hoards. The term class was used to describe an **economic** layer of society. This term was final for Marx, since Life to him was simply economics, saturated as he was with the Capitalistic world-outlook.

But to Socialism, money-possession is not the determinant of rank in society any more than it is in an Army. Social rank in Socialism does not follow Money, but Authority. Thus Socialism knows no "classes" in the Marxian-Capitalistic sense. It sees the centre of Life in politics, and has thus a definite military spirit in it.

## M A R X I S M

Instead of "classes," the expressions of wealth, it has rank, the concomitant of authority.

Marxism is equally obsessed with economics as its contemporary English environment. It begins and ends with economics, focusing its gaze on the tiny European peninsula, ignoring the past and present of the rest of the world. It simply wanted to frustrate the course of Western history, and chose class-war as a technique for doing it.

There had been class-war before Marxism, but this "philosophy" gave it a theory which said there was nothing else in the world. There had been jealousy in the lower orders before Marxism, but now this jealousy was given an ethical basis which made it alone good, and everything above evil. Wealth was branded as immoral and criminal, its possessors as the arch-criminals. Class-war was a competition, and something more—it was a battle of good against evil, and thus more brutal and unlimited than mere war. Western thinkers like Sorel could not adopt this attempt to make the class-war exceed any limitations of honour and conscience; Sorel conceived of class-war as similar to international war, with protection of non-combatants, rules of warfare, honourable treatment of prisoners. Marxism regarded the opponent as a class-war criminal. The opponent could not be assimilated into a new system; he was to be exterminated, enslaved, starved, persecuted.

The Marxist class-war concept thus far exceeded politics. Politics is simply power-activity, not revenge-activity, jealousy, hatred, or "justice." Again, it has no connection with Socialism, which is political through and through, and regards a defeated opponent as a mem-

## IMPERIUM

ber of the new, larger organism, with the same rights and opportunities as those already in it.

This was one more connection of Marxism with Capitalism, for the latter had a tendency to moralize politics, making the opponent into a **wicked** person.

Lastly, Marxism differs from Socialism in being a religion, whereas Socialism is an instinctive organizational-political principle. Marxism had its bible, its saints, its apostles, its heresy-tribunals, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, its dogmas and exegesis, sacred writings and schisms. Socialism dispenses with all this; it is interested in procuring co-operation of men with the same instincts. Ideology has even now little importance to Socialism, and in the coming decades it will have ever less.

As Socialism creates the form of the Future, Marxism slips into the Past with the other remnants of Materialism. The mission of Western man is not to become rich through class-war; it is to actualize his inner ethico-politico-Cultural imperative.

## FREUDIANISM

As was the case with Darwinism and Marxism, Freudianism has no Cultural, but only anti-Cultural significance. All three are products of the **negative** side of the Civilization-crisis, the side which destroys the old spiritual, social, ethical, philosophical values, and substitutes for them a crude Materialism. The principle of Criticism was the new god to whom all the old values of the Western Culture were offered up. The spirit of the 19th century is one of **iconoclasm**. The outstanding thinkers nearly all had their centre of gravity on the side of nihilism: Schopenhauer, Hebbel, Proudhon, Engels, Marx, Wagner, Darwin, Dühring, Strauss, Ibsen, Nietzsche, Strindberg, Shaw. Some of these were also, on the other side of their beings, heralds of the Future, the spirit of the 20th century. The leading tendency was however, materialistic, biological, economic, scientific—against the soul of Culture-man and the hitherto acknowledged meaning of his life.

Not on a par with them, but in their tradition, is the system of Freudianism. The soul of Culture-man is attacked by it, not from an oblique direction of

## IMPERIUM

economics or biology, but from the front. The "science" of psychology is chosen as the vehicle to deny all the higher impulses of the soul. On the part of the creator of psycho-analysis, this assault was conscious. He spoke of Copernicus, Darwin, and himself as the three great insulters of mankind. Nor was his doctrine free from the fact of his Jewishness, and in his essay on **The Resistance to Psycho-analysis**, he says that it is no accident that a Jew created this system, and that Jews are readily "converted" to it, since they know the fate of isolation in opposition. Vis-a-vis the Western Civilization Freud was spiritually isolated, and had no recourse but to oppose.

Freudianism is one more product of Rationalism. It turns rationalism on the soul, and finds that it is purely mechanical. It can be understood, and spiritual phenomena are all manifestations of the sexual-impulse. This was another one of those marvellous and grandiose simplifications which guarantee popularity for any doctrine in an age of mass-journalism. Darwinism was the popular outlook that the meaning of the life of the world was that everything else was trying to become man-animal, and man was trying to become Darwinian. Marxism: the meaning of all human life is that the lowest must become the highest. Freudianism: the meaning of human life is sexuality, actual, optative, conative, or otherwise. All three are nihilistic. Culture-man is the spiritual enemy. He must be eliminated by animalizing him, biologizing him, making him economic, sexualizing him, diabolizing him.

To Darwinism, a Gothic cathedral is a product of mechanical evolution, to Marx it is an attempt of the

## FREUDIANISM

bourgeois to trick the proletariat, to Freud it is a piece of frozen sexuality.

It is both needless and impossible to refute Freudianism. If everything is sex, a refutation of Freudianism would also be sexual in significance. The 20th century does not approach phenomena that have become historical by asking whether they are true or false. To its **historical** way of thinking, a Gothic cathedral is an expression of the intensely religious, newly awakening young Western Culture, which shadows forth the striving nature of this Culture-soul. In its necessity for self-expression, however, this new outlook must reject the materialistic tyranny of the older, immediately preceding outlook. It must free itself also from Freudianism.

This last great attempt to animalize man also uses critical-rationalistic methods. The soul is **mechanical**: it consists of one simple impulse, the sexual instinct. The whole life of the soul is the process of this instinct getting misdirected, twisted, turned upon itself. For it is elemental to this "science" that this instinct cannot go correctly. To describe the mechanical functions of the soul is to describe **diseases**. The various processes are neurosis, inversion, complexes, repression, sublimation, transference, perversion. All are **abnormal**, unhealthy, misdirected, unnatural. As one of its abecedarian truths, the system states that every person is a neurotic, and every neurotic is a pervert or invert. This applies not only to Culture-man, but to primitive man as well.

Here Freud surpasses Rousseau, who at the beginning of the early Civilization phase of the West, affirmed the purity, simplicity, and soul-healthiness of the savage, in

contrast to the wickedness and perversion of Culture-man. Freud has widened the attack—the whole human species is the enemy. Even if one did not know from all the other phenomena that the early Civilization-phase of Materialism and Rationalism had closed, one would know from this system alone, for such complete nihilism is obviously not to be surpassed, expressing as it does anti-Cultural feeling to its uttermost limits.

As a psychology it must be called a patho-psychology, for its whole arsenal of terms describe only aberrations of the sexual instinct. The notion of health is completely dissociated from the soul-life. Freudianism is the Black Mass of Western Science.

Part of the structure of the system is the interpretation of dreams. The purely mechanical workings of the "mind" (for there is no soul) are shown by dreams. Not clearly shown, however, for an elaborate ritual is needed to arrive at the real meaning. "Conscience censorship"—the new name for Kant's "moral reason"—"symbolism," "repetition-compulsion"—these and many more Kabbalistic numina have to be invoked. The original form of the doctrine was that all dreams were wishes.

To dream of the death of a loved person was explained by psycho-analysis as latent parent-hatred, the symptom of the almost universal Oedipus-complex. The dogma was rigid: thus if the dream was of the death of a pet dog or cat, the animal was the focus of the Oedipus-complex. If the actor dreams of not knowing his part, it shows that he wishes he might sometime be so embarrassed. In order to attract more converts, including those of weaker faith, the doctrine was slightly



## FREUDIANISM

changed, and other dream-interpretations were admitted, such as the "repetition-compulsion," when the same fear-dream recurs regularly.

The dream-world of course reflected the universal sexuality of the soul. Every conceivable object in a dream was capable of being a sexual symbol. "Repressed" sexual instinct appeared in dreams, symbolizing, transferring, sublimating, inverting, and running the whole gamut of mechanical terminology.

Every person is a neurotic in his mature life, and it is no accident, for he became so in his childhood. Experiences in infancy determine—quite mechanically, since the whole process is non-spiritual—which particular neuroses will accompany the person through his life. There is really nothing that can be done about it, except to deliver oneself into the care of a Freudian adept. One of these announced that 98 per cent of all persons should be under the treatment of psychiatrists. This was later in the development of the system; at first it would have been 100 per cent, but, as with Mormonism, the original purity of the doctrine was compromised by the Elders for reasons of expediency.

The average man who is doing his work presents a great illusion to the eye of an observer—it looks as though he is doing what he is doing. Actually, however, Freudianism shows that he is only apparently doing it, for in actuality he is quietly thinking about sexual matters, and all that one can see is the results of his sexual fantasy sifted through mechanical filters of conscience-censorship, sublimation, transference, and the like. If you hope, fear, wish, dream, think abstractly, investigate, feel inspired, have ambition, dread,

## IMPERIUM

repugnance, reverence—you are merely expressing your sexual instinct. Art is obviously sex, as are religion, economics, abstract thought, technics, war, State and politics.

### II

Freud earned thus, together with his cousin Marx, the Order of Simplicity. It was the coveted Decoration of the age of Mass. With the demise of the Age of Criticism, it has fallen into the discard, for the new outlook is interested, not in cramming all the data of knowledge, experience, and intuition, into a prefabricated mould, but in seeing what was, what is, what must be. Over the portal of the new outlook is Leibniz's aphorism: "The Present is loaded with the Past, and pregnant with the Future." The child is father to the man—this is ancient wisdom, and describes the unfolding of the human organism from infancy to maturity, every stage being related backwards and forwards because one and the same soul speaks at every moment. Freudianism caricatures this deep organic vision with a mechanical device whereby childhood **determines** the form of maturity, and makes the whole organic unfolding into a causal **process**, and what is more a diabolical, diseased one.

Insofar as it is Western at all, Freudianism is subject to the prevailing spirituality of the West. Its mechanism and materialism reflect the 19th century outlook. Its talk of the unconscious, of instinct, impulse, and the like, reflects the fact that Freudianism appeared at the transition point in the Western Civilization when Rationalism was fulfilled and the Irrational emerged again as such. It was not at all in the terminology or

## FREUDIANISM

the treatment of the new, irrational elements in the doctrine that Freudianism presages the new spirit, but simply and solely in the fact that irrational elements appear. Only in this one thing does this structure anticipate; in every other way, it belongs to the Malthusian-Darwinian-Marxian past. It was merely an ideology, a part of the general Rationalistic-Materialistic assault on Culture-man.

The irrational elements that the system recognizes are subordinated strictly to the higher rationalism of the adept, who can unravel them and lead the suffering neurotic into the light of day. They are, if possible, even more diseased than the rest of the mind-complex. They may be irrational, but they have a rational explanation, treatment, and cure.

Freudianism appears thus as the last of the materialistic religions. Psycho-analysis, like Marxism, is a sect. It has auricular confession, dogmas and symbols, esoteric and exoteric versions of the doctrine, converts and apostates, priests and scholastics, a whole ritual of exorcism, and a liturgy of mantic. Schisms appear, resulting in the foundation of new sects, each of which claims to be the bearer of the true doctrine. It is occult and pagan, with its dream-interpretation, demonological with its sex-worship. Its world-picture is that of a neurotic humanity, twisted and perverted in its strait-jacket of Western Civilization, toward whom the new priest of psycho-analysis stretches out the hand of deliverance through the anti-Western Freudian Gospel.

The Hatred that formed the core of Marxism is present in the newer religion also. In both cases it is the hate of the outsider for his totally alien surround-

## IMPERIUM

dings, which he cannot change, and must therefore destroy.

The attitude of the 20th century toward the subject-matter of Freudianism is inherent in the spirit of this age. Its centre is in action—external tasks call to Western soul. The best will hear this call, leaving those to busy themselves with drawing soul-pictures who have no souls.

Scientific psychology was always thus—it has never attracted the best minds in any Culture. It all rests on the assumption that it is possible by thought to establish the form of what thinks, an extremely dubious proposition. If it were possible to describe the Soul in rational terms—a prerequisite to a science of psychology—there would be no need for such a science. The Reason is a part, or better, a partial function, of the Soul. Every soul-picture describes only the soul of him who draws it, and those like him. A diabolist sees things Freud-wise, but he cannot understand those who see things otherwise. This explains the vileness of the Freudianistic attempts to diabolize, sexualize, mechanize, and destroy all the great men of the West. Greatness they could not understand, not having inward experience of it.

Soul cannot be defined—it is the Element of Elements. Any picture of it, any psychological system, is a mere product of it, and gets no further than self-portrayal. How well we understand now that Life is more important than the **results** of Life.

Psychology-systems use the terminology—in all Civilizations—of the material sciences of physics and mechanics. They reflect thus the spirit of natural science, and take rank therewith as a product of the

## FREUDIANISM

age. To the higher rank to which they aspired, namely the systematization of the Soul, they do not attain. No sooner was Freudianism well-established as the new psycho-analytic Church than the onward development of the Western Civilization made it old-fashioned.

The psychology of the 20th century is one adapted to a life of action. To this age psychology must be practical, or it is worthless. The psychology of crowds, of armies, of leadership, of obedience, of loyalty—these are valuable to this age. They are not to be arrived at by “psychometric” methods and abstruse terminology, but by human experience—one’s own, and that of others. The 20th century regards Montaigne as a psychologist, but Freud as merely the 19th century representative of the witch-obsession of the Western Culture in its younger days, which was also a disguised form of sex-worship.

Human psychology is learned in living and acting, not in timing reactions or observing dogs and mice. The memoirs of a man of action, adventurer, explorer, soldier, statesman, contain psychology of the type that interests this age, both in and between the lines. Every newspaper is a compendious instruction in the psychology of mass-propaganda, and better than any treatise on the subject. There is a psychology of nations, of professions, of Cultures, of the successive ages of a Culture, from youth to senility. Psychology is one aspect of the art of the possible, and as such is a favourite study of the age.

The greatest repository of psychology of all is History. It contains no **models** for us, since Life is never-recurring, once-happening, but it shows by example how we can fulfill our potentialities by being

## IMPERIUM

true to ourselves, by never compromising with that which is utterly alien.

To this view of psychology, any materialism could not possibly be psychology. Here Rousseau, Darwin, Marx and Freud meet. They may have understood other things, but the human soul, and in particular the soul of Culture-man, they did not understand. Systems like theirs are only historical curiosities to the 20th century, unless they happen to claim to be appropriate descriptions of Reality. Anyone who "believes in" these antiquated fantasies stamps himself as ludicrous, posthumous, ineffective, and superfluous. No leading men of the coming decades will be Darwinians, Marxians or Freudians.

## THE SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL WORLD-OUTLOOK

Science is the seeking after exact knowledge of phenomena. In discovering interrelations between phenomena, that is, observing the conditions of their appearance, it feels it has **explained** them. This type of mentality appears in a High Culture after the completion of creative religious thought, and the beginning of externalizing. In our Culture, this type of thinking only began to feel sure of itself with the middle of the 17th century, in the Classical, in the 5th century B.C. The leading characteristic of early scientific thinking, from the historical standpoint, is that it dispenses with theological and philosophical equipment, only using them to fill in the background, in which it is not interested. It is thus materialistic, in its essence, in that its sole attention is turned to phenomena, and not to ultimate realities. To a religious age, phenomena are unimportant compared with the great spiritual truths, to a scientific age, the opposite is true.

Technics is the utilization of the macrocosm. It always accompanies a science in its full blooming, but this is not to say that every science is accompanied by technical activity, for the sciences of the Classical Culture, and the Mexican Culture had nothing at all

## IMPERIUM

which we would call technical proficiency. In the early Civilization stage, Science predominates, and precedes technics in all its attempts, but with the turn of the 20th century, technical thinking began to emancipate itself from this dependence, and in our day, science serves technics, and no longer vice versa.

In an Age of Materialism, which is to say, an anti-metaphysical age, it was but natural that an anti-metaphysical type of thinking like science would become a popular religion. Religion is a necessity for Culture-man, and he will build his religion on economics, biology, or nature, if the Spirit of the Age excludes true religion. Science was the prevalent religion of the 18th and 19th centuries. While one was permitted to doubt the truths of the Christian sects, one was not allowed to doubt Newton, Leibniz, and Descartes. When the great Goethe challenged the Newtonian light-theory, he was put down as a crank, and a heretic.

Science was the supreme religion of the 19th century, and all other religions, like Darwinism and Marxism, referred to its great parent-dogmas as the basis for their own truths. "Unscientific" became the term of damnation.

From its timid beginnings, science finally took the step of holding out its results, not as a mere arrangement and classification, but as the true **explanations** of Nature and Life. With this step, it became a world-outlook, that is a comprehensive philosophy, with metaphysics, logic and ethics for believers.

Every science is a profane re-statement of the preceding dogmas of the religious period. It is the same Cultural soul which formed the great religions that in



## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL OUTLOOK

the next age reshapes its world, and this continuity is thus absolutely inevitable. Western Science as a world-outlook is merely Western religion re-presented as profane, not sacred, natural, not supernatural, discoverable, not revealed.

Like Western religion, science was definitely priestly. The savant is the priest, the instructor is the lay brother, and a great systematizer is canonized, like Newton and Planck. Every Western thought-form is esoteric, and its scientific doctrines were no exception. The populace were kept in touch with "the advance of science" through a popular literature at which the high-priests of science smiled.

In the 19th century, science accreted the "Progress" idea, and gave its own particular stamp to it. The content of "Progress" was to be **technical**. "Progress" was to consist in faster motion, further sound, wider exploitation of the material world ad infinitum. This showed already the coming predominance of technics over science. "Progress" was not to be primarily more **knowledge**, but more **technique**. Every Western world-view strives after universality, and so this one declared that the solution of social problems was not to be found in politics and economics, but in—science. Inventions were promised which would make war too horrible for men to engage in, and they would therefore cease warring. This naivete was a natural product of an age which was strong in natural science, but weak in psychology. The solution of the problem of poverty was machinery, and more machinery. The horrible conditions that had arisen out of a machine-Civilization were to be alleviated by more machines. The problem of old

## IMPERIUM

age was to be overcome by "rejuvenation." Death was pronounced to be only a product of pathology, not of senility. If all diseases were done away with, there would be nothing left to die from.

Racial problems were to be solved by "eugenics." The birth of individuals was to be no longer left to Fate. Scientific priests would decide things like parentage and birth. No outer events would be allowed in the new theocracy, nothing uncontrolled. The weather was to be "harnessed," all natural forces brought under absolute control. There would be no occasion for wars, everyone would be striving to be scientific, not seeking power. International problems would vanish, since the world would become one huge scientific unit.

The picture was complete, and to the materialistic 19th century, awe-inspiring: all Life, all Death, all Nature, reduced to absolute order, in the custody of scientific theocrats. Everything would go on this planet just as went in the picture of the heavens that the scientific astronomers had sketched out for themselves; serene regularity would reign—but—this order would be purely mechanical, utterly purposeless. Man would be scientific only in order to be scientific.

## II

Something happened, however, to disturb the picture, and to show that it, too, bore the hall-mark of Life. Before the First World War, the disintegration of the psychical foundations of the great structure had already set in. The World War marks, in the realm of science, as in every other sphere of Western life, a caesura. A new world arose from that war—the spirit of the 20th

## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL OUTLOOK

century stood forth as the successor to the whole mechanistic view of the universe, and to the whole concept of the meaning of Life, as being the acquisition of wealth.

With truly amazing rapidity, considering the decades of its power and supremacy, the mechanistic view paled, and the leading minds, even within its disciplines, dropped away from the old, self-evident articles of materialistic faith.

As is the usual case with historical movements, expressions of a super-personal soul, the point of highest power, of the greatest victories, is also the beginning of the rapid downgoing. Shallow persons always mistake the end of a movement for the beginning of its absolute dominance. Thus Wagner was looked upon by many as the beginning of a new music, whereas, the next generation knew that he had been the last Western musician. The passing away of any expression of Culture is a gradual process—nevertheless there are turning points, and the rapid decline of science as a **world-outlook** set in with the First World War.

The down-going of science as a **mental discipline** had long preceded the World War. With the theory of Entropy (1850), and the introduction of the idea of irreversibility into its picture, science was on the road which was to culminate in physical relativity and frank admission of the subjectivity of physical concepts. From Entropy came the introduction of statistical methods into systematic science, the beginning of spiritual abdication. Statistics describe Life and the living; the strict tradition of Western science had insisted on **exactitude** in mathematical description of reality, and had hence

## IMPERIUM

despised that which was not susceptible of exact description, such as biology. The entrance of probabilities into formerly exact science is the sign that the observer is beginning to study himself, his own form as conditioning the order and describability of phenomena.

The next step was the Theory of Radioactivity, which again contains strong subjective elements and requires the Calculus of Probabilities to describe its results. The scientific picture of the world became ever more refined, and ever more subjective. The formerly separate disciplines drew slowly together, mathematics, physics, chemistry, epistemology, logic. Organic ideas intruded showing once more that the observer has reached the point where he is studying the form of his own Reason. A chemical element now has a **lifetime**, and the precise events of its life were unpredictable, indeterminate.

The very unit of physical happening itself, the "atom," which was still believed in as a reality by the 19th century, became in the 20th century a mere concept, the description of whose properties was constantly changed to meet and prop up technical developments. Formerly, every experiment merely showed the "truth" of the ruling theories. That was in the days of the supremacy of science as a discipline over technics, its adopted child. But, before the middle of the 20th century, every new experiment brought about a new hypothesis of "atomic structure." What was important in the process was not the hypothetical house of cards which was erected afterwards, but the experiment which had gone before.

No compunction was felt about having two theories,

## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL OUTLOOK

irreconcilable with one another, to describe the "structure" of the "atom," or the nature of light. The subject-matter of all the separate sciences could no longer be kept mathematically clear. Old concepts like mass, energy, electricity, heat, radiation, merged into one another, and it became ever more clear that what was really under study was the human reason, in its epistemological aspect, and the Western soul in its scientific aspect.

Scientific theories reached the point where they signified nothing less than the complete collapse of science as a mental discipline. The picture was projected of the Milky Way as consisting of more than a million fixed stars, among which are many with a diameter of more than 93,000,000 miles; this again as not a stationary cosmic centre, but itself in motion toward Nowhere at a speed of more than 600 kilometres a second. The cosmos is finite, but unlimited; boundless, but bounded. This demands of the true believer the old Gothic faith again: *credo quia absurdum*, but mechanical purposelessness cannot evoke this kind of faith, and the high priests have apostasized. In the other direction, the "atom" has equally fantastic dimensions—a ten-millionth of a millimeter is its diameter, and the mass of a hydrogen atom stands to the mass of a gramme of water as the mass of a post card stands to the mass of the earth. But this atom consists of "electrons," the whole making up a sort of solar system, in which the distances between the planets is as great, in proportion to their mass, as in our solar system. The diameter of an electron is one three-billionth of a millimeter. But the closer it is studied, the more spiritual it becomes,

## IMPERIUM

for the nucleus of the atom is a mere charge of electricity, having neither weight, volume, inertia, or any other classic properties of matter.

In its last great saga, science dissolved its own psychical foundations, and moved outside the world of the senses into the world of the soul. Absolute time was dissolved, and time became a function of position. Mass became spiritualized into energy. The idea of simultaneity was discarded, motion became relative, parallels cut one another, two distances could no longer be said to absolutely equal one another. Everything which had once been described by, or had itself described, the word Reality, dissolved in the last act of the drama of science as a mental discipline.

The custodians of science as a mental discipline, one after another, abandoned the old materialistic positions. In the last act, they came to see that the science of a given Culture has as its real object the description, in scientific terms, of the world of that Culture, a world which again is the projection of the soul of that Culture. The profound knowledge was realized through the very study of matter itself that matter is only the envelope of the soul. To describe matter is to describe oneself, even though the mathematical equations drape the process with an apparent objectivity. Mathematics itself has succumbed as a description of Reality: its proud equations are only **tautology**. An equation is an **identity**, a repetition, and its "truth" is a reflection of the paper-logic of the identity-principle. But this is only a form of our thinking.

The transition from 19th century materialism to the new spirituality of the 20th century was thus not a

## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL OUTLOOK

battle, but an inevitable development. This keen, ice-cold, mental discipline turned the knife on itself because of an inner imperative to think in a new way, an anti-materialistic way. Matter cannot be explained materialistically. Its whole significance derives from the soul.

### III

Materialism from this standpoint appears as a great **negative**. It was a great spiritual effort to deny the spirit, and this denial of the spirit was in itself an expression of a crisis in the spirit. It was the Civilisation-crisis, the denial of Culture by Culture.

For the animals, that which appears—matter—is Reality. The world of sensation is the world. But for primitive man, and a fortiori for Culture-man, the world separates out in to Appearance and Reality. Everything visible and tangible is felt as a **symbol** of something higher and unseen. This symbolizing activity is what distinguishes the human soul from the less complicated Life-forms. Man possesses a **metaphysical sense** as the hall-mark of his humanity. But it is precisely the higher reality, the world of symbols, of meaning and purpose, that Materialism denied in toto. What was it then, but the great attempt to animalize man by equating the world of matter with Reality, and merging him into it? Materialism was not overcome because it was false; it simply died of old age. It is not false even now—it merely falls on deaf ears. It is old-fashioned, and has become the world view of country cousins.

With the collapse of its Reality, Western science as a mental discipline has accomplished its mission. Its by-product, science as a world-outlook now belongs to

## IMPERIUM

yesterday. But as one of the results of the Second World War, there appeared a new stupidity—technics-worship as a philosophy of Life and the world.

**Technics** has in its essence nothing to do with science as a mental discipline. It has one aim: the extraction of physical power from the outer world. It is, so to speak, Nature-politics, as distinguished from human politics. The fact that technics proceeds on one hypothesis today, and on another to-morrow, shows that its task is not the formation of a knowledge-system, but the subjecting of the outer world to the will of Western man. The hypotheses that it proceeds on have no real connection with its results, but merely afford points of departure for the imagination of technicians to think along new lines for new experiments to extract ever more power. Some hypotheses are of course necessary; precisely **what** they are is secondary.

Technics is even less capable than science, then, of satisfying the need for a world-outlook to this age. Physical power—for what?

The age itself supplies the answer: physical power for political purposes. Science has passed into the role of furnishing the terminology and ideation for technics. Technics in turn is the servant of politics. Ever since 1911, the idea of "atomic energy" has been in the air, but it was the spirit of war which first gave this theory a concrete form, with the invention, in 1945, by an unknown Westerner of a new high explosive which depends for its effect on the instability of "atoms."

Technics is practical; politics is sublimely practical. It has not the slightest interest in whether a new explosive is referred to "atoms," "electrons," "cosmic rays," or



## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL OUTLOOK

to saints and devils. The historical way of thinking which informs the true statesman cannot take to-day's terminology too seriously when he remembers how quickly yesterday's was dropped. A projectile which can destroy a city of 200,000 persons in a second—that however is a reality, and affects the sphere of political possibilities.

It is the spirit of politics which determines the form of war, and the form of war then influences the conduct of politics. Weapons, tactics, strategy, the exploitation of victory—all these are determined by the political imperative of the age. Each age forms the entirety of its expressions for itself. Thus to the form-rich 18th century, warfare also was a strict form, a sequence of position and development, like the contemporary musical form of variations on a theme.

An odd aberration occurred in the Western world after the first employment of a new high-explosive in 1945. Essentially, it was referable to remnants of materialistic thinking, but there were also perennially old mythological ideas in it. The idea arose that this new explosive would blow up the whole planet. In the middle of the 19th century, when the railway idea was projected, the medical doctors said that such swift motion would generate cerebral troubles, and that even the sight of a train rushing past might do so; furthermore the sudden change of air-pressure in tunnels might cause strokes.

The idea of the planet blowing up was just another form of the old idea, found in many mythologies, Western and non-Western, of the End of the World, Ragnarök, Götterdämmerung, Cataclysm. Science also

## IMPERIUM

picked up this idea, and wrapped it up as the Second Law of Thermodynamics. The technics-worshippers fancied many things about the new explosive. They did not realize that it was no end of a process, but the beginning.

We stand at the beginning of the Age of Absolute Politics, and one of its demands is naturally for powerful weapons. Therefore, technics is ordered to strain after **absolute weapons**. It will never attain them, however, and any belief that it will stamp its possessor as simply a materialist, which is to say, in the 20th century, a provincial.

Technics-worship is completely inappropriate to the soul of Europe. The formative impulse of human Life does not come from matter now any more than it ever did. On the contrary, the very way of experiencing matter, and the way of utilizing it, are expressions of the soul. The naive belief of technics-worship that an explosive is going to remake the Western Civilization from its foundations is a last dying gasp of Materialism. This Civilization made this explosive, and it will make others—they did not make it, nor will they ever make or unmake the Western Civilization. No more than matter created the Western Culture can it ever destroy it.

It is still materialism to confuse a civilization with factories, homes, and the collectivity of installations. Civilization is a higher reality, manifesting itself through human populations, and within these, through a certain spiritual stratum, which embodies at highest potential the living Idea of the Culture. This Culture creates religions, forms of architecture, arts, States, Nations, Races,

## SCIENTIFIC-TECHNICAL OUTLOOK

Peoples, armies, wars, poems, philosophies, sciences, weapons and inner imperatives. All of them are mere expressions of the higher Reality, and none of them can destroy it.

The attitude of the 20th century toward science and technics is clear. It does not ask them to furnish a world-outlook—this it derives elsewhere—and it positively rejects any attempt to make a religion or a philosophy out of materialism or atom-worship. It does however have use for them, in the service of its unlimited will-to-power. The Idea is primary, and in actualizing it, superiority in weapons is essential in order to compensate for the immense numerical superiority of the enemies of the West.

## THE IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

By surveying the entire previous happening of the world, Western man understands himself in his 20th century phase. He sees where he stands, he sees also why it was that he was impelled to orient himself **historically**. His inner instinct forbade that he distort History in the materialistic fashion by subjecting it to an ideology of some kind. He sees the ages of previous Cultures to which his present phase is related: the "Period of the Contending States" in the Chinese, the transition to Caesarism in the Roman, the "Hyksos" era in the Egyptian. None of them are ages of the flowering of art or philosophy, all have their centre of gravity in politics and action. They are the periods of large-space thinking, of the greatest deeds, of external creativeness of the highest possible magnitude. Philosophers and ideologists, world-improvers and art-traders, slip down to the street-level in these ages, when the imperative is directed to action and not to abstract thought.

Because of his historical position, in a Civilization at the beginning of its second phase, his soul has a certain organic predisposition, and the custodians of the Idea of this time will of necessity think and feel thus, and

## IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

not otherwise. It can be definitively stated what this relationship is to the various forms of human and Cultural thought and action.

To religion, this age is once more affirmative, the very opposite of the negative atheism of Materialism. Every man of action is in constant contact with the unforeseeable, the Imponderable, the mystery of Life, and this precludes the laboratory attitude on his part. An age of action lives side by side with Death, and values Life by its attitude toward Death. The old Gothic religious idea is still with us—it is at his last moment that a man shows what is in him in its purity. Though he may have lived a wastrel, he may die a hero, and it is this last act of his life that creates the image of him that will survive in the minds of his descendants. We cannot possibly value a life according to its length, as Materialism did, or believe in any doctrine of immortality of the body.

Between his earthly task and his relationship to God, there is no conflict for Western man. At the beginning of a battle, it is the custom of soldiers to pray. The battle is the foreground, that toward which the prayer is directed is the transcendent, is God. Our metaphysical imperative has to be fulfilled within a certain Life-framework. We have been born into a certain Culture, at a certain phase of its organic development, we have certain gifts. These condition the earthly task which we must perform. The metaphysical task is beyond any conditioning, for it would have been the same in any age anywhere. The earthly task is merely the form of the higher task, its organic vehicle.

To philosophy, the Spirit of the Age has its own atti-

## IMPERIUM

tude, different from all previous centuries. Its great organizing principle is the morphological significance of systems and events. It rests upon no critical method, for all these critical methods merely reflected the prevalent spirit, and its spirit has outgrown criticism. The centre of its thought-life is in History. By History we orient ourselves, we see the significance of the previous centuries of our own Culture, we understand beyond any system or ideology the nature of what we have to do, we see the significance of our own inmost feelings and imperative.

For systems of world-improvement, products of a type of thinking which has become old-fashioned, this age has no use. It is interested solely in what **must** be done, and what **can** be done, and not at all in what **ought** to be done. The world of action has its own organic rhythms, and ideologies belong to the world of thought. Living ideas interest us, stillborn ideals do not.

To art, the Age can have only one attitude. At best, our artistic tasks are secondary, at worst, art has degenerated to frightfulness and chaos. Mass clangour is not music, pictorial nightmares are not even draughtsmanship, let alone the art of painting. Obscenity and ugliness are not literature, materialistic propaganda is not drama, disconnected words thrown formlessly on to paper are not lyric poetry. Whatever art-tasks the age has to fulfil will be carried out by individuals acting quietly within old Western traditions, not noising themselves about with journalistic art-theories.

In an age of action and organization, legal thought reaches a new development. Western law will not stand outside the age of politics, with its accompanying

## IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

thought-forms of history and psychology. It will be entirely renewed with these ideas, and its old materialism, in public law, commercial, and in particular, in criminal law, will be thrown into the discard.

Technics, and its handmaid, science, are of high importance to the Western Civilization in its present phase. Technics must provide Western politics with a strong fist for the coming struggles.

Into the social structure of the Western Civilization there will be infused the principle of authority, supplanting the principle of wealth. This view is not at all hostile to private property or private management—that belongs to the negative feeling of hatred and jealousy which inform class war. The 20th century Idea liquidates class war, as it does the idea of economics being the determining force in our life.

Economics occupies the position in the new edifice of the **foundation** and its spiritual importance is indicated thereby. The foundation is not the important thing in a structure, but strictly secondary. But in an age of action, economic strength is indispensable to political units. Economics can be a source of political strength, can serve sometimes as a weapon in the power-struggle. For these reasons, the 20th century will not neglect the development of the economic side of life, but will provide it with a new impetus from the now dominant idea of politics. Instead of economics being the sphere wherein individuals battled one another for private spoils, it becomes now a strong and important side of the political organism which is the custodian of the Destiny of all.

The view of the 20th century toward the various

## IMPERIUM

directions of thought and action is not arbitrary, any more than that of previous ages was. Most of the best minds of the 19th century were nihilistic in tendency, sensualistic, rationalistic, materialistic—because the age was one of crisis in the Culture-Life, and these ideas were the Spirit of the Age. Similarly, the idea of **political nationalism** was self-evident to that age, but that too was a product of the great crisis, thus a form of **disease** as destructive as it was necessary.

Every juncture of organic happening presents a choice and an alternative. The choice is to do the necessary, the alternative is chaos. This has nothing to do with school-book logic; that logic is just one of the numberless products of Life, and Life will always invent as many logics as it has need for, but Life will always obey **one** logic, **organic logic**. This is not describable by any system, but can be comprehended by **Destiny-thinking**, the only form of thought serviceable to action. Life goes forward, or it goes nowhere. Opposition to the Spirit of the Age is the will-to-nothingness.

In the realm of **theory**, this age has as many alternatives as it has ideologists to dream them up. In the realm of **fact**, it has only one choice—and that is delineated for it by the Life-phase of the Civilization, and the outer circumstances in which we find ourselves at the moment.

We know that the transition of one age into the next is gradual, and we know that even as it has fulfilled itself in some directions, it thinks it is just beginning in others. Thus while science as a mental discipline has achieved its goal, science as a popular outlook for fools and uncreative persons continues to exist. **Materia-**



## IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

lism no longer claims any of the best minds, but the best minds are not in control at this moment. The West is dominated by the outer world, in the control of barbarians and distorters, and they find the least valuable minds of Europe most serviceable to them. Materialism serves the great cause of destroying Europe, and that is why it is forced on the populations of Europe by the extra-European forces.

There are two ways in which we are sensible of our great task, our ethical imperative which claims our lives. First from our inward feeling, which impels us to look at things this way and no other. Secondly from our knowledge of the history of seven previous High Cultures, each of which went through this same crisis, and each of which liquidated the long Civilization-crisis in precisely the way that our instincts tell us ours is to be resolved.

### II

Our momentary situation takes the form of a great battle—a battle which may take more than one war to resolve it, or which may be resolved by a sudden cataclysmic happening, entirely unforeseeable to us now. On the surface of history it is the unforeseen that happens. The most human beings can do is to be prepared inwardly. In complete contradiction to our instinct, feelings, and ideas, the 19th century sits leering upon the throne of Europe, wrapped in the cerements of the grave, and propped up by the extra-European forces. This means that the age in which we find ourselves takes the form of a deep and fundamental conflict. These ideas can never live again—their supremacy

## IMPERIUM

merely means the strangulation of the young, living tendencies of the New Europe. Their supremacy simply consists in forced lip-service to them. They do not affect the action-thinking, the organic-rhythms of the age, they are merely instruments of thwarting the will of Europe by holding it in subjection to the least valuable elements in Europe, who are maintained in power by extra-European bayonets.

The conflict is far-reaching; it affects every sphere of Life. Two Ideas are opposed—not concepts or abstractions, but Ideas which were in the blood of men before they were formulated by the minds of men. The Resurgence of Authority stands opposed to the Rule of Money; Order to Social Chaos, Hierarchy to Equality, socio-economico-political Stability to constant Flux; glad assumption of Duties to whining for Rights; Socialism to Capitalism, ethically, economically, politically; the Rebirth of Religion to Materialism; Fertility to Sterility; the spirit of Heroism to the spirit of Trade; the principle of Responsibility to Parliamentarism; the idea of Polarity of Man and Woman to Feminism; the idea of the individual task to the ideal of “happiness”; Discipline to Propaganda-compulsion; the higher unities of family, society, State to social atomism; Marriage to the Communistic ideal of free love; economic self-sufficiency to senseless trade as an end in itself; the inner imperative to Rationalism.

But the greatest opposition of all has not yet been named, the conflict which will take up all the others into itself. This is the battle of the Idea of the Unity of the West against the nationalism of the 19th century. Here stand opposed the ideas of Empire and petty-

## IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

stateism, large-space thinking and political provincialism. Here find themselves opposed the miserable collection of yesterday-patriots and the custodians of the Future. The yesterday-nationalists are nothing but the puppets of the extra-European forces, who conquer Europe by dividing it. To the enemies of Europe, there must be no rapprochement, no understanding, no union of the old units of Europe into a new unit, capable of carrying on 20th century politics.

In the previous seven High Cultures, the period of the nationalistic disease was liquidated by the spread of one feeling over the whole Civilization. It was not unaccompanied by wars, for the Past has always, and will always, fight against the Future. Life is war, and to wish to create is to bring about the opposition of the great Nay-sayers, those whose existence is tied to the Past, is sunk into the Past. The division of the Civilization was in each case resolved by the reunion of the Civilization, the reassertion of its old, original, exclusiveness and unity. In each case, from petty-stateism came Empire. The Empire Idea was so strong that no inner force could oppose it with hope of success.

Nationalism itself in Europe transformed itself into the new Empire-Idea after the First World War, the beginning of our age. In each Western country, the "Nationalists" were those who were opposed to another European War, and who desired a general political understanding in Europe to prevent its sinking into the dust where it now struggles. They were thus not nationalistic at all, but Western-Imperial. Similarly the self-styled "internationalists" were the ones who wished to stir up wars among the European states of

## IMPERIUM

yesterday, in order to sabotage the creation of the Empire of the West. They hated it because they were alien to it in one way or another, some because they were completely outside the Western Culture, others because they were incurably possessed by some ideology or other which hated the new, vital, masculine, form of the Future, and preferred the old conception of Life as money-chasing, money-spending, hatred of strong, ascendant Life, and love of weakness, sterility, and stupidity.

And thus, the extra-European forces, together with the traitorous inner elements in Europe, were able to bring about a Second World War which defeated on the surface the powerful development of Western Empire. But the defeat was, and had to be, **only** on the surface, since the decisive impulse, as this century knows once more, comes always from within, from the Inner Imperative, from the Soul. To defeat on the surface the actualization of an Idea that is Historically essential is to strengthen it. Its energy, that would have been diffusing itself outward in self-expression turns inward and is concentrated onto the primary task of spiritual liberation. The materialists do not know that what does not destroy, makes stronger, and destroy this Idea they cannot. It uses men, but they cannot use it, touch it, injure it.

This whole work is nothing but an outline of the Idea of this Age, a presentation of its foundations and universality, and every spiritual root of it will be traced to its origins and necessity. But in this place, it should be mentioned that the idea of a universal Europe, an Empire of the West, it not new, but is the prime form

## IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

of our Culture, as of every other. For the first five centuries of our Culture, there was a **universal** Western people, in which the local differences counted but slightly. There was a universal king-emperor, who might have been often defied, but was not denied. There was a universal style, Gothic, which inspired and formed all art from furniture to the cathedral. There was a universal code of conduct, Western chivalry, with its honour-imperative for every situation. There was a universal religion and a universal Church. There was a universal language, Latin, and a universal law, Roman law.

The disintegration of this unity was slowly progressive from 1250 onward, but was not entirely accomplished, even for political purposes, until the age of political nationalism, beginning c. 1750, when Westerners for the first time allowed themselves to use the barbarian against other Western nations.

And now, as we enter upon the late Civilization-phase, the idea of a universal Europe, an Empire of the West in the 20th century style emerges once more as the single, great, formative Idea of the age. The form in which the task presents itself is **political**. It is a **power** question whether this Empire will be established, for strong extra-European forces oppose it, and these forces have divided the soil of our Culture between them.

### III

The Empire of the West is a development that no inner European force could possibly oppose with more than token resistance, but its establishment is now

## IMPERIUM

crossed by the decisive intervention of outer forces in the life of the West. The struggle is thus spiritual-political, and its motive force derives from the Idea of Western unity. At this moment, the existence of the West in freedom for self-development is a function of the distribution of **power** in the world.

The age is political in a sense that no previous Western age has been so. This is the Age of Absolute Politics, for the whole form of our life is now a function of **power**.

Action, to be effective, must be within a spiritual framework. As Goethe said, "Unlimited activity, of whatever kind, leads at last to bankruptcy." Our action must not be blind. Our ideational equipment must be of a kind which can turn everything to its own account. It frees itself therefore from every kind of ideology, economic, biological, moralistic. It springs directly from the fact-sense which this age takes as its point of departure.

In the universities and in most of the books, out-moded methods of looking at the field of politics are presented. The doctrine is still taught that there are various "forms of government" which can be moved about from one political unit to another. There is republicanism, there is democracy, monarchy, and so on, and so on. Some of these "forms" are held out as "good"; others as "bad." It is better to have Europe occupied by the barbarian than to have a Western Empire under a "bad" "form of government." It is better to eat the rations that Moscow and Washington allow than it is to have a proud and free Europe with a "bad" government.

## IMPERATIVE OF OUR AGE

This is the very height of stupidity. Asininity on this level can only be reached by ideologists without soul and without intellect.

This sort of thing is book-politics, and is traceable to the fact that the word politics has two meanings: it means human power-activity, and it also has the dictionary meaning of a branch of philosophy. Now, if by politics, one means a branch of philosophy, very well. It can then turn into whatever one wishes. Carte blanche reigns in the world of philosophy. But—the **real** meaning of the word politics is **power-activity**, and in this sense, acting Life is itself politics. In this sense, **facts** rule politics, and the making of facts is the task of politics. This is the only possible meaning of the word to the 20th century, and this most serious moment of our Cultural life demands the utmost clarity of the minds of active men in order that they may be entirely free from any trace of ideology, whether derived from logic, philosophy, or morality.

And thus we stand before the view of politics which answers the inner demand of the Age of Absolute Politics.





## CHAPTER TWO



## THE 20TH CENTURY POLITICAL OUTLOOK

“Men are tired to disgust of money-economy. They hope for salvation from somewhere or other, for some real thing of honour and chivalry, of inward nobility, of unselfishness and duty.” —Spengler

“The time for petty politics is past; the next century will bring the struggle for the dominion of the world—the **compulsion** to great politics.” —Nietzsche, 1885



## INTRODUCTION

The distribution of powers in the first two World Wars was grotesque—the way it was occasioned is examined elsewhere. The results of these two wars were consequently grotesque. In both of them the outlook of the nineteenth century was apparently victorious. Superficially it was indeed, but actually such a thing is impossible. Owing to the organic nature of a Culture, as well as of the nations it creates, the Past cannot triumph over the Future—the alternatives are always only **two** in organic life: either forward development, or sickness and extinction.

The Western Civilization was not extinguished by these fearful conflicts, even though its existence was brought to the lowest possible point politically.

The First of the series of World Wars created a new world. The old ideas of history, politics, war, nations, economics, society, culture, art, education, ethics, were swept away. The new ideas of these things however were possessed only by the best brains of Europe, the small Culture-bearing stratum. Unfortunately the political leaders in Europe immediately after the First World War—save one—did not belong to this stratum.

## IMPERIUM

The Second in the series arose from the fact that all Europe had not yet come under the impress of the new idea, the 20th century world-outlook. Half of Europe continued to play the old-fashioned, fatal game of petty-stateism. The leaders responsible for this represent what Goethe had in mind when he said: "The most terrible thing in the world is ignorance in action." Europe has not yet paid the full price for the malice and stupidity of these leaders. Nietzsche had wished to see such an increase in the threatening attitude of Russia that Europe would be **forced** to unite, to abandon the miserable game of political nationalism, petty-stateism. Not only did this happen **politically**, it happened **culturally**—Russia seceded totally from Europe and returned to Asia, whence Peter the Great had dragged it. But Europe continued to luxuriate in the repulsive game of frontiers and customs, little plans, little projects, little secrets—even after it had looked on at the spectacle of the Bolshevik revolution. Nietzsche had **assumed** in his thought that brains would be present at the helm in Europe—he forgot to **wish** that.

Readers in the year 2000 will find it hard to believe that in **1947** a French aspirant for power based himself on a programme for making France secure from **Germany**, or that in **1947** England and France signed at Dünkirchen a treat of alliance against Germany. Both America and Russia allowed these two political powers of yesterday to sign this harmless treaty—it could not in any way conflict with the plans of the extra-Europeans in Moscow and Washington, for it looked not to the future, or even to the present, but solely to the Past. Is it possible that the people who prepared and signed

## INTRODUCTION

**this treaty were under a collective hallucination that the year was 1750, 1850, or in any other century? When politicians become subjects of confusion, their countries must suffer.**

Such things could not happen—Europe could not have reached such a low—if the new outlook on politics, the organically necessary outlook, had been clearly present in the ruling stratum in every European land. This new outlook—which becomes automatically the view of anyone who understands it—is now formulated here for the first time in its entirety.

The word politics itself has been subject in recent history—say, since 1850—to a deep misunderstanding. Two things are responsible: first the economic obsession of the nations of our Civilization during the 19th century, second the culture-distorting influence of America on certain European areas. The economic obsession gradually developed into the view that politics was something outmoded, that it only reflected preceding economic realities, that ultimately it would pass away. Thus war came to be regarded as an anachronism.

In America, because of the special conditions which prevailed there, unique in Western history, the word politics came to mean adherence to a group or an idea from a chicane motive. American politicians continually accused one another of engaging in "politics." This meant that politics was regarded as something unnecessary, something dishonest, something that could and should be done away with. This was in very truth their understanding of the word.

This deep misunderstanding of the nature of politics in Europe grew because of the extraordinarily long

## IMPERIUM

period of peace among the European nations between 1871 and 1914. This seemed to prove that war and politics were gone. The idea was so deeply fixed that 1914 only seemed to be the exception that proved the rule. There was also a mental necessity on the part of weak heads in Europe and America to regard the 1914 war as the last war. Nor did 1939 change this. Again there was a last war. People with this viewpoint are not embarrassed by the necessity of regarding every war as the last war. To an ideologist, his theory is normative—it is the facts which go askew.

The time has come when persistence in this sort of mental legerdemain must cease. Politics is not a subject for logical exercises, but a field for action in the Spirit of the Age.



## THE NATURE OF POLITICS

First, what is politics? That is, politics as a **fact**. **Politics is activity in relation to power.**

Politics is a domain of its own—the domain of power. Thus it is not morality, it is not esthetics, it is not economics. Politics is a way of thinking, just as these others are. Each of these forms of thought isolates part of the totality of the world and claims it for its own. Morality distinguishes between **good** and **evil**; esthetics between **beautiful** and **ugly**; economics between **utile** and **inutile** (in its later purely trading phase these are identical with **profitable** and **unprofitable**). The way politics divides the world is into **friend** and **enemy**. These express for it the highest possible degree of connection, and the highest possible degree of separation.

Political thought is as separate from these other forms of thought as they are from each other. It can exist without them, they without it. The enemy can be good, he can be beautiful, he may be economically utile, business with him may be profitable—but if his power activity converges on mine, he is my enemy. He is that one with whom **existential** conflicts are possible. But esthetics, economics, morality are not concerned with **existence**, but only with norms of activity and thinking within an assured existence.

## IMPERIUM

While as a matter of **psychological** fact, the enemy is easily represented as ugly, injurious, and evil, nevertheless this is subsidiary to politics, and does not destroy the independence of political thinking and activity. The political disjunction, concerned as it is with **existence**, is the deepest of all disjunctions and thus, has a tendency to seek every type of persuasion, compulsion, and justification in order to carry its activity forward. The extent to which this occurs is in direct ratio to the purity of political thinking in the leaders. The more their outlooks contain of moral, economic or other ways of thinking, the more they will use propaganda along such lines to further their political aims. It may even happen that they are not conscious that their activity is political. There is every indication that Cromwell regarded himself as a religionist and not as a politician. A variation was provided by the French journal which fanned the war spirit of its readers in 1870 with the expectation that the *poilus* would bring car-loads of blonde women back from Prussia.

On the other side, Japanese propaganda for the home populace during the Second World War, accented almost entirely the **existential**, i.e., purely political nature of the struggle. Another may be ugly, evil and injurious and yet not be an enemy; or he may be good, beautiful, and useful, and yet be an enemy.

Friend and enemy are **concrete** realities. They are not figurative. They are unmixed with moral, esthetic or economic elements. They do **not** describe a private relationship of antipathy. Antipathy is no necessary part of the political disjunction of friend and enemy. Hatred is a private phenomenon. If politicians inoculate

## NATURE OF POLITICS

their populations with hatred against the enemy, it is only to give them a personal interest in the public struggle which they would otherwise not have. Between superpersonal organisms there is no hatred, although there may be existential struggles. The disjunction love-hatred is not political and does not intersect at any point the political one of friend-enemy. Alliance does not mean love, any more than war means hate. Clear thinking in the realm of politics demands at the outset a strong power of dissociation of ideas.

The world-outlook of Liberalism, here as always completely emancipated from reality, said that the concept enemy described either an economic competitor, or else an ideational opponent. But in economics there are no enemies, but only competitors; in a world which was purely moralized (i.e., one in which only moral contrasts existed) there could be no enemies, but only ideational opponents. Liberalism, strengthened by the unique long peace, 1871—1914, pronounced politics to be atavistic, the grouping of friend-enemy to be retrograde. This of course belongs to politics as a branch of philosophy. In that realm no mis-statement is possible; no accumulation of facts can prove a theory wrong, for over there theories are supreme, History is not the arbiter in matters of political outlook, Reason decides all, and everyone decides for himself what is reasonable. This is concerned however only with **facts**, and the only objection made here to such an outlook in the last analysis is that it is not factual.

Enemy then, does not mean competitor. Nor does it mean opponent in general. Least of all does it describe a person whom one hates from feelings of personal

## IMPERIUM

antipathy. Latin possessed two words: *hostis* for the public enemy, *inimicus* for a private enemy. Our Western languages unfortunately do not make this important distinction. Greek however did possess it, and had further a deep distinction between two types of wars: those against other Greeks, and those against outsiders of the Culture, barbarians. The former were "agons" and only the latter were true wars. An agon was originally a contest for a prize at the public games, and the opponent was the "antagonist." This distinction has value for us because in comparison with wars in this age, intra-European wars of the preceding 800 years were agonal. As nationalistic politics assumed the ascendancy within the Classical Culture, with the Peloponnesian Wars, the distinction passed out of Greek usage. 17th and 18th century wars in West-Europe were in the nature of contests for a prize—the prize being a strip of territory, a throne, a title. The participants were dynasties, not peoples. The idea of destroying the opposing dynasty was not present, and only in the exceptional case was there even the possibility of such a thing happening. Enemy in the political sense means thus **public enemy**. It is unlimited, and it is thus distinguished from private enmity. The distinction public-private can only arise when there is a super-personal unit present. When there is, it determines who is friend and enemy, and thus no private person can make such a determination. He may hate those who oppose him or who are distasteful to him, or who compete with him, but he may not treat them as enemies in the unlimited sense.

The lack of two words to distinguish public and

## NATURE OF POLITICS

private enemy also has contributed to confusion in the interpretation of the well-known Biblical passage (Matthew 5, 44; Luke 6, 27) "Love your enemies." The Greek and Latin versions use the words referring to a **private** enemy. And this is indeed to what the passage refers. It is obviously an adjuration to put aside hatred and malice, but there is no necessity whatever that one hate the public enemy. Hatred is not contained in political thinking. Any hatred worked up against the public enemy is non-political, and always shows some weakness in the internal political situation. This Biblical passage does not adjure one to love the public enemy, and during the wars against Saracen and Turk no Pope, saint, or philosopher so construed it. It certainly does not counsel treason out of love for the public enemy.

### II

Every non-political human grouping of whatever kind, legal, social, religious, economic or other becomes at last political if it creates an opposition deep enough to range men against one another as enemies. The State as a political unit excludes by its nature opposition of such types as these. If however a disjunction occurs in the population of a State which is so deep and strong that it divides them into friends and enemies, it shows that the State, at least temporarily, does not exist in fact. It is no longer a political unit, since all political decisions are no longer concentrated in it. All States whatever keep a monopoly of **political** decision. This is another way of saying they maintain inner peace. If some group or idea becomes so strong that it can effect a friend-enemy grouping, it is a political unit; and if

forces are generated which the State cannot manage peaceably, it has disappeared for the time at least. If the State has to resort to force, this in itself shows that there are **two** political units, in other words **two** States instead of the one originally there.

This raises the question of the significance of internal politics. Within a State, we speak of social-politics, judicial-politics, religious-politics, party-politics and the like. Obviously they represent another meaning of the word, since they do not contain the possibility of a friend-enemy disjunction. They occur within a pacified unit. They can only be called "secondary." The essence of the State is that within its realm it excludes the possibility of a friend-enemy grouping. Thus conflicts occurring within a State are by their nature limited, whereas the truly political conflict is unlimited. Every one of these internal limited struggles of course may become the focus of a true political disjunction if the idea opposing the State is strong enough, and the leaders of the State have lost their sureness. If it does—again, the State is gone. An organism either follows its own law, or it becomes ill. This is organic logic and governs all organisms, plant, animal, man, High Culture. They are either themselves, or they sicken and die. Not for them is the rational and logical view which says that whatever can be cogently written down into a system can then be foisted on to an organism. Rational thinking is merely one of the multifarious creations of organic life, and it cannot, being subsidiary, include the whole within its contemplation. It is limited and can only work in a certain way, and on material which is adapted to such treatment. The organism is

## NATURE OF POLITICS

the whole, however, and does not yield its secrets to a method which it develops out of its own adaptive ability to cope with non-organic problems it has to overcome.

Secondary politics often can distort primary politics. For instance the female politics of petty jealousy and personal hatred that was effective in the court of Louis XV was instrumental in devoting much of French political energy to the less important struggle against Frederick, and little French political energy to the more important struggle against England in Canada and India and on the seas. Frederick the Great was not beloved by the Pompadour, and France paid an empire to chastise him. When private hostility exerts such an effect on public decision, it is proper to speak of political distortion, and of such a policy as a distorted one. When an organism consults or is in the grip of any force outside of its own developmental law, its life is distorted. The relation between a private enmity and a public politics it is circumstanced to distort is the same as that between European petty-Stateism and the Western Civilization. The collectively suicidal game of nationalistic politics distorted the whole destiny of the West after 1900 to the advantage of the extra-European forces.

### III

The concrete nature of politics is shown by certain linguistic facts which appear in all Western languages. Invariably the concepts, ideas, and vocabulary of a political group are polemical, propagandistic. This is true throughout all higher history. The words State,

## IMPERIUM

class, King, society—all have their polemical content, and they have an entirely different meaning to partisans from what they have to opponents. Dictatorship, government of laws, proletariat, bourgeoisie—these words have no meaning other than their polemical one, and one does not know what they are intended to convey unless he know also who is using them and against whom. During the Second World War, for instance, freedom and democracy were used as terms to describe all members of the coalition against Europe, with an entire disregard of semantics. The word "dictatorship" was used by the extra-European coalition to describe not only Europe, but any country which refused to join the coalition.

Similarly, the word "fascist" was used purely as a term of abuse without any descriptive basis whatever, just as the word democracy was a word of praise but not of description. In the American press, for example, both during the 1914 war and the 1939 war, Russia was always described as a "democracy." The House of Romanov and the Bolshevik regime were equally democratic. This was necessary to preserve the homogeneous picture of these wars which this press had painted for its readers: the war was one of democracy against dictatorship; Europe was dictatorship, ergo, anything fighting Europe was democracy. In the same way, Machiavelli described any State that was not a monarchy as a republic, a polemical definition that has remained to this day. To Jack Cade the word nobility was a term of damnation, to those who put down his rebellion, it was everything good. In a legal treatise, the class-warrior Karl Renner described rent paid by landlord to



## NATURE OF POLITICS

tenant as "tribute." In the same way, Ortega y Gasset calls the resurgence of State authority, of the ideas of order, hierarchy and discipline, a revolt of the masses. And to a real class warrior, any navy is socially valuable, but an officer is a "parasite."

During the period when Liberalism ruled in the Western Civilization, and the State was reduced, theoretically, to the role of "night-watchman," the very word "politics" changed its fundamental meaning. From having described the power activities of the State, it now described the efforts of private individuals and their organizations to secure positions in the government as a means of livelihood, in other words politics came to mean party-politics. Readers in 2050 will have difficulty in understanding these relationships, for the age of parties will be as forgotten then as the Opium War is now.

All State organisms were distorted, sick, in crisis, and this introspection was one great symptom of it. Supposedly internal politics was primary.

If internal politics was actually primary, it must have meant that friend-enemy groupings could arise on an internal political question. If this did happen, in the extreme case civil war was the result, but **unless** a civil war occurred, internal politics was still **in fact** secondary, limited, private, and not public. The very contention that inner politics was primary was polemical: what was meant was that it **should** be. The Liberals and class-warriors, then as now, spoke of their wishes and hope as facts, near-facts, or potential facts. The sole result of focusing energy onto inner problems was to weaken the State, in its dealings with other States. The law of

## IMPERIUM

every organism allows only two alternatives: either the organism must be true to itself, or it goes down into sickness or death. **The nature, the essence** of the State is inner peace and outer struggle. If the inner peace is disturbed or broken, the outer struggle is damaged.

The organic and the inorganic ways of thinking do not intersect: ordinary class-room logic, the logic of philosophy text-books tells us that there is no reason why State, politics and war need even exist. There is no logical reason why **humanity** could not be organized as a **society**, or as a purely economic enterprise, or as a vast book-club. **But** the higher organisms of States, and the highest organisms, the High Cultures, do not ask logicians for permission to exist—the very existence of this type of rationalist, the man emancipated from reality, is only a symptom of a crisis in the High Culture, and when the crisis passes, the rationalists pass away with it. The fact that the rationalists are not in touch with the invisible, organic forces of History is shown by their predictions of events. Before 1914, they universally asserted that a general European war was impossible. Two different types of rationalists gave their two different reasons. The class-warriors of the Internationale, said that international class-war socialism would make it impossible to mobilize “the workers” of one country against “the workers” in another country. The other type—also with its centre of gravity in economics, since rationalism and materialism are indissolubly wedded—said no general war was possible because mobilization would bring about such a dislocation of the economic life of the countries that a breakdown would come in a few weeks.

## THE WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

We come to the relation of war to politics. It is not proposed to treat of the metaphysics of war, but to develop a practical outlook of the possibilities and necessities of war to serve as a basis for action.

First, a definition: war is an armed struggle between organized political units. It is not a question of the method of fighting, for weapons are merely a way of killing. Nor of military organization—these things determine nothing about the inner nature of war. War is the highest possible expression of the friend-enemy disjunction. It confers the practical meaning on the word enemy. The enemy is he upon whom one is preparing to, or upon whom one is making war. If there is no question of war he is not an enemy. He may be a mere opponent in a contest for a prize, he may be a mere heathen, a mere ideological opponent, a competitor, a hateful thing for reasons of antipathy. The minute he becomes an enemy, the possibility or actuality of armed struggle, war, enters. War is not an agon, and thus the armed struggles among the States of the Western Culture up to the middle of the 18th century were not wars in the 20th century meaning of the word. They were limited in their object and scope,

## IMPERIUM

and vis-a-vis the opponent they were not existential. Thus they were not political in the 20th century meaning of the word—they were not fought against **enemies** in our sense of the term. Unfortunately our Western languages lack the precision which Greek had in this respect to distinguish between intra-Hellenic struggles, agons, with the opponent the “**antagonist**,” on the one hand, and wars against the non-Culture member, on the other hand, in which the opponent, e.g., the Persian, was the **enemy**. The Crusades were thus war in the full unlimited sense of the word: the deep spiritual objective was the assertion of the Cultural superiority, and of the true Faith against the heathen. The opponent—though one naturally extended **personal** magnanimity to his soldiers because of the inner imperative of chivalrous honour—was an enemy, not to be allowed to continue in his unity if it could be destroyed.

Honour in the Crusades forbade personal meanness, but did not exclude total destruction of the enemy organized unit. Honour in intra-European struggles did forbid imposing too harsh a treaty upon the defeated opponent, and it entered no one's mind to deny the opponent the right to existence as an organized unit.

During the history of our Culture, from Pope Gregory VII to Napoleon, the struggle against a member of the Culture was limited, but that against the heathen, the non-member of the Culture was true, unlimited war.

Wars before, after and outside a Culture are unlimited. They are a more pure expression of the barbarian in man, in that they are not highly symbolic. They are spiritual, for everything human is spiritual. The spirit is primary with man, the material is the vehicle of the

## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

spiritual development. Man sees symbolic significance in that around him—his experiencing of these symbols and his acting and organizing in accordance are what make him man, even though he carry within him also the animal instincts. His soul of course, with its transforming symbolism, completely changes the expression of these instincts. They pass into the service of the soul and its symbolism. Man does not kill, like a tiger, for food to eat—he kills because of **spiritual** necessity. Not even wars entirely outside a High Culture are **purely** animal, **entirely** devoid of symbolic content. With man that would be impossible—only something spiritual can bring masses on to a battlefield. But the symbolism of a High Culture is a **grand** symbolism—it links past, present and future and the totality of things, dissolving them all into a magnificent performance of which it is later realized that that, too, was a symbol. It is only in comparison with these grand meanings, this grand super-personal destiny, that extra-Cultural human phenomena seem merely zoological. Thus, because of their lower symbolic content, lower spiritual potential, these wars can never approach the intensity, scale, or duration of wars connected with High Culture. Defeat is acknowledged much more easily, for it is only the souls of those engaged that are affected. In Cultural wars however, the soul of the Culture is at work, lending its invisible, but invincible strength to those in its service, and a struggle can be maintained for years against fearful odds. A few defeats, and all would have been up with Genghis Khan. Not so with Friedrich der Grosse, or George Washington, for they felt themselves to be the vehicle of an Idea, of the Future.

## IMPERIUM

There can not be said to exist an enmity unless the possibility of war is present. A possibility in **fact**, not a mere conceivability. Nor need the possibility be daily and imminent. Nor need the door be closed on negotiations before the possibility of war, and therefore true enmity can be said to exist.

Not even among warlike States is life a daily bloodshed. War is the highest possible intensification of politics, but there must also be something less intense, the period of recuperating, negotiating, steering, preparing. Without the fact of peace, we would not have the word war, and—what the pacifists have never thought of—without war, we could not have peace, in the blissful, dreamy, saccharine, way they use the word. All the fierce energy that war devotes to super-personal struggles would go into domestic discord of one sort or another, and the casualty list would hardly be less.

The relation of war to politics is clear. Clausewitz in the usually misquoted passage, called war "the continuation of political intercourse by other means." Usually misquoted, because it does not mean that the military fighting is the continuation of politics, for this it is not. Fighting has its own strategic and tactical grammar. It has its own organic rules and imperatives. **War does not** have however a **motivation** of its own—this is supplied by politics. As is the intensity of the political struggle, i.e., of the enmity, so is the war.

It was insight into this interrelationship that prompted an English diplomat to say that a politician was better trained for fighting than the soldier, for he fights continually and the soldier only occasionally. It is also observable that professional soldiers would turn

## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

a war into an agon before political soldiers would. The phrase political soldier is only ad hoc, to designate anyone fighting from conviction, rather than from profession.

Clausewitz expressed in the same chapter a description of this relationship between politics and war that has validity in this century: "As war belongs to politics, so does it take on its character. When politics becomes grand and powerful, so does the war, which can ascend to the height where it attains to its absolute form."

War presupposes politics, just as politics presupposes war. Politics determines the enemy, and the time of opening the war. These are not problems for the soldier. Armies must be prepared to fight any political unit.

War and politics cannot be defined in terms of mutual aim, or purpose. It makes no organic sense to say that war is the aim of politics, or politics of war. It could not be, in either case. Each is the prerequisite of the other, neither could exist without the other. A given policy could aim at a **certain** war, naturally, but no politics could possibly aim at war in general.

It is the eventuality of war which gives to political thinking its hall-mark that makes it a different form of thinking from, say, economic thinking, moral, scientific, or esthetic thinking.

## II

The disjunction of friend-enemy being the essence of political thinking and acting, is this to say that there is nothing between? No, for neutrality exists as a fact. It has its own rules and conditions of existence. The

## IMPERIUM

Western Culture developed as a part of its international law a law governing neutrality. The very formulation of these rules for neutrals show that the decisive thing is the conflict, the friend-enemy disjunction. The problem for a neutral is how to keep out; it is not the problem of the others in the usual case how to keep the neutral out. The whole practice of the law of neutrality was dependent upon who was at war. If the Great Powers were at war, neutrals had as a matter of practice, few rights. If small powers were engaged in a war, and the Great Powers were neutral, neutrals had many rights.

But the essential thing is that neutrality as a policy stands in the shade of the practical possibility of war and active politics. For a country to become neutral as a form of existence would be to cease to exist as a political unit. It might continue to exist economically, socially, culturally, but **politically** it could not exist if it were neutral. To renounce war is to renounce the right to an enemy. As long as a power is committed to war in any one given eventuality, it has not adopted total neutrality. Thus, Belgium's neutrality during the 19th century was only a word, and not a fact, for it maintained an army, diplomatic representation abroad, and it entered into military understandings with France and England against Germany. As long as a country maintains an army it cannot say its basic national policy is neutrality. An army is an instrument of politics, even if only a politics of self-defence. Politics and neutrality exclude one another, as do neutrality and continued existence. Here again, another instance of the polemical nature of all political language: Neutrality was turned



## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

into a polemical word by certain small countries of Europe. Actually by their very existence they were serving the political purposes of one half of Europe against the other half. This position, of being committed by their very existence to one side of a struggle, they called "neutrality." They knew their politics would involve them in war, they knew on which side they would be, and when the war did come, they cried aloud that their "neutrality" had been violated.

To renounce politics—which is what total neutrality means—is to renounce existence as a unit. In many cases it is the part of wisdom and the dictates of Culture to amalgamate with another power, to renounce an empty existence as a unit, an existence without a meaning or a future.

In addition to neutrality as a precarious fact, during war, and neutrality as a polemical fraud, there is neutrality which arises from the hopelessness of carrying on a war successfully. This is closer to true neutrality, for what it means is that powers reduced to such a case have disappeared from the calculations of the other powers, unless of course the land in question is attractive as spoils or as a battlefield. In this case, it must choose for itself to which of the powers still in the struggle it will surrender its independence. If it fails to do this, the choice will be made for it. A power which by its economic weakness, small size, or age, cannot possibly carry on a war has in effect renounced war and become neutral. Whether it is allowed to continue a posthumous existence depends entirely on how attractive its domains are. For purposes of high politics, it is not a political, but a neutral factor.

## IMPERIUM

From the development of colossal war technics came the fact that few powers can support or wage a war. This led the rationalists and Liberals, ever bright with a new wish-informed thought, to announce that the world was becoming pacified. No more war or politics—"power-politics" is their word, just as one could talk of beauty-esthetics, utile-economics, good-morality, piety-religion, legal-law—the world is become neutral, the occasions of war are going, political powers can no longer afford wars, and the like. It is not war or politics which is disappearing, it is only that the number of contestants has grown less.

A pacified world would be one in which there was no politics. It would thus be one where no human difference could possibly arise which could range men against one another as enemies. In a purely economic world men could be opposed, but only as competitors. If morality was also there the proponents of different theories could oppose one another, but only in discussion. Religionists could oppose one another, but only with the propaganda of their respective faiths. It would have to be a world in which there was no one who would kill, or better yet, such a languid, colourless and boring world that no one could possibly take anything seriously enough to kill or risk his life about it.

The only conclusion to be drawn is that a rationalist, Liberal, or pacifist who believes that it is possible for war to vanish simply does not understand what the word war means, its reciprocal existence with politics or the nature of politics as the ranging of men against one another as enemies. In other words, and in the kindest words possible, these people do not know

## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

what they are talking about. They wish to abolish war by politics, or even by war. If war were gone and politics remained, they would then abolish politics by war, or perhaps by politics. They confuse verbal virtuosity with political thinking, logic with soul-necessities, history with accident. As for super-personal forces, they do not exist, because they cannot be seen, weighed and measured.

### III

Since the symbiosis of war and politics forms its own thought-category, independent of other ways of thinking, it follows that a war could not be carried on from a **purely** non-political motive. If a religious difference, an economic contrast, an ideological disjunction, were to reach the degree of intensity of feeling at which it would range men against one another as **enemies**, it would thereby become **political**, and such units as formed would be political units and would be guided by a political way of manoeuvring, thinking, and valuing, and not by a religious, economic or other way of thinking. **Pure** economics could not possibly wage a war, for war does not pay economically. **Pure** religion could not wage a war, nor **pure** ideology, because war cannot spread religion, cannot convert, but can only result in an accretion or diminution of power. Motives other than strictly political ones can indeed actuate a war—but the war takes them up into itself, and they vanish into it. Western Christianity has motivated wars, such as the Crusades, but these wars did not let loose the forces upon which Christianity places a positive

## IMPERIUM

value. Economics has motivated wars, but the immediate result of a war has never been a profit.

For this reason the Liberals and rationalists comfortably convinced themselves before 1914 that war had vanished because it did not show a profit. They were moving in their private world of abstraction, where economics was the sole motive of human conduct, and where invisible super-personal forces did not exist. And 1914 did not cause them to change their theory—no, where the facts and theory conflict, it is the facts which need revision. 1914 caused them to re-implement their theory: The First World War was all the more proof of their viewpoint, for it showed that it was economically necessary that war disappear. These people did not know that economic necessity of human beings is never taken into account by super-personal forces. Could they get no clue from the statement of one of the most immediate participants in the feverish flurry of negotiations of July, 1914, that all of the statesmen concerned merely drifted into the war? A strictly factual view shows that superpersonal organisms have no economics in our sense of the word, for they are purely spiritual. When Culture populations nourish themselves—and that is what economics is—they are nourishing the higher organism, for the populations are its cells. Its cells are to the super-personal soul as the cells of a human body are to the human soul.

A war from purely religious, economic, or other, motives would be senseless as well as impossible. From religious contrasts arise the thought-categories of believer and non-believer, from economics those of co-worker and competitor, from ideological those of agreeer

## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

and disagreeer. Only from political contrasts come friend-enemy groupings, and only from enmity can come war. The enmity can start elsewhere—the personal distaste of the mistress of a ruler has brought about an enmity grouping among Western States—but when it comes to enmity, it is politics. Although the enmity may have started on a religious contrast, when it comes to war, one will fight against believers, or accept the help of non-believers. Only the Thirty Years War need be mentioned in this connection. Though economics be the beginning of the enmity, once it rises to the intensity of enmity, one fights without regard to the economic consequences of his fighting, but only to the political consequences.

Other thought-categories claim they should have a monopoly of thinking, that the political should be subject to them. The 20th century outlook on politics merely observes that they do not as a matter of fact. From an esthetic standpoint, war and politics may be ugly, from an economic, wasteful, from the moral, wicked, from the religious, sinful. These viewpoints, however are **neutral** from the political standpoint, which tries first, to assess the facts, and second to change them, but never tries to value them according to a non-political scheme of values. Some politicians do this, it is true. English politicians in particular, after Cromwell, felt an inner compulsion to present every one of their wars as somehow directly involving Christianity, even a war which planted the Hammer and Sickle in the heart of Europe was a war for Christianity. But this does not affect what I am saying here, as this sort of thing only affects vocabulary, but does not touch

## IMPERIUM

facts, or action. Using a non-political terminology or propaganda cannot depoliticize politics, any more than using a pacifist terminology can debellicize war.

Politicians are usually not pure in their thinking any more than other men. Even a saint commits sins, even a scientist has his private superstitions, even a divine may have his little taint of mechanism, even a Liberal may have his minuscule trace of animal instinct which if released may cause a sanguinary war, after the conclusion of which he may try to exterminate the human beings comprising the population of the former enemy.

Just as a war **cannot**, as a matter of fact, be purely economic, religious, or moral, it follows that a war **need not** qualify under any other category in order to be **justifiable from the political standpoint**. The Scholastic philosophers set forth the ethico-religious prerequisites of a just war. St. Thomas Aquinas formulated them in a fashion which is final for ethico-religious thought. From the political standpoint however, the test of the justification is quite different. It is of course obvious that the word justification is inadequate, since this word belongs originally to moral thinking and not to political thinking. It must therefore not be interpreted as an invasion of the field of morality if the word justification is used in this connection, for what is meant is appropriateness, desirability, advantageousness, and indeed these are contained in the secondary meaning of the word justification. Now, in this **practical, political** sense, what wars are justified? Politics is activity in regard to power. Units engaged in politics may gain or lose power. Instinct and understanding direct them to seek to increase power. War is the most

## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

intense method of trying to increase power. Thus a war which has no practically foreseeable possibility of increasing power is not politically justifiable. A war which promises an increase in power is politically justifiable. This is what the word success means in this connection, i.e., that increased power is the result of the war. When diminished power is the result of the war, the war was unsuccessful.

### IV

The words **defeat** and **victory** thus divide into two sharply and precisely defined sets of meanings: the military and the political. Although the armies in the field may be on the winning side, nevertheless the unit to which they supposedly belong may emerge from the war with less power than it entered upon it. I say **supposedly belong** for the reason that when a political unit is in the situation where even military victory means political defeat, **it is not in political reality an independent unit**. Thus: if there were only two powers in the world, the one gaining the military victory in a war would of necessity gain the political victory. There is no second possibility. But if there were more than two powers engaged in a war, and a military victory was gained, one or more powers must have gained the political victory, i.e., must have increased in power. Thus if any power, despite the fact that it was on the winning side in a military sense, nevertheless emerged with less power, it was in fact fighting for the political victory of another power. In other words it was not actually an

## IMPERIUM

independent unit, but was in the service of another unit.

To be specific instead of general: after the First World War, England, although on the side of the victorious in a military sense, was weaker in the political sense, i.e., it had less power afterwards than before the War. In the War of the Spanish Succession, France emerged from the War weaker than it had entered, despite the fact that it had gained the military victory.

But between these two sets of meanings of the words victory and defeat, there is an order of rank: the political meaning is primary, for war itself is subsidiary to politics. Any politician would prefer a military defeat coupled with political victory to the converse. Despite the military defeat of France in the Napoleonic Wars, Talleyrand negotiated a political victory for France out of the Congress of Vienna. To say that a unit gained a military victory and also suffered a political defeat is only another way of saying that the military opponent was not a real enemy. A real enemy is he whom one can strike down and thereby increase one's own power.

It is for the politician to determine whom to fight, and if he selects as the enemy a unit at whose expense no power can possibly be gained even in a militarily successful war, that politician was incapable. He may be merely stupid, he may be carrying on a private parasite-politics, using the lives of his countrymen to implement his personal antipathies, like Graf Brühl in the Seven Years War, he may be a distorter, representing an outer force not belonging to the Nation, or even to the Culture.

Such a politician may also be a traitor who sells



## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

himself for a private economic consideration, like the Poles who disappeared upon the outbreak of war in 1939 and were never heard of again.

But regardless of why a politician choose for an enemy a unit which was not a real enemy, the fact remains that in so doing he is abdicating the sovereignty of his State and placing it therewith in the service of another State.

The classic example of this in recent history is of course, England's participation in the Second World War. England was on the victorious side in the military sense, but sustained a total defeat in the political sense. Already during the war a member of the English Parliament was able to announce that apparently England was a dependency of America. At the conclusion of that War, England's power and prestige had sunk so low that it had to abandon the Empire. Extra-European forces were the victors. England had fought in the Second World War and had given lives and position for the political victory of others. It was not the first time in history, nor will it be the last, but because of its magnitude, it will always remain the classic example.

A tiny island of some 242,000 quadrate kilometers, with only 40,000,000 population, nevertheless, England controlled in 1900 17/20 of the surface of the earth. This includes all the seas, on which England was supreme in the sense that it could deny them to any other power. In less than 25 years, or after the First World War, 1914-1918, England found this sea supremacy gone as well as its commercial primacy, and its position of arbiter of Europe in the sense that it could prevent

## IMPERIUM

any power taking first place. In less than 50 years, or after the Second World War, 1939-1945, all was gone, the Empire and also the independence of the homeland. The lesson of course is that a structure built through centuries of war, bloodshed, and high political tradition of choosing always for an enemy him whose defeat would increase the Empire of England—that this can be lost through one or two wars against a power not a real enemy.

In 1939 even there could be no difference of opinion among political thinkers that England could not have an enemy in Europe, since the extra-European forces, Japan, Russia and America had become decisive in world-politics. But in 1946 there could be no difference of opinion on this subject among human beings anywhere in the world, regardless of their ability or inability to think politically. Always excepting the Liberals, of course, who move among theories, and not among facts. Indeed, even after this disastrous War, Liberals, distorters and stupid persons in England continued to glory in the "victory" of England. From the political standpoint, the most hopeful fact for England's future in the period after the War was that the extra-European occupation forces were withdrawn from England.

Thus we have seen again the existential nature of organic alternatives: a unit can either fight a real enemy, or it must lose. And again, a unit not fighting a real enemy is in the service of another power—there is no middle ground. If a unit is not fighting for itself, it is fighting against itself. The broadest formulation of this fundament is: an organism must be true to its own

## WAR-POLITICS SYMBIOSIS

inner law of existence, or it will sicken and die. It is the inner law of a political organism that it must increase its own power; this is the only way it can behave toward power. If it tries to confer power on another organism, it injures itself. If it tries merely to prevent another organism from attaining power, it injures itself; if it gives up its complete existence to blocking another organism, quite regardless of its success in this negative aim, it will destroy itself.

France from 1871 onward is an example of the latter. The whole idea of the existence of France as a State was to block and frustrate a neighbouring State. The inspiring slogan of this idea was "Revanche." The idea was pursued for decades, and in the process, French power was destroyed. The policy could not of course have arisen in a healthy organism.

## THE LAWS OF TOTALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY

The organic Laws of Sovereignty and Totality refer to all political units whatever. They describe any unit, whatever its provenance, that reaches the degree of intensity of expression at which it participates in a friend-enemy disjunction. Totality refers both to issues within the organism and to persons within the organism. Any issue within the organism is subject to political determination, because every issue is potentially political. Any person in the organism is existentially embraced in the organism. Sovereignty places the decision in every important juncture with the organism. Both of these laws are existential, like all organic conditions: either the organism is true to them, or it is faced with sickness and death. Both laws will be explained.

First the Law of Totality: Any contrast, opposition, or hostility whatever existing within groups among the organism may become political in its nature, if it reaches the point where a group or a unit feels another group, class or stratum to be a real enemy. For such a unit to arise within an organism is for the possibility of civil war to be present, or a severe crisis in the organism, which renders the organism liable to damage

## TOTALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY

or extinction from without. **Therefore, every organism, by its very existence, has the characteristic that it assumes power over the determination of all issues.** This does **not** mean that it **plans** the total life of the population—economic, social, religious, educational, legal, technical, recreational. It means merely that all of these things are subject to political determination. Many of these things are neutral to some States, but objects of interest to others. But all organisms will intervene when an inner grouping may possibly become a focus of a friend-enemy disjunction. This describes all political units whatever, entirely independently of how they formulate their written constitutions, if they have any.

The Law of Totality affects individuals by embracing them existentially in the life of the organism. Politics places the life of every man within the political unit in the balance. It demands, **by its very existence,** the readiness of all individuals in the service of its fulfilment to risk their lives. Other groups may demand dues, periodical attendance at meetings, investment of time in group projects. If they demand however—so fundamental is this organic law of totality—that the member plight his life to the group, they become **there-with political.** The French public law professor Haurion designated it as the hall-mark of a political unit that it embraced the individual **entirely,** whereas non-political groups embrace him only partially.

This is the Law of Totality in other words. It is thus a touchstone of a group for this purpose whether it demands an existential oath.

If a group extracts such an oath from members, the group is political. This Law of Totality, it is hardly

## IMPERIUM

necessary to add, is not at all derived from conscription for military service. Conscription exists only for a few centuries within a High Culture, whereas the Law of Totality describes the Culture itself when it is itself constituted as a political organism, and, during the period of concentration of politics in Culture-States, it describes every individual State. Like all organic laws it is existential: if any inner force can challenge it, the organism is sick; if the challenge is attended with success, the organism is in severe crisis and may be annihilated. In any case, its unity will be temporarily in abeyance, with the possibility of partitioning by outer powers.

The Law of Sovereignty is the inner necessity of organic existence which places the decision in every important juncture with the organism, as opposed to allowing any group within to make the decision. An important juncture is any one which affects the organism as a whole, its steering in the world, its choice of allies and enemies, the decision of war and peace, its inner peace, its unchallenged inner right to decide controversies. If any of these can be called into question, it is a sign that the organism is sick. In the healthy organism, this sovereignty is absolutely undisputed, and may continue so for centuries. But a new age with new interests may raise contrasts which the rulers do not grasp; they may blunder, and find themselves on the defensive in a civil war. The challenge of the sovereignty of the organism was the first symptom of crisis. If the organism survives the crisis, the new rulers of the same organism will be the focus of the same sovereignty.

An important fact has been touched upon with this:

## TOTALITY AND SOVEREIGNTY

it is not the rulers who are sovereign within the meaning of this law. Their powers in fact are derived from their symbolic-representative position. If a stratum represents and acts in the Spirit of the Age, revolution against it is impossible. An organism true to itself cannot be sick or in crisis.

The Law of Sovereignty does not mean that every aspect of group life within the organism is dominated at all times by the political, nor that everything is organized, or that a centralized system of government necessarily reaches out always and destroys every organization of whatever kind. The outlook developed here is purely **factual**, and the Law of Sovereignty describes **all** political organisms; it is a formulation in words of a quintessential characteristic of a political organism.

Totality of organization—the "Total State"—is a phase of political organizations at certain times and under certain conditions. Some States are neutral in religious matters, others promulgate an official religion. Some States during the 19th century were more or less neutral economically, others intervened in the economic life. In the 20th century **all** States intervene in economic affairs. Different terminology is used to describe this intervention in different States, and the degree of intervention depends on the necessity of the organism. Thus an organism with relatively abundant economic resources will intervene to a lesser degree than one which must make every particle of work and material count. But this does not alter the fact that all States intervene in economics in the 20th century.

The Law of Sovereignty is independent of the fact

## IMPERIUM

that in a given organism some internal force, say, religion, or economics, may be stronger than the government. Such a thing can, and often does, exist. If this internal force is not yet strong enough to hinder the government, it is not yet political; if it is strong enough only to stalemate the government, but not yet strong enough to create war, then there is no political unit present. If no one can make a determination of enmity, or of war, there is no politics. This means that other units which preserve their political character can either ignore the sick unit in making their own combinations, or can attack it with good initial advantage.

The Law of Sovereignty is thus also existential. It describes a healthy organism, on its path to fulfilment. Where this law does not obtain, the organism is—vis-a-vis other organisms of the same kind—in abeyance, and if this condition persists, the political organism will disappear. The best example of a case where the Law of Sovereignty showed its existential character is that of 18th century anarchic Poland. The weakness and sickness of the organism led to its repeated partitioning.



## THE PLURALISTIC STATE

In the 19th century Western Civilization, the comparative neutrality of the various States, and therefore the apparent weakness of the States vis-a-vis internal economics units and their tactics, e.g., trade unions with their strikes, led the Liberals and intellectuals to announce, a bit prematurely as it turned out, that the State was dead.

"This colossal thing is dead," announced the French and Italian syndicalists. They were heard by other rationalists, and Otto von Gierke came out with his doctrine of "the essential equality of all human groups." This was, of course, a way of denying the primacy of the State, and was thus polemical and not factual. The intellectuals **wanted** the State to be dead, and so they announced its passing as a fact. This theory came to be known as the doctrine of "the pluralistic State." It took its philosophical foundation and its political theology from pragmatism, a philosophy of materialization of the spiritual evolved in America. Pragmatism branded the seeking for a last unity, in whatever realm, even in that of nature-study, as a superstition, a remnant of Scholastic. Thus no more Cosmos, and naturally no more State. This outlook was peculiarly adapted to

## IMPERIUM

the members of the Second Internationale, which was liberal in tendency. Its two poles of thought were the individual, at one extreme, and humanity, at the other. It saw the "individual" as living in "society" as a member of many organizations, an economic enterprise, a home, a church, a Turnverein, a trade-union, a nation, a State, but none of these organizations had any sovereignty whatever over the others, and all were politically neutral. The fighting proletariat of the Communists became in such a pluralistic State also a politically neutral trade-union or party. All the organizations would have their claim on the individual, who would be bound to a "plurality of obligations and loyalties." The organizations would have relations and mutual interests, but no subjection to the State, which would be merely an organization among organizations, not even *primus inter pares*.

Such a pluralistic State is of course not a political organism. If an external danger were to threaten such a State, it would either succumb at once, or else fight, in which case, it would become at once a political organism, and the "pluralism" would vanish. Such a pluralistic thing is not politically viable. There is always the possibility of an external danger, an internal natural catastrophe, such as a drought, famine or earthquake, which would force centralization, or the arising of a group with political instincts which aims at total power over other groups, and which does not have enough intellect to understand the refined theory of the "pluralistic" State. America, before 1914, was more or less such a thing, and from 1921 to 1933 it resumed its pluralism. This "pluralistic State" came to an end in

## PLURALISTIC STATE

1933, when a group arose which seized for itself a totality of power.

Political theories, like "pluralistic State," "dictatorship of proletariat," "Rechtstaat," "check and balance," all have political significance, provided they attain to a certain vogue. This significance is dual: first, all such theories are imperative and polemical, and, by demanding a change in the internal form of the State, show by their very existence at least that the State against which they are complaining is sick; secondly, they are a technic for weakening the State further, by working up real contrasts and finally rising to the intensity of a friend-enemy disjunction, i.e., Civil War.

The 19th century was the hey-day of using theories as political technics. It will be as difficult for the 21st century to understand the idea of "dictatorship of proletariat" as it is for us to understand how Rousseau's theories could have been the focus of so much political passion. The frightful crisis that occurs in all High Cultures when they enter upon their last great phase, Civilization, the externalization of the Culture-soul, is also the birth-time of Rationalism. As Napoleon said, "Intellect runs about the pavements in France." Intellect, the externalized, analyzing, dissecting faculty of the soul, applies itself also to politics. The results are a spate of theories, decline in the internal authority of all States, and the calling into question of the internal authority in all States.

## THE LAW OF CONSTANCY OF INTER-ORGANISMIC POWER

It has been seen that theories are a technic for weakening the State by trying to work up a friend-enemy disjunction on the basis of the theory. This technic is available not only to internal groups which aspire to attain to true political significance, but also to other States. The other State need not even have to carry out an intervention in order to reap the benefit of the activity of theorizing groups in another State.

We have seen that a State which fights a power not a real enemy is thereby fighting for a third power. This was but an instance of a law which is broader, and which is called the Law of Constancy of Inter-Organismic Power.

It may be thus formulated: **In any age, the amount of power in a State-system is constant, and if one organic unit is diminished in power, another unit, or other units are increased in power by the same amount.**

If a statesman, entrusted with the destiny of a State, moves with the sure consciousness of mastery which a feeling for organic laws confers upon him, he can never choose for the enemy of his State a power which his State cannot defeat, for such a power would not be a

## INTER-ORGANISMIC POWER

real enemy. He would know, even if only unconsciously, that the power which his own State would lose, in a war it could not win, would merely be transferred to some other power, either the one wrongly chosen as enemy, or a third power. One of the many phenomena which instance the Law of Constancy of Inter-Organismic Power is that of a given State being racked internally by groups using theories to work up internal contrasts. A point will be reached—short of the point of civil war, which of course dissolves the organism at least temporarily—in this process at which the external power of the organism will be diminished. The power lost passes thereby to another State or States.

The circumstances of the total situation determine which other power will be the beneficiary of this accretion of power. Even the particular theory which the agitating group is using plays often a certain role, for certain theories are owned by certain powers. France owned the theories of "democracy" and "equality" from 1789 to 1815. England owned the theory of "liberalism" in its many forms from the middle of the 19th century down to the First World War. Russia took over the theory of "dictatorship of proletariat" in 1917.

### II

In reality there is no such thing as a "political association" or a "political society"—there can only be a political unit, a political organism. If a group has real political significance, as shown by its ability to determine a real enmity, with the actuality or possibility of war, the political unity becomes decisive, and even

## IMPERIUM

though it started out as a free intellectual association, it has become a political unit, and has lost entirely any "social" or "associative" character it may have had. This is no mere distinction of words, for the political is its own thought category. To be in politics is not the same as to be in a society, since a society involves no risk of life. Nor can a society become political by calling itself so. True political thinking, occasioned by the presence of a political organism will not take place in it, unless it acquires real political unity, and the only way it can do this is to be the focus of an enmity-opposition, with its possibility of war. The fact that a group in an "election" votes as a unit does not confer upon it political significance; usually the "election" itself has no political significance.

## THE LAW OF CONSTACY OF INTRA-ORGANISMIC POWER

In the matter of "elections" which had a vogue of almost two centuries during the life of the Western Civilization, both in Europe and in its spiritually dominated areas elsewhere, an important law of political organisms is shown.

In "democratic" conditions—the origin and historical significance of "democracy" are shown elsewhere—occur the inner-political phenomena known as "elections." It was the theory of "democracy" arising about 1750 that the "absolute" power of the monarch, or the aristocracy, depending on local conditions, must be broken, and this power transferred to "the people." This use of the word "people" shows again the necessarily polemical nature of all words used politically. "People" was merely a negative; it merely wished to deny that the dynasty, or else the aristocracy, belonged to "the people." It was thus an attempt to deny the monarch or aristocracy political existence; in other words, this word implicitly defined them as the enemy, in the true political sense. It was the first time in Western history that an intellectualized theory became the focus of political happening. Wherever the monarch

## IMPERIUM

or aristocracy were stupid or incapable, wherever they looked backward instead of adapting themselves to the new century, they went down. Wherever they took over the theories themselves and interpreted them officially, they retained their power and their command.

The technique of transferring this "absolute" power to "the people" was to be through plebiscites, or "elections." The theoretical proposal was to give the power to millions of human beings, to each his nth/millionth fraction of total existing political power. This was of course impossible in a way that even the intellectuals could see, so the compromise was "elections" through which each individual in the organism could "choose" a "representative" for himself. If the representative did something, by a satisfying fiction it was agreed that each little individual "represented" had done that himself. In a short time it became obvious to men interested in power, either for themselves personally, or to carry through their ideas, that if one worked previously to one of these "elections" to influence the minds of the voting populace, he would be "elected." The greater one's means of persuasion of the masses of voters, the more certain was his subsequent "election." The means of persuasion were whatever one had at hand: rhetoric, money, newsprint. Since elections were large things, disposing of large amounts of power, only those who commanded corresponding means of persuasion could control them. Oratory came into its own, the Press stepped out as a lord of the land, the power of Money towered above all. A monarch could not be bought; what bribe could appeal to him? He could not be put under the usurers' pressure—he could



## INTRA-ORGANISMIC POWER

not be sued. But party politicians, living in times when values became increasingly money-values, could be bought. Thus democracy presented the picture of the populace under the compulsion of elections, the delegates under the compulsion of Money, and Money sitting in the seat of the monarch.

So the absolute power remained—as it must in any organism, for it is an existential law of every organism that: **The power within an organism is constant, and if individuals, groups, or ideas within the organism are diminished in power, some other individuals, groups, or ideas are increased in power by that amount.** This Law of Constancy of Intra-Organismic Power is existential, for if a diminution of power in one place within does not pass elsewhere within the organism, the organism is sickened, weaker, and may have lost its political existence as an independent unit. The history of South America from 1900 to 1950 is rich in examples of triumphant revolutions against regimes that stripped them of power—which then moved to the United States of North America, and as long as that condition continued, the country in which such a revolution had occurred was a colony of Yanqui imperialism.

## THE POLITICAL PLURIVERSE

We have seen what the "pluralistic State" is. There is, however, another type of pluralism, one of fact and not of theory. There is a pluriverse **in fact**, which is not merely an attempt to prove one philosophy or to deride another. The world of politics is a pluriverse: Although politics has been defined as activity in relation to power, and the inner nature, prerequisites, and invariable characteristic of politics have been set forth, nevertheless the nature of power itself remains to be shown. **Power is a relation of control between two similar organisms.** The degree of control is determined by the nature of the two organisms acting reciprocally on one another. Power appears, in its dim beginnings, in the animal world, where the beasts of prey exert something similar to power over their prospective victims. As something more than transitory, something **constituted**, however, it begins with man.

Animals can be classified spiritually—and there is no point in any other classification, such as the materialistic Linnean one—into two great groups, herbivores and beasts of prey. If the materialistic thinkers had ever looked at it so, they would surely have put man down as a beast of prey. And they would have been correct

## POLITICAL PLURIVERSE

for the animal part of him. This animal part is in constant tension with the spiritual part, the specifically human soul which sees symbolism in things and gives the symbol primacy over the mere phenomenon. For this is in very truth the deepest depth of all philosophizing whatever. Where does the question of a conflict between "appearance" and "reality" ever come from in the first place? All great philosophy in High Cultures, and there is none without High Cultures, has been saturated with the idea of establishing the true relationship between appearance and reality, and this was in obedience to an instinct which embodies the **essence** of man: his human **soul** tells him that "Alles Vergängliche ist nur ein Gleichnis."

The will-to-power of the beasts of prey is limited and practical; it is fierce but unspiritual. Man carries within him this same will-to-power, but his soul infuses into it a purely spiritual intensity that raises its demands and its performances incomparably above the level of the beast. To the beast his will-to-power comes into play only in killing. Man however, seeks, not to kill, but to control. To control he will kill, but as Clausewitz correctly said, conquerors prefer submission and peace, it is the victim who makes the war. A man with a strong will-to-power wants control, not war as an end in itself.

But a display of will-power by one man calls forth opposition elsewhere. Similarly with super-personal organisms—they do not and cannot exist alone, since, in their political aspect they are units of **opposition**. Each one exists as a **unit-with-the-power-to-choose-and-fight-enemies**. The ability to create a friend-enemy disjunction is the **essence** of the political.

But this ability necessitates opponents of similar rank. Hence it is quite total political stupidity to speak of a world with only one State, one Parliament, one government or however they put it. One could forgive Tennyson, but one can only say that if a politician talks about a world with "one State," "one Parliament," or "one government," he is the perfect type of the intellectual ass, and should be anywhere except in a position to distort the destiny of a State and bring misery to the individuals in it. He is an ass, even though he knows better, for—and this will sound self-evident to readers of 1980 and after—there is absolutely no necessity for a politician to deal in lies exclusively, as the Liberal school, the class-warriors, and the distorters believe. Men who are fighting against the Future perhaps have good reason to practice deception constantly, to throw clouds of theories over their actions, to say peace when they mean war, and war when they mean peace, and to keep elaborate classifications of "secret," "confidential" and the like.

The only secrecy that needs to exist in politics is that created by limitations of understanding on the part of individuals—and absolutely nothing can be done about this type of secrecy. For instance, the facts about the nature of politics and power which have been set down here will remain secret from the intellectuals and rationalists forever, even though they read this.

And similarly with lies: quite obviously the statesman who is the embodiment of the Spirit of the Age has no need of fundamental lies. He cannot fear the truth, since his actions are those of organic necessity, against which no force within the organism can prevail. Equally

## POLITICAL PLURIVERSE

obviously he who sets out to strangle the Future, like Metternich and the Fürstenbund, or the Liberals, democrats, party-leaders of whatever nature, culture-distorters, and intellectuals of the period 1900—1975 have daily, pressing need of lies, ever bigger and better lies. They like to call this Macchiavellism, and to accuse others of it. But Macchiavelli was certainly not a "Macchiavellian," or he would not have written his factual, truthful book. Instead he would have written a book about how good human nature is in general, and how extraordinarily good in particular is the nature of princes. Where Macchiavelli writes of deception he is thinking of deceiving the **enemy**—Liberals and distorters regard deception as the norm of conduct toward the populations whose destiny is in their hands, and over whose lives they hold the power of disposition.

The classic example in this realm is and will always remain the "election" in America in the Fall of 1940. There were two candidates, representing the same interests, and the populace was offered its "choice" between them. The issue which the populace would thereby "decide" was whether or not America would intervene in the Second World War. Both candidates said publicly in **totally unequivocal language** that they would not involve America in the War. Yet both of them were committed to the interests which made them candidates to involve America in the war as soon as possible. Both candidates were of course successful, for in late democratic conditions, the parties become trusts and no longer compete, since competition would injure them both. After the "election," the two successful candidates carried out their real commitment, took

## IMPERIUM

America to war, and sent to their deaths the very men whose lives they had vowed to spare from death in the Second World War, which did not affect American interests. One of the candidates explained after the "election" that his non-intervention promise to the populace was mere "campaign oratory."

In such a case, there is no doubt whatever that Macchiavelli would have counseled the rulers of America to have both candidates declare for intervention. But party-politicians deal in lies from inner compulsion, for their activity itself is an organic lie.

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The fact that a world with "one State" or "one government" was an organic impossibility was well shown by two attempts on the part of what might be called the Holy Alliance of the 20th century to institute such a condition. After each of the first two World Wars the extra-European Holy Alliance against Europe established a "League of Nations."

The political organisms however remained organic, and thus subject to the Law of Sovereignty. If a political unit exists it is sovereign; the member units of these two "leagues of nations" continued to exist politically and thus were sovereign. Incidentally the organic Law of Sovereignty is not the "principle of sovereignty of nations" of Grotius and Pufendorff; that was a legal concept and thus subject to juristic quibbling, whereas the organic Law of Sovereignty describes all political units whatever since it belongs to their very existence.

Thus the dilemma was that the "leagues of nations" had no sovereignty—again I am speaking of factual, organic sovereignty, not legal sovereignty—and hence were not political units. There is no political unit without organic sovereignty; there is no organic sovereignty without a political unit.

## IMPERIUM

What, then, were these two "leagues of nations"? They had two aspects, the ethical and the practical-political.

In terms of practical politics, they were polemical realities. Whatever power controlled them could thus speak for all nations, and thus any power opposing it was *hors-la-loi*, outside the comity of nations, not even human, for the league was **humanity**. They rapidly of course, needless to say, passed into the control of certain member-States, according to the Law of Sovereignty—where there is no sovereignty there is no independent political unit, and sovereignty must therefore reside elsewhere. And, in fact, the first league of nations, formed after the First World War, passed into the control of England. The second league of nations, formed in a time—after the Second World War—when politics had entered upon a more absolute stage, was seized by America.

This was foreseeable from the fact that Russia had allowed the geographical site of it to be established in America. This was not merely to keep out the undesirable swarms of ideologues, parasites, and holiday-makers, such as necessarily accompany every "league of nations," and to keep out the spies who pululate in such a condition, but it actually showed a limited and secondary interest in the thing.

In the past, certain powers have owned certain theories. Conversely, there has never been an important theory that did not have practical, political ownership. A theory without a political unit to use it to practical purpose is not important; if the protagonists of a theory have sufficient passion and non-theoretical poli-



## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

tical skill to work up intense feeling with their theory, they will possibly attain power with such a weapon. If they reach a point just short of power, an already existing political unit will appropriate the theory for practical purposes. Example: Marxism, taken over in 1918 by Bolshevik Russia for political use against Europe, when its protagonists in Germany showed themselves politically stillborn.

The "league of nations" theory was, in fact, owned by America. Whoever spread the idea—even England, which seized the first "league"—was increasing the power of America, whether he knew it or not.

It was inevitable that politicians free of ideology, like the Kremlin Mongols, would see this. Since they understood how to use theories, it was obvious they would allow no political unit to hamstring them with its theory. Thus perished the second and last "league of nations."

There was also an ethical aspect to these leagues. They were another example of the deception that was still thought in the first half of the 20th century to be a necessity of political conduct. They were actually nothing but polemical attempts to deny Europe. The formation of Europe as a political unit was in the Spirit of the Age. Whoever agitated anything else was merely negating this idea. This explains the fact that though the two "leagues of nations" accomplished nothing else as a political fact, nevertheless they prevented—Europe. This is quite independent of whether all people participating were conscious of this. However, it is the organic task of the politician to be conscious of political reality and to understand and assess rightly the possibilities of

## IMPERIUM

the time. It is of course now known that many persons who participated in these world-frauds were quite conscious of the realities.

From what has been said about the nature of political organisms the relation of the statesman to his political organism is obvious: just as he calls on his populace to die, he cannot refuse if necessary to give his own life. To his political unit he owes all his physical energies and all his talent and genius. For him to be careless in researching a situation—and above all—for him to do that which he knows is contrary to the furtherance of the life of the organism is to forfeit his right to live. He can consider himself lucky indeed if he is able to die of a heart attack, brain concussion, blood clot or simply old age.

When the extra-European forces gradually increased their power to such an extent that the independent existence of the West became problematical—this was evident from 1920 onward, and was transparent from 1933—it was the collective duty to their States and to the Western Civilization for all statesmen in Europe to endeavour to save their respective States and Western States collectively from political annihilation by extra-European forces. Thus any statesman in a European State who sabotaged the general West-European understanding and final settlement that was sought by the custodians of the spirit of the Western Civilization was a strangler and distorter of the destiny of his own country and of that of the Western Civilization.

The ethics thus formulated is an ethics of fact. It is organic, political, factual and nothing else.

Its sole imperative is an organic-political one. It is

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

distinguished from religious ethics in that it has no theological sanction. It is distinguished from all ethical systems whatever in that it only sees one relationship—that of the individual to the political unit. Nor does it have a sanction in the punitive sense. The organic relationship between the political unit and the statesman itself sets the ethical imperative. If the statesman violates it by injuring instead of furthering the life of the organism, the sanction is a matter for Destiny, the inner force of organisms. By doing so he forfeits his right to live, but often he is fortunate enough to escape with his life. The existential embrace of the lives of the individuals in it which has been shown to be an essential characteristic of a political unit makes no exception in favour of politicians. At its highest tension, this organic imperative causes a statesman in its service to tie his own life to the success of his own idea for the organism. Bismark and Friedrich der Grosse also were determined to take their lives in the event of failure.

## THE INNER ASPECT OF THE LAW OF SOVEREIGNTY

The Law of Sovereignty describes characteristic of all political units whatever. It places the decision in every matter having political significance with the organism. Depending on circumstances any one, or even more, internal issues may become important politically, i.e., may begin to assume the form of a political unit and determine a friend-enemy disjunction. The government of the organism will always intervene at this point if its understanding and will are unimpaired. Charles I of England allowed this critical juncture to pass, by allowing his first Parliament to send Montague to the tower for preaching the divine right of kings. From then on the situation deteriorated steadily, and a correspondingly increasing amount of force was necessary to attempt to change the direction events were moving. The actual significance of the struggle was seen from the very beginning by the contemporary political thinker Thomas Hobbes, who wrote against the State-destroying nature of the Parliamentary position. He was also sensitive enough to the situation to know when things had reached the stage of personal insecurity, and left England in 1640. During these years of internal

## INNER ASPECT OF SOVEREIGNTY

enmity, England did not exist as a political unit, it was ignored in European power-combinations, and it can thank the total European situation that it was not partitioned.

The Parliament considered itself the government, the monarchists considered themselves the government. A political outlook naturally does not concern itself with the question of which was "right." Such a question has no political meaning. It has only a legal meaning, and law is a reflex of politics. Politics is concerned with assessing facts and acting upon them; law comes afterward and has the function of consolidating a given political fact-complex. Law formulates the disjunction legal-illegal according to political dictate. If there is no political unit to prescribe the law, there can be no law. Thus in time of Civil War there is no law—there are two laws. If the result of the War is a reconstitution of the former people and territory again as a political unit, it will always turn out that the victor was the one who was legally right all the time, and the defeated was legally wrong. This **invariable** fact shows the nature of law.

Nevertheless, Parliament and King stood opposed, each claiming to be England. Politically, they were both wrong, for there was no England. In political language, two Englands equal no England. Each of the two groups was a political unit, and had become such by determining an **enemy**. Each of them was conducting itself as a government and each availed itself of the organic political right—also, but **afterward** a legal right—to determine the **inner enemy**. An organic characteristic of all political units whatever—that they determine the

inner enemy when they feel it necessary—is the internal corollary of the Law of Sovereignty. Thus Cavaliers in Parliamentary territory were the enemy of the government, and their existence was that of outlaws. Correspondingly with adherents of Parliament in Royal territory. It must not be supposed because of the example used of a Civil War, that such determination of the inner enemy only occurs then. On the contrary, if Charles I had declared his opponents to be inner enemies from the very beginning, and had treated them as such, there had been no Civil War. To do this however, he lacked the vigour and the understanding. He should have consulted Hobbes, who understood these things. But Charles was not a reading man, and did not know Hobbes's treatises on Human Nature and De Corpore Politico.

Every political unit in history has exercised in need, and sometimes not in need, its organic power to determine the inner enemy. If it does it soon and proceeds thoroughly, the danger is past. If it procrastinates and takes half-measures, it ceases to be a political unit.

If it exercises this power when there is no need, it is merely persecuting its own population, and is sowing seeds of hatred that will one day bear surprising fruit. The organic ethic of the relation of the statesman to his political unit applies also to conduct of this type. The statesman has no organic right to dispose wantonly of the lives of the populace. To send subjects to their death in a war against a power not a real enemy, a war which thus by its very nature **must** be unsuccessful, or to declare a group as an inner enemy when it does not contain the real possibility of constituting

## INNER ASPECT OF SOVEREIGNTY

itself as a true political unit, is vicious, non-political conduct is both cases. Such a man exposes himself to the organic sanction that Destiny often imposes in such cases.

This organic right to determine the inner enemy is not always exercised in the same manner. It may be open: arrest, sudden attack, shooting down at home, butchery in the streets. It may be concealed: drawing up of punitive laws general in their terms but applying in fact only to one group. It may be purely formless, but none the less real: the ruler may attack verbally the individual or group in question. Such a declaration may be used only to intimidate, or it may be a method of bringing about assassination. It may be economic pressure—such a tactic is naturally the favourite of Liberals. A “blacklist” or boycott may destroy the group or individual.

It goes without saying that the exercise of such a right has no connection whatever with any written “constitution” which purports verbally to distribute the public power in a political unit. Such a “constitution” may forbid such a declaration of inner enemy, but units with such constitutions have never hesitated in need, and have often invoked such procedure independently of need. Thus the transatlantic part of the anti-Europe coalition in the Second World War carried out, quite independently of necessity, since there was no real inner enemy as a matter of fact, extensive inner persecutions directed against groups and strata of its population. It does not affect the political nature of this activity that it was done by culture-distorting elements, for the organic laws set out here describe all political units

## IMPERIUM

whatever, even if they fall into the hands of political and cultural outsiders.

### II

This inward application of the Law of Sovereignty is of course valid for political units in all the High Cultures. Our information on it in the Classical Culture is sufficient to show its development there. The best-known example is that of the Resolution of Demophantos in the year 410 B.C. which declared of every person who sought to destroy Athenian democracy that he was "an enemy of the Athenians." In the same period the Ephors of Sparta declared war on all Helots found living within the territory of Sparta. In our own Culture, the activities of the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada are instructive, and above all the famous document by which Phillip II condemned the entire population of the Netherlands to death as heretics represents about the ultimate development of which this organic right is capable. Calvin's theocracy in Geneva was outdone by Phillip only quantitatively.

In old Roman public law the undesirable was declared solemnly to be "hostis," which was the word describing the public enemy. The Imperial proscriptions, regardless of their economic motive, were an application of the same organic function. In the Holy Roman Empire, the *Acht und Bann* were directed against inner dangerous or unwanted elements. They were declared *Friedlos*, and placed outside all protection. Anyone aiding such a person fell thereby into the same category. The Jacobins and the *Comité de salut public* slew their



## INNER ASPECT OF SOVEREIGNTY

thousands of victims, both with and without declaration of enmity.

In early democratic conditions, the weakening of the State vis-a-vis internal groups would have made it more difficult to invoke this right, but correspondingly, since all Western States were in more or less the same internal condition, the necessity for its invocation was not often present. In any case the triumph of theories of equality and freedom in the realm of political vocabulary made it inexpedient to invoke the right in the old open, declared, legalistic way.

The early democracy was, in the Western Civilization, from about 1800 to 1850. During this period internal sovereignty as exemplified by determination of the internal enemy was more refined, intellectualized, concealed. Examples: The American Alien and Sedition Laws, the Austrian measures against democrats 1815-1848. Bismarck's laws against class-warriors. Of course in war the right was as forcefully exercised as ever, but was usually legally formless: the Yankees in the American War of Secession, 1861-1865; French Communards, 1871.

With the sudden transition to non-democratic conditions marked by the First World War, began the Age of Wars of Annihilation. It could also be called the Age of Absolute Politics. The 19th century was the Age of Economics—not that economics was ever prior in a real sense in the world of action, but economics supplied much of the motivation of politics, as shown by phenomena like the Opium War, the American War of Secession, the Boer War. Economics wants a weak State, and in the Age of Economics, the States were on

## IMPERIUM

the defensive, but the new Zeitgeist changed the entire meaning of History and content of action. Because of the fact that the Zeitgeist of the 20th century did not attain to external triumph in all Europe, many supposed that the Age of Economics was not only continuing but was attaining to new victorious heights.

That this was not the case was shown by the war which greeted the opening of the century. The war in question was between the Boer State, a colony of the Western Civilization, and England. The War was not against savages, or aborigines of spoil lands and thus does not come into the same classification as the Australian war against the autochthonous tribes of Tasmania, when the victims were hunted down like rabbits to total extermination. We have seen that the armed contests between Western Culture-States were not true wars, but were agonal in nature. The turning point to Civilization was marked by Napoleon, the herald of absolute war and politics, but this tradition continued so strong that in the French War against Prussia, 1870-1871, victorious Prussia still did not think of annihilating the totally defeated foe, nor of subjecting it to an endless military occupation, but contented itself with re-incorporating two provinces and imposing an indemnity which was paid off in a few years.

England had also so conducted itself in intra-Cultural armed contests. And yet in 1900, it carried the war against the Boers to complete annihilation. This was in true 20th century style, and note that it was England, the organism which had brought forth the idea of the 19th century and was not destined to produce the idea of the 20th century, which thus acted completely within

## INNER ASPECT OF SOVEREIGNTY

the spirit of the new age. So strong is the Spirit of the Age—it compels inner submission even though one use the formulae of the past and believe that he is leading a moribund idea to new life.

The Boer War was mentioned because it marked a turning point also in the matter of the internal aspect of the Law of Sovereignty. In this War, the English armies initiated the 20th century method of designating and handling the inner enemy. It is none the less an historical epoch in this matter that no real political need existed for what occurred, for we are interested in what did occur, and not in re-writing history. In this War, large numbers of civilian Boers, men, women and children, came into the custody of the English armies. They were taken into custody on the theory that they were a danger to the internal security of the territory controlled by the Empire, that thus they were inner enemies. The numbers involved were considerable, too great for the systems of prisons and jails there existing. The solution adopted was to place them into detention camps, hastily constructed ad hoc. These were called "concentration camps," and this word was to have a destiny of its own.

After the First World War, the Age of Absolute Politics showed its manifestations everywhere, and one way it did it was to introduce this "concentration camp" system into every country in the Western Civilization. The more dangerous its external situation, the greater was the necessity of firm inner control, unbroken and unbreakable inner peace, and thus those countries with the most political concern introduced large numbers of persons they declared inner enemies,

## IMPERIUM

or in any case treated as inner enemies, into prison camps. But since the word was connected with politics, it acquired polemical significance, and was used by some States as a method of attacking the "morality" of other States. And yet these concentration camps were similar in all countries, just as prisons are. It is not material that extra-European forces imprisoned Europeans in the camps they set up in England, or that Europe imprisoned Slavs, Jews and Bolsheviks in the camps it set up in Europe; the camps were essentially the same from the political standpoint.

They both illustrate the internal aspect of the Law of Sovereignty as it develops in the 20th century. The Age of Absolute Politics has a full century more in its course, and thus the number of prison camps and the number of inmates will increase and not decrease.

It remains to say a word on the future development of internal sovereignty. Since the spirit of these times and the next is no longer that of economics, but that of absolute politics, sly and veiled methods of acting against inner individuals and groups will fall into disuse. In their place will appear once more open and legally formulated inner enemy-declarations. Even economically motivated determinations will be quite openly pursued with political means.

## POLITICAL ORGANISMS AND WAR

A political unit has the *jus belli*, the organic right to make war on the enemy it has determined. Not moral right here—this organic right is a thing independent of morality, even though also the strictest Scholastic philosophers gave to political units the purely moral right to wage war. But it is in a purely political way that the word is used here: the right to make war is a part of the habitus of the organism. The existence as a political unit, the determination of an enemy, the making of war, the maintenance of the inner peace, the declaration of the inner enemy, the power of life and death over the life of all subjects—these are merely different facets of politico-organic existence. They cannot be separated; they are an indivisible whole; insofar as they can be defined at all, they can only be so in terms of each other.

In the exercise of its power to make war, a State disposes of the lives of its own subjects and of those of the enemy. This bloodshed is not a life-requirement of a State, but occurs merely as a part of the process of acquiring power. The State directly seeking power is not the one that brings about bloodshed and war. No politician whatever would make war against another

## IMPERIUM

unit if he thought it would submit to incorporation without a fight. Thus war is always the result of resistance, and not of political dynamism. War is not normative; it is existential only. In the entire panorama of the history of the High Cultures, I doubt that there has been a case where the ruling stratum of a political unit ever decided that, first of all, it wanted war, and then cast about for someone upon whom to make war. It would not be political.

Nor is the mere power over life and death generally, *jus vitae ac necis*, the hall-mark of a political organism. Many States in history recognized this power to be in family units. Old Rome gave it to the *paterfamilias*. Some States have allowed the master power over the life of the slave. Most states have permitted the victim of an imputation of dishonour to contest for the life of his vilifier. Many States have recognized the right of blood-revenge among clans—although this reaches the very frontier in this matter, and is seldom found, and then only in peace.

It is thus quite conclusive that politics, as such, seeks no monopoly of taking life. Politics at its highest potential, war, takes life only because resistance requires it. Politics is activity in relation to power, and there is only one way organic instinct behaves toward power: it seeks more. Metaphysically this is the relation between the soul of man and the soul of the High Culture on the one hand, and the habitus of the beast of prey on the other hand. Although it permits subjects in certain cases, which it determines, in accordance with the Law of Sovereignty, to take life, the State never permits subjects to make war. If a group of subjects

## POLITICAL ORGANISMS & WAR

assume this power, a new State has arisen. If the right of blood-revenge turns into clan-warfare, the State must intervene, for its existence is involved. That is why, in all States engaged in serious politics, the right of blood-revenge is abrogated.

The right to make war and in the process to dispose of life is purely political. No Church could possibly ask its members to die for the Church—this is quite different from insisting that martyrdom is preferable to apostacy—unless it is becoming a political unit. In critical times, many Churches, such as Abu Bekr's Islam, have become States, but then they are no longer Churches, and they are ruled by the political way of thinking and its basic inner, organic demand for more power, and no longer by the religious imperative of salvation and conversion.

It would be cruel and insane to ask men to die in order that the remainder would have an unimpaired, or higher standard of economic life. When war is motivated by an economic idea, the economics vanishes into the war-political situation; i.e., the test of success is the political one, the method of waging it is not reviewed as to its cost, the means used always are military-political, the leadership is always political, and would be so even if exclusively economists were used as the war leaders. Their thinking would indeed be curious, but it would not be economic. Politics and economics are two different directions of human thinking and are hostile to one another. For this reason no true politician and no true soldier would ever with full consciousness carry on or fight a war for an exclusively economic motive, no matter what grand opportunities it offered

## IMPERIUM

for personal distinction. Economically motivated wars like the American War of Secession, 1861-1865, the English Opium War, the Boer War were of necessity presented to the participants under an untruthful propaganda.

Economics lacks the strength in itself—i.e., “pure” economics—to rouse men to the level of action where they will risk their lives. This is because economics **pre-supposes** life, and merely seeks ways of securing, nourishing, perpetuating the life. It simply does not make sense to buy life with death—when death becomes a possibility, we are no longer in the sphere of economics. If economics wants a certain war, it can only bring it about by political means, and then also—we are no longer in the sphere of economics.

Morality has often been put forward as the motivation of war, and many wars have been waged in the name of morality. This however does not make sense—that is not according to any Western system of morality—for States are not within the purview of morality, which is valid only for individuals. Furthermore the materialistic morality of the 19th century denounced war as murder. Therefore when protagonists of this type of morality—and they continue to exist and to do so—demand a war to stop war, it is an obvious fraud. The most any one man can do about stopping murder is to refrain from murders himself, but these morality-warriors have not done that.

A morality-war is impossible not only from the moral side, but from the war-political side. War is not a norm—one cannot fight **against** it. War is an existential disjunction, not a system or institution. There is no



## POLITICAL ORGANISMS & WAR

rational aim, programme for economic, moral, esthetic or other change, no ever-so-correct norm that would justify one in killing. To adopt war and politics is in fact to abandon the other things. One can retain non-political ideas privately, but if they become public they vanish into the political. The result is politics dressed in moral clothing.

Another fact emerges about politics mixed with morality. There are, first, two possible mixtures: that of the Cromwell-Torquemada type on the one hand, in which also the politician believes that he is actualizing morality by his policies, and the Lincoln-Roosevelt type, in which the morality is purely a deception. In the first case, in proportion as the politician thinks morally, his politics is faulty. Thus Cromwell refused in 1653 a Spanish Alliance which would have been highly advantageous to England because he abhorred the religion of Spain. His conduct was of course nonetheless politics, for he made with France the same alliance he refused with Spain and received considerably less from it than Spain had offered. In the second case, where it is not taken seriously, as in the case of Roosevelt, it is not morality at all and is repulsive to honour. Thus morality in politics makes bad politics if taken seriously, and if used cynically, it dishonours him who uses it.

The question may be asked why moral vocabulary is imported into politics in this Age of Absolute Politics. The answer is that it is done quite deliberately and politically. It is elementary that politics does not include within the idea **enemy** any subsidiary content of malice or hatred. Hatred is **private**; it occurs between antipathetical persons out of their own private hostility.

## IMPERIUM

Even though this terminology is different from that of Hegel, the idea is identical. He spoke of the hatred of the public enemy as being undifferentiated and totally free from personality. This is no longer hatred in the primary meaning of that word. War is between States, and when the enemy State is overcome—what overcome means is a reflex of the Age, and in an Age of Absolute Politics means total incorporation of the other State—there can be no more war. Enmity ceases, and if there ever was any animosity of any kind it must cease now, since it was directed, if it was political, against the enemy State. That State is gone.

But—if the population of a State has been given exclusively propaganda to the effect that the war was not political, but for moral, humanitarian, legal, scientific and other reasons, this population will regard the end of the war as the beginning of unlimited opportunities of oppressing the population of the former enemy State. Moral propaganda thus stands forth in its nakedness—in the 20th century it is a means of fighting a war after the war, a war not this time against a State with weapons in its hands, but against the survivors of the defeat. Herein is the true significance of a phenomenon that mystified many persons at that time—I refer to the “concentration camp” propaganda against Europe, which was developed to its full height after the Second World War. This propaganda was solely for the purpose of a war after the war, thus not a true war, since there was no opposing unit, but an attempt to rouse extra-European populations and extra-European armies of occupation to ever-renewed ferocity and personal hatred against a defenceless European population.

## POLITICAL ORGANISMS & WAR

Thus a moral "war to end war" develops in actuality into an endless war. A war for humanitarian purposes develops into a war to exterminate by starvation the population of the former State. A war against concentration camps results in bigger and more numerous concentration camps. This must be so in an Age of Absolute Politics, for obviously moral reasons for a war are not necessary in such an age. Propaganda cannot bring more men on to the battlefield than can the Spirit of the Age. Therefore he who is using the vocabulary of morality wishes to import into the struggle a viciousness that the spirit of politics alone cannot develop. Proudhon observed: "Whoever says humanity wishes to deceive."

Only politics shows the real meaning of war. Economics, esthetics, law and the other forms of thought cannot supply its meaning, for war is politics at its highest intensity. The political meaning of a war is that it is waged against a real enemy. To be justified politically, the war must be an affirmation of the political organism, or for the saving of the organism. To expend human life in any other war is distortion of the destiny of the State and treacherous dishonourable killing of the soldiers and civilians who die in it. The decision as to who is the enemy must be made by statesmen who embody the national idea, and if it is not, the result is political distortion. In the language of politics a just war is only that one waged against a real enemy.

It is immature thinking to suggest that military men should decide in such matters. It is possible for a politician to be also a soldier, but a soldier does not become ipso facto a politician. In Rome all statesmen

## IMPERIUM

generally speaking were ex-commanders, but they had gone into the field as part of their **political** careers. Caesar embarked late in life upon the military career, but how many professional soldiers could have gone into politics with corresponding attainment? In matters of politics, soldiers are circumstanced the same as the populace in general.

## THE LAW OF POLITICAL PLENUM

The essentiality of war to organic political existence is shown by the fact that a State cannot give up its *jus belli* without thereby giving up political existence. There have been in the history of the High Cultures very few examples of a political unit abandoning, either openly and consciously, or simply through submission, the organic right to make war. And in no case has a power that was important, or even considered itself to be important, renounced this right.

The famous Kellogg Pact—what 21st century historians will designate as the high point of ideology-politics—did not even try to obligate its signatories to renounce war. The pact merely “condemns” war. The French version was “condamner,” the German “verurteilen.” Naturally in an age when many politicians were masquerading as clerics, most anyone was willing to “condemn” war. But the leading clerical powers made reservations to their condemnation. Thus England said that it could not condemn war in the case of its national honour, self-defence, implementation of the “League of Nations” or of neutrality treaties, or of the Locarno treaty, the welfare of spheres of interest like Egypt, Palestine and so on. France made similar exceptions,

## IMPERIUM

as did Poland. It was soon observed by political thinkers that the pact did not forbid, but sanctioned war, for the exceptions covered all possible cases. Thenceforward wars were to be legally formulated. Other political thinkers compared it to a New Year's resolution.

Organic realities were thus obeyed by this singular Kellog Pact, even though it purported to set them aside. Instead of law abolishing politics, politics used law, as usual, to prop up a certain political state of affairs.

The Pact also spoke only of war "as an instrument of national policy." As an instrument of some other idea however, nothing was said, not even of international policy. Thus the most vicious wars were not covered by the treaty. A war for an international policy, for "humanity," for "morality" and the like is the worst of all possible wars, for it dehumanizes the opponent, makes him into a personal enemy, sanctions any type of cruelty against him, and removes all restraints of honour from the person conducting such a war.

Nor is it possible to give up political existence entirely. Only a unit may disappear. The Organic Law of Political Plenum appears. If a given State should become tired through old age, and wished no longer to carry on war or politics, it could, if it desired, announce its idea to the world of States. It could say that it had renounced enmity and embraced all States as its friends, that it would make no more war and wanted only peace. Such conduct, no matter how logical it would be to effectuate such a wish, would not have that result. Logic does not obtain in politics. A State would by such conduct create a political vacuum, and other States not

## POLITICAL PLENUM

tired of war and politics would immediately abolish this vacuum and bring the area and population of the abdicating State into its own realm. Such a plenary action might be open and undisguised, or it might be veiled. In any case an abdicating power moves at once into a larger realm. **A political vacuum is an impossibility in a system of States.** This Law of Political Plenum describes actual political situations, and there need be no announcement of abdication by the disappearing State. If such a State merely by reason of the general development of the larger situation sinks into the place where it cannot wage war, i.e., engage in politics, the Law of Political Plenum is at once operative. It is not necessary for the incorporation of the disappearing State into the larger State to be accompanied by the marching in of troops. This is of course the 20th century method of doing it, for this is the Age of Absolute Politics, and any type of disguise for political action is both unnecessary and inappropriate. It occurs automatically with the lowering of political potential in the disappearing State.

Thus, for example, the American seizure of half Europe after the Second World War was a mixture of military and crypto-political means. The seizure of the other half of Europe by Russia was more open, but still loaded with 19th century talk of "justification," "non-interference," "security," "military necessity" and so forth. In both cases the fiction of independence of the former political units of Europe was maintained.

This dividing of the Western Civilization between the two extra-European forces occurred as an instance of the Law of Political Plenum. European States were

## IMPERIUM

**individually** unable to wage war after 1945 because of the enormous requirements in industrial establishment and man-power. These existed only in Russia and America. Europe collectively thus became a political vacuum, because of the individual political incapacity of the States of the Western Civilization.

Inability to wage war is abdication in fact of political existence, whether the abdicating State knows this or not. Thus, apart from all fiction, the frontiers which were maintained for a while in Europe after the Second World War were not power-frontiers, but administrative lines of demarcation. Thus America and Russia did not take these frontiers seriously each within its own half of Europe. The only frontier Russia and America took seriously was the one remaining power-frontier in Europe, that between them. The world of actual politics at any one time is described by powers capable of waging war.

Only political independence can be given up, not political existence. Politics still is present, with its existential embrace of the lives of the whole population. We stand before the Organic Law of Protection and Obedience.



## THE LAW OF PROTECTION AND OBEDIENCE

The purpose for which the great political thinker Hobbes wrote his "Leviathan" was to show the world once more the "Mutual Relation between Protection and Obedience," demanded alike by human nature and divine law. The Roman formula was *protego ergo oblige*. To him who supplies protection also goes obedience. It will go either voluntarily, as the result of persuasion, or as the result of force. Once more, there is here no moral content in this formula. It may have also a moral aspect, but nothing said about it here relates to any such aspect, or to any other aspect than the purely political. A 20th century outlook on politics is necessarily purely factual, and neither approves nor disapproves of political realities. Approval and disapproval on a moral basis is outside politics. Approval and disapproval on the basis of Culture-feelings, taste and instinct is, however, the driving-force of politics. But in examining realities as a prerequisite to acting upon the realities, we put aside all pre-conceptions whatever.

Thus—Protection and Obedience. This organic law is again a description of an **existential** reality. Without the relationship of protection in one place and obedience

## IMPERIUM

in another, there is no politics. Every political organism exhibits it, and the extent of protection and obedience describes the territorial frontiers of the organism. Wherever a power is under the protection of another power, the two are one for external political purposes. Whatever apparent anomalies have existed disappear as soon as political tension in the area in question heightens. Looking at the organism inwardly, the amount of protection and the amount of obedience, and the quality of these things, describes the inner strength of the unit. A high degree of protection and a high degree of obedience constitute an integrated organism that can stand the test of politics. Such an organism can often prevail against great odds. A low degree of the protection-obedience relationship describes a unit that is inwardly weak. It cannot stand a real hard struggle, and will often succumb in a test even to an organism with fewer material means and numbers.

Thus when in the 20th century an organism dare not conscript a population within its area, such an area is one of inner weakness, and cannot be counted part of the political body. Such a situation can only continue as long as such an area is not the focus of political tension. The law also describes the geographical extent of a political unit. Where protection and obedience stop, there are the actual frontiers.

Once more the words protection and obedience have also been used with an entire absence of any moral content. Thus "protection" can mean unlimited terror by military means, and "obedience" may be a reflection of the alternative of the concentration camp. The condition of occupied Europe under extra-European armies

## PROTECTION & OBEDIENCE

is protection within the meaning of this organic law. Even though these extra-European armies are starving and torturing the populace, nevertheless they are protecting that part of Europe from incorporation by another political unit. America protects its half from Russia and Russia protects its half from America. Thus the word is neutral vis-a-vis the disjunction of altruism-egoism. Protection is not kindness, it is acquisition of power. Obedience is not gratitude, it is political submission from whatever motive.

Where the protecting force is within a Culture and the area and populace protected also belong to the Culture, the obedience will be full, natural and voluntary, on the part of the Culture-bearing stratum at least when the issue is the existence of the Culture.

This Law describes Western feudalism, for instance. Feudalism is the strongest political system that can arise. It is integrated inwardly and outwardly. It is the system where political activity is within a self-evident cadre of forms. It is an Internationale in the only true sense of the word; it is a phenomenon of equal validity in the whole Culture. In our case, it was the form and vessel of all Western happenings for 300 years. The basic formulation of the feudal Idea is nothing but Protection and Obedience.

Protectorates such as Western international law recognizes are examples of the law. It also describes any federal units that arise. The central government is the only political one, for it protects and thus receives political obedience.

The existential nature of the Law is also shown by the fact that if a State is unable to protect an area

## IMPERIUM

and population within its system, that area and population will pass into the system of another State that can protect and has the will to protect. The passing may be by revolt, it may be by war. It may be by negotiation, particularly if the protecting State allows a quasi-government to exist in the protected area, which can make a private understanding with other powers to deliver to them the population and territory. This shows incidentally the danger of carrying fictions too far in politics. To boast too loudly that vassals are not vassals may be to transfer them to another allegiance. Similarly to describe one's fortresses as impregnable is dangerous; this will never convince a resolute State of equal rank, but may convince their owner.

A more inclusive way of saying this is that in an Age of Absolute Politics political appearances should correspond to political reality. In the century of economic-moral cant, mastery consisted in maintaining an elaborate pretence of freedom, and simultaneously therewith a rigid condition of servitude. This sort of thing becomes both impracticable and disgusting in this Age which will embrace the two next centuries. Impracticable because the danger constantly exists of deceiving only one's self, and not the political enemy. Disgusting because the more robust forces of this Age scorn sly deceits and veiled formulae for the fact of political subordination.

In a country where the cant of morality exercises a monopoly over political vocabulary, politicians cannot speak openly even to one another. The propaganda terror necessary to maintain such an absurd type of political terminology in contradiction to facts ends by

## PROTECTION & OBEDIENCE

weakening from within governments in such countries. Anyone making a purely factual remark becomes suspect, and some of the best brains have found their way thus into the concentration camps.

## INTERNATIONALE

It has been seen that the world of politics is a pluriverse. This organic fact has within it fatal consequences for the league of nations type of ideologist, and upon it his schemes founder. Neither of the two "leagues of nations" which were established by extra-European forces after the first two World Wars were international organizations, but merely interstate organizations. The English language does not permit of the clarity of the distinction with the same self-evidence as the German language. German "zwischenstaatlich" means occurring between States, as self-contained impenetrable units; "international" in German means occurring inside of both States, and passing through the State frontiers in every sense. Thus Macedonian terrorism in the 19th and 20th centuries was truly international, but it was not interstate. If the populations of the various States of the world were represented in a "league of nations" quite independently of their various States, and if the States had no standing in it whatever, it could then possibly be called an international organization. When the sole membership is of States, then the organization is merely "zwischenstaatlich," or in English, "interstate."

## INTERNATIONALE

The importance of the distinction is that an interstate organization presupposes States. If they are true States and not States merely in name, they are described by the laws of Sovereignty and Totality. And in truth in both leagues at least some of the members were true States in this sense. In the first league, there were at various times five, six or seven such States. In the second league there were only two. But as long as there are two, such a league is merely an arena for the conduct of interstate politics.

An Internationale, provided it comes from the soul of the Culture, has the possibility of absorbing all States into it, provided it is an idea embracing life totally, i.e., a Cultural idea, and not merely a political scheme—and above all not a mere abstraction of some kind, an *ideal*—and feudalism was such an Internationale. Needless to say the various class-war revolutionary “internationales” were not this, for they had their origin purely in politics, and were purely negative. A Cultural Idea cannot be negative; such an Idea is not made by men, but comes from the development of the Culture, and represents an organic necessity of the higher organism. The phrase *Spirit of the Age* is transferable with the phrase *Culture-idea*. Both are superpersonal, and the most that a man can do is to formulate the Idea, try to actualize it, or try to strangle and distort it. Change it, or destroy it, he cannot.

An Internationale representing a Culture-idea is of course supra-national as well as international in the true sense, for nations are creations of the High Culture. Only such an Internationale could absorb States into it—and then only the States within the Culture. The

## IMPERIUM

idea would naturally have no inner effect on populations and areas outside its organic body. Thus no Western Internationale could inwardly touch China, India, Japan, Islam or Russia. Their reaction to such an Internationale, provided they were affected by its external effects would of necessity be purely negative. If such an Internationale were to constitute the West as a unit also for **political** purposes—and the outer world has quite correctly always regarded the West as a unit for all other purposes—it would tend to create an anti-Western unity among the areas and populations outside. This would be only because the Western Civilization—the first one to do so—has made the whole world into its sphere of activity. For the first time in the history of the High Cultures, a Culture-political system embraced the entire world. For the politics of the extra-European forces is also in its depths motivated by the historically omnipotent force of our Western Civilisation, in this way, that extra-European forces only derive their unity from the fact that they are a **negation** of Europe. If there were no Europe, Russia would merely be the scene of nomadic groups wandering with their herds, and engaging in small-scale inter-tribal warfare. Similarly, the famous "Chinese Revolution" of 1911 was a mere echo-phenomenon of Western currents, and its whole significance is that it had an anti-Western effect in the area the West calls China.

A true Internationale acts directly upon the entire Culture-area and all the populations in it. Capitalism was such a true Internationale—it was an expression of the Spirit of the Age. England was the vessel chosen by the Culture to actualize this idea, and England re-



## INTERNATIONALE

mained the spiritual home of Capitalism. The other nations were forced to orient their lives to this idea—which was also a world-outlook more than a system of economics. They could either affirm it, or negate it. This choice existed only because the Spirit of the Age also contained political nationalism, and thus Capitalism, belonging as it did to one nation, did not and never could have amalgamated all the Western nations into one nation. Political nationalism was moribund even before the First World War, and thereafter the practice of political nationalism was simply Culture-distortion—every nation of the West was injured by it individually, and all of them collectively.

The Internationale of our times appears in a time when the Spirit of the Age has outgrown political nationalism. The Age of Absolute Politics will not tolerate petty-Stateism. The whole world is the spoils in this gigantic political age, and obviously tiny units, like the various former States of Europe, with a few tens of thousands of quadrate kilometers, with a few tens of millions of population cannot engage in a political struggle in a world filled with a population of 2,000,000,000 of human beings. The smallest possible unit that could even begin to participate in this world-struggle would have to have an area the size of Europe and hither Russia. Any struggle preliminary to this is local.

The two "leagues of nations" were merely interstate phenomena, thus pre-supposed States, thus were not themselves political units, thus could not engage in politics, thus did not exist as political realities. The Laws of Sovereignty and Totality, formulated herein,

## IMPERIUM

described the member-States of the leagues, but not the leagues themselves. Liberals and rationalists, moralists and logicians adrift in the world of facts, were not dismayed by the situation presented. They said that all that was necessary was to transfer sovereignty—mere legal sovereignty, for they knew nothing, and can know nothing, of the Organic Law of Sovereignty—from the member-States to the league itself. They thought that “sovereignty” was a word written down on a piece of paper, and was thus, according to the calculus of symbolic logic, manipulable at will. Sovereignty however, happens to be an existential characteristic of a political organism, and these organisms are not subject to human control, but, on the contrary, control the human beings in their areas politically. This is a fact and thus exists on a different plane from logic, a plane which can never possibly intersect that of logic. Logic deals with one phase of Culture-man, his intellect, and that only. It can only dissect, analyse, conduct spiritual post-mortems. Thus it cannot act, for action is creation. Politics in this light resembles art more than it does logic. Logic is light, politics is chiaroscuro; logic is cameo, politics in intaglio; logic is rigid, politics fluid. Creation is of the whole soul, and logic is only one product of a small part of the soul. Nonsense in logic may be sound politics; nonsense in politics may be sound logic. Culture-political ideas precede reality; intellectual ideals bark at the heels of reality.

The basic idea of the leagues of nations was to abolish war and politics. To provide a meeting place for war-political units could hardly do it, and conse-

## INTERNATIONALE

quently these meeting places had no political significance, which continued to reside in the capitals.

We have seen that a world with one State is organic nonsense, since a State is a unit of opposition. But some of the intellectuals wanted a world with no States whatever, singular or plural. They spoke of "humanity," and wished to unite it for the purpose of abolishing politics by politics, war by war. They were thus affirming war and politics, but this remained hidden from them. The name "humanity" became thus a polemical word—it described everyone except the enemy. This was of course nothing new, for this overworked word had appeared as a political word in the 18th century, when it was used by the intellectuals and equality-ideologues to describe everyone, except the nobility and clergy. It thus dehumanized the nobility and clergy and when power came into the hands of the intellectuals, in the French Terror of 1793, they showed that they considered their enemies subject to inhuman treatment because they did not belong to "humanity." Again, politics and logic separate out: humanity in logic means inhumanity in politics.

But yet the word humanity excludes no one, semantically speaking. The enemy is also human. Therefore humanity can have no enemy, and the "one State" liberals and the "humanity" intellectuals were involved in the very sort of thing they wished to abolish—politics and war. "Humanity" was not a peace word, but a war slogan. The "one State" remained in the world of dreams. Politics remained in the world and turned all of these anti-political things to its own use.

What would be a world without politics? Nowhere

## IMPERIUM

would there be protection or obedience, there would be no aristocracy, no democracy, no empire, no fatherland, no patriotism, no frontiers, no customs, no rulers, no political assemblies, no superiors, no subordinates.

For this world to come about or to continue to exist, there would have to be a total absence of men with lust for adventure and domination. No will-to-power, no barbarian instincts, no criminals, no superiority feelings, no Messianic ideas, no unpeaceable men, no programmes of action, no proselyting, no ambition, no economics above the personal level, no foreigners, no race, no ideas.

We come to the fundamental disjunction between political thinking and mere thinking about politics. All intellectualistic thinking about politics posits a certain great non-existent characteristic of human nature.

## THE TWO POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGIES

The touchstone of any political theory whatever is its attitude to the fundamental ethical quality of human nature. From this standpoint there are only two kinds: those which posit a "naturally good" human nature, and those which see human nature as it is on the other hand. Good has meant reasonable, perfectible, peaceful, educable, desiring to improve, and various other things.

Every Rationalistic political or State theory regards man as "good" by nature. The Encyclopedists, the Illuminati and the devotees of Baron Holbach's philosophy were all symptomatic of the advent of Rationalism in the 18th century. All talked of "the essential goodness of human nature." Rousseau was the most forceful and radical of 18th century writers in this respect. Voltaire set himself apart by denying totally this essential goodness of human nature.

It is curious that a theory of politics could ever possibly ground itself on such an assumption, since politics actualizes itself only in the form of the friend-enemy disjunction. Thus a theory of hostility assumes that human nature is essentially peaceable and non-hostile.

The middle of the 18th century is the beginning of

## IMPERIUM

the word liberalism, and of the idea-complex liberalism. Since human nature is basically good, there is no need to be **strict** with it, one can be "**liberal.**" This idea was derived from the English Sensualist philosophers. The Social Contract theory of Rousseau originated with the Englishman Locke in the previous century. All Liberalism predicates a sensualistic, materialistic philosophy. Such philosophies are rationalistic in tendency, and Liberalism is simply one variety of politically applied rationalism.

The leading 17th century political thinkers, like Hobbes and Pufendorff, looked upon the condition of "Nature," in which States existed, as one of continual danger and risk, in which those engaged in action were driven by all the instincts and impulses of the beasts—hunger, fear, jealousy, rivalries of all kinds, desire. Hobbes observed that true enmity is possible only between men, that the friend-enemy disjunction is as much deeper between men than between animals as the world of men is spiritually above the world of the beasts.

The two political anthropologies are illustrated in the story, found in Carlyle, of the conversation between Frederick the Great and Sulzer, in which Sulzer was explaining the new discovery of Rationalism that human nature was essentially good, "Ach, mein lieber Sulzer, Ihr kennt nicht diese verdammte Rasse," said Friedrich—"You don't know this damned race."

The assumption of the goodness of human nature developed two main branches of theory. Anarchism is the result of radical acceptance of this assumption. Liberalism uses the assumption merely to weaken the State and make it subservient to "society." Thomas

## POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGIES

Paine, an early Liberal, expressed the idea in a formula that remains valid for Liberalism to-day: Society is the result of our reasonably regulated needs; the State is the result of our vices. Anarchism is the more radical in proportion to the completeness of its acceptance of the human goodness assumption.

The idea of "balance of power," a technic of weakening the State, is Liberal throughout. By this means the State is to be rendered subject to economics. It cannot be called a State theory, for it is a mere negative. It does not deny the State completely, but wants it decentralized and weakened. It does not want the State to be the centre of gravity of the political organism. It prefers to think of the organism as "society," a loose grouping of free and independent groups and individuals, whose freedom find its sole limitation with the customary criminal law. Thus Liberalism has no objection to individuals being more powerful than the State, being above the law. What Liberalism dislikes is authority. The State, as the grandest symbol of authority, is hated. The two noble orders, as the symbols of authority, are likewise hated.

Anarchism, the radical denial of the State, and of all organization whatever, is an idea of genuine political force. It is anti-political in its theory, but by its intensity it is political in the only way that politics can manifest itself, i.e., it can bring men into its service and range them against others as enemies. During the 19th century, anarchism was a force to be reckoned with, although it was nearly always allied with some other movement. Particularly in 19th and early 20th century Russia was anarchism a powerful political reality. It

was known there as Nihilism. The local strength of anarchism in Russia was owing to its coincidental attractiveness for the tremendous anti-Western feeling under the thin Petrine crust. To be anti-Western was to be against everything, therefore anti-Western Asiatic negativism adopted the Western theory of Anarchism as its vehicle of expression.

Liberalism, however, with its compromising, vague attitude, incapable of precise formulation, incapable also of rousing precise feelings, either affirmative or negative, is not an idea of political force. Its numerous devotees, in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries have taken part in practical politics only as the ally of other groups. It could not create an issue; it could not line up men as friends or enemies; therefore it was not a political idea, but only an idea about politics. Its followers had to be for or against other ideas as a means of expressing their Liberalism.

Anarchism was able to rouse men to sacrifice of life, not so Liberalism. It is one thing to die to wipe out all order, all State; it is quite another to die in order to bring about a decentralization of State power. Liberalism is in essence non-political; it is outside of politics. It would like to have politics serve as the handmaid of economics and society.



## LIBERALISM

Liberalism is a most important by-product of Rationalism, and its origins and ideology must be clearly shown.

The "Enlightenment" period of Western history which set in after the Counter-Reformation laid more and more stress on intellect, reason and logic as it developed. By the middle of the 18th century this tendency produced Rationalism. Rationalism regarded all spiritual values as its objects and proceeded to re-value them from the standpoint of "reason." Inorganic logic is the faculty men have always used for solving problems of mathematics, engineering, transportation, physics and in other non-valuing situations. Its insistence on identity and rejection of contradiction are practicable in material activity. They afford intellectual satisfaction also in matters of purely abstract thought, like mathematics and logic, but if pursued far enough they turn into mere techniques, simple assumptions whose only justification is empirical. The end of Rationalism is Pragmatism, the suicide of Reason.

This adaptation of reason to material problems causes all problems whatever to become mechanical when surveyed in "the light of reason," without any mystical

## IMPERIUM

admixture of thought or tendency whatever. Descartes reasoned the animals into automata, and a generation or so later, man himself was rationalized into an automaton—or equally, an animal. Organisms became problems in chemistry and physics, and superpersonal organisms simply no longer existed, for they are not amenable to reason, not being visible or measurable. Newton provided the universe of stars with a non-spiritual self-regulating force; the next century removed the spirit from man, his history and his affairs.

Reason detests the inexplicable, the mysterious, the half-light. In a practical problem in machinery or ship-building one must feel that all the factors are under his knowledge and control. There must be nothing unpredictable or out of control. Rationalism, which is the feeling that everything is subject to and completely explicable by Reason, consequently rejects everything not visible and calculable. If a thing actually cannot be calculated, Reason merely says that the factors are so numerous and complicated that in a purely practical way they render the calculation unfeasible, but do not make it theoretically impossible. Thus Reason also has its Will-to-Power: whatever does not submit is pronounced recalcitrant, or is simply denied existence.

When it turned its gaze to History, Rationalism saw the whole tendency as one toward Reason. Man was "emerging" during all those millennia, he was "progressing" from barbarism and fanaticism to enlightenment, from "superstition" to "science," from violence to "reason," from dogma to criticism, from darkness to light. No more invisible things, no more spirit, no more soul, no more God, no more Church and State. The

## LIBERALISM

two poles of thought are "the individual" and "humanity." Anything separating them is "irrational."

This branding of things as irrational is in fact correct. Rationalism must mechanize everything, and whatever cannot be mechanized is of necessity irrational. Thus the entirety of History becomes irrational: its chronicles, its processes, its secret force, Destiny. Rationalism itself, as a by-product of a certain stage in the development of a High Culture, is also irrational. Why Rationalism follows one spiritual phase, why it exercises its brief sway, why it vanishes once more into religion—these questions are historical, thus irrational.

Liberalism is Rationalism in politics. It rejects the State as an organism, and can only see it as the result of a contract between individuals. The purposes of Life has nothing to do with States, for they have no independent existence. Thus the "happiness" of "the individual" becomes the purpose of Life. Bentham made this as coarse as it could be made in collectivizing it into "the greatest happiness of the greatest number." If herding-animals could talk, they would use this slogan against the wolves. To most humans, who are the mere material of History, and not actors in it, "happiness" means economic well-being. Reason is quantitative, not qualitative, and thus makes the **average** man into "Man." "Man" is a thing of food, clothing, shelter, social and family life, and leisure. Politics sometimes demands sacrifice of life for invisible things. This is against "happiness," and must not be. Economics, however, is not against "happiness," but is almost co-extensive with it. Religion and Church wish to interpret the whole of Life on the basis of invisible things, and

## IMPERIUM

so militate against "happiness." Social ethics, on the other hand, secure economic order, thus promote "happiness."

Here Liberalism found its two poles of thought: economics and ethics. They correspond to individual and humanity. The ethics of course is purely social, materialistic; if older ethics is retained, its former metaphysical foundation is forgotten, and it is promulgated as a social, and not a religious, imperative. Ethics is necessary to maintain the order necessary as a framework for economic activity. Within that framework, however, "the individual" must be "free." This is the great cry of Liberalism, "freedom." Man is only himself, and is not tied to anything except by choice. Thus "society" is the "free" association of men and groups. The State, however, is un-freedom, compulsion, violence. The Church is spiritual un-freedom.

All things in the political domain were transvalued by Liberalism. War was transformed into either competition, seen from the economic pole, or ideological difference, seen from the ethical pole. Instead of the mystical rhythmical alternation of war and peace, it sees only the perpetual concurrence of competition or ideological contrast, which in no case becomes hostile or bloody. The State becomes society or humanity on the ethical side, a production and trade system on the economic side. The will to accomplish a political aim is transformed into the making of a programme of "social ideals" on the ethical side, of calculation on the economic side. Power becomes propaganda, ethically speaking, and regulation, economically speaking.

The purest expression of the doctrine of Liberalism

## LIBERALISM

was probably that of Benjamin Constant. In 1814 he set forth his views on the "progress" of "man." He looked upon the 18th century Enlightenment with its intellectualistic-humanitarian cast as merely preliminary to the true liberation, that of the 19th century. Economics, industrialism, and technics represented the means of "freedom." Rationalism was the natural ally of this trend. Feudalism, Reaction, War, Violence, State, Politics, Authority—all were overcome by the new idea, supplanted by Reason, Economics, Freedom, Progress and Parliamentarism. War, being violent and brutal, was unreasonable, and is replaced by Trade, which is intelligent and civilized. War is condemned from every standpoint: economically it is a loss even to the victor. The new war technics—artillery—made personal heroism senseless, and thus the charm and glory of war departed with its economic usefulness. In earlier times, war-peoples had subjugated trading-peoples, but no longer. Now trading peoples step out as the masters of the earth.

A moment's reflection shows that Liberalism is entirely negative. It is not a formative force, but always and only a disintegrating force. It wishes to depose the twin authorities of Church and State, substituting for them economic freedom and social ethics. It happens that organic realities do not permit of more than the two alternatives: the organism can be true to itself, or it becomes sick and distorted, a prey for other organisms. Thus the **natural** polarity of leaders and led cannot be abolished without annihilating the organism. Liberalism was never entirely successful in its fight against the State, despite the fact that it engaged in political

## IMPERIUM

activity throughout the 19th century in alliance with every other type of State-disintegrating force. Thus there were National-Liberals, Social-Liberals, Free-Conservatives, Liberal-Catholics. They allied themselves with democracy, which is not Liberal, but irresistibly authoritarian in success. They sympathized with Anarchists when the forces of Authority sought to defend themselves against them. In the 20th century, Liberalism joined Bolshevism in Spain, and European and American Liberals sympathized with Russian Bolsheviks.

Liberalism can only be defined negatively. It is a mere critique, not a living idea. Its great word "freedom" is a negative—it means in fact, freedom from authority, i.e., disintegration of the organism. In its last stages it produces social atomism, in which not only the authority of the State is combated, but even the authority of society and the family. Divorce takes equal rank with marriage, children with parents. This constant thinking in negatives caused political activists like Marx, Lorenz v. Stein and Ferdinand Lasalle to despair of it as a political vehicle. Its attitudes were always contradictory, it sought always a compromise. It sought always to "balance" democracy against monarchy, managers against hand-workers, State against Society, legislative against judicial. In a crisis, Liberalism as such was not to be found. Liberals found their way on to one or the other side of a revolutionary struggle, depending on the consistency of their Liberalism, and its degree of hostility to authority.

Thus Liberalism in action was just as political as any State ever was. It obeyed organic necessity by its political alliances with non-Liberal groups and ideas. Despite its theory of individualism, which of course

## LIBERALISM

would preclude the possibility that one man or group could call upon another man or group for the sacrifice or risk of life, it supported "unfree" ideas like Democracy, Socialism, Bolshevism, Anarchism, all of which demand life-sacrifice.

### II

From its anthropology of the basic goodness of human nature in general, Rationalism produced 18th century Encyclopedism, Freemasonry, Democracy, and Anarchism, as well as Liberalism, each with its offshoots and variations. Each played its part in the history of the 19th century, and, owing to the critical distortion of the whole Western Civilization entailed by the first two World Wars, even in the 20th century, where Rationalism is grotesquely out of place, and slowly transformed itself into Irrationalism. The corpse of Liberalism was not even interred by the middle of the 20th century. Consequently it is necessary to diagnose even now the serious illness of the Western Civilization as Liberalism complicated with alien-poisoning.

Because Liberalism views most men as harmonious, or good, it follows that they should be allowed to do as they like. Since there is no higher unit to which all are tied, and whose superpersonal life dominates the lives of the individuals, each field of human activity serves only itself—as long as it does not wish to become authoritative, and stays within the framework of "society." Thus Art becomes "Art for Art's sake," *l'art pour l'art*. All areas of thought and action become equally autonomous. Religion becomes mere social dis-

## IMPERIUM

cipline, since to be more is to assume authority. Science, philosophy, education, all are equally worlds unto themselves. None are subject to anything higher. Literature and technics are entitled to the same autonomy. The function of the State is merely to protect them by patents and copyrights. But above all—economics and law are independent of organic authority, i.e., of politics.

Twenty-first century readers will find it difficult to believe that once the idea prevailed that each person should be free to do as he pleased in economic matters, even if his personal activity involved the starvation of hundreds of thousands, the devastation of entire forest and mineral areas, and the stunting of the power of the organism; that it was quite permissible for such an individual to raise himself above the weakened public authority, and to dominate, by private means, the inmost thoughts of whole populations by his control of press, radio and mechanized drama.

They will find it more difficult yet to understand how such a person could go to the law to enforce his destructive will. Thus a usurer could, even in the middle of the 20th century, invoke successfully the assistance of the law in dispossessing any numbers of peasants and farmers. It is hard to imagine how an individual could injure the political organism more than by thus mobilizing the soil into dust, in the phrase of the great Freiherr von Stein.

But—this followed inevitably from the idea of the independence of economics and law from political authority. There is nothing higher, no State; it is only individuals against one another. It is but natural that



## LIBERALISM

the economically more astute individuals accumulate most of the mobile wealth into their hands. They do not however, if they are true Liberals, want authority with this wealth, for authority has two aspects: power, and **responsibility**. Individualism, psychologically speaking, is egoism. "Happiness" = selfishness. Rousseau, the grandfather of Liberalism, was a true individualist, and sent his five children to the foundling hospital.

Law, as a field of human thought and endeavour, has as much independence, and as much dependence as every other field. Within the organic framework, it is free to think and organize its material. But like other forms of thought, it can be enrolled in the service of outside ideas. Thus law, originally the means of codifying and maintaining the inner peace of the organism by keeping order and preventing private disputes from growing, was transmuted by Liberal thought into a means of keeping inner disorder, and allowing economically strong individuals to liquidate the weaker ones. This was called the "rule of law," the "law-State," "independence of the judiciary." The idea of bringing in the law to make a given state of affairs sacrosanct was not original with Liberalism. Back in Hobbes's day, other groups were trying it, but the incorruptible mind of Hobbes said with the most precise clarity that the rule of law means the rule of those who determine and administer the law, that the rule of a "higher order" is an empty phrase, and is only given content by the concrete rule of given men and groups over a lower order.

This was political thinking, which is directed to the distribution and movement of power. It is also politics to expose the hypocrisy, immorality and cynicism of the

## IMPERIUM

usurer who loudly demands the rule of law, which means riches to him and poverty to millions of others, and all in the name of something higher, something with supra-human validity. When Authority resurges once more against the forces of Rationalism and Economics, it proceeds at once to show that the complex of transcendental ideals with which Liberalism equipped itself is as valid as the Legitimism of the era of Absolute Monarchy, and no more. The Monarchs were the strongest protagonists of Legitimism, the financiers of Liberalism. But the monarch was tied to the organism with his whole existence, he was responsible organically even where he was not responsible in fact. Thus Louis XVI and Charles I. Countless other monarchs and absolute rulers have had to flee because of their symbolic responsibility. But the financier has only power, no responsibility, not even symbolic, for as often as not, his name is not generally known. History, Destiny, organic continuity, Fame, all exert their powerful influence on an absolute political ruler, and in addition his position places him entirely outside the sphere of base corruptibility. The financier however, is private, anonymous, purely economic, irresponsible. In nothing can he be altruistic; his very existence is the apotheosis of egoism. He does not think of History, of Fame, of the furtherance of the life of the organism, of Destiny, and furthermore he is eminently corruptible by base means, as his ruling desire is for money and ever more money.

In his contest against Authority the finance-Liberal evolved a theory that power corrupts men. It is, however, vast anonymous wealth which corrupts, since there

## LIBERALISM

are no superpersonal restraints on it, such as bring the true statesman completely into the service of the political organism, and place him above corruption.

It was precisely in the fields of economics and law that the Liberal doctrine had the most destructive effects on the health of the Western Civilization. It did not matter much that esthetics became independent, for the only art-form in the West which still had a future, Western Music, paid no attention to theories and continued on its grand creative course to its end in Wagner and his epigones. Baudelaire is the great symbol of *l'art pour l'art*: sickness as beauty. Baudelaire is thus Liberalism in literature, disease as a principle of Life, crisis as health, morbidity as soul-life, disintegration as purpose. Man as individualist, an atom without connections, the Liberal ideal of personality. It was in fields of action rather than of thought that the injury was greatest.

Allowing the initiative in economic and technical matters to rest with individuals, subject to little political control, resulted in the creation of a group of individuals whose personal wills were more important than the collective destiny of the organism and the millions of the population. The law which served this state of affairs was completely divorced from morality and honour. To disintegrate the organism from the spiritual side, what morality was recognized was divorced from metaphysics and religion, and related only to "society." The criminal law reflected finance-Liberalism by punishing crimes of violence and passion, but not classifying such things as destroying national resources, throwing millions into want, or usury on a national scale.

## IMPERIUM

The independence of the economic sphere was a tenet of faith with Liberalism. This was not subject to discussion. There was even evolved an abstraction named "economic man," whose actions could be predicted as though economics were a vacuum. Economic gain was his sole motive, greed alone spurred him on. The technic of success was to concentrate on one's own gain and ignore everything else. This "economic man" was however man in general to the Liberals. He was the unit of their world-picture. "Humanity" was the sum total of these economic grains of sand.

### III

The type of mind which believes in the essential "goodness" of human nature attained to Liberalism. But there is another political anthropology, one which recognizes that man is disharmonious, problematical, dual, dangerous. This is the general wisdom of mankind, and is reflected by the number of guards, fences, safes, locks, jails and policemen. Every catastrophe, fire, earthquake, volcanic eruption, flood, evokes looting. Even a police strike in an American city was the signal for looting of the shops by the respectable and good human beings.

Thus this type of thought starts from facts. This is **political thinking** in general, as opposed to mere thinking about politics, rationalizing. Even the wave of Rationalism did not submerge this kind of thinking. Political thinkers differ greatly in creativeness and depth, but they agree that facts are normative. The very word theory has been brought into disrepute by intellectuals

## LIBERALISM

and Liberals who use it to describe their pet view of how they would like things to be. Originally theory was explanation of facts. To an intellectual who is adrift in politics, a theory is an aim; to a true politician his theory is a boundary.

A political theory seeks to find from history the limits of the politically possible. These limits cannot be found in the domain of Reason. The Age of Reason was born in bloodshed, and will pass out of vogue in more bloodshed. With its doctrine against war, politics, and violence, it presided over the greatest wars and revolutions in 5,000 years, and it ushered in the Age of Absolute Politics. With its gospel of the brotherhood of Man, it carried on the largest-scale starvation, humiliation, torture and extermination in history against populations within the Western Civilization after the first two World Wars. By outlawing political thinking, and turning war into a moral-struggle instead of a power-struggle it flung the chivalry and honour of a millennium into the dust. The conclusion is compelling that Reason also became political when it entered politics, even though it used its own vocabulary. When Reason stripped territory from a conquered foe after a war, it called it "disannexation." The document consolidating the new position was called a "Treaty," even though it was dictated in the middle of a starvation-blockade. The defeated political enemy had to admit in the "Treaty" that he was "guilty" of the war, that he is morally unfit to have colonies, that his soldiers alone committed "war crimes." But no matter how heavy the moral disguise, how consistent the ideological vocabulary, it is only politics, and the Age of

## IMPERIUM

Absolute Politics reverts once again to the type of political thinking which starts from facts, recognizes power and the will-to-power of men and higher organisms as facts, and finds any attempt to describe politics in terms of morals as grotesque as it would be to describe chemistry in terms of theology.

There is a whole tradition of political thinking in the Western Culture, of which some of the leading representatives are Montaigne, Macchiavelli, Hobbes, Leibniz, Bossuet, Fichte, de Maistre, Donoso Cortes, Hippolyte Taine, Hegel, Carlyle. While Herbert Spencer was describing history as the "progress" from military-feudal to commercial-industrial organization, Carlyle was showing to England the Prussian spirit of Ethical Socialism, whose inner superiority would exert on the whole Western Civilization in the coming Political Age an equally fundamental transformation as had Capitalism in the Economic Age. This was creative political thinking, but was unfortunately not understood, and the resulting ignorance allowed distorting influences to fling England into two senseless World Wars from which it emerged with almost everything lost.

Hegel posited a three-stage development of mankind from the natural community through the bourgeois community to the State. His State-theory is thoroughly organic, and his definition of the bourgeois is quite appropriate for the 20th century. To him the bourgeois is the man who does not wish to leave the sphere of internal political security, who sets himself up, with his sanctified private property, as an individual against the whole, who finds a substitute for his political nullity in the fruits of peace and possessions and perfect security

## LIBERALISM

in his enjoyment of them, who therefore wishes to dispense with courage and remain secure from the possibility of violent death. He described the true Liberal with these words.

The political thinkers mentioned do not enjoy popularity with the great masses of human beings. As long as things are going well, most people do not wish to hear talk of power-struggles, violence, wars, or theories relating to them. Thus in the 18th and 19th centuries was developed the attitude that political thinkers—and Macchiavelli was the prime victim—were wicked men, atavistic, bloodthirsty. The simple statement that wars would always continue was sufficient to put the speaker down as a person who **wanted** wars to continue. To draw attention to the vast, impersonal rhythm of war and peace showed a sick mind with moral deficiency and emotional taint. To describe facts was held to be wishing them and creating them. As late as the 20th century, anyone pointing out the political nullity of the "leagues of nations" was a prophet of despair. Rationalism is anti-historical; political thinking is applied history. In peace it is unpopular to mention war, in war is it unpopular to mention peace. The theory which becomes most quickly popular is one which praises existing things and the tendency they supposedly illustrate as obviously the best order, and as pre-ordained by all foregoing history. Thus Hegel was anathema to the intellectuals because of his State-orientation, which made him a "reactionary," and also because he refused to join the revolutionary crowd.

Since most people wish to hear only soporific talk about politics, and not demanding calls to action, and

## IMPERIUM

since in democratic conditions it matters to political technics what most people wish to hear, democratic politicians evolved the 19th century a whole dialectic of party-politics. The idea was to examine the field of action from a "disinterested" standpoint, moral, scientific, or economic, and to find that the opponent was immoral, unscientific, uneconomic—in fact—he was **political**. This was devilishness that must be combated. One's own standpoint was entirely "non-political." Politics was a word of reproach in the Economic Age. Curiously however, in certain situations, usually those involving foreign relations, "unpolitical" could also be a term of abuse, meaning the man so described lacked skill in negotiating. The party-politician also had to feign unwillingness to accept office. Finally a demonstration of carefully arranged "popular will" broke down his reluctance, and he consented to "serve." This was described as Macchiavellism, but obviously Macchiavelli was a political thinker, and not a camouflager. A book by a party-politician does not read like **The Prince**, but praises the entire human race, except certain perverse people, the author's opponents.

Actually Macchiavelli's book is defensive in tone, justifying politically the conduct of certain statesmen by giving examples drawn from foreign invasions of Italy. During Macchiavelli's century, Italy was invaded at different times by Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards and Turks. When the French Revolutionary Armies occupied Prussia, and coupled humanitarian sentiments of the Rights of Man with brutality and large-scale looting, Hegel and Fichte restored Macchiavelli once again to respect as a thinker. He represented a means of defence



## LIBERALISM

against a foe armed with a humanitarian ideology. Macchiavelli showed the actual role played by verbal sentiments in politics.

One can say that there are three possible attitudes toward human conduct, from the point of evaluating its motives: the sentimental, the realistic, and the cynical. The sentimental imputes a good motive to everybody, the cynical a bad motive, and the realistic simply seeks the facts. When a sentimentalist, e.g., a Liberal, enters politics, he becomes perforce a hypocrite. The ultimate exposure of this hypocrisy creates cynicism. Part of the spiritual sickness following the First World War was a wave of cynicism which arose from the transparent, revolting, and incredible hypocrisy of the little men who were presiding over affairs at that time. Macchiavelli had however an incorruptible intellect and did not write in a cynical spirit. He sought to portray the anatomy of politics with its peculiar problems and tensions, inner and outer. To the fantastic mental illness of Rationalism, hard facts are regrettable things, and to talk about them is to create them. A tiny politician of the Liberal type even sought to prevent talk about the Third World War, after the Second. Liberalism is, in one word, **weakness**. It wants every day to be a birthday, Life to be a long party. The inexorable movement of Time, Destiny, History, the cruelty of accomplishment, sternness, heroism, sacrifice, superpersonal ideas—these are the enemy. Liberalism is an escape from hardness into softness, from masculinity into femininity, from History to herd-grazing, from reality into herbivorous dreams, from Destiny into Happiness. Nietzsche, in his last and greatest work, designated the 18th century as

## IMPERIUM

the century of feminism, and immediately mentioned Rousseau, the leader of the mass-escape from Reality. Feminism itself—what is it but a means of feminizing man? If it makes women man-like, it does so only by transforming man first into a creature whose only concern is with his personal economics and his relation to "society," i.e., a woman. "Society" is the element of woman, it is static and formal, its contests are purely personal, and are free from the possibility of heroism and violence. Conversation, not action; formality, not deeds. How different is the idea of **rank** used in connection with a social affair, from when it is applied on a battlefield! In the field, it is fate-laden; in the salon it is vain and pompous. A war is fought for **control**, social contests are inspired by feminine vanity and jealousy to show that one is "better" than someone else.

And yet what does Liberalism do ultimately to woman: it puts a uniform on her and calls her a "soldier." This ridiculous performance but illustrates the eternal fact that History is masculine, that its stern demands cannot be evaded, that the fundamental realities cannot be renounced, even, by the most elaborate make-believe. Liberalistic tampering with sexual polarity only wreaks havoc on the souls of individuals, confusing and distorting them, but the man-woman and the woman-man it creates are both subject to the higher Destiny of History.

## DEMOCRACY

Another important by-product of Rationalism is Democracy. The word has many meanings, and in the First World War, it passed into the ownership of extra-European forces, and was declared synonymous with Liberalism. This was of course, a polemical meaning, and there are several variations on this side. But first the historical origin of Democracy.

It arose in the middle of the 18th century with the coming of Rationalism. Rationalism negated History as a basis for any thought or endeavour whatever, and therefore, Church and State, Nobility and Clergy had no rights based on tradition. Reason is quantitative, and thus the Estates were regarded as less important than the insignificant masses of the population. Previous centuries had referred to the monarch by the name of the country. Thus the King of France was "France." An assembly of the Estates was also called "France," or "England" or "Spain." But to Rationalism, not quality but quantity determines, so the mass became the nation. "The People" became a polemical word to shut out the Estates, and deny them the right to political existence. At first, the mass was called "The Third Estate," but later all Estates were denied.

## IMPERIUM

The idea of Democracy was, however, saturated with will-to-power; it is not a mere abstraction, it is an organic idea, with superpersonal force. The whole development which produced Rationalism, the epoch at which Culture turned to Civilization, was of course a crisis in the Western organism. It was thus illness, and Democracy was illness, but it was a one through which every High Culture has gone, and was therefore impelled by organic necessity. Democracy seeks no compromise, no "balancing," no destruction of authority—it seeks power. It denies the Estates in order to supplant them.

One characteristic of Democracy was that it rejected the aristocratic principle which equated social significance with political significance. It wished to turn this around and make **social** dependent on **political**. This of course was merely the foundation of a new aristocracy, and in very fact democracy was self-destructive: when it attained power, it turned into aristocracy.

Napoleon has also in this respect the greatest possible symbolic significance. He, the great Democrat, the great Vulgarian, spread the Revolution against Dynasty and Aristocracy, but created his own Dynasty and made his Marshals into Dukes. This was not cynicism, nor faithlessness to conviction—Napoleon as Emperor was just as much a Democrat as when he cleared the mob from the streets of Paris. Democracy, by mobilizing the masses of the population, enormously raises the power-potential of the nations and of the Culture. Democracy is the idea that a Duke does not thereby become a Marshal, but a Marshal does thereby become a Duke. As a technic of ruling, it is solely and simply a new

## DEMOCRACY

method of furnishing the political leaders. It makes social rank dependent on political-military rank, instead of vice-versa.

The new Dynasty of Democracy, and the new democratic aristocracy are filled with the same will-to-duration that animated the Hohenstaufen, the Capet, the Norman, the Hapsburg, the Welf, the feudal barons whose names and traditions still persist.

Historically speaking, Democracy is a feeling, and has nothing whatever to do with "equality," "representative government" or anything of the sort. The whole cycle of Democracy was compressed with intense symbolism into the comparatively short career of the great Napoleon. This man's formula "La carrière ouverte aux talens" expresses whatever "equality" sentiment Democracy contains, namely equality of opportunity. There is no thought whatever of abolishing rank or gradation of rights. Revolution, Consolidation, Imperialism—the history of Democracy.

But the expression of the whole cycle of Democracy in the short span of Napoleon's life, was symbolic only, for Democracy had most of its life span of two centuries ahead of it. Democracy is not a retreat from Reality, from War, History and Politics, like Liberalism. It remains within politics, but seeks to make politics a thing of mass. It seeks to make everyone subject to politics, and to make everyone into a politician. Napoleon's remark to Goethe "Politics is Destiny" expresses this widening of the base of political power that is Democracy. Up to the end of the 18th century, war and politics were for the Cabinets, the Kings, and small professional armies. Politics and war seldom

## IMPERIUM

touched the ordinary person. Democracy changed all this: it put the entire man-power of the nation onto the battlefields, it forced everyone to have an opinion on matters of government, it forced him then to express the opinion in plebiscites and elections. If he had no independent opinion—and more than 99% of men do not—it forced an opinion on him, and told him it was his.

It was Fate for the idea of Democracy that it was born at the same time as the Economic Age. It meant that its authoritarian tendency was, as it were, strangled, and it would have to wait for a political age to express itself again, after its brief flash of glory in Napoleon. But the end of the Economic Age was also the end of the Democracy Idea. Thus Democracy in fact was throughout most of its history a servant of Economics in its battle against Authority.

Democracy had two poles, ability and mass. It put everyone into politics, and allowed the successful ones an amount of power tenfold that of any absolute monarch. But Napoleon himself could not stand against the forces which Money mobilized against him in the Economic Age, and the lesser democratic dictators were more easily overwhelmed. In Spanish South America, where the money power was not absolute, a whole tradition of democratic dictators—Bolívar, Rosas, Francia, O'Higgins, some of the best known—show the powerful authoritarian tendency in popular government.

But in most countries only the vocabulary of democracy was retained, and this enabled the economic powers to conduct themselves in a more or less absolute fashion, for they had struck down the State with

## DEMOCRACY

Democracy, and then bought Democracy. In later democratic conditions—in our case from 1850—it was solely the financier whose interest was served by the constitutionalized anarchy called democracy. The word democracy thus passed into the possession of Money, and it was transformed from its historical meaning into its 20th century meaning. The Culture-distorters use it as meaning the denial of qualitative differences among nations and races; thus the foreigner must be admitted to the positions of wealth and authority. To the financier, it means the “rule of law”—his law, which makes possible his unprecedented usury by means of his monopoly of money.

But Democracy perishes with Rationalism. The idea of basing political power on the masses of the population was a technic at best. Either it proceeded to authoritarian rule like that of Napoleon or Mussolini, or else it was a mere cover for unhampered looting by the financier. Authoritarian rule is the end of democracy, but is not itself democracy. With the coming of the Age of Absolute Politics, the necessity for pretexts falls away. Plebiscites and elections become old-fashioned, and finally cease altogether. The symbiosis of war and politics supports itself and does not claim it “represents” any class. In the annihilation-war between Authority and Money, “Democracy” may be a slogan for either side, but more than a slogan it cannot be.

## II

History is cataclysmic; but it is also continuous. The superficial events are often extremely violent and surprising, but beneath them the adjustment of one Age

into the next is gradual. Thus Democracy was not at all understood by its early protagonists as the lowering of everything human to the level of the least valuable human beings. Its first propagators came from the higher strata of the Culture, in the main, and those who did not, sought to give the impression they did: "de" Robespierre, "de" Kalb, "de" Voltaire, "de" Beaumarchais. The original idea was to make everyone, so to speak, into a nobleman. Naturally in the blind hatred and passionate jealousy of the Terror of '93 this was obscured, but Tradition does not perish in one onslaught, and on the social side, the battle of Democracy versus Tradition was long and hard.

The authoritarian political tendency of Democracy was, as seen, strangled at birth by the power of Money in an Economic Age. But the word then became a slogan in the social battle, and in the economic battle. It always meant mass, quantity, numbers as opposed to quality and tradition. The first version of the idea was to make everything higher into common property, and as this was shown to be unfeasible, the next idea was to destroy all quality and superiority by merging it into the mass. The weaker Tradition was, the greater was the success of the mass-spirit. Thus in America, its victory was complete, and the principle of mass was applied even to the field of education. America with less than half the population of the home soil of Western Culture had in the 20th century had ten times as many institutions of higher learning, so-called. For, in everything, Democracy must fail, even in success. The practice of giving everyone a diploma meant quite simply that the diploma became meaningless.



## DEMOCRACY

The ultimate in this direction was reached by an American writer who branded higher chemistry, physics, technics and mathematics as "undemocratic," because they were the possession of a few, and were thus tending to create some sort of aristocracy. It never occurred to this person that the theory of Democracy is also the possession of a few: these masses did not mobilize themselves, the Spirit of the Age, acting on certain individuals of the population, spread abroad the feeling that everything should be set in motion, everything should be externalized, de-spiritualized, rendered into "mass," numbered and counted.

And thus, with the coming of the 20th century, "democracy" has a different meaning from its original one. Its original two poles of Ability and Mass have become merged for the purposes of the powers of Economics, who own the word "democracy" in this century. They place upon it solely the meaning of mass, and use it to combat the new resurgent Authority-Idea. The economic lords of the earth mobilized the masses against the authority of the State, and mis-called it "democracy." The Age of Absolute Politics begins by mobilizing the masses against the power of Money and Economics, and will end Napoleon-wise in the restoration of Authority. But there will at last be no more plebiscites, no more elections, no more propaganda, no more mass audience attending the political drama. The two centuries of Democracy end in Empire. With the natural death of the idea of mass counting for something, Authority makes no intellectual appeal whatever to justify itself. It is simply there, and is not a problem.

## COMMUNISM

The gradual transition of the Spirit of the 18th century into that of the 19th century was manifested by the increasingly radical nature of the conflict between Tradition and Democracy. Rationalism became more extreme with each decade. Its most intransigent product is Communism.

In the century 1750-1850, Democracy had undermined the State and opened the way for the Economic Age. But the financier and the industrial baron replaced the absolute monarch. Communism is the symbol of the transference of the democratic struggle to the sphere of economics.

Communism fitted itself out with a Rationalistic philosophy: a materialistic metaphysic, an atomistic logic, a social ethic, an economic politics. It even offered a philosophy of history which said that **human history was the history of economic development and struggles!** And these people ridiculed the Scholastic philosophers for the nature of the problems they set themselves! Religion—that was economic, politics, of course, also. Technics and art were clearly economic. This theory was actually the crowning intellectual stupidity of the Age of Economics. The Age asserted thus its omnipotence

## COMMUNISM

and universality. "Everything within economics, nothing outside economics, nothing against economics" might well have been the slogan.

Just as the **political** aspect of Democracy had been directed against quality and tradition, so the **economic** aspect was directed against even such quality and superiority as was engendered by economic differences. Political class war became economic class war. Just as the appeal in the first stage had been made to anyone not belonging to the two Estates, so later the appeal was directed to the non-possessors. Not all non-possessors, but only those in the great cities, and within this group, only the manual workers, for only these were physically concentrated so that they could be brought on to the streets for class war.

But Communism was **political**, unlike Liberalism, and named an enemy who must be annihilated—the bourgeoisie. The better to make the programme of action go ahead, the picture was simplified: there are only two realities in the whole world, bourgeoisie and proletariat. Nations and States are bourgeois devices to keep the proletariat divided and thus conquered. This was the origin of the idea that Communism was an Internationale, but its strength as an Internationale was shown in 1914, when the class-war organizations in all countries threw themselves heartily into the fight among the nations. It was never an Internationale in the true sense.

Nevertheless it was an affirmation of politics, and was a force to be reckoned with during the Economic Age. It was able in various Western countries to bring about Civil War—e.g., France, 1871. Its high point was the

## IMPERIUM

Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, 1918, when the theory of Communism was actually adopted by a non-theoretical Asiatic regime as a weapon of foreign policy.

It was in the essence of Communism, as in every by-product of Rationalism, that its wish-picture could never become actualized. Using inorganic logic to construct a programme for actuality does not change the fact that an organism has its own structure, development, and tempo. This can be injured, distorted, annihilated from without, but inwardly changed it cannot be. Thus Communism was purely destructive in effect, and this was why the Asiatic power on Europe's boundary adopted it as a programme to disintegrate all European States. Communism, like all Utopias, is impossible of realization, because they are rational and Life is irrational. The sole novelty about the Utopia of Communism is that it proclaims itself as inevitable. This was a tribute to its will-to-power, but this vain boast had the same life-span as Rationalism. With the advent of the Age of Absolute Politics, even class-war drops theory. History receives Rationalism and all its debris into its vaults of the dead. Death, and not refutation, is the fate of rationalistic theories of politics and economics. We who live in the middle of the 20th century will witness the final desuetude of Rationalism and its progeny.

## ASSOCIATION AND DISSOCIATION OF FORMS OF THOUGHT AND ACTION

In developing a 20th century outlook on politics, the first thing necessary was to dissociate politics from other directions of human energy, particularly from economics and morality. In view of the enormous vogue of theories which sought to explain political phenomena with ideational equipment derived from, and appropriate to, other fields of activity or thought, this was quite necessary. We have seen that politics is a type of activity *sui generis*, that its practice involves, often entirely unconsciously on the part of the actor, its own way of thinking in action. It remains to state definitively the separability and the inter-dependence of the various directions of human energy, and of Cultural energy.

A world without abstract thought—the world of the dog, for example—is a world wherein a complete continuity reigns. Each thing fits quite perfectly into its place or sphere. By comparison with the human world, it is non-problematical. Reality and appearance are one. The distinctively human soul sees the macrocosm however as **symbolic**; it differentiates between **Appearance** and **Reality**, the symbol and that which is symbolized.

## IMPERIUM

All constructive human thinking whatever contains this as its essence. But this separating of things into appearance and reality, this singling out of one thing from another and bestowing intense abstract thought on it, is itself a distortion of its quiet, non-problematical relation to other things. Thus to think is to exaggerate.

For Culture-man, the High Culture in which he is fated to be born, live and die, is the world of his spirit. The High Culture sets the spiritual boundaries of this world. The High Culture sets its impress on almost every form of thought and activity of the individuals and groups in its domain. Within this realm, the thought-forms and thoughts, action-forms and actions, all fit into their natural places and occupy their non-problematical relations to one another. These relations continue, even though thought is applied to a sphere to exaggerate its part in the destiny of the whole. To think is to exaggerate, but this exaggeration affects only thought and does not disturb the macrocosm. The same is true of any one man: the various directions of his energy stand in an organically unified, harmonious relationship to one another. There is no "economic man" —there is only this man directing his energy toward economics for the moment. Nor is there any "reasonable man," such as some Western legal systems predicate. There is only this man being reasonable for this occasion. The essential characteristic of the higher organisms, man, and High Culture, is the soul. Thus this particular man acts economically in quite a different fashion from another man, because his soul is different. This makes all of his thought and action peculiar to him. One man has strong interests and abilities in a

## ASSOCIATION & DISSOCIATION

certain direction, another man elsewhere. High Cultures are also differentiated from one another by unequal endowment in various directions. The principium individuationis applies also to the High Cultures.

Every organism, from the plants and animals to men and Cultures, has a multiplicity of functions, a diversity that increases in refinement and articulation as we proceed upward. This functional versatility does not however disturb the unity of the organism. It is the very unity of the organism that creates this necessity for expression in various directions. For one direction to be pursued at the expense of another is distortion and brings illness and death, if persisted in. I am concerned only with organisms in health here, and in these, the changing of direction of energy is governed by the inner rhythm of the organism. This rhythm is different in each organism, and is affected by individuality, age, sex, adaptation, and milieu. Each human being has his daily sequence of changes of direction of energy-flow. All organisms have their inner rhythm that governs which function is called into play at a given moment. A Culture has such a rhythm also, and at various stages of its development, this rhythm accents first one, then another, field of thought of activity. Similarly any man, and a Culture-man in particular, has his appropriate type of activity and of thought for each age of his development. It has been well said that a young man is an idealist, a mature man a realist, an old man a mystic. This rhythm in a Culture which gives primacy to a certain side of its life during a given period is the source of The Spirit of the Age.

It is only the accent, the beat, which is affected in

this changing of direction. The various functions all continue, but one is primary. This describes both men and Cultures. Thus "economic man" continues to exist as a unit, even in his economic activity; his individuality continues, and his other spiritual sides still exist, even though not given primacy at the moment. Similarly with Cultures: all types of thought and activity exist in all ages, even though for a given Age a certain side of Life is uppermost. This is the meaning of "anachronism" in its historical use. Thus Fausto Sozzini is an anachronism in the 16th century, Carlyle in the 19th.

So much for the association of forms of thought and action. They are also dissociated.

The expression **change of direction** was used to denote the shifting of emphasis from one function to another. These changes of direction are forms of adaptation to different types of situations. It is the type of situation, of problem to be solved, that gives the uniqueness to a way of thinking or acting. Self-evidently one would not approach the problem of fixing a piece of machinery as a power-problem—that would end in the smashing of the enemy machinery. Nevertheless many Rationalists and Liberals tried to treat power-problems as mechanical in nature.

The various fields of thought and endeavour thus separate out. Considered by themselves, they are quite autonomous. Each has different conscious assumptions, and a different unconscious attitude. Some of the most important must be listed, with their fundamental structures.

First, there is **religion**. From the viewpoint of spiritual content, this is the highest of all human forms of



## ASSOCIATION & DISSOCIATION

thought. Religion has the great, ever-present characteristic that it sees the totality of things under a sacred aspect. It is **divine** metaphysics, and regards every other form of human thought and action as subsidiary. Religion is not a method of social improvement, it is not a codification of knowledge, it is not ethics—it is the presentation of a sacred ultimate reality, and all of its phases flow from this.

**Philosophy** is however, essentially a different direction of thought. Even a **theistic** philosophy has a different attitude from the religions. In a theistic philosophy, the beginning of religion sets the boundary to the philosophic endeavour. The philosophy lies this side of religion and gives a purely natural explanation to its subject-matter.

**Science** is yet another direction of thought: it is directed only to finding interrelations between phenomena, and generalizing the results, but it does not attempt to give ultimate explanations.

**Technics** has nothing to do with science, for it is not a form of pure thinking at all, but thought directed to action. Technics has one aim: **power over the macrocosm**. It uses the results of science as its tools, scientific theoretical generalizations as levers, but it discards them when their efficacy ceases. Technics is not concerned with what is **true**, but with what **works**: if a materialistic theory yields no results, and a theological one does, technics adopts the latter. It was thus Destiny that Pragmatism should appear in America, the land of **worship of technics**. This "philosophy" teaches that what is true is what works. This is simply another way of saying that one is not interested in truth, and is

## IMPERIUM

thus the abdication of philosophy. This could be called the elevation of technics, or the degradation of philosophy, but the total difference of direction between technics and philosophy is not thereby altered; it is merely that the age placed strong emphasis on technics, and little on philosophy. Nor can the alliance, in 20th century practice almost identity, between practitioners of Science and Technics obliterate the difference of direction between these two fields. The same man can think at one time as a scientist, **seeking** information, and in the next moment as a technician, **applying** it to get power over Nature. Science and Technics are as different from Philosophy as they are from each other: neither one seeks to give explanations, these are for philosophy and religion. If someone thinks he is founding a "scientific philosophy," he is mistaken, and on the very first page he is bound to abandon the scientific attitude and assume the philosophic. One cannot face two directions at once. If **precedence** is given to Science over Philosophy, this is something else; this merely reflects the Spirit of the Age as being an externalized one. But important is that all these forms of thought and action are imbedded in the flux and rhythm of the development of a High Culture; a given direction of thought has its vogue of supremacy just so long as the Culture-stage lasts which chose it for this role.

**Economics** is a form of action. Specifically, it is action designed to nourish and enrich private life. Any attempt to control other lives thus departs from Economics. When Cecil Rhodes thought primarily of making himself wealthy, he was thinking economically; when he proceeded to use his wealth for control over the popu-

## ASSOCIATION & DISSOCIATION

lations of Africa, he was thinking politically. It is only rarely that a man of action is capable of mastery of both these different directions of endeavour, so different are their respective techniques. Economics again has two phases, production and trade, whose special techniques are again so different ordinarily one man does not master both.

The refinements of ways of thinking and acting are numerous. For instance, the data of metaphysics do not matter to ethics, even though one use a similar principle in both of them. Actually the data of ethics are its own. Mathematics also has its own attitude, related to but distinct from that of logic. Esthetics singles out one aspect of the totality of relationships, and this determines its basic assumptions.

### II

Not only is there association and dissociation between forms of thought and action but there is also an order of rank between them, depending upon the problem of the moment. The duality of man, arising from the commingling in his nature of a human soul and of the instincts of the beast of prey, gives rise to the fact that his action almost never conforms to his abstract thought-systems. The abstract thought has its centre of gravity on the soul side of him, the action on the beast of prey side. The man who, in a theological discussion, resorts to physical blows in order to prove his point, is confusing the two spheres of thought and action. So is the man who discusses politics in terms of morality. These two spheres of thought and action have their perfectly definite frontiers. Each man has abstract thought ability, and ability to act. When he is thinking abstractly, he

## IMPERIUM

does not act, and when he is acting, he does not think abstractly. His thought then is completely submerged in the action. Abstract formulation of action may come before action, or after action, but it does not come during action. As Goethe said: "The doer is always conscienceless; only the spectator has a conscience."

What is Life? It is the process of actualization of the possible. Actualization—and thus **action**. Life has its centre of gravity on the side of action, and not on the side of abstract thought. For purposes of action, then, there is an order of rank which places practical skill above theorizing. It is this which makes Macchiavelli more valuable politically than Plato, Thomas More, Campanella, Fourier, Marx, Edward Bellamy or Samuel Butler. He wrote of politics as it is, the others as it **should** be, or as they **wanted** it to be.

It is fairly well known that nothing can be **proved** by violence—this is because the two spheres of abstract thought and action, **truths** and **facts**, do not intersect. It is not as well understood that the reverse is also true, that no violence can be done by proof, in other words, **effects** cannot be gained in the world of action by **truths**. Merely to start to try to actualize an abstract theory is to abandon it. The net result of the attempt to impose a way of thinking where it is not appropriate is **bungling**. There is no choice between a chemistry-artist and a physics-artist, but only between a good artist and a poor one. To approach a mechanical problem as though good and evil are involved in it is to prepare a failure. Each aspect of life yields its secrets only to the method adapted to it. Politics always has refused to give any power to the man who is out to

## ASSOCIATION & DISSOCIATION

“reform” it according to a morality. Nor can it be **understood** by trying to impose foreign methods of thought upon it. **Politics is the opposite of abstract**; derivatively abstract means “drawn away from”—away from what?—from action, reality, facts.

This whole outlook is one on the **fact** side of the human being. This work is concerned only with action, because the **Age of Absolute Politics** in which it appears is an age of action. No one has ever said politics **should** be immoral—but all political thinkers have said that politics is politics. Questions of **should** are on the other side of the soul, and are not treated here. The **fact** that politics and morality do not intersect is shown by the example of the **Second World War**. The American half of the extra-European coalition against Europe stated most decisively that it was fighting for Christian morality, yet after the war it carried out the attempt to exterminate physically the Culture-bearing stratum within its jurisdiction in occupied Europe. Beyond this, mass-starvation and looting were employed to destroy many millions of Europeans, physically, economically. The example is not unique: the victorious powers after the **First World War** had carried out a starvation blockade of the defeated enemy **after the War**, and that **War** also was conducted by those victorious powers in the name of Christian morality.

In the **practice** of politics, a moral approach can only result in inefficiency or disaster. It is destructive in exact proportion as it is taken seriously.

If the morality is used quite cynically, as propaganda to increase the brutalization of a war, it distorts war and politics in the direction of bestiality.

## IMPERIUM

In the 20th century, politics reconquers once more its own realm. The motivation of politics is no longer derived from economics. Law, technics, economics, social organization—all reflect the great realities of politics. In this last formative age of a great Culture, which will last through the 21st century, the motivation of the perpetual power-struggle is supplied by the unity of the Western Civilization itself. The real front of the wars of this age is simply Europe versus anti-Europe. There are border areas, like those between Russia and Europe, like the northern countries of South America. Each side has its allies: the white populations strewn over the world belong to Europe; the Asiatic distorting elements of cohesion and power in the various Western countries belong to non-Europe. It is the struggle of a positive against a negative, of creation against destruction, of Cultural superiority against the envy of the outsider. It is the unrelenting battle against the master of yesterday by his liberated slaves, burning with vengeance for their centuries of slavery.

These wars of course will be true unlimited wars, like the Crusades, and not agonal like intra-European wars of the 17th and 18th centuries. They will be correspondingly absolute in their means and in their duration. For example, prisoner-of-war usages developed in the Western Civilization on considerations of humanitarianism and military honour. After the Second World War Russia abolished the first of these bases, by starving and enslaving prisoners, and America abolished the second by hanging prisoners-of-war en masse, and ignoring the Hague Conventions in its post-war occupation of Europe.

## ASSOCIATION & DISSOCIATION

The coming wars will thus revive the older practices of enslaving and killing war prisoners, and remove the protections hitherto extended to the civilian population. Instead of the codified military honour of a High Culture, honour will eventually become a matter of inner personal imperative, and the individual will decide for himself, the importance of his decision depending upon his position. It is not dishonourable per se to kill prisoners, but only if they surrender and give up their arms on condition their lives are to be spared, as the European soldiers and leaders did who were later hanged by the Americans after the Second World War.

In the last act of our grand Western Culture-drama, the idea of the Culture itself demonstrates its unimpaired vigour—Destiny is always young, says the philosopher of this Age—by placing itself in the centre of Life and defining all men as friends or enemies according as they adhere to it, or oppose it. **Culture-politics** is the end of the train of **religion-politics, family-politics, and faction-politics** from the Crusades to the Reformation, **dynasty-politics** to the Vienna-Congress, **national-politics** and **economic-politics** to the Second World War. The crisis of Rationalism subsides. Its attendant phenomena grow colourless, more forced, and one by one they fade away: Equality, Democracy, Happiness, Instability, Commercialism, High Finance and its power of Money, Class War, Trade as an end in itself, Social Atomism, Parliamentarism, Liberalism, Communism, Materialism, Mass-Propaganda. All these proud banners trail finally in the dust. They are nothing but the symbols of Reason's daring and bold, but hopeless, attempt to conquer the kingdom of the Soul.





## CHAPTER THREE



## CULTURAL VITALISM

"I recognize only two nations, the Occident, and the Orient."  
—Napoleon.

"It is want of race, and nothing else, that makes intellectuals — philosophers, doctrinaires, Utopists—incapable of understanding the depth of this metaphysical hatred, which is the beat-difference of two currents of being manifested as an unbearable dissonance, a hatred that may become tragic for both."

—Spengler.

"I wanted to prepare the fusion of the great interests of Europe, as I had accomplished that of the parties. I concerned myself little with the passing rancour of the peoples, for I was sure that the results would lead them irresistibly back to me. Europe would in this way have become in truth a united nation, and every one would have been, no matter where he travelled, in the same Fatherland. This fusion will accomplish itself sooner or later through the pressure of the facts; the impulse has been given which, since my downfall and the disappearance of my system, will make the restoration of balance possible in Europe only by merger and fusion of the great nations."  
—Napoleon.



## INTRODUCTION

For the first time is developed here the thesis of Cultural Vitalism, the physiognomy of the adaptation, health, or illness of a High Culture. Heretofore, a Culture has usually been looked upon as a result, a mere sum total of collective activity of human beings and groups of human beings. To the extent that its unity and continuity was perceived at all, this was regarded as purely materially-linked "influence" of individuals, groups or written ideas on contemporaries or posterity. But with the advance of age of the Western Culture, its unity began dimly to be perceived. This unity was formulated in very different ways, with different points of origin, different laws of development, but the essential idea was the **unity of the Culture**. Even in the home of Materialism, Benjamin Kidd recognized the inner unity of the West in his work "Western Civilization." Nietzsche, Lamprecht, Breysig, Meray, are only a few of those who sensed this idea. In an age which starts from facts, and not from programmes, which submits to realities without trying to make them pass a rationalistic test, it has become self-evident, **spiritually compulsory** to think within this new framework. If two individuals, widely separated geographically, and in no

## IMPERIUM

contact with one another, develop similar inventions, similar philosophies, choose the same subject matter for drama or lyric—this is not “influence” nor “coincidence,” but a reflection of the development of the Culture to which both belong. From the higher Cultural standpoint the arguments about who was the first to invent this or that device, who originated this or that idea, are quite barren. These questions are not on any higher plane than the legal, at best. If the development in question is one of superpersonal force, and not a mere personal amusement, it is the development of the **Culture**, and the fact that it was expressed simultaneously by more than one person only testifies to its Destiny-quality.

The nature of the unity of the Culture is **purely spiritual in its origin**. The material unity that follows is the unfolding of the precedent inner, spiritual unity. Life is the actualizing of the possible; the development of a High Culture is the unfolding, over the predetermined organic life-span, of the inner possibilities contained in the Culture-soul.

The one in which we live is the 8th High Culture to appear on this planet. The unity and inner relationship of the totality of forms and creations of any one of the others is apparent to us, because we stand completely **outside** it and cannot enter into the nuances of its soul, since we belong to another. This impenetrability of an alien Culture is part of a wider organic generalization: even the spirit of another age of our own Culture, of another nation, another individual, in the last analysis, presents difficulties to complete understanding. The technique of comprehension of other life-

## INTRODUCTION

forms is **living into** them. To measure, time, and calculate the behaviour of another organism is valueless to organic assimilation. Materialistic "psychology," with its heaps of results on paper, never aided one individual to understand another. If any identity was reached, it was in spite of the abstract equipment.

Difficulty in assimilating oneself into other organic forms, understanding them, **penetrating** them, is a matter of degree. A person with similar character is readily understood by us. If his character is dissimilar, but his background is similar, he can be understood with more difficulty. Different nationality, different race, different cultural origin, raise successively steeper barriers to mutuality. This sets out one of the problems of Cultural Vitalism.

The question is: to what extent can a Culture impress new populations entering its area with the Cultural idea? Subsidiary problems arise from the fact that such new populations may have one or all of various kinds of cohesiveness, that of a people, or of a race, or of a nation, or of a State, or of another Culture.

The further problem arises of the precise relation of the Culture to the populations in its service, and to those outside its area. It is formulated in this way because High Cultures are bound to a landscape, and the formative impulses appear always in the original landscape, even in the last phase, that of Civilization, in which the Culture externalizes itself completely and expands to its furthest limits. The expansive, externalizing tendency begins already in the middle of the life-span, but it only becomes dominant with the sharp caesura marked by the crisis of Civilization. For us the

## IMPERIUM

symbol of this break is Napoleon. Since his time the populations of the entire Earth have been brought within the arc of the most unlimited Imperialism known to history. They stand however in varying relationships to the Mother-Idea of this Imperialism, and these relationships must also be examined.



## THE ARTICULATION OF A CULTURE

The nations, thought-forms, art-forms, and ideas which are the expression of the development of a Culture are always in the custody of a comparatively small group. How large this group is, how easily it can replenish itself, depends on the character of the Culture. In this respect, the Classical Culture is instructive. Its Ideas were one and all *exoteric*: Socrates conducts his philosophizing in the agora. In our case the picture of Leibniz or Descartes carrying on such activity would be ludicrous in the extreme, for Western philosophy is the possession of a very few.

But any Culture, even the *exoteric* Classical, is restricted for its full expression, in whatever direction, to certain levels of the populations in its area. Culture is by its very nature selective, exclusive. The use of the word in the personal sense—a “cultured” man—describes a man out of the ordinary, a man whose ideas and attitudes are ordered and articulated. Cultured in the personal sense means devoted to something beyond oneself and one’s own domestic well-being. In the 19th century world-picture, with its atomistic mania, only individuals existed, nothing higher, therefore the word was used to describe a practitioner or appreciator of art or literature. But patriotism, devotion to duty, ethical

## IMPERIUM

imperative, heroism, self-sacrifice, are also an expression of Culture—primitive man does not evince them. A war is just as much an expression of Culture as a poem, a factory as a cathedral, a rifle as a statue.

A high Culture in the course of its fulfilment acts in all directions of thought and action, and on every person within its area.

The intensity of its action in a given direction depends on the Culture-soul: some of the Cultures have been passionately historical, like the Chinese; some completely ahistoric, like the Indian; some have developed massive technics, like the Egyptian and our own, some have ignored technics, like the Classical and Mexican.

The intensity of the impression of the Culture on individuals is proportional to their receptivity to spiritual impressions. The individual of small soul and limited horizon lives for himself because he understands nothing else. To such a man Western music is merely an alternate up and down, loud and soft, philosophy is mere words, history is a collection of fairy-tales, even the **reality** of which is not inwardly felt, politics is the selfishness of the great, military conscription a burden which his lack of moral courage forces him to accept. Thus even his individualism is a mere denial of anything higher, and not an affirming of his own soul. The extraordinary man is the one who puts something else before his own life and security. Even as he faced the firing squad, William Walker could have saved his life by merely renouncing his claim to President of Nicaragua. To the common man, this is insane. The common man is unjust, but not on principle; he is selfish, but is incapable of the imperative of Ibsen's exalted selfishness;

## ARTICULATION OF A CULTURE

he is the slave of his passions, but incapable of higher sexual love, for even this is an expression of Culture—primitive man simply would not understand Western erotic if it were explained to him, this sublimation of passion into metaphysics. He lacks any sort of honour, and will submit to any humiliation rather than revolt—it is always leader-natures who revolt. He gambles in the hope of winning, and if he loses, he whimpers. He would rather live on his knees than die on his feet. He accepts the loudest voice as the true one. He follows the leader of the moment—but only so far, and when the leader is eclipsed by a new one, he points out his record of opposition. In victory he is a bully, in defeat he is a lackey. His talk is big, his deeds small. He likes to play, but has no sportsmanship. Great thoughts and plans he castigates as “megalomania.” Anyone who tries to pull him up and along the road of higher accomplishment he hates, and when the chance offers, he crucifies him, like Christ, burns him, like Savonarola, kicks his dead body in the square in Milan. He is always laughing at the discomfiture of another, but he has no sense of humour, and is equally incapable of true seriousness. He denounces the crime of passion, but eagerly reads the literature of such crimes. He herds in the street to see an accident, and enjoys seeing another sustain the blows of fate. He does not care if his countrymen are spilling their blood as long as he is secure. He is everything mean and unheroic, but he lacks the mentality to be Iago or Richard III. He has no access to Culture, and, when he dares, he persecutes anyone who has. Nothing delights him more than to see a great leader fall. He hated Metternich and Wellington, the symbols

## IMPERIUM

of Tradition, he refused, as Reichstag, to send ex-Chancellor Bismark a birthday greeting. He makes up the constituency of all parliaments everywhere, and he invades all councils-of-war to advise prudence and caution. If beliefs to which he was committed become dangerous, he recants—they were never his anyway. He is the inner weakness of every organism, the enemy of all greatness, the material of treason.

It is not such human stuff that an exacting High Culture can use to further its Destiny. The common man is the material with which the great political leaders in democratic conditions work. In earlier centuries, the common man did not attend the Cultural drama. It did not interest him, and the participants were not yet under the Rationalistic spell, the "counting-mania," as Nietzsche called it. When democratic conditions proceed to their extreme, the result is that even the leaders are common men, with the jealous and crooked soul of envy of that to which they are not equal, like Roosevelt and his coterie in America. In his cult of "The Common Man," he was deifying himself, like Caligula. The abolition of quality smothers the exceptional man in his youth and turns him into a cynic.

In earlier centuries there was no suggestion anywhere that the masses of the population had a part to play. When this idea does triumph, it turns out that the only role these masses can play is the passive one of unwieldy building material for the articulate part of the population.

What is the physical articulation of the body of the Culture? The more exacting the nature of the Cultural task, the higher the type of humanity required

## ARTICULATION OF A CULTURE

for its performance. There is in all Cultures a spiritual level of the entire population called the Culture-bearing stratum. It is this articulation of Culture-populations alone which makes the expression of a High Culture possible. It is the technic of living, the habitus, of the Culture. The Culture-bearing stratum is the custodian of the wealth of expression-forms of the Culture. To it belong all the creators in the domains of religion, philosophy, science, music, literature, the arts of form, mathematics, politics, technics, and war, as well as the non-creators who fully understand and themselves experience the developments in this higher world, the appreciators.

So, within itself the Culture-bearing stratum is articulated into **creators** and **appreciators**. It is in general the latter who transmit the great creations downward, insofar as this is possible. This process serves to recruit the higher material, wherever it appears, into the Culture-bearing stratum. The process of replenishment is continually going on, for the Culture-bearing stratum is not hereditary in any strict sense. The Culture-bearing stratum is a purely **spiritual** level of the populace of the Culture. It has no economic, political, social, or other hall-mark. Some of its most luminous creators have lived and died in want, e.g., Beethoven and Schubert. Other souls, equally creative, but less rugged, have been strangled by poverty—Chatterton. Many of its creative members go through their lives entirely unnoticed—Mendel, Kierkegaard, Copernicus. Others are mistaken for mere talents—Shakespeare, Rembrandt.

The Culture-bearing stratum is not recognized by its contemporaries in any way as a unity, nor does it

## IMPERIUM

recognize itself as one. **As a stratum it is invisible, like the Culture it carries. Because it is a purely psychic stratum, it can be given no material description to satisfy the intellectuals. Even the intellectuals would admit however that Europe or America could be thrown into a material chaos from which it would take years to emerge if the few thousands in the higher technical ranks were removed. These technicians are a part of the Culture-bearing stratum, although it is not merely occupational. Technicians of course, like economic leaders, or military leaders, play purely subordinate roles in the Culture-drama. The most important part of this stratum at any one time is the group which is the custodian of the highest Idea. Thus in Dante's time, Emperor and Pope were the two highest symbols of reality, and it was in the service of either one of these symbols that the leading members of the Culture-bearing stratum were then to be found. The highest symbolic force was then transferred to the dynasties, and dynastic politics claimed its lives during its centuries. With the coming of Enlightenment and Rationalism, the whole West goes into a crisis of long duration, and not less does the Culture-bearing stratum. It was split even more than usual, and only now, after two centuries, is it possible to restore its basic unity. I say more than usual, for it must not be supposed that the Culture-bearing stratum ever was a sort of international, a freemasonry. On the contrary, it supplied leaders on both sides of every war and every tendency.**

II

**Within this stratum there is constant struggle between Tradition and Innovation. The strong, vital part naturally**

## ARTICULATION OF A CULTURE

represents the new, forward development, affirming the next age. It is the function of Tradition to assure continuity. Tradition is the memory of a super-personal soul. It must see that the same creative spirit of the grand past is present at each innovation.

The crisis of Rationalism places the same frightful strain on the higher stratum that it does on the entire organism. The step forward—Democracy—is affirmative in the last analysis, because it is an historical necessity in the life of a Culture, as we know from history. But it is a difficult step for men to take who have given their lives to construction and creation, for to mobilize the masses is to destroy. The step from Culture to Civilization is a fall, it is the onset of senility. For this reason, leaders whose centre of gravity was on the side of culture resisted the Revolution of Democracy with all their power—Burke, Goethe, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Metternich, Wellington, Carlyle, Nietzsche. The Culture-bearing stratum, articulated into creators and appreciators, is invisible as such. It corresponds to no economic class, no social class, no nobility, no aristocracy, no occupation. Its members are not all public figures by any means. But by its existence, this stratum actualizes a High Culture on this earth. If a process had existed by which members of the stratum could be all selected, the extra-European forces would probably have exterminated it in the attempt to destroy the West. The attempt would not have succeeded, for this stratum is produced by the Culture, and after a long period of chaos—a generation or two, depending on circumstances—this Cultural organ would have been again present, including in its numbers descendants of the invaders,

who would also succumb to the Idea. The possibilities in this direction will be more thoroughly examined later.

In a political age, it is natural that the best brains go into politics and war. Those who are equal to renunciation and sacrifice are the heroes of this realm. War-politics is pre-eminently the field of heroism, and the sacrifices in this realm are never in vain from the Cultural standpoint, for the war itself is an expression of Culture. Considered from the rationalistic standpoint, it is stupid to devote one's life to an idea, any idea whatever. But once again, Life, with its organic reality does not obey Rationalism with its urge to mediocrity. Thus the best are culled from every generation and impelled into the service of the Culture. The noblest of all are the heroes, who die for an idea; but everyone cannot be a hero, and the others live for an idea.

An invariable characteristic of this level is its **spiritual sensitivity**, which brings it more impressions than the others receive. This is coupled with **more complex internal possibilities**, which order the volume of impressions. It can feel the new Spirit of the Age before it is articulate, before it triumphs. This also describes all great men, and one reason so many perish violently is that they promulgated things which were "ahead of their time." These men lived in a world more real than that of the "realistic" people, and these same "realists" are outraged and burn the Savonarola whom they would follow unquestioningly a generation or two later.

This vital plane is only a psychic-Cultural unity during the long centuries of the Culture, but with the coming of the late Civilization—mid-20th century—the



## ARTICULATION OF A CULTURE

dominant idea of the entire Culture is political. Napoleon's "Politics is destiny" is even more true now than when he said it. The two ideas of **Democracy** and **Authority** stand opposed, and only one of them belongs to the Future. Only Authority represents a step forward, and thus the strongest, most vital, creative elements in the Culture-bearing stratum are found in the service of the resurgence of Authority. It has become political-Cultural.

Since the Culture-bearing stratum has its highest importance in an age like the present one, when quality reasserts itself against quantity, it must be defined now as precisely as possible. The notion of mere **prominence** must be dissociated strongly from the idea of belonging to this stratum. Wagner, Ibsen, Cromwell, none of whom were prominent until middle life, were nonetheless in this plane of life and thought in their previous years. The notion of **prominence** is related to the idea of the Culture-bearing stratum in this way: every man who is prominent in any field, and who **also has inner gifts, of vision, appreciation, or creativeness**, naturally belongs to this stratum. Prominence however may be the result of accident of birth or fortune, and Europeans have seen two periods in recent history—after the first two World Wars—when nearly all the ruling politicians in Europe were simply common men thrown up by chance and the distorted life of the higher organism.

The Culture-bearing stratum has its highest importance now, rather than in previous centuries, because it is a relatively tinier minority. The vast increase of numbers in Europe—it **tripled** in population in the 19th century—did not increase the numbers of this stratum, nor of

## IMPERIUM

higher natures generally. This stratum was as numerous in the time of the Crusades as it is now. It is simply the way of Culture to choose minorities for its expression. Multiplication of population is downwards. **The tension between quantity and quality grows greater with the increase of numbers**, and the Culture-bearing stratum acquires a mathematically higher significance. The tension can be suggested in figures: there are not more than 250,000 souls in Europe who constitute by their potentialities, their imperative, their gifts, their existence, the Culture-bearing stratum of the West. Their geographical distribution has never been entirely uniform. In that nation which the Culture chose for the expression of The Spirit of the Age as it chose Spain for the expression of Ultramontaniam in the 16th and 17th centuries, France for the Rococo in the 18th century, or England for Capitalism in the 19th, there was always a higher proportion of the culturally-significant than in countries which were not playing the leading Cultural role. This fact was known to the extra-European forces in their attempt to destroy the Western Civilization after the Second World War, and was utilized as far as it could be within the limits of expediency. The real purpose behind the mass-hangings, mass-looting, and mass-starvation, was to destroy the few by destroying the many.

The articulation of the Culture has three aspects: the Idea itself, the transmitting stratum, those to whom it is transmitted. The latter comprise the vast numbers of human beings who possess any refinement whatever, who maintain a certain standard of honour or morality, who take care of their property, who have self-respect

## ARTICULATION OF A CULTURE

and respect the rights of others, who aspire to improve themselves and their situation instead of pulling down those who have enriched their inner life and raised themselves in the world. They are the body of the Culture vis-a-vis the Culture-bearing stratum as its brain, and the Idea as its soul. In each person who belongs to this numerically large group there is a quantum of ambition and appreciation toward the creations of culture. They furnish the instruments by which creators can carry out their work. By this means they give significance to their own lives, a significance which the underworld would not understand. The role of a Maecenas is not the highest, but it is of Cultural value. Who knows whether we would have Wagner's greatest works but for Ludwig II? When we read the results of a great battle, do we always realize that it was not simply a chess-game between two captains, but that hundreds of firm officers and thousands of obedient men died to write this line in history, to make this day and date forever remembered? And when a threatened sack of society is put down by the police and Army, the casualties on the side of order thus give by their deaths a higher significance to their lives also. Not everyone can play a great role, but the right to give meaning to his life cannot be taken from a man.

But beneath all this is the stratum totally incapable of cultural attainment, even the most modest: the mob, canaille, Pöbel, underworld, profanum vulgus, the "common man" of the American cult. These preside at every Terror, listen wishfully to every Bolshevik agitator, secrete venom at the sight of any manifestation of Culture or superiority. This stratum exists at all

## IMPERIUM

stages of every Culture as the Peasant's Wars, the Jacquerie, Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, John Ball, Thomas Münzer, the Jacobins, the Communards, the Spanish militiamen, the mob in the square in Milan, are there to show. As soon as a creative man makes his resolve and proceeds with his work, somewhere else in a dark envious soul there rises a crooked determination to stop him, to smash the work. In his later years the Nihilist Tolstoy gave perfect expression to this basic fact with his formula that not even one stone should be on top of another. The slogan of the Bolshevik in 1918 was also illuminating: "Destroy Everything!" In our age this underworld is in the possession of the class-warriors, the rear-guard of Rationalism. It is thus working, from the larger political viewpoint, solely for the extra-European forces. Previous rebellions of this stratum were all doomed because of the unity of the Culture, the pristine vigour of the creative impulses, and the lack of external danger of such crushing proportions as exists in this age. Its history is not yet over with. Asia has use for this stratum, and plans for it.

## TRADITION AND GENIUS

There are two different ways in which the Culture-bearing stratum can perform its function. The first is through the presence of a high tradition of accomplishment along a given line, a "school," the second is through the instrumentality of occasional genius. They can combine, in fact they are never completely separated, for individual genius is always present at the formation of a tradition in the first instance, and the presence of the tradition is not hostile to genius when it does appear.

Nevertheless they are different methods of Culture-expression, and both have importance to the 20th century world-outlook which is here formulated in its essentials.

Italian painting from 1250 to 1550 is an example of a tradition at work. The Flemish-Dutch school of the 17th century is another. It was not necessary for a painter in one of these schools to be a great master in order to express himself fully. The form was there, unquestioned, it was only required to master it and to contribute one's personal development of its possibilities. Spanish and German painting on the other hand represent a collection of great originals, and not the sure

forward progression of a tradition. The sublimest tradition of all was the Gothic architecture to c. 1400. So powerful was the **tradition** that the idea of a **work** of art, which pre-supposes a personality creating it, did not even exist.

But traditions like this are not confined to arts. Scholastic philosophy represented the same superpersonal unity working itself out through many personalities all in the service and development of a tradition. From Roscellinus and Anselm through Thomas Aquinas to Gabriel Biel, the problems and their complete exploitation are continuous. Each thinker, regardless of his gifts, whether a man of genius, or merely a hard worker, was trained by his predecessors and himself developed into his successors. It was not the solutions, and not even always the questions which were continuous—it was the method and thoroughness of investigation and formulation which showed the presence of the tradition.

From Cromwell to Joseph Chamberlain—the beginning and the end of that high political tradition which built the great British Empire, which at its highest point exerted its control over 17/20th of the surface of this earth—England was the example of the possibility of **tradition in politics** as well as in philosophy, music, and the arts of form. How many men of political genius appeared in the Premiership during these centuries? Only the two Pitts. Nevertheless, England emerged from all the general wars of those centuries with increased power—Thirty Years War, 1618-1648, Spanish Succession War, 1702-1713, Austrian Succession Wars 1741-1763, Napoleonic Wars, 1800-1815, Wars of German Unification, 1863-1871. Only one serious blunder

was made during these centuries, the loss of America, 1775-1783. The essence of this tradition was nothing other than applying only political thinking to politics. Cromwell the theologian departed from this only occasionally, and more in words and expressions of sympathy than in actions. His successors in the tradition of Empire-building were not burdened with his heavy theological equipment, which they transformed into **cant**, a word translatable into no other European language. The technic of cant was what enabled English diplomacy to score continued successes in the world of facts, i.e., the world of violence, of cunning, of sin, while maintaining before itself the attitude of selfless morality. To enrich the country by new possession was thus "bringing civilization" to "backward" races. And so on, through the whole gamut of political tactics.

Traditions show in this example one of their prime characteristics: they are not efficacious unless **profoundly** mastered by the individuals. Thus other European statesmen during the 19th century, the century of the Anglicization of Europe, attempted to utilize cant and merely made themselves ridiculous. Wilson, the American world-saver who modestly offered himself as President of the World-as-Morality, went too far. A sure tact was the prerequisite of successful employment of cant, and this required for its mastery growing up in a cant-saturated atmosphere. In the same way the Austrian officer corps—whose ethical qualities Napoleon missed in his own officers—presupposed a life-long preparation and training in a certain atmosphere, and not three months military training on the basis of an "intelligence test."

## IMPERIUM

The great thing about a tradition is that the leader of the moment is not alone—the qualities he lacks, and which the situation may need, are sure to be present somewhere in the entourage. The presence of a political tradition makes it extremely unlikely in the first place that an incompetent will be placed in a position of high political authority, and if it does happen that a weak personality arrives on the heights by chance, tradition again makes his early departure certain. It might be supposed that this is contradicted by the case of Lord North, but the initial blunders of his American policy were only seen as such in retrospect. If he could have followed them up with further strict measures, America would not have been lost, but his domestic situation vis-a-vis the Whigs on the one hand and the monarch on the other, was difficult in the extreme, and his policy was hamstrung by the same type of Rationalist elements who were preaching "Contrat Social" and "Rights of Man" on the continent. On the contrary, the successful avoidance of Revolution and Terror from the Wilkes affair in mid-18th century through the horrors of '93, the general revolutionary waves of 1830 and 1848, was attributable to the presence of an unimpaired tradition.

Tradition is not a rigid thing, a guarantee of certain results. Not at all, for in History, it is the unexpected which happens. The imponderables make their appearance. Incident plays counterpoint to Destiny. A slight gap may appear also in a tradition, but the health of the tradition-bearing stratum shows itself by quickly closing the opening. A tradition of statesmanship is a sort of Platonic idea of excellence which moulds men, as far as possible, in each case, and serves as a form for their



## TRADITION & GENIUS

personal expression. The results are shown by a **high average** of training and ability. Fortunate is the political organism with such leadership! What is missed in one place is picked up in another; individual quirks are not allowed to become political dogmas. The last result of the presence of a tradition in a political unit is that **Destiny is kept on a sure path and Incident is minimized.**

## GENIUS

The name **genius**, describing a certain small stratum of humanity, came into the effective vocabulary of the Western Culture only with the advent of Humanism. The 20th century means by this word what Emerson meant by "Representative Man," or Carlyle by "Hero." The comprehensive delineation of the subject of Genius by Lange-Eichbaum, the distinguished European scholar, has given the word its content for this age.

We no longer see genius under an aspect of causality or predestination. This was the only way Materialism could understand the word. Nietzsche pierced through this predestination idea of genius with his aphorism: the higher the type a man represents, the greater is the improbability that he will succeed, because of the increased diversity and difficulty of his life-conditions. The word genius thus has acquired through the centuries a large **objective** content, and has come self-evidently to contain within it the idea of **fame**.

If the word were to be used purely subjectively, it would describe simply a man with great creative force. There are always some of these men at work, but their creative efforts may be in any of the various directions of Culture. The test of creative force has come to be

## GENIUS

success, namely the personal success of the man in translating his personal potentialities into creation, whether of thought or deed. Not absolute success is meant, for this would exclude nearly all men. Neither Wallenstein, Cromwell, Napoleon, or the Hero that we have seen, attained **absolute** success. The success of each was however **personal**, in the sense that posterity can read his name in the skies at night.

It is the Spirit of the Age which influences greatly the direction of the creative ability of men of genius. Thus in the Gothic religious time, many men of genius became religionists, philosophers, saints and martyrs. In the Enlightenment, men of genius appeared as artists and universal men. In the time of Civilization men of genius appear mostly in the externalized pursuits of technics, economics, politics and war. All tendencies exist in all ages, but in each age one Idea is uppermost. High politics is appropriate in every age and in the coming age it is the leading Idea. In our times, and the next times, the men of creative force will be found largely concentrated in the service of the Resurgence of Authority.

The crass stupidity of Rationalism and Materialism was nowhere more perfectly in evidence than in its attempt to make the word genius into an **intelligence** term. Naive "tests" were even devised to detect the presence of "genius," which could be shown by a **number**. In the Age of Materialism, there was no scruple about weighing and numbering the faculties of the Soul. The **fact** is that intelligence is the functional opposite of Genius. Intelligence is dissection, genius is creation; one is analysis, the other is synthesis; the first is directed to-

## IMPERIUM

ward the Part, the second toward the Whole. They are related as terrestrial and astral, counting and imagining.

It must be said that while Genius is **great** creative force, each man has some creative force, enough to make of his own life such a work that those who come after him need never be ashamed of him.

The interest of the 20th century is in politics, and hence the significance of Genius in this sphere will be examined here. It is best understood by comparison with Tradition in politics. Tradition secures the steady fulfilment of the Idea by training up the available talent to a high average level. It is superior to Genius as a vehicle for the actualization of an Idea, for the life-span of the Tradition is also the life-span of the Idea, while Genius is allotted only the usual three score and ten. The passing of Genius leaves a gap, but the Tradition only passes with the fulfilment of the Idea itself. In the larger sense, Cromwell is the beginning of the English national political tradition. Yet, in a narrower, **personal** sense, he did not found a tradition, for after his death, it was but a matter of months before the Dynasty was back, and Cromwell's body was exhumed and dragged through the streets of London by wild horses. But when once the English political tradition was founded in the Cromwellian spirit, it lasted right through to Joseph Chamberlain. What is Genius in politics? How does it manifest itself in this realm? In one thing simply: it represents the Idea of the Future. If one were to state the relation to the Present of the masses, a Tradition, and Genius, he would say that the masses are always behind the Present, the Tradition is alert at each moment adjusting to the Future, but the

## GENIUS

Genius represents the Promethean thrusting into the Future with unleashed force.

Genius is dependent for its actualization on the appreciation of the Culture-bearing stratum, or nation-bearing stratum. Talent can understand anything that Genius can imagine or create, once it is actualized, but Genius always impresses at first as **fantastic**. Alexander the Great, Frederick the Great, Cromwell, Napoleon, the Hero of this age, all impressed most people at the beginning of their careers, as being unworldly, out of touch with Reality. There was some justification for this, for they were in touch with a **new world**, the **next Reality**.

In this connection, the use of the word Present is only a figure of speech. Actually, there is no Present in the world of politics: the Present is simply the point of tension between Past and Future. Genius in politics belongs **always** on the side of the Future. Genius is great creative force; in the realm of action, creation is of **deeds**; deeds are the form of the actualization of the Future.

At the very beginning of the Civilization period of the Western Culture, two extraordinary men stand opposed, Napoleon and Metternich. Only the Empire-builder had genius; his opponent, though equal in political skill, in assessment of the "realities" of the time, and in force of character, was a mere conserver, a servant of the Past. The "realities" he cognized were those of the immediately previous Reality, not those of the coming Reality. It is Genius of Napoleon's kind that occasionally appears and delivers the new Spirit of the Age, the new Reality. Talent of Metternich's kind lacks the vision of the Genius, and it is solely acci-

dental whether or not he opposes him. If Metternich had been a Frenchman, he would have been a Minister of Napoleon.

What precisely are the qualities of Genius in politics, which constitute its *maestria* and its inner imperative? First, **vision**. It sees the possibilities of the Future, and its mind is thereby freed from the tramells which hinder the average man in his thinking. To the prosaic mind, everything which *is*, represents the end of all development, the Future is to be a mere extension of the Past. Second, **spiritual purity**: the ordinary man is an eclectic; he carries in his head hundreds of contradictory ideas and beliefs. Not so the creative man in politics: he thinks along **one** line, and **one** line only. This gives to his enemies the opportunity of convincing many that he is mentally ill, and they have never failed to do so, from Alexander to the Hero we have seen. But political Genius and its enemies pass into two different categories of History. His name is written in bronze letters as the symbol, meaning, apotheosis, and incarnation of the Spirit of his Age; his enemies turn out on this high plane to have been merely the material with which he hewed his deeds. Third, **intensity**: the voice of Genius commands, it is harsh, intolerant. It demands and impels upward. Genius is inseparable from the presence of a rushing inner chaos, the prerequisite of **formative** work. Under a Frederick, or a Charles XII, men will overcome tactical odds of 5 to 1, strategical odds of 30 to 1. But not under Laudon, or the Archduke Charles, or a Grant. These latter need crushing superiority to make up for their inner lack.

Fourth, the **sense of a Mission**. This vision, purity, and

## GENIUS

intensity are all brought into an ethical focus: the things which he sees are stamped with Necessity, and he must actualize them. This accounts for the powerfully dramatic influence of a political Genius upon the facts of History. His forceful mission compels everyone to orient himself to it. Everyone is either with him or against him. He becomes the centre of the world.

Lastly, an Imponderable. Genius is Life at its highest human potential, and all Life is uncanny, irrational, mysterious. There is something about Genius that makes men rise spiritually. It is the Something that gave Napoleon victory on almost every field, that sat like an eagle on the shoulder of Moltke, as he worked quietly at his task of shaping the form of the 20th and 21st centuries. It may be merely the personality accompanying these extraordinary gifts. It may be a transcendental emanation from the higher organism—it is unknowable, but it is there.

## GENIUS AND THE AGE OF ABSOLUTE POLITICS

There can be no question that a Tradition, which makes use of the ever-present talent of the successive generations, is superior to Genius for the purpose of actualizing an Idea in its perfection. But the Idea will be actualized without either of them; their presence, together or separate, affects only the rhythmic sureness and external purity of the Life-process.

The soul of each Culture is an organism, and therefore possesses the mark of individuality. This is stamped on everything connected with the Culture, including its History-style. Just as persons differ in their way of expressing themselves—one man forceful and imperious, another quiet, but equally effective—so do High Cultures. The Classical offers a strong contrast to our own in this. Its historical style, in comparison with ours, is one of Incident. Accents are not sharp, transitions are not conscious, or marked by the intensely formed turning-points of the Western history. While their men of genius were not fewer, Genius played a smaller role in the working-out. Genius was the focus of less force.

Western nations have also seen great developments which were unaccompanied by the phenomenon of



## ABSOLUTE POLITICS

direction of the whole Idea on to one man. For instance, the German Wars of Liberation, 1813-1815, England's transition to Democracy, 1750-1800.

But in the middle of the 20th century we see about us the wreckage of the two centuries of Rationalism: the high old traditions of the West have been mostly destroyed. The **horizontal** war of the banker and the class-warrior against the Western Civilization have laid the old quality low. But History has not stopped, and the greatest imperative of all in the political sphere is now operative. A new **quality**-tradition is arising. As the philosopher of this age has said, there are no longer in the world any sacred forms of political existence whose very age is an unassailable power.

Since an effective Tradition is absent in the political realm of the Western Civilization, we may expect that the Western demand for sharp accents in History will repose gigantic forces in the hands of individual men. The Hero whom we have seen was a symbol of the Future.

History does not stop; no one man is more important than History. The relationship of political Genius to the mass was misread by 19th century Materialism, and also by Nietzsche. Materialism regarded the great politician as bound to work for the—of course—**material** improvement of the mass. Nietzsche regarded the masses as existing only to produce the great men. But the idea of **purpose** cannot describe the process as it is. Apart from all ideology, the great man and the masses are a unity, both are in the service of the Idea, and each finds his historical significance only with regard to the counter-pole. Carlyle voiced the instinctive demand of

## IMPERIUM

this age when the idea of authority and monarchy has once again a good conscience: find the Ablest Man, and let him be king.

Democratic ideologists, with their heads buried deep in the sand, say that maybe a bad monarch will appear. But the imperative of History is not to produce a perfect system, but to fulfil the historical mission. It was this that produced Democracy and it is this that now pays no attention to the whining of the past, but only to the rumble of the Future. Good or bad, the monarchs are coming.

On the front of the tottering edifice is printed in gaudy letters: Democracy. But behind it is seen to be a cash-till, and the banker sits, running his hands through the money that was the blood of the Western nations. He looks up in terror, as the sound of marching feet is heard.

The Future of the West demands the committing of great forces into the hands of great men. The erection of a Tradition of politics is a hope; from the chaos of 1950 there is no hope. Only great men can bridge the gap.

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

The 19th century concepts of race, people, nation, and State are exclusively of Rationalistic-Romantic provenance. They are the result of imposing a thought method adapted to material problems on to living things, and thus they are materialistic. Materialistic means shallow as applied to living things, for with all Life, the **spirit is primary**, and the material is the mere vehicle of spiritual expression. Since these 19th century concepts were rationalistic, they were basically **unfactual**, for Life is irrational, unamenable to inorganic logic and systematization. The Age upon which we are entering, and of which this is a formulation, is an Age of Politics, and hence an age of **facts**.

The broader subject is the adaptation, health and pathology of High Cultures. Their relationship to every type of human grouping is a prerequisite to examining the last problems of Cultural Vitalism. The nature of these groupings will therefore be looked at without preconceptions, with a view to reaching their deepest meanings, origin, life, and inter-connections.

Material inanimate objects retain their identity through the years, and thus the type of thinking suited to dealing with material things assumed that the

## IMPERIUM

political and other human groupings in existence in 1800 represented something a priori, something of the very essence of permanent reality. Everything was regarded as a creation of one of these "peoples." This applied to the arts of form, literature, State, technics, culture generally. This view is not in accordance with historical facts.

The first concept in order is Race. The materialistic race-thinking of the 19th century had particularly heavy consequences for Europe when it was coupled with one of the early 20th century movements of Resurgence of Authority.

Any excrescence of theoretical equipment on a political movement is a luxury, and the Europe of 1933-2000 can afford none such. Europe has paid dearly for this Romantic concern with old-fashioned racial theories, and they must be destroyed.

### II

Race has two meanings, which will be taken in order, and then their relative importance in an Age of Absolute Politics will be shown. The first meaning is an objective one, the second subjective.

The succession of human generations, related by blood, have the clear tendency to remain fixed in a landscape. Nomadic tribes wander within larger, but equally definite, bounds. Within this landscape the forms of plant and animal life have local characteristics, different from transplantations of the same strains and stocks in other landscapes.

The anthropological studies of the 19th centuries uncovered a mathematically presentable fact which affords

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

a good starting-point to show the **influence of the soil**. It was discovered that for any given inhabited area of the world there was an average cephalic index of the population. More important, it was learned, through measurements on immigrants to America from every part of Europe, and then on their children born in America, that this cephalic index adheres to the soil, and immediately makes itself manifest in the new generation. Thus long-headed Jews from Sicily, and short-headed ones from Germany, produced offspring with the same average head measurement, the specifically American one. Bodily size and span of growth were two other characteristics in which all types whatever in America, Indians, Negroes, white men, were found to have the same average, regardless of average size and growth-span of the countries or stocks from which they came. In the case of immigrant Irish children, coming from a country of a very long growth-span, the response to the local influence was immediate.

From these and other facts, both comparatively new and of ancient observation, it is apparent that the landscape exerts an influence on the human stocks within its bounds as well as on the plant and animal life. The technic of this influence is beyond our ken. The source of it we do know. It is the cosmic unity of the totality of things, a unity which shows itself in the rhythmic and cyclic movement of Nature. Man does not stand out of this unity, but is submerged in it. His duality of human soul and Beast-of-prey is also a unity. We separate him thus to understand him, but this cannot disturb his unity. Nor by separating in our thoughts the aspects of Nature can we destroy its unity. The

## IMPERIUM

moon cycle stands in a relationship to many human phenomena, of which we can know only **what**, but never **how**. All movement whatever in Nature is rhythmic—the movement of streams and waves, of winds and currents, of appearance and disappearance of living individuals, of species, of Life itself.

Man partakes of these rhythms. His particular structure gives these rhythms their peculiarly **human** form. The side of his nature that expresses this connection is **Race**. **Race in a man is the plane of his being which stands in relationship to plant and animal life, and beyond them, to the great macrocosmic rhythms.** It is, so to speak, the part of Man that is generalized into, absorbed into the All, rather than his soul, which defines his species, and sets him off from all other forms of existence.

Life manifest itself in the four forms: Plant, Animal, Man, High Culture. Distinct though each is, yet it is related to all the others. The animals, subject as they are to the soil, retain thus in their being a plane of plantlike existence. Race is the expression of the plant like and also of the animal-like in Man. The High Culture, by being fixed for its duration to a landscape, retains also a connection with the plant world, no matter how defiant and free-moving are its proud creations. Its high politics and great wars are an expression of the animal and human in its nature.

Some of the totality of human characteristics are soil-determined, others are stock-determined. Pigmentation is one of the latter, and survives transplantation to other areas. It is not possible to list all of even the physical characteristics according to such a scheme, for the data

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

has not been gathered. But even so, it would not matter to our purpose, for the most important element also in the **objective** meaning of race is the spiritual.

Some stocks are undoubtedly more highly endowed than others in certain spiritual directions. Spiritual qualities are as diverse as physical qualities. Not only average height of body varies, but also average height of soul. Not only skull-shape and stature are soil-determined, but so must be some spiritual properties. It is impossible to believe that a cosmic influence which puts its mark on human bodies passes over the essence, the soul. But so thoroughly mixed have all the stocks been, or so repeatedly skimmed by History, that we can never know original soul-qualities of landscapes. Of the racial qualities of a given population on the spiritual side, we can never know which are soil-bound, and which have been produced by the amalgamation of stocks through the generations. To a practical century like this, and the next, origins and explanations are less important than facts and possibilities. Therefore our next concern must be with race as a practical reality rather than with its metaphysics.

To what race does a man belong? We know at first glance, but exactly what sign tells us this cannot be materially explained. It is accessible only to the feelings, the instincts, and does not yield itself to the scale and balance of physical science.

We have seen that race is connected with landscape and with stock. Its outer manifestation is a certain, typical expression, a play of features, a cast of countenance. There are no rigid physical indicia of this expression, but this does not affect its existence, but

solely the method of understanding it. Within wide limits, a primitive population in a landscape has a similar look. But closer scrutiny will be able to find local refinements, and these again will branch down into tribes, clans, families, and finally individuals. **Race, in the objective sense, is the spirituo-biological community of a group.**

Thus races cannot be classified, other than arbitrarily. The materialistic 19th century produced several classifications of this arbitrary kind. The only characteristics used were, of course, purely material ones. Thus, skull-form, was the basis of one, hair and speech type of another, nose-shape and pigmentation of another. This was at best mere group anatomy, but did not approach race.

Human beings living in contact with one another influence one another, and thus approach one another. This applies to individuals, where it has been noted through the ages in the fact that an old married couple come to resemble one another physically, and it applies to groups as well. What is called the "assimilation" of one group by another is not at all merely the result of commingling of germ-plasm, as materialism thought.

It is mostly the result of spiritual influence of the assimilating group on the newcomers, which is natural and complete when there are no strong barriers between the groups. The lack of barriers leads to the disappearance of the racial boundary and thereafter a new race is present, the amalgamation of the two previous ones. The stronger one is influenced usually but slightly, but there are various possibilities here, and an examination of them belongs properly to a subsequent place.



## III

We have seen that race, objectively used, describes a relationship between a population and a landscape, and is essentially an expression of cosmic beat. Its prime visible manifestation is the **look**, but this invisible reality expresses itself in other ways. To the Chinese, for instance, smell is a hall-mark of race. Certainly audible things, speech, song, laughter, also have racial significance. Susceptibility to disease is another racially-differentiated phenomenon. The Japanese, Americans, and Negroes have three different degrees of resistance to tuberculosis. American medical statistics show that Jews have more nervous disease, more diabetes, and less tuberculosis than the Americans, and that in fact the incidence of any one disease shows a different figure for the Jews. Gesture, gait, dress, are not without racial significance.

But the **face** is the great visible sign of race. We do not know what it is that conveys race in the physiognomy, and attempts to reach it by statistics and measurements must fail. This fact has caused Liberals and other materialists to **deny that race exists**. This incredible doctrine came from America, which is veritably a large-scale racial laboratory. This doctrine really only amounts to a confession of total inability of Rationalism and scientific method to understand Race or subject it to order of the type of the physical sciences, and this inability was known before by those who have clung to facts and resisted anti-factual theories. Suppose that a man were to familiarize himself **thoroughly** with the measurements—length of nose, brows, chin, width of brow, jaws, mouth, etc.—of every

face he knew until he could fairly well say from a new face what its measurements would be. If he were then given a set of measurements merely written down as such, does anyone think that even such a specially trained person could form any idea in his mind of the **racial expression** of the face from which the measurements were taken? Of course not, and the same is true of any other expression of race.

Another important objective aspect of race finds an analogy in the fashions of female physiognomy which come and go in a Late urban civilization. When a given female type is held up as an ideal, it is a fact that the kind of woman who is sensitive to this sort of thing very soon develops the facial expression of this type. In the domain of Race a similar phenomenon exists. Given a race with a certain, distinct cosmic beat, its members develop automatically an **instinct for racial beauty** which affects the choice of mates and also works on each individual soul from within, so that this double impetus forms the **racial type** pointing toward a certain ideal. This instinct for racial beauty, needless to say, has no connection with the decadent erotic-cults of the Hollywood type. Such ideals are purely individual-intellectual, and have no connection with Race. Race, being an expression of the cosmic, is informed throughout with the urge to continuity, and a racially ideal woman is always thought of, quite unconsciously, as the potential mother of strong sons. The racially ideal man is the master who will enrich the life of the woman who secures him as the father of her children. The degenerate eroticism of the Hollywood type is anti-racial: its root-idea is not Life-continuity, but pleasure,

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

with the woman as the object of pleasure, and the man as the slave of this object.

This striving of a race towards its own physical type is one of the great facts with which one cannot tamper by trying to substitute ideals of amalgamation with types totally alien, as Liberalism and Communism tried to do during the reign of Rationalism.

Race cannot be understood if it is inwardly associated with phenomena from other planes of life, such as nationality, politics, people, State, Culture. While History in its advance may bring about for a few centuries a strong relationship between race and nation, that is not to say that a preceding racial type always forms a subsequent political unit. If that were so, none of the former nations of Europe would have been formed on the lines they were. For example, think of the racial differences between Calabrian and Lombard. What did they matter to the history of Garibaldi's time?

This brings us to the most important phase of the objective meaning of Race in this age: **History narrows or widens the limits of race-determinacy.** The way this is done is through the **spiritual** element in Race. Thus a group with spiritual and historical community tends to acquire also a **racial** aspect. The community of which its higher nature partakes is transmitted downward to the lower, cosmic part of the human nature. Thus in Western history the early nobility tended to constitute itself as a race to complement its unity on the spiritual side. The extent to which this proceeded is still apparent wherever historical continuity of the early nobility has been maintained to the present day. An important example of this is the creation of the Jewish race that

## IMPERIUM

we now know in the millennium of ghetto-existence in Europe. Leaving to one side for the moment the different world-outlook and culture of the Jew, this sharing by a group, whatever the basis of its original formation as such, of a common fate for centuries will hammer it into a race as well as a spiritual-historical unit.

Race influences History by supplying its material, its treasures of blood, honour, and strong instincts. History in turn influences Race by giving to units of high history a racial stamp as well as their spiritual one. Race is a lower plane of existence, in the sense that it is closer to the cosmic, more in touch with the primitive yearnings and urges of **Life in general**. History is the higher plane of existence where the specifically human, and above that, the High Cultural, represent the differentiation of **forms of Life**.

The method of **racialization** of an historical unit, as the Western nobilities were racialized, is through the inevitable cosmic rising in such a group of an ideal physical type, and the instinct for racial beauty, which work together through the germ-plasm and inwardly in each soul to give this group its own **look**, that individualizes it in the stream of history. Once this community of fate departs, through the vicissitudes of History, this race vanishes also, never to appear again.

### IV

From this point the fundamental misunderstanding of the 19th century materialistic interpretation of race appears clear and distinct:

Race is **not** group anatomy;

Race is **not** independent of the soil;

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

Race is **not** independent of Spirit and History;

Races are **not** classifiable, except on an arbitrary basis;

Race is **not** a rigid, permanent, collective characterization of human beings, which remains always the same throughout history.

The 20th century outlook, based on facts, and not on the preconceptions of physics and mechanics, sees Race as **fluid**, gliding with History over the fixed skeletal form determined by the soil. Just as History comes and goes, so does Race with it, bound in a symbiosis of happening. The peasants now tilling the soil near Persepolis are of the same race as those who planted or roamed there a thousand years before Darius, regardless of what they were called then, or what they are called now, and in the time between, a High Culture fulfilled itself in this area, creating races now gone forever.

This last error—the confusing of names with unities of history or race—was one of the most destructive made by 19th century materialism. Names belong to the **surface** of history, not to its rhythmic, cosmic side. If the present-day inhabitants of Greece have the same collective **name** that the population of the same area had in Aristotle's time, is anyone deceived into thinking that there is historical continuity? Or racial continuity? Names, like languages, have their own destinies and these destinies are independent of others. Thus from the common language, it should not be inferred that the inhabitants of Haiti and those of Quebec have a common origin, but this result would occur of necessity if 19th century methods were applied to the present, which we know, as well as to interpretation of the past from left-over names and languages. The inhabitants of

## IMPERIUM

Yucatan to-day are racially the same as in 100 A.D., even though they now speak Spanish, and then spoke a now-vanished tongue, even though they have a different name now from then. In between occurred the rise, fulfilment and wiping out of a High Culture, but after its passing, Race became once more the primeval, simple relationship between stock and landscape. There was no high History to influence it, or for it to influence.

In the time of the Egyptian Culture, a people called the Libyans gave their name to an area. Does that mean that whoever inhabits this are from then on related to them? The Prussians in the year 1000 A.D. were an extra-European people. In 1700 the name Prussia described a nation in the Western style. Western conquerors merely acquired the name of the tribes they displaced. That which went under the various names of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Jutes, Varangians, Saxons, Vandals, Norsemen, Danes, came from the same racial material, but the names do not show it. Sometimes a group gives its name to an area, so that after it is displaced, the old name passes to the conquering group; this was the case of Prussia and Britain. Sometimes a group takes its name from an area, like the Americans.

As far as the Race-History symbiosis is concerned, names are accidental. They do not indicate any sort of inward continuity by themselves. The same is true of language.

Once the idea is grasped that what we call history really means High History, that this is the history of High Cultures, and that these High Cultures are organic unities expressing their inner possibilities in the profuse forms of thought and happening which lie before us, a

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

deep understanding follows of the way in which History uses whatever human material lies to hand for its fulfilment. It puts its impress on this material by creating **historical units** out of groups hitherto often very diverse biologically. The historical unity, in harmony with cosmic rhythms governing all Life from plant to Culture, acquires its own racial unity, a **new racial unity**, removed, by its spirituo-historical content from the former, primitive, simple relationship between stock and soil. But with the departure of High History the fulfilment of the Culture, the spiritual-historical content recedes forever, and the primitive harmony resumes its dominant position.

The previous, biological, history of the groups taken by a High Culture play no role in this process. Previous names of indigenous tribes, previous wanderings, linguistic equipment—none have any meaning for high History, once it sets upon its course. It starts, so to speak, from a clean slate. But it remains this way also, in its ability to take in whatever elements enter into its spirit. New elements however, can bring nothing to the Culture—it is a higher **individuality**, and thus has its own unity, which cannot even be influenced, other than superficially, by an organism of equivalent rank, and a *fortiori* cannot be changed in the slightest in its inner nature by any human group. Thus any group coming within the area of a Culture is either within the spirit of the Culture, or without it—there is no third alternative.

Organic alternatives are always only two: Life or Death, sickness or health, forward development or distortion. When the organism is put off its true path by

## IMPERIUM

external influences, crisis is bound to follow, crisis which will affect the entire life of the Culture, and will often involve the destiny of millions in confusion and catastrophe. But this is an anticipation.

The objective meaning of race has other aspects important to a 20th century outlook. It has been seen that races—meaning here primitive groupings, simple relationships between soil and human stock—have different gifts for historical purposes. We have seen that Race influences History as well as the converse. We come to the **hierarchy of races.**

### V

The materialists could, of course, not succeed with all their attempts to make an anatomical classification of races. But races can be classified according to **functional** abilities, starting from any given function whatever. Thus a hierarchy of races can be based on physical strength, and there is little doubt that the Negro would stand at the top of such a hierarchy. There would however be no point in such a hierarchy, because physical strength is not the essence of human nature in general, and even less of Culture-man in particular.

The fundamental impulse of **human** nature—above the instincts toward self-preservation and sex, which man shares with other Life-forms—is the will-to-power. Very seldom is there any struggle for **existence** among men. Such struggles as do occur are nearly always for control, for power. These take place within couples and families, clans, **tribes, and, among peoples, nations, States.** Therefore the **basing of a hierarchy of races on**



## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

strength of will-to-power has a relation to historical realities.

Such a hierarchy can have, of course, no eternal validity. Thus the school of Gobineau, Chamberlain, Osborn and Grant was on the same tangent as the materialists who announced that there is no such thing as Race, because they could not discover it with their methods. The mistake of the former was to assume the permanence—backwards and forwards—of races existing in their time. They were treating races as building-blocks, original material, and ignoring the connections of Race and History, Race and Spirit, Race and Destiny. But as least they recognized the existing racial realities of their time, their sole mistake consisting in regarding these realities as **rigid, existing** rather than **becoming**. There was also in their approach a remnant of genealogical thinking, but this sort of thinking is intellectual and not historical, for History uses the human material at hand without questioning its antecedents, and in the process of using it, this human material is placed in relation to the vast, mystical force of Destiny. This remainder of genealogical thinking tended to create divisions in thought between Culture-peoples corresponding to no divisions in actuality. The further materialistic tendency developed to extend the principles of heredity which Mendel had worked out for certain plants to the subject of human Race. Such a tendency was doomed to be fruitless, and after almost a century of barren results, it must be abandoned in favour of the 20th century outlook which approaches History and its materials in the historical spirit and not in the scientific spirit of mechanics or geology.

## IMPERIUM

Nevertheless the school of Gobineau at least started from a **fact**, and this brings it much closer to Reality than the learned fools who looked up from their rulers and charts to announce the demise of Race.

This fact was the hierarchy of races for Cultural purposes. In their day the word "culture" used to designate literature and the fine arts as distinct from the ugly, brutal things like economics, technics, war and politics. Hence the centre of gravity of these theories was on the side of intellect rather than on the side of the soul. With the coming of the 20th century outlook, and the clearing from the air of all Materialistic-Romantic theories, the unity of Culture was perceived through all its various manifestations of arts, philosophy, religion, science, technics, politics, State-forms, race-forms, War. Therefore the hierarchy of races in this century is one based on degree of will-to-power.

This classification of races is also arbitrary, from the intellectual standpoint, just as much so as one based on physical strength. It is, however, the only one suitable for us in this age.

Nor is it rigid, for the vicissitudes of History are more important in this realm than heredity-transmitted qualities. There is to-day no Hindu **race**, although there once was. This **name** is a product of accomplished history, and corresponds to no racial group. Nor is there a Basque race, a Breton race, a Hessian race, an Andalusian race, Bavarian race, Austrian race. Similarly, races existing to-day in our Western Civilization will also disappear with the advance of history over them.

The source of a hierarchy of races is History, the forces of happening. Thus when we see a European

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

population, with its own racial stamp, the English, hold down a population of hundreds of millions of Asiatics for two centuries with only a handful of its own troops, as the English did India, we call that race one with a high degree of will-to-power. During the 19th century, amid 300,000,000 Asiatics, England had a tiny garrison of 65,000 white troops.

The mere numbers would mislead if we did not know that England was a nation in the service of a High Culture and India a mere landscape with primitive millions teeming in it, a landscape that had been also at one time the area of a High Culture such as our own, but had long since returned to its pre-Cultural primitivity within the ruins and monuments of the past. Knowing this, we know thereby that the source of this stern will-to-power is at least partially in the force of the Destiny of the Culture of which England was an expression.

When we see a race like the Spanish send forth two bands like those of Cortez and Pizarro, and read of their accomplishments, we know we are in the presence of a race with high will-power. With a hundred-odd men, Peru set out to overcome an empire of millions. The project of Cortez was of a like boldness—and **both achieved military success**. It is not a slave race that can do such things. Aztec and Inca were no raceless populations, but were themselves the vehicle of another High Culture, a fact which makes these exploits almost incredible.

The French race in the time of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars was in the service of a Cultural idea, the mission of changing the whole direction from Cul-

## IMPERIUM

ture to Civilization, of opening the Age of Rationalism. The enormous force which this living idea lent to the armies of France is shown by the 20-year succession of military victories over all the armies that repeated coalitions of all Europe could throw against them. Under Napoleon's personal command, they achieved victory in more than 145 out of 150 engagements. A race equal to such a test was one of high will-power.

In each of these cases, the race was one created by History. In such a unit, the word *race* contains the two elements: the stock-landscape relationship, and the spiritual community of history and Cultural idea. They are, so to speak, **stratified**: beneath is the strong, primitive beat of the cosmic rhythm in a particular stock; above is the moulding, creating, driving Destiny of a High Culture.

When Charles of Anjou beheaded Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen Emperor, in 1267, Germany disappeared from Western history, as a unit with political significance, for 500 years, reappearing in the 18th century in the double form of Austria and Prussia. During these centuries, the high history of Europe was made by other powers mostly with their own blood. This meant that—in comparison with the vast expenditure of blood over the generations of the others—Germany was **spared**.

To understand the significance of this fact, we must go back to the purely biological origin of races of Europe.

### VI

The primeval population-streams which came out of the North of the Eurasiatic land-mass from 2000 B.C. right down to 1000 A.D.—and after—were probably of

related stock. Barbarians called Cassites conquered the remains of the Babylonian Culture, about 1700 B.C. The next century Northern barbarians called Hyksos by the Egyptians threw themselves at the ruins of the Egyptian Civilization and subjected it to their rule. In India, the Aryans, also a Northern barbarian horde conquered the Indian Culture. The populations which appeared in Europe over the millennium and a half ending 1000 A.D. under the various names, Franks, Angles, Goths, Saxons, Celts, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Lombards, Belgae, Norsemen, Northmen, Vikings, Danes, Varangians, Germani, Alemani, Teutones—and other names—are all of similar stock. It is very probable that the conquerors of the older Civilizations eastward were of similar stock with the Western barbarians who threatened Rome for centuries and finally sacked it. The great sign of this stock was blondness. Wherever to-day blonde traits are found, elements of this Northern stock have at some past time found their way. These Northern barbarians conquered the indigenous populations of all Europe, constituting themselves an upper stratum, supplying the leadership, fighting-men, and laws, wherever they went. Thus they represented the ruling-stratum in the territories now known as Spain, Italy, France, Germany, England. Their numerical proportion was greater in some places than in others, and with the arising of the Western Culture, c. 1000 A.D., it was on this strong-willed primitive stratum that the idea took hold. From having been the conqueror of fulfilled Civilizations, this stock now was itself selected to fulfil the Destiny of a High Culture.

That which distinguished this primitive biological population-stream is its **strong will**. It is also this strong

## IMPERIUM

will—and not only the inner Idea of the Culture itself—that contributes to Western history the unique forcefulness of its manifestations in all directions of thought and action. Think of the Vikings, in the grey dawn of our history reaching America from Europe in their tiny ships! This is the sort of human material which contributed its blood to the Western races, peoples and nations. It is to this treasure of being that the West owes its prowess on the battlefield—and this fact is known all over the world, whether it is theoretically denied, or not. Ask any general in any army whether he would rather under his command a division of soldiers recruited from Pomerania, or a division of Negroes.

Unhappily for the West, the Russian populations contain also a strong strain of this Northern barbarian stock. It is not in the service of a High Culture, but stands to us as did the Gauls to Republican and Imperial Rome. **Race is material for events**, and it is available to the will-to-annihilate as freely as it is to the will-to-create. The Northern barbarian stock in Russia is still barbarian, and its negative mission has given it its own racial stamp. History has created a Russian race, which is steadily widening its racial boundaries by taking up into it and impressing with its historical mission of destruction the population-streams of its vast territory.

In the hierarchy of races based on will-to-power, the new Russian race stands high. This race needs no moralistic propaganda to fan its militancy. Its barbarian instincts are there, and can be relied on by its leaders.

Because of the fluid nature of Race, even the hierarchy of races based on will-to-power cannot succeed in order-

## RACE, PEOPLE, NATION, STATE

ing all races now existing. For instance, would the Sikhs stand above the Senghalese, or below, the American Negroes above or below the Aymara Indians? But the whole purpose of understanding the varying degrees of will-to-power in different races is a **practical** one, and applies in the first instance to our own Western Civilization. Can this knowledge be **used**? The answer is that not only it **can**, but it **must** be, if the West is to live out its life-span and not to pass into slavery to Asiatic annihilation-hordes under the leadership of Russia, Japan, or some other militant race.

Before this information can be applied with full insight and with no danger of old-fashioned misunderstanding, the subjective meaning of Race must be examined, and beyond it the ideas connoted by the terms **People, Nation** and **State**.

## SUBJECTIVE MEANING OF RACE

Race, as has been shown, is not a **unit** of existence, but is an **aspect** of existence. Specifically it is the aspect of existence in which the relation of the human being to the great cosmic rhythms is revealed. It is thus the non-individual aspect of Life, whether it be the life of a plant, animal, or human being.

The plant exhibits—at least, not to us—no consciousness, i.e., no **tension** with its environment. The plant has thus only race, so to speak, for it is totally submerged in the cosmic flow. The animal exhibits tension, consciousness, individuality. Man has in addition self-consciousness and the ability and necessity of living a higher life in the realm of symbols. All men have this, but the difference in degree between primitive man and Culture-man in this respect is so vast that it seems almost a difference in kind.

It is the racial beat which informs primitive impulses, which informs **action** generally. Opposed to it is the illuminated part of the mind, the rootless reason, the intellect. The stronger these things are in relation to the racial plane, the more the existence bears an intellectual instead of a racial stamp.

Each individual, as well as each higher organic unit,



## SUBJECTIVE RACE

has these two aspects. Race impels toward self-preservation, continuance of the cycle of generations, increase of power. Intellect decides the meaning of the Life, and the aim, and this may, for various reasons, deny one or all of these fundamental urges. The celibacy of the priest and the sterility of the libertine both come from intellect, but one of them is an expression of High Culture, and the other is the denial of Culture, an expression of total degeneracy. Intellect may thus be in the service of Culture, or opposed to it.

Race is, in the first instance—in its subjective sense—what a man **feels**. This influences, whether immediately or eventually, what he **does**. A man of race is not born to slavery. If his intellect counsel him to a temporary submission, rather than an heroic death, in the hope of future changes, it is a mere postponement of his breaking out. The man without race will submit permanently to any humiliation, any insult, any dishonour, so long as he is permitted to **live**. The continuance of breathing and digestion are Life to the man without race. To the man of race, Life itself represents no value, but only Life under the right conditions, affirmative Life, rich, expressive and growing.

**Heroism** can be motivated from either side of the soul: the martyr dies for the Truth which he **knows**, the fighting man who dies with weapons in his hands rather than submit to his enemies dies for the honour that he **feels**. But the man who dies for something higher shows that he has race, regardless of his intellectualized motives. For Race is the faculty of being true to one's self. It is the placing of a beyond-value on one's own individual soul.

## IMPERIUM

In this subjective sense, Race is not the way one talks, looks, gestures, walks, it is not a matter of stock, colour, anatomy, skeletal structure, or anything else objective. Men of Race are scattered through all populations everywhere, through all races, peoples, nations. In each unit they make up the warriors, the leaders of action, the creators in the sphere of politics and war.

Thus in the subjective sense, there is also a hierarchy of race. **Above** the men of race, **below**—those without race. The first are swept up into action and events by the great cosmic rhythm of motion, the second are passed over by History. The first are the materials of high History, the second have outlasted every Culture, and when the stillness resumes its sway over the landscape after the whirlwind of events, these are the great mass. The Chinese mothers counsel their children with the ancient admonition: "Make thy heart small." This is the wisdom of the man without race, and of the race without will. The men of race are skimmed off every population that is caught up into the course of motion of a High Culture, and this process continues through the generations of History on the heights. What is left is the fellaheen.

Race in the subjective sense is thus seen to be a matter of **instinct**. The man with strong instincts has race, the man with weak or bad instincts has it not. Strength of intellect has nothing to do with the **existence** of race—it may merely, in some cases, such as that of the man who takes a vow of celibacy—influence the **expression** of a part of race. Strong intellect and strong instincts can co-exist—think of the Gothic bishops who led their flocks to war—they are merely opposed direc-

## SUBJECTIVE RACE

tions of thought and action, but it is the instincts that furnish the driving force for great intellectual accomplishments also. **The centre of gravity of ascendant Life is on the side of instinct, will, race, blood.** Life which places rationalistic ideals of "individualism," "happiness," "freedom" before the perpetuation and increase of power is **decadent**. Decadent means—moving toward extinction, extinction of higher Life in particular, and finally even of the life of the race. The intellectual of the great city is the type of the man without race. In every Civilization, he has been the inner ally of the outer barbarian.

This quality of having race has, obviously, no connection with which race one feels community. Race in the objective sense is a creation of history. One's destiny must express itself within a certain framework—the framework of Fate. Thus a man of race born in Kirghizia belongs by Fate to the barbarian world of Asia with its historical mission of destruction of the Western Civilization. Rare exceptions are of course possible—Life submits to no generalization entirely. Some Poles, Ukrainians, or even Russians, might be impelled by their souls to share the spirit of the West. If so, they belong to the Western race, and every healthy, ascendant race accepts recruits who come in on its terms and who have the proper feeling. In the same way, there are numerous intellectuals in the West who feel community with the outer idea of Asiatic Nihilism. How numerous they are is indicated by the journalism, novels and plays that live from them. But the converse would not be true of men without race—they are not even acceptable to the enemy. They have

## IMPERIUM

nothing to contribute to an organic group—they are the human grains of sand, atoms of intellect, without cohesion upwards or downwards.

Every race, no matter how transitory it may be contemplated from the viewpoint of History, expresses a certain idea, a certain plane of existence by its life, and its idea is bound to be attractive to some individuals outside it. Thus in Western life, we are not unfamiliar with the man who, after associating with Jews, reading their literature, and adopting their viewpoint, actually becomes a Jew in the fullest sense of the word. It is not necessary that he have "Jewish blood." The converse is also known: many Jews have adopted Western feelings and rhythms, and have thereby acquired Western race. This process—contemptuously called "assimilation" by the Jewish leaders—threatened during the 19th century the very existence of the Jewish race by ultimate absorption of its total racial body into the Western races. To halt it, the leaders of the Jews evolved the programme of Zionism, **which was solely an expedient for maintaining the unity of the Jewish race, and maintaining its continued existence as such.** For this reason they also recognized the value of anti-semitism of the social type. It was serving the same purpose of preserving the racial unity of the Jews.

## II

The dying out of racial instincts means the same thing to an individual as it does to a race, people, nation, State, Culture: unfruitfulness, lack of will-to-power, lack of ability to believe in or follow great aims, lack of inner discipline, desire for a life of ease and pleasure.

## SUBJECTIVE RACE

The symptoms of this racial decadence in various parts of the Western Civilization are manifold. There is first the ghastly distortion of the sexual life arising from the complete dissociation of sexual love from reproduction. The great symbol of this in the Western Civilization is everything suggested by the name Hollywood. The message of Hollywood is the **total** significance of sexual love as an end in itself—the erotic without consequences. The sexual love of two grains of sand, two rootless individuals, not the primeval sexual love looking to the continuity of Life, the family of many children. One child is permitted, as being a more complicated toy than a dog, perhaps even two, one boy and one girl—but the family of many children is a subject for humour to this decadent outlook.

The instinct of decadence takes many forms in this realm: dissolution of Marriage by divorce laws, attempts to discard, through repeal or non-enforcement, the laws against abortion, preaching in the form of novel, drama, journalism, the identification of "happiness" with sexual love, holding it up as the great value, before which all honour, duty, patriotism, consecration of Life to a higher aim, must give way. An erotomania is abroad through our civilization, not indeed like the sexual obsession of the 13th century which was at least racially affirmative, in that it increased the Western Peoples, but always a purely rootless erotic-without-consequences. This spiritual disease is the suicide of the race.

The weakening of the will—Nietzsche called it "Paralysis of will"—another symptom of dying out of racial instincts, leads to a total deterioration of public

## IMPERIUM

life in the afflicted races. Government leaders dare not offer a stern programme to their masses of human grains of sand: they abdicate, but remain in office as private men. Government ceases; the only functions that continue are the ones that have always gone on, no new aim, no sacrifices. Keep the old going; no creation! No effort! That would be too hard. Keep the pleasures going, the panem et circenses. Never mind the necessities of life, we are willing to renounce them as long as we have the pleasures.

This weakening of the will leads to voluntary abandonment of empires conquered with the blood of millions over ten generations. It leads to abysmal hatred of whoever and whatever represents sternness, creation, the Future. One of its products is Pacifism, and the only way a racially-dissolving population can be driven to war is through conscription coupled with pacifist propaganda—"This is the last war—actually it is a war against war." Only an intellectual could be taken in by such stark Unreality. The weak will of society manifests itself in the Bolshevism of the upper classes, the sympathy with the enemies of society. Anyone with unimpaired will however is really felt to be the enemy—even cogent reasoning is hated: ideals are so much less demanding.

**Mediocrity** rises over the horizon of a dying race as its last great ideal, total mediocrity, renunciation of all greatness and distinction of any kind whatever; also mediocrity of the racial blood-stream—anyone can come in now, not only on our terms, for there are no more terms, and there are no racial differences, everything is one, dull, eventless, **mediocre**.

## SUBJECTIVE RACE

The weakening of the will is not hard put to find an ideology which rationalizes it as "progress," everything desirable, the aim of all previous history. The democracy-liberalism complex lies to hand, and it acquires in such times the meaning of **Death**—of race, nation and Culture. There are no human differences, everyone is equal, men are women, women are men, "the individual" is everything, Life is a long holiday whose main problem is devising new and more stupid pleasures, there is no God, no State, off with the head of anyone who says there is a mission, who wishes to resurrect Authority.

These symptoms, or similar ones, will be found present at the demise of every upper stratum whose will is weakened. Thus Tocqueville has described for us how the French upper stratum of 1789 had no suspicion whatever of the impending Revolution, how nobility waxed enthusiastic over the "natural goodness of Humanity," the "virtuous people," the "innocence of Man" while the Terror of 1793 lay before their very feet—spectacle terrible et ridicule. Did not the Petrine nobility of Russia up until 1917 go through the same performance? The Tsar resisted pleas to leave while there was time with "My people will not hurt me." Their picture of the Russian peasant was that of a happy, simple muzhik, basically good. Similarly the weakening of the Western will in certain countries was shown by the deluge of pro-Russian propaganda spread, sometimes with official encouragement, in those countries from 1920 to 1960.

## HORIZONTAL RACE v. VERTICAL RACE

We attain now to the grand formula of the 20th century outlook on Race: **Race is a horizontal differentiation of men.** The materialism of the 19th century, confusing race with anatomy, regarded Race as a vertical differentiation of men. It was "abstract"—away from Reality—and started from the will-to-systematize, rather than from quiet contemplation of the living facts. Such contemplation was made difficult for them by the existence of political nationalism, which tried to build walls of all kinds between the Western races and peoples.

But had they been able to pierce through to a view of the facts, these materialists would have seen that the races of Europe were the creations of History and not a mere continuation of the aboriginal material that was present in 900 A.D., before the beginning of high History in this area. Viewing the process of creation of races, they would have seen the far greater significance of Race in the subjective sense than in the objective sense. For it is always men of race that create the deeds of History, and the units they are leading are of secondary importance.



## HORIZONTAL v. VERTICAL

The attempt to create a vertical system of races was **Appolinian**—it was an effort of the intellect. Actually Race has the primary meaning of presence of strong cosmic rhythm—a **Dionysian** meaning.

The 20th century viewpoint in this matter starts from facts, and the observed fact is that all strong minorities—both within and without a High Culture—have welcomed into their company the outsider who was attracted to it and wished to join it, regardless of his racial provenance, objectively speaking. The racial snobbery of the 19th century was **intellectual**, and its adoption in a too-narrow sphere by the Resurgence of Authority in Europe between the first two World Wars was a grotesquerie.

What matters to a unit engaged upon a mission is the **strength of will** which other groups can bring to it. To interpret the historical mission as one of "safeguarding the purity of the race," in a purely biological sense is sheer materialism. Race, in both its meanings, is the material of History, not the reverse. Race supplies the fruitfulness, sureness, and will-to-power to the Mission. The Mission can never be to make the race "pure" in a biological sense, however satisfying such a result would be **esthetically**. And with this last word is touched upon the other factor in the tragic connection of this old-fashioned outlook on Race with the strong, vital movement of Resurgence of Authority: We have seen that all the 19th century concepts in this sphere—Race, People, Nation, State, Culture—were of Rationalistic-Romantic derivation. Romantic—half of this misalliance of the Future and the Past is traceable to romantic-esthetic notions. Esthetics is however a domain

## IMPERIUM

of its own, and does not have sufficient vitality to supply the motivation of a political struggle. Its presence there can only be superfluous.

The stark **historical** value in this matter is simply this: It only matters that the Cultural Mission be accomplished, even though in the process everything else is wiped out. And after that? Did Darius ever think that lions would one day be roaming his terrace of Persepolis? And if he had, what could he have done about it? History, with its great rhythms—the widest and deepest we know—is also submerged in the Cosmos, and for Culture-man to think that he can impose his will on the millennially remote future is only a tribute to his pride of intellect, but no compliment to his wisdom. We are thinking here in centuries, not in months or years. One must oppose the attitude of *après moi la deluge* which prevails at this moment. It is not a shirking or evading of duty to say that only the historical Mission matters, but the highest possible affirmation of Duty.

To Race there is no duty. Race in the vertical sense is an abstraction, corresponding to nothing existing. If taken seriously, it leads the victim off the path of History and into an esthetic cul-de-sac.

To the 20th century outlook, a man does not **belong** to a race—he either **has** race, or does not. If the former, he has value to History, if the latter, he is valueless, a lackey.

The attempt to interpret History in terms of Race must be abandoned. The 20th century sees it quite otherwise. That attempt was a fad, historically speaking. It had a vogue of a century. It is now quite dead. Its

## HORIZONTAL v. VERTICAL

last formulation, and its most radical, attempted even to intervene in the sphere of action. That was the last such attempt. An Empire of a thousand years duration—yes, that has been actualized—in India, China, Egypt. But the last nations that laid the foundations of these Empires could not know whether the barbarians would come soon or never. Montezuma's Empire would also have lasted a thousand years—but the Spaniards appeared. There is no guarantee of duration, racial or other. Actually it is Race that must be interpreted in terms of History, for that is the factual developmental-sequence. This viewpoint is not a fad, an arbitrary abstract picture, but one reflecting the facts of history.

## RACE AND POLICY

Both meanings of Race, the objective and the subjective, have a meaning for policy in the 20th century.

The objective meaning of Race describes a group which shares a certain basic, instinctive rhythm. This racial stamp has been given to it by History, which narrows or widens the limits of this Race, depending on the character and magnitude of the historical Mission.

Such a race is the creation of **History**, and not of a text-book scheme first planned on paper and then put into actuality. It is not a creation of a man, as such—although a man may by his personality be the vehicle of History, and may be the focus of historical energy on to the creation of a race. But important is: as far as policy is concerned, one can only work with the races **existing**. They cannot be created or disposed of by human fiat.

Existing races are a **mixture**, as far as **stock** is concerned. There is nothing to be done about this. Such a mixture of stock is not "impurity," in any true, factual, meaning of that word. "Purity" in racial matters means inclusiveness of the entire population within the same historical feeling and cosmic beat. "Purity" is directed to **feeling**, and not to anatomical derivation.

## RACE & POLICY

This is true even in the most objective meaning of the word Race, and a fortiori is it true of Race in the subjective sense.

The hierarchy of races is a **fact** of which policy must take cognizance. The strength of will of the Russian race is an ominous fact which cannot be explained away by intellectualizing. This strength is reflected in physical stamina which enables the Russian soldier to recover from wounds which would be fatal to a Western soldier. The will-to-power diffused through the Japanese race places it high in the hierarchy of races. The force this gives to the body of a nation is shown by the physical performance of Japanese infantry, matched by only one of the Western races still existing. The two general physical types which make up the body of the Japanese race show perfectly the fact that purity means prevalence everywhere of the same **feeling**, cosmic rhythm, and not of the same physical structure, pigmentation, or shape of head, for spiritually these two physical types are both **Japanese**.

The lower degree of will-to-power of the populations in the areas called China, India, and Africa generally is also a fact for policy to apply. This is, of course, no attempt to contradict that some tribes in these areas have strong will-to-power, but only a general observation of these large areas. Anything that is a **fact** is material for policy, no matter how general, or how specific, so long as it relates to action.

Important as these general facts as to the hierarchial ordering of extra-European races are, Race has a vastly more important aspect for policy, and that is the **strength of our own race**.

## IMPERIUM

Race is the material of History, it is the treasure which a population brings to an Idea. The stronger the racial instincts of the population, the greater its promise of victory. Consequently anything which strikes at the strength of these instincts is the enemy of the highest significance, and even of the very existence, of the race. These instincts are self-preservation, fruitfulness, increase of power. Without these there is no Idea, no History—there is only the collection of human grains of sand—and later a pyramid of skulls erected by outer barbarians.

Thus the whole liberal-democratic ideology, with its "individualism" that is a mere negation of everything superpersonal, its "happiness" ideal that encourages every weakness and self-indulgence, its erotomania which distorts the whole sexual life into a barren disease of the will, its "tolerance" which seeks to break down the cohesion of the race by denying its existence, its materialism which denies all spiritual values, all higher significance of human life, its pacifism which values weakness above virility, its ideal of Mediocrity by which it opposes every creative man and the Idea he represents in History, its cult of the proletarian as the highest element, its total renunciation of the Soul of Man—this is the great enemy of Race.

Part of this degeneration is organic—more of it is deliberately spread abroad within our Civilization by alien distorting elements which either belong to, or sympathize with, Asia in the annihilation battle for Western survival that will take up this century and the next. It is quite obvious that anything that undermines the will-to-power and the virility of the West ripens it

## RACE & POLICY

for Asiatic slaughter. It should be equally obvious that the world-outlook that is thus eating away at the Western soul must be ruthlessly eradicated wherever it lurks by whatever means necessary. Thus even if one may have clung to his little ideal of "freedom" or "happiness" during the 19th century—the century of security, of comfort, of money-making and money-spending—he must renounce it now in the century when the very foundations of the life of our Culture are under attack from below and without—an attack in each case that means to **destroy everything**. To retain such ideals is to become the **inner enemy** of the **West**.

Thus Western policy must declare this outlook and its adherents to be the inner enemy. It must supplant its superannuated ideology by the strong, manly one appropriate to this Age of Absolute Politics. It must root out its ideas, its leaders, its techniques. Any groups that are committed to this outlook by their inner constitution and spiritual existence must be proscribed.

Western policy has the duty of encouraging in its education of the youth its manifestations of strong character, self-discipline, honour, ambition, renunciation of weakness, striving after perfection, superiority, leadership—in a word—Race.

The man of race disciplines himself—because he needs discipline. Strong instincts need a strong will. Race is also a residue of inner chaos, for only out of chaos can come creation, whether of thought or deed. Strong instincts are the prerequisite of every outstanding performance even the creation of a work for the intellect. The raceless, rootless-intellectual attitude has no inner imperative—it shrugs its shoulders and says "So what?"

## IMPERIUM

Such an attitude is that of **finished** men—they are used up before they start. They can insist on nothing, compel nothing, perform nothing. A hundred men of race without particular intellectual qualifications can accomplish more under the same leader than a thousand intellectuals from the pavements of the great cities. A man of race is **not** yet finished—he offers material for performance.

An intellectual cannot be **inspired**—enthusiasm he regards, quite seriously, as pathological, as mania. He prefers to sit in his cocktail lounge or his sidewalk cafe, sipping his alcohol and preserving the degagé manner. The talk is of pathetic ideals of social and sexual atomism, of "new artistic tendencies," of "the subconscious," of "democracy"—but over it all is the perfume of decay. It is a world of boredom, a blasé degeneration, the casual bumpings and connections of grains of sand—in one word, **the sarcophagus of the race**. Baudelaire, with his preoccupation with corpses, is its perfect expression: the world of the intellectual is the putrescence of the superpersonal soul. Where this sort of material has influence, the barbarian has easy conquests.

Western policy must recognize these facts. Education policy, propaganda, public life, must form the race away from this charnel outlook. To keep away from all these forms of decadence is to safeguard the strength of the race. To allow them is to promote the death of the race.

## II

We have seen the power of a race imbued with an historical idea to take up alien human material into it,



## RACE & POLICY

and imbue it with its own rhythm. This phenomenon must be more closely examined.

We have seen this sort of thing throughout all history. Thus the Romans accepted into their racial body whoever was capable of Romanness, and wished to be able to say with the same inner pride as the dwellers on the Seven Hills—"Civis Romanus sum." Up until 1933, America had thus taken up into its race many millions of immigrants from Europe and from the Balkans. The Russians have been thus increasing their numbers steadily through the past three centuries.

In each of these cases, the essence of the ingress of the alien into the proper racial body is his **total** absorption into the new idea, his **complete** adoption of the new plane of existence, his **total** loss of the old existence. With human beings, the word "total" refers to the **soul**. If his soul can assimilate, his body can. Thus Frenchmen settled in Brandenburg en masse during the 18th century. Thousands upon thousands of Germans have settled in France. Frenchmen settled in America in great numbers. So did Englishmen. Italians have moved to France in enormous numbers. The examples are almost endless. In each case, the newcomers disappeared as a group. As individuals, their blood-stream continued in the new landscape, but it now had a new cosmic beat. French Huguenots in Brandenburg became Prussians, in Ireland they became Irish. Spaniards in Ireland became Irish. English in America became Americans. Germans in France became Frenchmen, in Argentina, Argentines; in America, Americans. The newcomer in this process, as individual or as group can contribute nothing on the superpersonal level. His contribution is limited

## IMPERIUM

to his personal qualities of instinct or talent as individual, of healthy instincts as group. Cultural things he cannot contribute, because they cannot be received.

A unit itself under the impress of a High Culture cannot assimilate anything on the cultural level from a group under the impress of another High Culture.

This explains why the various European races were so easily assimilable one in the other, how they disappeared in a generation into the new pulse and feeling—they shared the same Culture. Although they belonged to separate races, nevertheless there was a higher stratum of Life that included all these races as manifestations of its superpersonal Life. Thus these vertical divisions of mere race did not separate Western men.

Nor did they separate non-Westerners from Westerners when the incoming non-Westerners sought to preserve no barrier of their own: during the youth of our Culture, on the Eastern Marches of Europe, many thousands of Slavs were assimilated into the European races, disappeared into them and became completely European. Western policy of the future must remember facts of this kind.

Actually, this is no blending, no amalgamation; it is simply the increasing of the receiving race. They bring only their blood and numbers; they can bring no Idea, for it already is an Idea. Only a superficial view could attach importance to words, phrases, even vocabularies, or to quaint social customs that the receiving race may adopt from the newcomers in the process of assimilating them. These things are merely the traces by which one can trace the influx after the passage of generations.

Thus some Irish family names are "de la" this or that, Spaniards "di," Frenchmen and Americans "von," Germans "de." It is no sign of any continuity other than that of the germ-plasm, this of foreign family names, after assimilation has occurred. In fact it is noticeable, and is part of old European wisdom that—in the beginning, at least—this new element has a higher racial potential than the absorbing race generally. Hence the old expressions: *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores, pöplichster als der Papst*. The man who comes from the periphery to the centre of an Idea has an enthusiasm that the older members do not feel. What they take for granted is to him inspiring in its excellence. It is the zeal of the convert.

But there are cases where this assimilation does not occur. They are the cases where there is a cultural bar between the two populations. Either they are each under the impress of a Culture, or else one group is and the other is not, and is negative.

Thus, during the reign of Catherine the Great, and at her invitation, thousands of German farmers and craftsmen came to Russia. Land on the Volga river was given to them, and there they remained until very recent history. By the 20th century, their numbers were about 350,000. But—during the generations of their residence in Russia, they had retained their orientation to Europe. Their Russian environment, culture-less and primitive, had been unable to deprive them in any way of their character as a fragment of a High Culture. The Bolshevik regime did what time never could have done: it exterminated them by starvation and dispersal through Asia. Other German colonies preserved their European Culture along the Baltic shores of Russia, and in the

## IMPERIUM

primitive Balkan area. The new Asiatic will to annihilate the West has now exterminated them all whether in Rumania, Serbia, Bohemia, Poland, Bulgaria.

The best-known example of this organic regularity, and the most Fate-laden for all concerned, was the contact between the group called Jews and the Western Culture. Until the discovery of the organic unity of a High Culture, and its inner articulation, no final understanding of what has come to be called "the Jewish problem" was possible. At this point, only the racial aspect of this problem is touched on, and it is only necessary to explain the origin of the Jewish race now existing.

**The Jew is a product of another Culture.** When the Western Culture arose, the Jews were distributed through a part of its area, mostly in Spain and Italy. The Arabian Culture, then in its very last stage, had created the Jews as a unity, and they were in the form of this expiring Culture. Hence the stirrings of the Western Idea could not touch them inwardly at all. They held themselves entirely aloof from anything Western. They had an entire world-outlook and world-feeling of their own, which needed no impulse from without, that could only resist any other Culture. This basic fact kept the Jew entirely separate from the West spiritually and racially—the West rejected his world-feeling, they rejected its. Mutual hatred and mutual persecution only strengthened the Jewish race, sharpened its cunning, and increased its resentment.

Thus we see that while mere race cannot prevent assimilation of new stock from outside, Cultural barriers will. Certain numbers must of course be present

## RACE & POLICY

for an alien group to maintain its identity within the body of a culturally-alien host. A tiny group could not so preserve itself.

That there is nothing about the Jewish race physically that is unassimilable is shown by what happened in Spain. There late in the 15th century the monarch compelled them either to adopt Christianity or leave the country. Most Jews left, but the descendants of those who adopted Christianity and raised their children among Westerners disappeared into the Spanish race.

Another example of a Cultural barrier is the relation of Russia and the West. There it is the purely negative will to destroy Culture that has prevented assimilation of Russia by the West, despite the fact that Peter the Great and his dynasty after him tried by every means to Westernize Russia for three centuries. The outburst of 1918 was primarily an expression of the great fact of the failure of the Petrine effort—it had been only superficially successful and had not penetrated to the depths of this powerful negative soul. The Western Culture is the great barrier that also prevents racial assimilation either way in large numbers.

For this same reason, Chinese and Japanese, who have behind them and in their souls the Chinese Culture that was fulfilled by 1000 B.C., cannot be assimilated by Westerners racially in numbers. The converse is also true: if a colony of Westerners were planted in the middle of China, 1000 years hence it would be still Western surrounded by the totally alien Chinese. This is the explanation of the anti-Chinese and anti-Japanese laws and activity of the Americans from the middle of the 19th century to the present.

## IMPERIUM

It is the numbers that create these racial questions. If a tiny group is involved, it will disappear; if a group of significant numbers is present, separated by a Cultural barrier from the surrounding population, it will not.

### III

To think is to exaggerate; to separate a thing into elements is to give a picture that is bound to disturb the natural order of the relationships. And yet it is a necessity of thought and presentation to examine and set forth things serially. Thus constant precedence has been given to Culture as a barrier to assimilation of populations, because it is an immensely more important one, since it is race-creating. Cases exist however, where race-difference in the physical sense is so vast that assimilation seems to be impossible. There are no such problems in Europe, but they occur in various Western colonies, such as America and South Africa.

Race in the subjective sense influences the choice of a mate. If racial instincts are strong, they prevent the taking of a mate belonging to a race of totally alien characteristics, even physically. Thus the Negro in general rejects the white race, and the white generally rejects the Negro. The Culture barrier is also present, for the Negro is below our Culture, even though he has lived within its area for centuries. It is those whose racial instincts are attenuated in both cases who accept the totally alien physically.

The case of America shows the limits of racial assimilability between populations totally alien physically. There the liberal-democratic-communist-ideology has

## RACE & POLICY

openly sought by all possible means to promote a blending of these two races. The only result it has had is to arouse racial bitterness that finds expression in bloody riots which proceed to mass-killings on both sides.

The only reason the subject of the Negro is touched here—its political significance is treated with America—is that it seems to be the extreme case of race-difference preventing assimilation. How much of this is due to the primitivity of the Negro, and how much to his total physical difference, we do not know.

The touching of this racial-frontier case of the Negro however, shows to Europe a very important fact—that **race-difference between white men, which means Western men, is vanishingly small in view of their common mission of actualizing a High Culture.** In Europe, where hitherto the race difference between, say, Frenchman and Italian has been magnified to great dimensions, there has been no sufficient reminder of the race-differences outside the Western Civilization. Adequate instruction along this line would apparently have to take the form of occupation of all Europe, instead of only part of it, by Negroes from America and Africa, by Mongols and Turkestani from the Russian Empire.

We have reached now the last and deepest relationships between Race and Policy:

Policy is charged with actualizing an historical Mission, the saving of the Western Civilization from decadence within, and from the barbarian without.

Whether this is to succeed will depend on the strength of racial instinct left, by which is meant the instincts of self-preservation, fruitfulness, and will-to-power.

Any man who shares the feeling of this Mission, and

## IMPERIUM

any group which shares it, belong to us in this greatest of all battles in 5,000 years of history, regardless of the derivation of the man or group.

Any group or idea which does not share this feeling, and wishes to further its own aims within the West is an inner enemy. Any group or idea which weakens in any way the racial strength of the West is an inner enemy.

Policy has the great double task of eradicating the inner enemy in order to salvage the racial instincts of the West, and of training this race into a sure and firm unit for a century of warfare.

The two great mistakes of materialism in the field of Race must be a cast into the dead past of Materialism: on the one hand the denial of Race, on the other hand the primacy of Race before Culture.

The aim of Policy is to actualize our Western Imperium—whoever introduces racial theories of materialistic provenance, whether in the name of “tolerance,” which means we should abandon our instincts, or in the name of “racial purity,” which means we should abandon our Cultural unity, is prolonging the crisis and division of the West.

One result of the coming warfare for the liberation of the West and the creation of the Empire of the West will be the creation—in the long and desperate fight—of a new race, the Western race, which will embrace the populations which made up the 19th century nations or England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Scandinavia.

Those populations of the West which have the least impaired racial bodies and racial instincts will respond most intensely to the demands of the coming century of



## RACE & POLICY

warfare, and will play the largest formative role in this greatest of all struggles, but the new race will be a **unity**, not a collection of dead races, but a new and grander creation from the human streams now existing.

The races of 19th century Europe are, **as such**, dead. Policy starts from this. Provincial patriotism of the 19th century type can evoke no response. The unity of the West which the barbarian has always recognized is recognized at the last hour by the West itself.

The barbarian is astride the prostrate West. This is not the end, but the beginning of Western unity.

## PEOPLE

The creation of a race by History is clear. It is an example of the biological following the spiritual. For this process to reach its highest potential a certain time is necessary—two or three generations are needed for the type of the racial ideal to fasten on to a population-stream and give it its own distinct outer look, corresponding to its inner unique superpersonal soul.

**People** is a word on a different plane of thinking from this. We are familiar with its polemical use by the democratic mob to deny existence to qualitative elements and assert pure and simple quantity as "the People." We seek, however, facts. What is a people? What is its articulation?

Two French thinkers contributed to the 19th century valuable insight into the nature of all human groups whatever. Gustave le Bon and René Worms both saw and set forth with Cartesian clarity the **organic** nature of human groups, the **superpersonal** unity which was the custodian of the Destiny of the group. Worms applied it upward—to the State. Le Bon applied it downwards—to the crowd. Their presentation was not entirely free of materialistic tendencies—"Truth belongs to the individual, Error belongs to the Age," said Goethe—but they gave to the West a glimpse along the path of History.

## PEOPLE

Their contribution was ignored by the Age of Rationalism. The pure materialism of William Paley was preferred: a people is "only a collection of the citizens who compose it." Again: "The happiness of a people is made up of the happiness of single persons." This stupid anti-factual picture could not be refuted, for it was a faith. The picture reflected the Spirit of the Age, and could only pass away with the expiration of that spirit. It was a picture that sprang from a certain soul, and even though it denied the soul, yet it was tied to the existence of that one certain soul.

The new age is one of Resurgence of Authority, both spiritual and political. This Age bases its political formula on facts, on the actualizing of the possible. It does not dream up an ideal picture, and then try to change the vocabulary of the world-of-action. It does not wish to delude itself into thinking that changing words will transform fact. It wishes to orient itself to facts, and above all to the repository of facts, History, and the driving force of facts, Destiny.

To understand what a people is, one must begin with the smallest human group, the crowd. It strikes one immediately that there are two types of crowds. There is the crowd assembled on an intellectual basis—the attendance at a lecture, at a drama, at a social function. Then there is the crowd assembled on a spiritual basis—a political meeting, a religious agitation, a protest, a riot.

The first type is a mere collection. The individuals repel one another, figuratively and literally. These crowds have as many viewpoints as there are individuals in them. They are not unities, but only potential unities. The outbreak of fire in a theatre immediately turns

such a collection of independent individuals into **one** soul, with **one** thought, a thought directed downwards, it is true, but it is a **unity**. The **unity of panic** is a fact which political and military leaders must know how to exploit. It is one way of inspiring when other methods may fail.

The second type is not a collection, but a **unity**. The first is unarticulated—all the human atoms are on the same level. The second is articulated—it has a **leader**. If there is no leader, there is no unity, and a few mounted police may disperse it. No individual will risk anything for a mere gathering, because his individuality is uppermost. The unity of the crowd submerges the personalities of the components; the unity is a **super-personal soul**. The unity must be on the basis of an **idea**, a wordless feeling strong enough to cause individuality to subside. When this idea is present, the human beings present become mere cells, as it were, of the higher organic unity. Men of strong intelligence who have been in crowds united for action have described how their own faculties were transformed and how the detachment that intelligence gives was suddenly in abeyance, overcome by a force as mystic in its power as in its origin.

This crowd is a **people**. It is a higher organism, it is informed by a superpersonal soul. The individuals will sacrifice themselves in the process of this higher soul actualizing itself, what they would never do alone.

The technique of this process is quite invisible, mystical, but its results are just as visible. Not only do crowds arise by themselves in conditions of great superpersonal excitement when a leader appears, as Camille

## PEOPLE

Desmoulins did to the gathering in the Palais Royal in 1789, to activate the mere **sum** into a **unity**—but they can be created. Thus, anyone so situated as to be able to bring a mass into one place can transform the mass into a unity by leadership.

**As far as the individuals are concerned, the crowd is an attitude of mind.** The man in a crowd would not dream of thinking for himself—the results of thinking are presented to him by the leader, and thenceforth these thoughts are his.

With this emerges a very important fact about crowd unity. It only reached expression with the results of the new propaganda technics of the First World War. It is this: Through constant, unremitting propaganda of all possible types, and with unbroken continuity, the unity of the crowd can be maintained even though the members are physically separated. Mass propaganda converts the population of a continent into a crowd. Individual thought occurs very rarely under such conditions. Constant bombardment with cinema, press and radio-wireless removes all individuality from the units of vast populations.

The crowd thus presents the articulation of leader-led. This is existential: without it there is no unity, with it any gathering becomes a unity. But the decisive part of the articulation is the leader, and not the led. All understanding is transferred to him. All decision is with him. This is totally independent of any theory or ideal in the name of which the crowd may be mobilized, even the theory of individualism. The crowd is a higher unity; the leader represents it.

Where a High Culture is present, any crowd whatever

is affected by it, even though only negatively. By that is meant that even a protest against Culture, such as the Peasant's Wars, Jack Cade's rebellion, Marxian class-war, and the like, only gain their unity from their desire to annihilate Culture. Whether the crowd is in the service of Culture or not depends on the leadership. Crowds as masses are **neutral**. Leadership is decisive: creative leaders like Napoleon lead a crowd upward and forward; leaders of the negative and devious type, like Roosevelt, lead a crowd downward and backward.

The crowd is a soul-unit. Its significance and potentialities belong to its articulation, its leader. This is true both of street-crowds within the range of one eye and one voice, and also to crowds on a continental scale, like America.

The leader has a dual significance: he is part of the crowd, he must also be against the crowd. It has no individuality save his; if he also becomes lost in the crowd mind, there is no individuality present, no will, no brain. He is part of the superpersonal unity as the brain is part of the body. The brain serves the soul, the body serves the brain.

This smallest superpersonal unit, the crowd, shows the **polarity of instinct and intellect** that extends up through all **ascendant** organisms to the highest, High Culture. Instinct is the content of the Life, Intellect is the technic of actualizing it. Instinct tells **what**, Intellect tells **how**. Instinct says: **Preserve! Multiply! Increase power!** Intellect seeks methods of preserving, Life and increasing power. Intellect is charged with the mission of actualizing Life, of expressing the instinctive imperatives of Life.

## PEOPLE

They can only be understood in relation to one another. Their separation is distortion and illness. They increase together in healthy man. That is why the intellectuals in Late Civilizations exhibit such egregious stupidity—they have attenuated instincts, and hence no intellects. Instinct is the ship bound for a destination, intellect is the rudder that steers it; another figure: instinct is the passengers who are to be transported, intellect is the master of the vessel, who must deliver them.

Their relationship can be formulated from the negative side: Instinct furnishes the will-to-power, but must not decide the moment for attack. Instinct cannot decide on the policy by which Life is to actualize its inner imperative. It is blind—it always counsels attack. Thus General Hood threw away the Army of Tennessee in the American War of Secession. Intellect must decide between the posture of defence and the movement of attack. Instinct may succumb to defeat, Intellect can still discern the elements of hope. Instinct sees everything else and everyone else as enemy, Intellect coldly decides from the situation who is the enemy, and seeks to make all the others friends. Instinct is subject to intoxication, the function of Intelligence is to remain sober. Instinct loves and hates, Intellect, neither.

In Gothic times, the Empire and Papacy were formulated as the two perfect bodies. Each was supposed to exhibit absolute balance and harmony in its inner unity, as distinct from Man, who is imperfect and contains the inner struggle of Instinct and Intellect. In those times, the problem for the man of action seeking to actualize a great idea was to keep instinct within its bounds. Thus

## IMPERIUM

Henry the Lion acted instinctively in his defection from Barbarossa and destroyed the Hohenstaufen Empire, from which destruction the West has suffered ever since. In this time of transition, the problem is the reverse: now it is intellect which must be firmly held in place. In the pride of Rationalism, Intellect announced that it was Life—all else was retrograde, aberrant. The result of Western Intellect denying Western Instinct was the division of the World between Washington and Moscow.

### II

The crowd has been seen to be a **submerging** of individual souls into a superpersonal soul. It is the creation of a **unity** out of a **sum**. In the process intellect moves out of the components and becomes vested in the articulation, the leader.

The street-crowd is the smallest **people**. A people is a unity for action. Whenever, in its great rhythmic swirls, History pulls a group into its vortex, the group immediately articulates itself as a people, or disappears. The group may be religious in origin, economic in origin, cultural in origin. But when it becomes an object of happening, it must respond by constituting itself as a people, or simply vanish from the pages of history. Peoples may be tiny, or they may be vast. The population living in the area between the Adige and the Kurisches Haff felt itself a people at the dawn of our Culture. This vastness of landscape at its origin was unique to the Western Culture. The same feeling was abroad then that in its maturity, in the custody of Spain, made the **whole world** into the object of Western



## PEOPLE

politics. Or a people may be tiny—the Mormons in America, a mere group of converts to a religionist, asserted themselves strongly and were opposed from without. They responded by becoming a people. Their unity persisted until their leadership decided in favour of Intellect and compromised the doctrines of the religion, whereupon the Mormon people disappeared.

What is it that creates a people? It is first a difference between a group and its human environment, and secondly a **tension** worked up by this difference. A **tension** is a **frontier**. The frontier sharpens the feelings on both sides, and results in a new action-unit, a **People**.

Just as this tension may arise out of religion, economics, culture, race, so may the new unit contain all kinds of people, if the population affected is heterogeneous. Language is no bar to the formation of a people; in fact all existing Western languages came **after** the formation of their respective peoples.

A People is a spiritual unit. It is created by History, and if it is able to survive its first tests, it becomes a unit which carries History further. Just as the excited street-crowd only becomes a unit by virtue of the leader-led articulation, so a people is only such by virtue of **leadership**.

The distinction between crowd and people is only one of duration and magnitude, and not one of kind. Thus one man can exercise, for the few hours necessary, the entire leadership functions of a crowd. A people is more elaborately articulated than a crowd, has a more complex existence, a larger Life-task, and hence, a **stratum** of leaders. Any absolute monarchy or dictatorship also has a leader-**stratum**.

## IMPERIUM

A people may be weak, or it may be strong. During the recent centuries of Western history, since the Peace of Westphalia, a handful of weak peoples have managed to maintain a **nominal** independence, politically speaking, by virtue of the tense situation between larger powers. But weak peoples, like weak individuals, cannot create great deeds or great thoughts. A strong people, by the intensity of its imperative, maintains the frontier between it and other populations, refuses to compromise its unique idea. By frontier is meant here of course, spiritual frontier. Whether this develops into a territorial frontier is for events to show, and is also a matter of what Culture we are talking about.

Thus, in neither the Arabian Culture, nor the Classical Culture, was the idea of a people bound up with a land area. In neither of these Cultures was it repugnant to the spiritual feeling of unity of a people to have a strange people living in the same area, having its own government and laws. Imperial Rome administered foreign laws in cases involving foreigners. In the Arabian Culture, the independence was even more marked. Thus Nestorians, Muslims, and Jews lived side by side, but belonged to different nations, and did not intermarry. Foreign meant: of a different belief. These peoples and nations would have regarded the Western doctrine of the Reformation-times "*cuius regio, eius religio*" as the most Satanic possible inversion of the natural order. To make belief dependent upon the land of residence would have seemed monstrous to them. The Jew brought this feeling with him from this alien Culture. He regarded his next-door Western neighbour as **foreign**. The public life of his Western host-nation was a matter of indiffer-

## PEOPLE

ence to him, and he had his own public-life, unnoticed by the West. Their laws were not his, nor their religion, nor their ethics, customs, thoughts, or habits, and above all, their political life did not touch him with its ideas of Fatherland, patriotism, military service, self-sacrifice.

In Turkey and China it was not felt as a humiliation that by the "Capitulations" Westerners were under the jurisdiction of their own consular representatives, and not under local courts.

Thus the relation of a people to other peoples is a matter determined by the symbolic inner-life of the High Culture in which it may arise. This is not to say that a People can only arise in a High Culture. For phenomena like Tamerlane and Gengis Khan are also people-creating.

As **concepts**, Race and People are quite separate; in life they are not so separate. We have seen the formation of a Race. It begins with the formation of a People. Every people with a strong idea and good leadership will develop also into a racial unity if it lasts long enough. The converse is also true: a race—using the word now with its maximum of anatomical content, e.g., the Negro—may be the focus of happenings that will force it to assume the form of a people.

A People is a unit of the soul. Wherever there is a soul-unity gestating, a people is forming. The entire 20th century West can now see what Nietzsche discerned in the 80's of the 19th century—the arising of a **Western People**. His expression "We good Europeans" was understood by few of his time. They were too busy with their petty games: in the Cabinets they were playing national-atomism; in the salons they were

## IMPERIUM

talking social-atomism and "happiness"; in the cellars they were plotting in class-atomism.

The strength and health of a People depends upon the definiteness of its articulation. We have seen how in a street-crowd, all will and intellect mystically devolve upon the leader. If this breaks up, through mistakes by the leader, or crushing by external force, the crowd is dead, and reverts to a sum of individuals.

The decentralization of will and intellect in the West generally is thus seen to be a grave Cultural sickness. The Authority and Unity of the West was gradually undermined for centuries by the slow increase of the intellectual content of the Culture. Nevertheless this Culture preserved its unity before the world, generally speaking, until the cataclysm of 1789, which Napoleon, and after him the Vienna Congress, were unable permanently to undo. The Concert of Europe was replaced by a progressing Discord of Europe.

The more will and intellect that passed downwards and outwards in the Culture, the greater was the decline in the Cultural health. Nationalism was the disease of the Culture; Class War was the disease of the Nation; Parliamentarism was the disease of the State; the Rule of Money was the disease of Society; sterile Pleasure was the disease of the Race; the new selfishness was the disease of the Family; Divorce was the disease of Marriage.

Every Culture has gone through this terrible crisis, and each has stood where the West now stands in 1948. This means of course, inwardly, for never before at the height of its crisis has an entire Culture been occupied by barbarians and distorters. The previous

## PEOPLE

seven Cultures surmounted this critical time: the creative forces of Instinct and Intellect, working in harmony brought about the Resurgence of Authority, and formed, in each case, the Empire of the Culture.

The beginning of this resurgence of synthesis and creation after the long orgy of Intellect-run-wild manifests itself in diverse phenomena. Nietzsche and Carlyle were symbols of the resurgence. Characteristically both were Europeans, and despised the petty-stateism of their times. Their lives and ideas were an expression of organic necessity. Both were heralds of the next Age. The appearance of a spate of **cultural** histories was another sign. The appearance of **State-Socialism** was another. The biological theories of de Vries and Driesch, the abandonment of the materialistic clichés by a whole group of physicists was another. For political purposes, the most important was the beginning of the formation of a **People of the West**.

## NATION

The word **People** describes a group which has become a soul-unit, through an idea and the presence of the polarity of leader and led. The word is neutral as to the duration of such a group, its inner strength, its intensity, or the magnitude of its mission in life.

A nation is a people—and something more. It is more highly articulated. A people can arise outside of a Culture; a nation cannot. A people may be a unit of short duration, or inwardly weak. A nation has a life-span, and belongs to the strongest organic unities within a Culture. With the word Culture, we touch upon the hall-mark of the Nation: **a nation is a people containing a Cultural Idea.**

When a High Culture is born into a landscape, after a gestation period of several generations, it works with mysterious effect upon the populations in its area. Previous names and groupings vanish into new spiritual unities. In the West, around 1000 A.D., the names Swabian, Frank, Lombard, Visigoth, Saxon, become dead terms for practical purposes, and men begin to feel themselves as Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, and Spaniards. Each of these groups is an **Idea**—it is the vehicle of a certain part of the soul of the Culture, it is a plane of existence,

## NATION

an aspect of the Culture-spirit. This is the basis of their differences. Their similarity is that they are the creations of the same Culture.

Their difference beget different racial rhythms and styles of thinking and doing. A different inner accent shapes the same general linguistic material into various tongues, each one the expression of a different soul. The separate souls react in distinct fashions to similar outer experiences, and thus events also contribute their part to shaping the character of the nations that arise.

To understand what a nation is, one must first entirely dissociate in his mind the connection—so self-evident to the 19th century—between nation, political unity, and language. To the era of Rationalism and Capitalism, these units were the very primordial material of history. But these nations were only expressions of a certain stage of the Nation-Idea in Western history.

In the dawn of our Culture, language had no relation to nation, nor had politics. A Nation in those days was a spiritual unity which expressed itself as such in the Spirit of the Age. That Spirit was one of religious feeling, Scholastic philosophy, Gothic architecture, Imperial-Papal politics, Crusades. There was a sharp and distinct feeling of **the foreigner**, but the word did not relate exclusively to politics, or language. In the 11th and 12th centuries, English, German, French methods of thinking appear in the various Scholastics. Varying honour-imperatives, varying moral-feelings, different ways of manifesting religious feelings, variations in the Gothic cathedrals, degrees of attachment to Empire or Pope—all show the different national ideas.

Vis-a-vis the foreigner—the Moor, the Slav, the Turk,

the Saracen—these nations **unconsciously, self-evidently,** were **one People.** However strong their feelings of separation toward one another, instinct welded them into a unity for assertion against the **Cultural alien.** Thus when the Crusaders, established a **Western State** in the Levant, it was not English, French, German—but simply **Western.** The instinct of the Culture is strong, its rhythms compel virtually, its superpersonal unity is felt in the blood, and hence recognized by the intellect.

All Cultures express themselves in the form of nations, as well as art-forms, religions, languages, technics, knowledge-systems and the other Culture-forms. Just as all the other forms are distinct within each Culture, so is the style of the Nation. In the Arabian Culture, just as its conception of History was the actualization of a **World-Plan** by God beginning with a Creation and ending with a Cataclysm, so the Nation-style was one of **belief.** Members of a belief were constituted as **nations.** The notion of territory, Fatherland, was not present. The nation had a spiritual, and not a physical, extent. This Nation-idea created in this alien Culture the Jewish nation, which in that Culture was one among others of a similar structure. In our Culture, it was so completely alien that no one realized what its essence was until we reached our period of Late Civilization with its historical sensitivity.

In the Classical Culture, the Nation-idea was expressed in the form of a **City-state.** The Nation was not an area, but only the City and its population. Any further territorial control was negative in origin; e.g., to control was to deny possession of the area to a



## NATION

potential enemy in war. To these nations, our idea of a Fatherland with distant frontiers that one never sees during his whole life would have been a fantastic and repellent hallucination.

### II

**The Nation is an Idea.** Its material manifestations are the actualizations of this Idea as it fulfils itself. We can, for purposes of understanding, divide the Nation into three strata. On top is the Idea itself. It is incapable of expression in words, for it is not an abstraction, not a concept, but is a soul. It can only be expressed in lives, deeds, thoughts, events.

Under it is the minority which embodies the Idea at high potential, the nation-bearing stratum. It represents the Idea in History. For practical purposes it is the nation. It is, as actuality, what the mass of the population, the body of the nation, is as possibility.

The lowest stratum is the mass. It widens out toward the base, becoming ever less differentiated as one goes down. Finally one reaches the level where an eternal stratum is reached, that takes no part whatever in the national Idea, which does not experience the History which is playing its drama higher up on top.

Just as, in a crowd, the leader is the decisive part of the unity, so is the nation-bearing minority in the national unity. Both minority and mass are in the service of the Idea, just as both leader and led of the crowd-idea. If the leader is killed or removed, another will arise, if the idea is strong. Similarly in a nation, the mass contains, in most of its individuals, a spark of the national feeling. Those who are more moved

by this inner quality than others are a part of the minority, the nation-bearing stratum.

Dissociate nation-bearing stratum and mere political leadership. In organic health the political leadership contains only members of the nation-bearing stratum—but not all of them, by any means, for nation bearing stratum is much wider than political administration. But the political leadership may contain, owing to weakness of the national idea and aggressiveness of an inner alien group, few or even no members of the nation-bearing stratum. The members of the nation-bearing stratum are those who by the strength of their national feelings and their willingness to sacrifice for this Idea are the custodians of the Idea before the world and against inner alien and anti-national elements.

If this stratum were to be removed from a healthy nation with a future, after a period of spiritual chaos in the body of the nation, a new one would arise from the mass. If the mass were **totally** devoid of national feelings, the minority could not accomplish the Idea.

That there is nothing whatever abstract about this is shown by the case of Russia. There the Romanov dynasty and its upper stratum tried to make Russia into a Western people, a Western nation. But the mass was quite devoid of possibilities in this direction. They did succeed in making Russia into a Western nation, for appearances, and for political purposes, and this shows that the minority is decisive. But when the Bolsheviks exterminated or drove out this entire minority, there was nothing to replace it, for the mass did not even contain a spark of this idea.

**Thus from the standpoint of History, the nation serves**

## NATION

the Culture, the minority serves the nation, the mass serves the minority. The quaint transposition of thought known as Rationalism saw it otherwise: there is no Idea, there is only mass, anything else must serve the mass. But Rationalism only affected terminology in this matter, for even those nations most heavily undermined by Rationalism still appeared in History in the custody of a minority, and the mass was only called upon to obey, to think a certain way, to vote a certain way. It is important in the 20th century to know that denying facts does not remove them, nor does changing their names change their nature. In the 19th century the Nation was still an Idea, even though it was supposed to be merely a huge collection of individuals. It was an Idea that infected even the most rationalistic of the Rationalists, the Communists. Thus French Communism was entirely different from German Communism—the difference between Paris in 1871 and Berlin in 1918. They may have read from the same book, but the pulse in the blood was different.

## NATION AND HISTORY

A nation is an organic part of a Culture, it expresses by its life and development a certain inner possibility of the Culture-soul. It is never independent of the Culture, and this condition of dependence is shown by the expression **Spirit of the Age**. It has long been recognized by thinkers and men of action that there are certain things which simply must be done, others which simply cannot be done, during a certain age. One may, or may not, agree with these things with his intellect, but he must observe them. **The Spirit of the Age is the phase of development of the Culture.** It subjects all nations to it. Since each nation has its own character, and since each Age has its own stamp, it follows that one nation may be more adapted to one given Age than another. This is the explanation of why we have the Age of "The Holy Roman Empire, German by nation," 1050-1250, the Spanish Age, 1500-1650, the French Rococo, 1650-1750, the English Age, 1750-1900.

Within this framework of its own subjection to the Culture, the Nation-Idea compels everything in its realm to submit to its force. Thus each Western nation had its own type of social behaviour, its own articulation of society, sharp and clear in England, Prussia, Spain, vague

## NATION & HISTORY

and nebulous in France and Italy. The religiousness of England differed from that of Spain, both from Germany. The orientation to economics is different in each place, strongest in England. Even in the field of erotic, the nations are differentiated, and France is the nation that developed the most elaborate culture of sexual love. Literature is distinctly national, so is drama, so is architecture, so is even music. Philosophy did not escape nationalization: the two greatest Western schools are the English Sensualist school, 1600-1900, and the German Idealist school, 1650-1950. Orientation to religious doctrines is different: Spain has been the stronghold of Catholicity, England of Protestantism. The great men that have arisen in the various nations have expressed national qualities at high potential: Think of Richelieu, Cromwell, Alva, Wallenstein. An oil painting discloses the nationality of its painter during the great era of Western painting, 1550-1850.

It is thus easy to understand how Materialism could convince itself that nations were the creators of Culture, instead of seeing the fact that it is the reverse.

A Culture begins in Faith and Mysticism, with its thought-world and its action-world both subject to self-evident order and authority. It develops along the path of increasing intellectuality until it reaches the caesura of Rationalism, when intellect frees itself entirely from faith and instinct, analyses, disintegrates, and mobilizes everything. In its very last stage, that of Late Civilization, it gathers itself once more together, asserts its unity by impressing all forms of its life with a final form which returns once more to the symbolic Authority and Mysticism of its origins.

This biography of the Culture is traceable in every life-form, including its nations.

The Culture created its nations through **dynasties**. The idea of a dynasty is repulsive to the Classical Culture, unknown to the Arabian.

But Western nations, imbued with the unique force and intensity of expression of the Western Culture are dynastic, even when they abolish a dynasty. They either want another dynasty, or else they wish the dynastic feeling to be freed from the personality of the sovereign. **Dynasty is the affirmation of political continuity from Past to Future.** The political history of the West from its origins is the history of dynasties.

The diverse tribes of Swabians, Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, and Thüringians became united into the German nation through the dynastic Empire-Idea, the creation of Karl der Grosse. Similarly the French people and nation were formed by dynasties. Out of diverse Frankish and Visigothic elements, the Capetian dynasty created a nation and a language. If Dynasty had followed speech, there would have been two Frances: Frankish-Romance France in the North, Provençal France in the South.

The Dynasties created the nations, by focusing these mystic feelings onto a passionate symbol. The nations created Race and Language. The Italian written language is attributable chiefly to Frederick II of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, a German Emperor who preferred the South, and caused this language to be used officially and socially in the Empire. The Portugese people and language are the result of the fact that Alfonso VI of Castile gave that territory as the marriage portion of

his daughter to Henry of Besancon in 1095. To this creation of a dynasty is due the fact that Brazil speaks Portugese to-day. The House and kingdom of Lorraine came to an end with the childlessness of Lothar II in the 9th century. Had his dynasty continued, there probably had been a nation, people, language, kingdom and State of Lotharingen in Western history. The English people, nation and language are all the result of the Norman Conquest with its founding of the House of Normandy which continues to this time. The Prussian nation is the creation of the Hohenzollern dynasty, and the Austrian was that of the Habsburg.

The form of Western politics was always dynastic, and increasingly so as the Culture attained to greater heights. The rhythmic cycles of great wars took a dynastic form: a vacant throne somewhere called forth a Succession-War. Even in 1870 the pretext which Napoleon III adopted for his war against Prussia was a dynastic one. And the great Napoleon too, was brought down by a millennium of dynastic tradition that he roused against him by driving out old dynasties and putting his brothers and Marshals on thrones as new dynasts.

In this stage of Western history the idea of the dynasty is only apparently gone. A thousand-year Empire is itself a dynastic idea. The genealogical continuity of the ruling house is merely a powerful symbol of continuity. This symbol satisfies instinct. Western intellect demands this same continuity during its reign, 1750-1950, but merely changes the symbol: instead of a blood-stream of a royal House, it puts up a piece of paper, a Constitution.

## IMPERIUM

Readers in 2050 can see about them the final form of the expression of Western dynastic feeling. In Rationalist times the symbol of the Royal House became unsatisfactory, and was merely tolerated, if not abolished altogether. The piece of paper was much more real to a Rationalist. Now the piece of paper has become unsatisfactory, as History quietly submerges Rationalism. We stand at the next epoch, that of Resurgence of Authority.



## NATION AND RATIONALISM

The national style of a High Culture is so strong that it pulls even neighbouring populations into its form. Examples of outer populations that adopted the Western national style because of their geographical proximity are the Balkans, Poland, Bohemia and Russia. This adoption is quite enough to deceive certain elements in the Culture that these border-streams are within the Culture-organism. This is strongly reinforced in the minds of superficial people if, for instance, one or two highly gifted men from beyond the border come under the spirit of the Culture and produce works of thought, or deeds, in the Culture-style. The year 2050 will hardly believe that **Russia** was referred to as a Western nation as late as the middle of the 20th century. This mistake was merely one of the results of the impact of Rationalism on the Nation-style of the Culture.

Reason is the form of thought adopted to solving mechanical problems, and cannot be applied to organic things, in its free, rootless form. Thus to every organism there is a birth, and a death. For what **reason**? The question is senseless from the organic standpoint. Why must an organism die? No one can give a **reason**. This refers, of course, to emancipated, inorganic, reason.

## IMPERIUM

Religion employs reason, but within the framework of Faith. Emancipated reason—Rationalism—recognizes no superior discipline, neither that of organic regularities, nor beyond them, of Faith or Religion. But yet, the organism dies, even though Rationalism loudly insists that it is not necessary. The human life-span of 70 years represents no **logical** necessity. It would not offend **logic** if organisms were perpetual. This same unadaptability of logic and reason to organic rhythms affects fundamentally the Nation-Idea during the period of Rationalism.

The laboratory-logic which denied God and the human soul was certainly not going to allow the Nation-Idea. The most it was willing to concede was the existence of a great number of individuals. Actually this pose was impossible for even the most intransigent rationalists to maintain, and in their writings, they continually slip into figures of speech which betray that they are thinking in terms of a higher Idea which is imminent in each of these individuals.

Thus to Rationalism, Nation means—Mass. There must be no articulation—no nobility, no clergy, no monarch, no group raised above the others by virtue of its higher Idea-content. There is also no Idea which forms all the individuals, even though there is the mechanico-logical concept of the totality.

The concept of Nation-as-Mass is coeval with Democracy and Class War. The three notions are merely different aspects of Rationalism. If the nation is the mass, there should be no social stratification, and if the old-traditional structure does not give way, one must make class-war against it.

## NATION & RATIONALISM

Rationalism is born at the same time also as the decisive turn of Culture toward Civilization, the fulfilment of the inner form-world, and the unequivocal turning to **activity** as the prime content of Life. This means the vast increase in the public power available to political leaders, larger wars, more intense economics, more physical energy, enormous development of technics. No Western thinker ever had a better technical brain than Roger Bacon, or Leonardo, but the technical works of these men came in an age of **inner activity**, which regarded technics as a branch of knowledge, not as a form of unleashing power for industrial and war purposes. The Civilization expanded in power and in extent. Anything opposing this organic rhythm was doomed to frustration and defeat. The old traditions could only survive if they would take up the new tendencies and lead them onward. This was done in England, but the feat was not so remarkable as has been generally supposed, for the English national-Idea was actually the vehicle of this change of direction from Culture to Civilization. The Rationalist Idea was born in England. English Sensualist philosophers enunciated its basic doctrines, English parliamentarians applied them to theory of government, English technicians invented the new power-unleashing machines, English merchants created the forms of 19th century Capitalism, English thinkers first announced the idea that the nation was the mass. The French Encyclopedists were all under English influence, and many of them lived for years in England. Thus there were plenty of persons in high places who were in contact with the new ideas and felt the necessity of adopting them verbally.

## IMPERIUM

The doom of Napoleon symbolizes the deep fact that he was both representing and opposing this idea at the same time.

Rationalism could only say: the nation is the mass; it only denied the articulation of the Nation. These nations were not yet dead, and could not be denied. The emphasis passed to the **external** differences between the nations, which means, political differences. Nation becomes for the first time in **Western** history, **primarily** a political idea. The word "nationalism" acquires an exclusively **political** meaning.

Nation had not been, even in Frederick the Great's Wars, a purely political thing. Under Frederick had fought Russians against Russia, Frenchmen against France, Swedes against Sweden. Saxons fought both for and against him. An early acquaintance of Frederick tendered to him his military services. Frederick offered him a majority. Reluctantly the man took service with an enemy army, because a colonelcy was available there. Such conduct was not considered monstrous at that time. 19th century interpretation of history—ignoring the soul and following the surface continuity of names—merely took current politics and applied it backwards. The foreigner was not **liked** during previous **Western** history, but politics was not oriented to this one fact alone. Politics was a thing of dynasty—or as in the case of the microscopic nations, revolt against dynasty. German condottieri like Froberger, and English like Sir John Hawkwood led foreign mercenaries in the wars in Italy. The German Emperor Frederick II was more Italian than German, and found no difficulty in being both politically. Allegiance was not a thing of geography

## NATION & RATIONALISM

of birthplace, but of attachment, common destiny, oath, honour. Thus, treason in those days did not refer to birthplace, but to obligation of honour. Not until allegiance was given was honour involved. The great Emperor Charles V had a German father, a Spanish mother, grew up in the Netherlands, was educated by a Flemish churchman, whom he later appointed Pope Adrian VI, spoke French as a native tongue, was King of Spain, and Holy Roman Emperor. Spaniards had dukedoms in England, an English queen was married to the King of Spain, the English King was Elector of Hanover. Armies consisted of men of mixed nationality, and commands changed often among generals of different nationality. It suffices to mention Maurice de Saxe, Prinz Eugen, Marshal Conde, Montecuculi. Dynastic-politics cut straight across nations, just as nationalistic politics cut clean across dynasties.

But the old spiritual significance of Western nations was replaced by a purely political one after the triumph of Rationalism. The linkage in those days between the new idea of the nation-as-mass and nation-as-political instead of dynastic, caused nationalism to be looked on in 1815 as Communism was in 1915—the height of radical destruction.

Napoleon represented both ideas to Europe. He was anti-dynastic, and thus unlocked everywhere the new feeling of political nationalism. But to countries occupied by French armies, political nationalism meant revolt, and it was the Prussian rising of 1813 that destroyed Napoleon.

Rationalism saw a nation thus as a political mass. But why just this mass and not another? There had to

## IMPERIUM

be some visible, mechanical, determinant of nationality. This was found in—Language. If a man spoke French, he was French; Italian, Italian. What determines this? Where he was born. It does, or it should. Allegiance became something owed to a language and a piece of ground, not to an Idea or the dynastic symbol of the Idea.

This concept triumphed, publicly and privately. It determined a man's national feelings, and changed the nature of wars. Instead of the Succession-Wars, which arose from dynastic-politics, came now wars for a territory and population which one could assimilate by language policy in the schools.

The populations of the Balkan countries were a reflection of the school-policies of the preceding generation. It reached a grotesque height when it was employed in theory at the Versailles conference, 1919. Language was supposed to be the indication of the presence of a nation. The principle was of course only used where it suited the political purpose, but nevertheless everyone paid lip-service to this materialistic stupidity.

This concept of the Nation-Idea had many important consequences. The Italian Wars of linguistic Unification created what never had existed before, a political unit Italy. The Austrian nation was annihilated by this concept, and the attempt by extra-European forces to resurrect it as a nation after the Second World War as a part of the general plan to Balkanize Europe was doubly ludicrous, **for a new Nation-Idea was coming.** The linguistic idea of Nation also enabled England to bring about the entry of America into the First World War on its side, because the written language was more

## NATION & RATIONALISM

or less common to both. Suppose that—as narrowly missed by vote—the American Constitutional Convention in 1787 had adopted the resolution to make German the official language of America. Western history, 1914-1980 had been quite different. Instead of Europe controlling in 1950 **no part** of the globe, not even its own area, it would have controlled—the **entire** globe.

But the Nation is always an Idea, it can be nothing other. Only one's **concept** of the Nation can change, but the Idea is something in the blood and soul, and not merely in the mind. It permeates a man's way of understanding what a Nation is, and what everything else is. Even though, say, French and English Rationalists had agreed **precisely** on what the Nation is, each would have behaved in his distinct national way.

Rationalism looked at the nation from within and said: it is mass. It looked at it from without and said: it is language. Both were materialistic stupidities. Nation is, first, the Idea; second, the nation-bearing stratum; lastly, the mass who are the **object**, the mere **body** of the Nation. From without, the Nation is a **different** soul from other souls. It is contact with the foreign that develops the sense of the proper.

Rationalism liberated the Nation-Idea from the Dynasty-Idea. Dynasties changed their names to try and cover up their connections with other nations. In most countries the dynasty was dethroned as being anti-national, since nation was mass, and Dynasty was symbol. Above all, Rationalism accomplished the identification of **nation** and **politics**. Nationalism became primarily a **political** term.

## IMPERIUM

### II

The Dynasties reacted as a group to the new concept of the nation, both in its politicization of the Idea, and its identification of Nation and Mass. The making of Nation into the unit of politics was an attack on every dynasty. Dynasties hitherto had exercised a monopoly of politics—were they now to be supplanted by mob-leaders who wished to tear up everything and set it in motion? At the Vienna Congress, 1815, and in the Holy Alliance, the Dynastic Idea of Politics gained its last great victory on the surface. But only on the surface, for repression of the Spirit of the Age only dams it up, as it were, and a dam cannot be built against Destiny. This is the tragedy of every ageing woman, and of every effete, backward-looking, ruling class. Talleyrand—alone at the Congress in his political superiority—was however working with the 19th century Nation-Idea, and not that of the 18th century, like the Kings. He stimulated their conservatism, and brought out of a total French military defeat a stronger France. Boundaries were secondary to the Dynasts, primary to Talleyrand.

Readers in the 20th century find it difficult, those in the 21st century more difficult, to believe that even in the 50's of the 19th century nationalism was considered a radically destructive force by the traditionary elements in European Nations. In Germany, it took a man of political genius, Bismarck, to transform the idea of nationalism from a destructive, class-war idea into a conserving, creating idea, serviceable to Tradition and forward development.



## NATION & RATIONALISM

This changing of the meaning of the word nationalism from destructive and levelling to creative-conservative and hierarchical showed that despite their surface-victory, the Dynasts at Vienna had lost their contest against Destiny. Whether or not they continued, the dynasties were politically dead. They became, more in some places than elsewhere, mere pageantry. The force of the dynastic idea—the passionate affirmation of eternal duration—was transferred on to the Nation. The dynasty became merely a part of the general public property of the Nation—like the public buildings, and the national museums. At one time the monarch owned the nation—in the 19th century the nation owned the monarch. If the monarch did take part in politics, he was subject to the same inner limitations as any Premier.

The question will be asked: how did nationalism change its significance from Tradition-destroying to Tradition-conserving? It was another development of the Rationalist stock of ideas that brought this about, namely the transference of class-war from the political-social sphere to the economic sphere. Nationalism had done its work on the destructive side: it had destroyed Dynasty and Estates. Now its place in the centre of History was challenged by Economics. Economics—Money—is hostile to politics generally, whether dynastic or nationalistic. **Authority** is the prime enemy of Money. Authority means responsibility, and Money means irresponsibility. Authority means Public; Money means Private.

The Master of Money is the second of the class-warriors. First was the ideologue on the barricade with a copy of Contrat Social in his hand. He cleared the

stage for the Master of Money. The third in this succession of Culture-termites is the Master of Labour.

Vis-a-vis all three of them, any form of political nationalism is conservative, and contains possibilities of creativeness if the responsible stratum has sufficient vision and energy. But it takes Genius to see the obvious, and a Bismarck was necessary to show the conserving value of nationalism, and its creative possibilities. Metternich stood with his feet in the old Europe of Dynasty, and had thus seen the struggle of Nationalism against Dynasty as one of Chaos against Order. The year of his passing, 1848, was the epoch of Nationalism from its old meaning to its new one. Had he lived to see the economic class war of the forces of Money and Proletariat against Politics, he also would have chosen nationalism as the alternative.

In the field of politics, Rationalism accentuated the differences between the nations. In the field of economics its effect was even more disintegrating. It wished to break up the nation into classes, and the classes into individuals. Liberals, financiers, Communists, Anarchists were the coalition against the remnants of Authority embodied in the nationalistic State. In its first century, Rationalism affirmed the nations as the ultimate units of history and warred against the subjection of the nations to the dynasts. In its second, more radical, century, Rationalism denies the nations altogether. The professors and "political economists" conceived of the nation as a mere economic convenience in a world-wide "division of labour." Thus one nation could grow crops, another could make machines. It was to be solely economic differentiation. This idea was

## NATION & RATIONALISM

the darling of the financier, for in the flow of trade in such a world—there must be no autarchy—he would be the great gainer, for it would all flow **through** him.

On the other side, the Communists said that nations were only a capitalist trick to separate the “workers of the world.” Only **classes** were real—all else is illusion—and there are only two of them, bourgeois and proletaire.

These two world-pictures point to total chaos, the dissolution of the Civilization, and submission to the barbarian. Hence Nationalism, from having been destructive became conservative, and even, in the right hands, creative.

## NATION IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Each Age passes into the succeeding Age gradually in the depths. On the surface the transition may be gradual, or it may be sudden. This is only another way of saying that there is struggle between Young and Old. The old try to preserve that which is familiar to them, the young wish to actualize the new which is beating in the pulse. A tradition bridges the gap and maintains surface gradualness corresponding to the gradualness beneath. If the tradition has decayed—France, 1789—the break opens, and becomes a front for fighting. England was ready sooner than France—the Wilkes agitation contained the possibility of a Terror in London in the 60's—but the ruling class was not decadent and knew what to take over and when to be firm.

The 20th century Nation-Idea can be understood by applying the Hegelian-Fichteian Triadic Law of Thought. The thesis of Nation as Dynastic-Unit, and the antithesis of Nation-as-Linguistic-Unit are both submerged into the creator of them both, and become Nation-as-Culture-Unit, the gigantic synthesis whose irresistible actualization is the inner motive force of History in this century. We who live in the middle of the 20th century cannot understand the excitement of 1848, for we only know the hither side of it. Those in 2050, living in the

## NATION IN 20TH CENTURY

Western Nation-Idea of the 20th century style, will not be able to understand how anyone could have opposed the obvious Destiny of the Western Nation-Idea. Yet the opposition was as effective as that of Metternich and the Fürstenbund was to the entry of the 19th century Nation-Idea.

One great difference exists however. The Russia that the Western Nations called in to help against Napoleon and the new Nation-Idea he represented considered itself a Western Nation, and so conducted itself. The Russia that the party-politicians called in against the 20th century Nation-Idea was the primitive barbarian in all his vigour and will-to-annihilate. The America that intervened in Western politics was entirely in the grip of Culture-distorters, and thus removed by such a regime temporarily from the areas of Western influence. The only difference between them to the Europe they divided after the Second World War, 1939-1945, was that no Western possibilities existed in Russia, and America did present a possibility—in the future—of a revolution which would restore America to the West. Both were completely alien, both could only destroy.

The 20th century sees the end of Rationalism. Even now—1948—it is pale and emaciated. Scientists and philosophers are falling away. Mysticism is reappearing, both in its authoritative-religious form, and in the form of theosophistic fads. Mechanism in biology has yielded to Vitalism. Materialism fights desperately, hopelessly against the resurgence of the Soul of Culture-Man. Relativity has placed the determination of phenomena with man, precisely where German Idealistic philosophy had put it in the 18th century. Even matter has been

## IMPERIUM

liberated from Causality—we now allow the “electrons” and their relatives to dance freely about, no longer in subjection to the strict Culture-physics of Western tradition. That which would have been regarded with horror a generation before quietly asserts itself in defiance of Rationalism—clairvoyancy, disguised as “Extra-sensory perception.” The Psyche intrudes even into physiology.

But in this year 1948 the world of action remains, chained by its stupidity, in the dead past. Synthesis replaces analysis in Western thought, but Western action remains disintegratory: classes, tiny “nations,” division of powers, economic obsessions, parties, trade-unions, “rights,” parliaments, elections, frontiers every few miles in Europe, opposition, hatred of authority, lack of respect and dignity, mutual economic strangulation by customs boundaries. This while the extra-European world agglomerates itself into great, world-embracing masses of territory and population. The Cultural impetus of Imperialism is carried forward by the non-Culture peoples, the barbarians, while the sick, backward-looking West thinks in ever-smaller space-terms. While the barbarians build empires, Europe abandons old conquests. While the barbarians proclaim their superiority, voices in Europe are raised saying that Western Imperialism—that mighty inner imperative of the most passionate, intense High Culture the world has yet seen—only existed in order to prepare the under-races of the world for “self-government.” They continue to say it as the extra-Europeans divide the Mother-soil of European Culture between them, and loot and starve European populations on a mass-scale.

## NATION IN 20TH CENTURY

It might be thought that the 20th century Idea of the Nation is disintegration, when one hears fools in Bavaria announce that the solution for them is to constitute themselves a "little Switzerland." One wonders that it is **possible** for extra-Europeans to find such people down below the Western Culture.

But this atomizing of the Soul of the West is **not** the 20th century Idea. These voices of submission to the barbarian, and abandonment of Culture, of disintegration into ever-smaller particles of territory and population are the illness of the West, not its Future, its crisis, not its health. They are the pseudo-victory of 18th and 19th century Rationalism over the Resurgence of Authority of the 20th and 21st centuries. They are the extrapolation of the Rationalistic twins, finance-Capitalism and snarling Communism, the desire to extend into the Future old diseases of the European will, to perpetuate feelings that are dead and can no longer inspire the soul of the West.

It is known however that the life of a Culture has its own rhythm, its own inner law of development, its own imperative. This cannot be changed by the will or rationalistic ideal of human beings. These ideals are themselves the expression of a great Culture-crisis, and with the disappearance of the crisis, the ideals are suddenly entirely empty. No one is willing to die for them. The crisis is now coming to an end, as is manifest by the developments in other Culture-directions. The history of previous Cultures shows the duration of this great crisis, through which they all had to go, and from their history, we know at what point we stand.

That point is the transition to the new idea of the

## IMPERIUM

Nation, the Nation as Empire, Nation as Culture-unit. The tests of race, people, and language have no validity, for the 20th century will shape its own race and people exactly as the 19th century races, peoples, and nations were the products of History. It sounds much more fantastic to 1950 ears than to the ears of 2150 to say that the creation of a new language by the 20th century Nation in process of arising is not impossible. It may be one of the old languages, modified by the new spirit; it may be a new language, containing elements of pre-existing languages.

The Second World War represented the surface victory of the Past over the Future. Metternich, Burke, Wellington, would have read this situation correctly, but would have cast in their lot with the Future, for the Future is Order, and the Rationalistic Past is Chaos and Disintegration. They fought Rationalism in its inception, and their heirs who fight it to-day fight a Rationalism stricken with rigor mortis, for which no one will mount the barricade, and which only sits leering upon its throne by virtue of its serviceability to the Barbarian. It divides Europe, and Europe divided is Europe conquered.

The fight against the Past is thus seen to be the fight against the extra-European forces, for it is they who are perpetuating the atomizing of Europe, the Balkanization of a Culture, the Switzerland of the West.

It is characteristic of any phase of development of a Culture that it is historically necessary. It is precisely the same force that causes one Culture phase to succeed to another that makes the youth inevitably into a man. To attempt to interfere with the one process is the



## NATION IN 20TH CENTURY

same as interfering with the other. So far no way has been discovered to stop the development of an organism, except killing it. The caterpillar **must** become a butterfly, the bud **must** become a flower, the youth **must** become a man, the man **must** express his mature possibilities. This force which impels this forward development is called Destiny. It is operative at every moment from conception to death in every organism. It is the hall-mark of the organic which distinguishes it from the inorganic, the permanent, the historyless. Every organism has its own life-task, and the fulfilment of this task is inwardly necessary. The extent to which an outer force can affect the process is different for various organisms. The phenomena of outer forces attempting to warp a High Culture from its Life-path come under the heading of Culture-distortion.

The subject of the State must precede a treatment of Culture-distortion. Race, People, Nation, State are manifestations of Cultural health. Distortion is the **illness** of the Culture.

## STATE

With the State we come to the first purely political Idea in the life of the High Culture. Race, People, Nation have all of them political potentialities, deep connections with politics, but State is a political term. It is a word whose content changes quite completely during the development of a Culture. The States which philosophers, scholars, and theoreticians project are not States for the purposes of this work. These things belong to literature, whereas this is concerned with the actualized and the possible. Plato and Campanella, More and Fourier, Rousseau and Marx, all designed Utopias which **should** exist, and it is this moral imperative, this **should**, which shows that the centre of gravity of these States lies in thought and not in action. The State as an actuality is a manifestation of the development of a High Culture. Outside of a High Culture there is no State, but only leadership of more or less permanence. The content of the State-Idea is a reflection of the stage of development of the High Culture, and thus the State can only be comprehended organically. It cannot be made the object of logical operations, for being living, it is irrational, unamenable to logic. If such attempts reach the level of politics, of actuality, they throw the State into crisis, since the State, like every

## STATE

phase of the Culture, can only be itself, or be sick and distorted.

**The State is the form of a nation for action.** The content of this form changes, and each change is a crisis in the Culture-development. In the earliest time of the Culture, the time of the Crusades, of the conflict of Empire and Papacy, from 1000 to 1300, the Culture-unity is so strong that the Culture itself is constituted more or less as a nation, with all the lesser sovereigns holding of the Emperor. Vis-a-vis the barbarian, all Westerners are of one nation, and are welded into one State.

The first social articulation of the Culture is into Estates. The two Estates, Nobility and Priesthood, represent the two aspects of the Culture-soul with the highest possible symbolic purity. Nobility represents war, politics, law, race. Priesthood represents religion, knowledge, science, philosophy, the world of thought. The rest of the population is just that—the rest. Seen from above, it has only an economic function. Out of it develop the beginnings of trade-organization, free cities, and merchant-princes.

The meaningful idea of life is however, represented by the Estates and the symbols of Empire and Papacy. This political form is known as **the feudal-State**, the first State-idea of the West.

The first great political form-crisis of the West occurs when this idea loses its self-evident power, and there appears in the feelings of men the idea that there is something **higher**, to which even the noble blood and the feudal organization is subordinate. It is the dim beginning of the State-idea. The dissolution of the

## IMPERIUM

feudal State occurs in the 13th and 14th centuries. It takes the form of breaking down of the overlordship of the highest lords, the Pope, Emperor, Kings. The Papacy, on the temporal side, was organized as a feudal hierarchy, with the great spiritual dignitaries holding their investitures of the Pope as overlord. After the death of Innocent III, under whom for a short time, the whole Western Culture had acknowledged the feudal supremacy of the Pope, the great archbishops and bishops forced through representative institutions for themselves, and reduced the temporal power of the Papacy gradually to a mere shadow power by 1400.

The greater German Princes made the Imperial throne dependent upon them as Electors, and this idea was formally constituted in the Golden Bull of 1356, although actual long before that. Magna Charta, 1215, the General Privilege of Saragossa, 1283, the Estates-General, 1302, have corresponding significance in England, Spain and France. In each case it is the breakup of the feudal concept of the State, and the arising of the pure State-Idea. It is the beginning of the Dynasty-Idea. The highest feeling heretofore was that of Life as deriving its significance from noble blood, but henceforth the idea is one of a **task**, a labour for the Future. The Dynasty is the symbol of this new idea.

From this crisis, we in the 20th century learn first of all that State-crises in a High Culture are not things of a few years duration, but of a century or more. We learn further that the surface of History does not reflect at once the underlying idea-forces at work which provide the impetus of History.

The end of the crisis finds the State-idea established

## STATE

everywhere in Europe. Even though everywhere the State remained entirely aristocratic, nevertheless Sovereignty did not reside with the Estates, but with the higher idea, the State. The word treason changes its meaning and becomes more absolute, more heinous. Henry the Lion had received but mild punishment for his defiance of the feudal Emperor. The Emperor was after all but *primus inter pares*, and the relationship between him and his vassals was **personal**. With the triumph of the State-idea, the obligation of loyalty to the State becomes superpersonal, once it is undertaken. It is loyalty to an Idea, not to the person of the monarch.

The State progresses in its development from the aristocratic State to the Absolute State. Absolute means: **independent of any other form**. As applied to the State, this means independent of the Estates who had everywhere asserted their independence of the dying feudal power of Emperor and Kings. This development brings forth the second great State-crisis of the West, the transition to the Absolute State. It lasts a century in its severest form and dominates all political events from 1550 to 1660.

Feudal politics had been the struggle for power among families, lords and vassals, factions. The dynasties had to rely on their political talent, for none of them rested so strongly that it could not be challenged by a powerful duke with a claim to kingship. It was the time of Lancaster and York, of the German Princes, of Renaissance city-politics and condottieri.

But the Absolute State-Idea was at work in the depths, and by about 1500 it becomes articulate, and engages everywhere in a struggle with the idea of the aristocratic

State. Two ideas of the State are at war: the aristocratic State and the Absolute State. Since the Absolute State is the one which attained in history to identify with the State generally, we may call this second State-crisis of the West the battle of State against Estate, for, indeed, the form of this crisis was a defensive fight by the Nobility against the encroachments of Absolutism. The new idea is the State, it represents the Future in 1500, and therefore it prevails. The generic name of the wars entailed by this crisis is the Wars of the Fronde. The Fronde is the collective name of the noble Estates. This crisis lasts a century, and ends in France and Spain in the victory of the State over the Estates. The great names associated with this historical development are Richelieu and Olivarez. In England the State was represented by Charles, the Fronde by Cromwell. The defeat of the State-Idea was final in 1688, and thereafter England had no State in the sense of the State of Louis XIV, of the Spanish Phillips, of the Saxon, Würtembergian, Bavarian, or Prussian Kings. The aristocratic Parliament was the Nation, not the State.

In the Empire, the greater Princes overcame the State-idea in the Thirty-Years War. The name Wallenstein and its tragedy symbolize the defeat of the Imperial State-idea by the German Princes. After the Thirty Years War, Germany developed a whole collection of petty States, each modelled on the Versailles State. The defeat of the State-idea in Germany meant that Germany was out of condition for the great political contest.

## II

The experience of England and of Germany in the Wars of the Fronde is of high importance for the sur-

## STATE

face of subsequent European history and must be examined.

The Absolute State idea represented the Future. It was a centralizing of politics, and therewith of power. It enlarged the arena of politics, and increased the amount of public power, and meant consequently that powers not adopting the new idea would drop out of the great combinations and become mere battlefields, objects of the great politics of the States. This is precisely what happened to Germany. Since there were 300 Germanies, there was no Germany, and the other powers fought their wars in German territory. Only Austria was a power, and it was constituted as a State. The other German States were too small to be able to play an independent role in Western politics, and thus were not true political units.

England is the only power in which the Fronde triumphed but which nevertheless was able to stay in condition for the greater political battles introduced by the State-idea. This was owing **solely** to England's island situation. The geopolitical security conferred on England by its insular existence enabled it to dispense with the strict centralization of inner power demanded by the State-idea, without at the same time ceasing to exist as a political unit, as did Germany. When Wallenstein and the Imperial State-idea lost, all was lost for Germany for two centuries. But Cromwell's victory, which destroyed the State-Idea in England, substituting for it the Idea of "Society," did not spell ruin for England, simply because other better-organized States were not able to invade it as long as it maintained an adequate naval establishment. To keep up a sufficiently

## IMPERIUM

large fleet did not require political centralization, and thus England survived the era of Absolutism without an Absolute State.

England, because of this island situation, did not become acquainted with the Slavic border-barbarian. It experienced, for instance, no Hussite Wars as did Germany. For 16 years, 1420-1436, the Hussite armies, first under the blind Ziska, and later divided, flooded over half Germany, burning, ravaging, killing. This destruction was vandalism, unconnected with any constructive political idea. It was 15th century Bolshevism—annihilation of everything Western.

The situation of Germany, on the border against Asia, was one of constant danger of invasion by barbarian Slavic, Turkish, Mongolian and Tartaric armies. Fighting against these armies was not colonial warfare, in the meaning of one-sided warfare that the expression acquired in the later centuries. These border barbarians were in contact with the West and adopted its purposefulness, its higher organization, and its centralized will.

While Germany in the East, and Spain in the South, were protecting the body of the Western Culture from the Barbarian, England was forming a national feeling based purely on contrast with other Western nations, and without feeling for the deep, total contrast between the Culture-peoples and the Barbarian. This exaggerated national feeling was to have fateful consequences for the entire West, including England, in the era of World Wars.

### III

The great formula for the transition from the feudal union to the aristocratic State is that in the former the



## STATE

State existed only with reference to the Estates, and in the latter the Estates exists only with reference to the State. The slow externalizing of the Western soul—shown by things like gunpowder and printing, voyages of exploration, increasing elaboration of the economic life, demise of Scholastic philosophy through the triumph of Nominalism, growth of cities, growing strength of the idea of the Nation—progressively weakens the Estates, and the Wars of the Fronde were their last great assertion against the growing power of the Absolute State.

But the Absolute State represented the Future, and the Estates went down. In the main body of the West, after 1650, the State rules in politics. Its expression is dynastic, but the monarch derives his significance from the fact that he is the prime symbol of the State. When his entourage arrived at the formula that Louis XIV was **the State**, they were clothing him with the highest formula to which their thought could attain. In England, where there was no Absolute State, the substitute idea of the Nation was the leading idea, and the noble order ceased gradually to be an aristocracy, and finally even a nobility, and became finally **the Peerage**, a stratum whose significance was purely social. Its political possibilities were greater by reason of its social ascendancy, but it was still politically subordinate, and not sovereign as in the days of Magna Charta.

The political form-world of the Culture moves onward, and the next great political form-crisis is that of the transition from the Absolute State to Democracy. The crisis begins around 1750 and lasts a century in intense form. It broke out violently in France in 1789,

## IMPERIUM

and rapidly progressed to the Terror of 1793. The Rationalistic provenance of the ideas of the democrats showed that the Democracy-Idea is only politically-applied Rationalism.

The Absolute State-versus-Democracy crisis is different from the others in several ways. The decisive externalization of the soul of the West, brought about by the epochal change of Culture into Civilization, generated an amount of power for political purposes that dwarfed anything previous. Armies are numbered no longer in thousands or tens of thousands, but within decades pass to hundreds of thousands, and their numbers on both sides total millions. Instead of decisions being made by a few ambassadors or ministers, new leaders appear with the might of mobs at their backs. The form of the Absolute State had been unquestioned for more than a century, and now suddenly the new idea is in the air that **Reason** will examine all things anew and re-form the world. Since it is an organic fact that living things must obey their own inner laws or become sick, the attempt to subject the world of action to Reason could never succeed in its aim. Success merely meant the putting of the State out of condition. But actually Reason simply turned into a political weapon, and political leaders obeyed the dictates of the situation without regard to Reason. The pretence of logic had to be maintained, and the extreme divergence between conduct and principle equates Democracy with Hypocrisy. The type of the party-politician is of necessity a charlatan-type. Lincoln, the American party-leader masquerading as a saint, is the new idea of a politician. His pretence was humanitarianism, his result was un-

## STATE

limited finance-capitalism over a continent, his technic was the spoils-system.

Reason is a product of Life, and the attempt to turn the tables and make Life into a creature of Reason was doomed in practice. In theory, however, it lasts two centuries in all High Cultures. The sole effect is to **destroy**. It destroys culture, in the narrower sense of art forms and literature, it destroys traditions of service, dignity, loyalty, honour. It destroys the State-idea as embodied in its last refined form, the Absolute State. It lays the Civilization waste from within, politically speaking. Having levelled all the political and social powers, Rationalism can now look upon the monster of its own creation, the absolute power of Money. This new power is unformulated, anonymous, irresponsible. The most powerful money-magnates are not well-known to the masses, nor do they wish to be. Fame, responsibility, and sanctions go together. The Master of Money desires no limelight, no risk of life, but only money and ever more money. Party politicians exist only to protect him and his operations. The courts are there to enforce his usury. The remnants of the State are there to do him service. Armies march when his trade system is challenged. He is subject to nothing, he is the new Sovereign. He is above nations, and his banking operations transcend national laws. It is during his tenure of power over the Western Civilization that the phrase "power behind the throne" acquires its sinister and private meaning. His is action without risk. To him a hero is a fool, a patriot an idiot. They may bleed, but he will profit. If his system is threatened, he mobilizes the masses of continents, supplementing nationalistic

## IMPERIUM

slogans with universal conscription which is more effective than the slogans.

This new creation shows what the great catchword "Freedom" means. Freedom was attractive to two great groups, the intellectuals and the trading-class. To both of them, the State was a burden. For its **one** pulse, **one** imperative, which impressed the life of everyone with its majesty, the pavement-intellectuals wish to substitute universal criticism, and the traders introduce universal trade without any restriction whatever. **These two new orders are the old nobility and priesthood in caricature.** The intellectual with his atheist pamphlet, and the trader in his counting-house are respectively the masters in the democratic world of thought and action.

## IV

For the purpose of recapitulating with the utmost clarity the biography of the State-Idea in the Western Culture, I append here a paradigm. The dates given must of course be taken as approximate. The exact year given is arbitrary. Historical transitions are gradual in their depths. An idea is born, slowly grows, finally enters the field of action, where its ultimate success may be delayed for many decades. Crises are perceptible, but the beginnings of the slow developments toward, and away from, a crisis, can have no exact date assigned them. Even in the life of a man, there is no date at which he becomes mature, nevertheless 21 has been selected as the ideal age of this transition.

## S T A T E

Form of the State-Idea	Duration of Form	Duration of Crisis in Transition to Next Form
Feudal State ...	1000-1300	1200-1300
Aristocratic State ...	1250-1660	1550-1660
Absolute State ...	1600-1815	1750-1850
Democracy ... ..	1750-1950	1900-19—

The table shows the State-forms overlapping one another, and the crises overlapping the forms, because the facts do exhibit this phenomenon in actuality. In one place the idea has already triumphed, in another this does not occur for fifty years. Or the new idea may appear and lose on the surface of history, and decades may be necessary before it again contends for power. We living in the middle of the 20th century know well what a transition period means. The old idea is quite dead, but party-leaders continue to repeat the old catch-words, like senseless parrots doing something for its own sake.

The last entry in the paradigm has been left blank. Succeeding the Democracy-idea of the State comes the last State-form of the Culture.

The old traditions of the Culture and their highest political expression, the Absolute State, have been swept away by two centuries of destruction under pressure from below. The class-war of mob-leading doctrinaires attacked and defeated the old social powers in the first century of Rationalism, 1750-1850, and finance-capitalists and labour-leaders defeated the productive economic leaders in its second century, 1850-1950, dissolving the whole collective life into a miserable, soulless, endless battle for money.

## IMPERIUM

The entire population of the Western Culture is weary to death of this vile scramble, of this chaotic lack of leadership, of authority, or a strong, commanding voice. A deep yearning is going through the Western world to be free from the dirt and uncleanness of party-politics, class-war, financial usury, and complete absence of the heroic spirit. This yearning is the current form—1948—of the State-idea of the Future. It has already expressed itself in the body of Europe. Its form for the immediate Future is the Resurgence of Authority. It attains finally to Caesarism, in which authority is free from all defensiveness and is once more self-evident, as in the pre-Rationalist millennium. In its first stages the new State-idea is anti-democratic, anti-Rationalistic, but the further these ideas sink into the past, the less is it concerned with them.

The new State-form, corresponding to the slowly rising European race, European nation, European people, and European language, is also universal. It is a State whose home-soil is co-terminous with the boundaries of the West: Scandinavia, England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain. The details of whether this State in its first phase drags along some of the outdated Rationalistic forms with it—such as written pieces of constitution paper purporting to have something to do with government, parliaments, elections—are unimportant to its great inner meaning.

This State ends the inner anarchy of the West, which has become self-evident from long usage. Public power can no longer be held by individuals; public enterprises pass under public control and ownership; the money-monopoly of the few individuals is transferred to the

## STATE

State. Capitalism vanishes, in both of its aspects, the finance-capitalism of the supra-national usurer, and the capitalism of the labour-dictator. The emphasis on inner-politics passes away with the undertaking of the greatest wars the world has ever seen against the Barbarian for the survival of the Western Civilization. The heroic spirit replaces the spirit of profiteering. Honour replaces cant, and the trader gives way to the soldier. Unlimited Imperialism is the task of this State, not the Crusading Imperialism which vanished with feudalism, nor the Ultramontane Imperialism of Spain in its glory, nor the economic Imperialism of England, 1600-1900, but a new, total, political, organizatory, authoritarian Imperialism, which will plant the Western banner on the highest peaks and the most remote peninsulas. The new State will not have the party-leader's horizon of the next election but will think in centuries, and will build for a millennium. It will dissolve the selfishness of individualism in a new Socialism, not the old-fashioned class-war Socialism of "rights," but a stern Socialism oriented to the outer danger. The old attempts to tamper with Reality by means of theories are forgotten in the new unity of Culture, Nation, People, Race, State. Since the new State negates Rationalism, the enemy of the soul of Culture-man, it has an affirmative attitude toward the spiritual development, the Rebirth of Religion, which accompanies the arising of the new State.

The last entry on the paradigm illustrating the biography of the State-idea in the Western Culture thus is:—

Authoritarian State	...	1900-2—	None, final Western State-form
---------------------	-----	---------	--------------------------------------

END OF VOLUME I



**CONTENTS**  
**VOLUME II**

**CHAPTER I**

**CULTURAL VITALISM. (B) CULTURE PATHOLOGY**

**Introduction**

**Culture Parasitism**

**Culture Distortion**

**Culture Retardation as a Form of Culture Distortion**

**Culture Distortion Arising from Parasitic Activity**

**CHAPTER II**

**AMERICA**

**Introduction**

**The Origins of America**

**The American Ideology**

**The War of Secession, 1861-1865**

**The American Practice of Government**

**The History of American Imperialism**

**American Imperialism in the Age of Annihilation Wars**

**The American Revolution of 1933**

**World-Outlook**

**The Negro in America**

**Culture-Retardation in America**

**Propaganda**

**The Conduct of American Foreign Affairs from 1933**

**The Future of America**

### **CHAPTER III**

#### **THE WORLD-SITUATION**

**The Political World**

**The First World War**

**The Second World War**

**Russia**

**Japan**

**America**

**The Terror**

**The Abyss**

**Imperium**



Printed by  
C. A. BROCK & Co., Ltd.,  
SOUTHERN ROW,  
LONDON - W.10.



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.