

Jacques  
de  
Mabieu

Foundations  
of  
Biopolitics

population

volume

race

migration

ethno -

geopolitics



# FOUNDATIONS OF BIOPOLITICS

Race. Ethno-genopolitics. Population Volume.  
Migrations

Jacques de Mahieu

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## PREFACE

One of the most detailed biographical studies on the author indicates that the only apparently certain fact about him until he was thirty is his date of birth. It is wrong: his place of birth too is known with absolute certainty.

During the 1960s, Jaime María de Mahieu was publicly known in Argentina as one of the referents of Argentinian nationalism. General interest magazines such as *Primera Plana* listed him as a Frenchman who had fought with the Axis powers in the *Waffen-SS* "Charlemagne" division. Some of his local biographers claimed that he had fought on the Russian front during the Second World War; others, that he had fought in the Nationalist ranks in the Spanish Civil War and that he had been wounded and returned to France; young Tacuarist militants recounted that he had showed them his SS ring. There is no evidence to support any of these claims.

For her part, de Mahieu's widow, Florence Bisschop, interviewed by the Argentinian researcher Daniel Sazbón in the 1990s, denied them all, as well as any connection between her late husband and the Vichy government or administration. She emphasised that both entered Argentina on normal French passports, which would show that they were not refugees seeking asylum. What more proof can you ask for?

It is not surprising that all attempts to reveal de Mahieu's past before his arrival in Argentina in 1946 were unsuccessful. The reason is that he and his wife registered upon entry under false names, namely Jacques-Marie de Mahieu and Florence Bisschop (de Mahieu is thought to be Florence's maternal grandmother's name), and kept their true identities a total secret until their deaths. It was their son, Xavier, who finally confessed his parents' true identity, while still being unable to confirm or deny any of the above claims about his father's doings.

Their real names were Jacques-Auguste-Léon-Marie Girault and Marie-Thérèse Galand. De Mahieu was born in Marseilles on 31 October 1915 from Lange Marius Girault and Marie Suzanne

Fargeton. His family lived in Marseilles (44 Rue Borde), Jacques being the eldest of five brothers. He studied literature and sociology at the nearby University of Aix-en-Provence. From a very young age, he was close to *Action Française* and joined the *Fédération des Camelots du Roi*, forming close links with Charles Maurras, whom he would later remember as an "eminent master of French nationalism" and "an eminent theoretician of national revolutions"<sup>1</sup>. According to de Mahieu's son, he was a member of the assault group of the *Camelots* against the Bolsheviks and was also one of the militants who acted as security guards of the nationalist and co-founder of the *Légion des volontaires français contre le bolchevisme* (LVF) Jacques Doriot (1898–1945) at a political meeting in Marseilles. He is recorded as having been president of the *Association Georges Cadoudal* (a Chouan general, commander of the Catholic and Royal Army of Brittany) in Marseilles as of April 1939. Still according to his son, he was installed by Marshall Pétain, appointed Vice-President of the Council in Paul Reynaud's government on 17 May 1940, a week after the German offensive, lecturer at the *École des hautes études corporatives*. De Mahieu was then mobilised as a heavy artillery reserve officer in the city of Nîmes. "Although I hated this war and hated the republic, I do not have, I did not have, the soul of a deserter"<sup>2</sup>, he said later. Between 1941 and 1942, he acted as editor and administrator of *L'Étudiant français* (Paris, November 1920–Lyon, June/July 1944), the propaganda organ of the *Fédération nationale des étudiants d'Action française*, in which he published various articles, including "Nécessité de la violence", from which the following excerpt will serve as an *entrée en matière*.

After expressing regret that "at a time when we must pursue the National Revolution, and therefore demonstrate harshness and violence, all we find around us is indifference and apathy", he wonders whether "[t]he younger generation [was] capable of action, or even of thinking beyond 'honest' mediocrity". In any case, it is necessary to "give them back [...] a sense of aggression, a taste for violence [...]. Violence does not necessarily mean punching. There is a violence of the spirit that is not indifferent". "Violence is the force that acts in an impulse, which gives itself



entirely to the effort of the moment; it is the revolutionary force, it is also an attitude towards the facts. If young people want to play a role, if they want to influence the events that are coming, they must acquire the spirit of violence by which they will assert themselves in their work. Without this, they will be no more than human flocks ripe for the servitude they have earned. But France is more than the present generations, more than their hopeless mediocrity. France is centuries of past greatness that dictate a future in which young people, and particularly young intellectuals, have no right to lose interest. Even if young people no longer have a taste for aggression, they have a duty to do so, born of history. To refuse history is to risk being refused by it, wrote Mr Thierry Maulnier<sup>3</sup>. Now, history, in revolutionary times, requires violence". "We would like to see this necessity symbolised in our lecture theatres and classrooms by a picture that nothing prevents us from envisaging aesthetically: Jesus flogging the vendors out of the Temple, with our old motto in exergue: VIOLENCE IN THE SERVICE OF REASON"<sup>4</sup>. This tempered firmness of thought, expressed in a language of adamant, stellar clarity, will never leave him.

During the Second World War, de Mahieu met his future wife Marie-Thérèse Galand (apparently born in Brussels), with whom he had three daughters: Geneviève (1942), Éliane (1945) and Chantal (1946). With the so-called *Libération*, he was sentenced to death as a collaboratorist. He fled to Switzerland by means of a safe-conduct in September 1944<sup>5</sup>. In August 1945, he travelled from there, as a correspondent for the newspaper *La Suisse*, to Belgium, where he was reunited with his wife and their daughters. On 13 April 1946, he filled out an immigration form in Brussels to travel to the United States, declaring to the Immigration Office that his destination was Managua, Nicaragua, where he was to teach at the local university. On a date that none of his biographers is able to specify, but which can only be 18 June 1946, since this transatlantic liner only made one crossing that year, de Mahieu and his family are supposed<sup>6</sup> to have boarded from Göteborg to New York, where, via Liverpool, they arrived on 23 July 1946. They seem to have arrived in Argentina on Pan American flight 201 on 22 August 1946. They stayed temporarily

at a hotel.

## Peronism

The Peronist movement was born of the personal will of Colonel Juan Perón (1895–1974). At the time, Argentina was led by an oligarchy made up of large-scale livestock farmers and meat merchants, which ruled over a rural proletariat employed in livestock farming, a growing urban proletariat and an urban middle class, against the backdrop of an economy strongly characterised by the presence of British and North American capital (around 50% of industries were in the hands of foreign capital) and by internal and external migration phenomena that threatened its social and ethnic equilibrium. Politically, there were two opposing camps: the conservatives, the ruling oligarchy's henchmen, and the radicals, supported by the urban middle classes. Industrialisation and immigration favoured the development, especially in urban areas, of the socialist party and of a threefold trade union movement: one anarchist, one anarcho-syndicalist and one socialist. Since 1915, there had also been a communist party, with its own workers' organisation, which exerted its influence mainly among construction workers. In September 1930, General Uriburu's coup d'état put an end to the liberal state. The model was then that of a corporatist and authoritarian society with populist overtones, inspired by the Italian fascist model. The coup d'état, which had been fomented by the oligarchs, caused a rift between their conservative sidekicks and the radical elements of the middle classes. The return to democracy in 1932 was however to the advantage of the conservatives and to the detriment of the other parties. Following the military coup of 1943, supported by progressive officers, including Perón, he was appointed Minister of Labour and, in this capacity, soon implemented various social measures in favour of the working class: establishment of labour courts, collective labour agreements, wage increases, redundancy payments, conferment of a status for farm workers and journalists, regulation of professional associations, unification of the social security

system, foundation of a hospital for railway workers, of technical schools for workers, ban on private employment agencies. Against a backdrop of strong economic growth, due to the huge meat needs of European nations following the world conflict and the shift of industrial production to the Pacific zones, the workers obtained in the period 1943-1945 what they had demanded in the struggles of previous years: the eight-hour day, paid holidays, compensation in the event of accidents, extension of the pension system and wage improvements. Perón became so popular that the government, alarmed and pushed by the oligarchy, had him arrested in October 1945 (he was then Vice-President of the Republic, Minister of Defence and Secretary of Labour).

The colossal popular mobilisation, organised by the Peronist unions, forced the dictatorship to release him and guarantee free elections. Perón then decided to stand alone in the elections, creating the *Partido Justicialista*. A crowd of Argentinians outside the Casa Rosada on the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires repeatedly shouted "Queremos a Perón!" On 17 October, he spoke from the balcony of the presidential palace to reassure them. Elections were held in February 1946: Perón, standing alone against a coalition of left-wing and right-wing parties supported by the United States and Great Britain, which had lost economic and political control of Argentina, won, without fraud, by around 1,500,000 votes to 1,200,000. Set up by his wife herself in 1948, the *Fundación Eva Perón* worked on a large scale to relieve the needy: building hospitals, kindergartens, schools, housing, assistance for single women, employees and the elderly; organising holiday camps; promoting women, particularly in the medical professions; launching scholarship programmes; encouraging young people to take up sport; helping destitute families; and so on. The foundation also provided economic aid to the new State of Israel, whose Labour Minister Golda Meir made an official visit to Buenos Aires in 1951.

Justicialism sees the economy as an instrument of collective well-being, which must therefore be subject to public control and regulation, while remaining a free market. It was proposed as a third way between capitalism and socialism, on the model of

Italian fascism, with which Perón had become familiar during a visit to Italy in 1939, and from which he chose the following fundamental principles: 1. social justice, based not on class struggle, but on collaboration between social classes within the body of the state; 2. the country's economic independence from international monopolies; 3. the "third position" in foreign policy, understood as a neutral attitude towards the two great blocs, which, during the years of his government, were in the midst of the "Cold War".

In accordance with the principles he had laid down, Perón implemented a programme of state management of foreign trade to make the country independent of foreign capital: nationalisation of the Bank of Argentina and a ban on capital exports to defend internal economic development; construction of housing and infrastructure (water and sewage networks, etc.); health policies (free assistance, increase in the number of hospital beds, medical campaigns against disease, etc.); promotion of television; free education, abolition of university fees, creation of the Workers' University, increase in the school enrolment rate; wage increases, profit-sharing for workers and state funding of their holidays; land reform; policies to combat unemployment; higher pensions; etc.

In 1949, a Constituent Assembly drew up a new constitution based on the principles of Justicialism, to the drafting of which de Mahieu is said to have contributed.

## **The first years in Argentina**

According to his son, the family's early days were spent in Florida, a town in the district of Vicente López, in the northern area of Gran Buenos Aires, where Isabel, the fourth child of the marriage, was born. In 1948, they moved to San Luis, capital of the province of San Luis, where Xavier was born in 1950. They moved back to Vicente López in 1953. The move to San Luis was related to de Mahieu's obtaining a university position in that city. So, while his wife was working as an economist for foreign

companies wishing to set up in Argentina, he was appointed extraordinary professor at the University of Cuyo in San Luis. This position, landed thanks to Juan Carlos Saá, the acting delegate in the Faculty of Social Sciences and the authorised representative of the *Asociación Femenina Peronista* in the San Luis province, but also, presumably, after getting the required diploma(s)<sup>7</sup>, he held from 15 April 1948 to 12 January 1956, teaching History of Philosophy in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Gnoseology and Metaphysics.

In 1949, the First National Congress of Philosophy was held at the University of Cuyo, in Mendoza, and was attended by important Argentinian intellectuals such as Meinvielle, Astrada, Guerrero, Vassallo, Virasoro, Cossio, Quiles, Derisi and De Anquín, and foreigners<sup>8</sup>, whether pro-fascist (Ugo Spirito, Carlos Miró Quesada, José Vasconcelos, etc.) or anti-fascist (Karl Löwith, Nicola Abbagnano, etc.). De Mahieu participated with a paper entitled "El juicio en la afirmación estética", collected the year after, when he published *Filosofía de la Estética* (1950)<sup>9</sup>, under the name of Jaime Maria de Mahieu (he had hispanicised his name upon his arrival in Argentine), in the third volume of *Actas del Primer Congreso Nacional de Filosofía* (1950). Juan Perón himself gave a long closing lecture during the closing session, a ceremony held at the Teatro Independencia in Mendoza on the afternoon of Saturday 9 April 1949, in the presence of María Eva Duarte de Perón, all the Ministers who made up the National Cabinet, the Rectors of the Argentinian Universities, other authorities and the congress participants. In this speech, full of historical and philosophical references, Perón offered the main ideological positions of Justicialism<sup>10</sup>. This text would be widely disseminated during the 1950s in the form of a book entitled *La comunidad organizada*. The Mendoza Congress reflected Perón's desire to establish a third ideological way as far removed as possible from that of the United States and the USSR on the eve of the Cold War.

De Mahieu's links with Peronism can be seen in his voluntary contributions to the Peronist Party Fund and the sending in 1954 of his books *La inteligencia Organizadora* (1950) and *Evolución*

*y porvenir del sindicalismo* (1954) to Perón and Eva Perón, who both thanked him by letter. It is maintained that Perón cultivated his friendship with him<sup>11</sup> and, as mentioned above, that he collaborated in the drafting of the 1949 Justicialist constitution.

About his performance at this university centre there is only the testimony of a student and then teacher: Otilia Celia Berasain de Montoya, who, in her *Crónicas de la Vida Universitaria en San Luis* (1995), recalled: "Professor Mahieu always referred to himself as a "nonconformist". He set out his ideas and criteria in a straightforward manner, regardless of any adverse reactions that might arise. He was a cultured, courteous, pleasant person and a very interesting interlocutor in long conversations. For him, small elites of noble people had always been the protagonists of history. Joan of Arc, for example, was not a humble woman of the people, but a daughter of the Duke of Orleans, who had been specially prepared for the role she played in the history of France<sup>12</sup>."

At *Las jornadas educativas de Cuyo* in 1952, the debates were harsh; the harshest, however, took place around two papers by de Mahieu. The first was on "Consecuencias del empleo en las escuelas primarias de métodos destinados a niños anormales", that is on the consequences of the use in primary schools of methods intended for abnormal children. In it, a stiff criticism was made of the new schools, insofar as they (Decroly, Montessori, etc.) use for normal children the methods which had proved successful in the training of abnormal children. De Mahieu said: "This was how they laid the foundations of the new school, founded on the same principles of substituting the abstract for the concrete, rational intelligence for imagination and voluntary effort for interest. This was the origin of the global method and of the school habit of cut-and-paste, for example". "There is an excessive cultivation of the imagination, the child lives in a fairy tale; he then refuses to do abstract work when asked to do so, he has the impression that the aim is to remove him from reality and immerse him in an arbitrary and worthless world... He must either be abandoned to his overflowing imagination, which the school has multiplied instead of channelling it, and thus renouncing to give him an indispensable intellectual training, or else he must be violated by

destroying the habits of mind that have been inculcated in him more or less voluntarily. In both cases, the system is a failure."<sup>13</sup> The child lives in a permanent game that he or she will not want to leave. The teacher will become a mere play director and childhood will sink deeper and deeper into his reverie. The new school turns children into future misfits by favouring a "permanent infantilism". It is an education to the detriment of intelligence and will. By applying to the education of normal children methods originally intended for retarded children, it turns them into retarded children. De Mahieu did however promote the use of manual labour, as it was useful for intellectual training. Besides, he did not advocate a return to the rationalist school "of the stupid 20<sup>th</sup> century". It was necessary to think of a different kind of education for complete men. The other paper was entitled "Las escuelas para superdotados y las escuelas para Jefes", that is, schools for the gifted and schools for Chiefs. He called for an end to the egalitarian theories which serve to standardise education and apply to all pupils of the same age a single curriculum which does not take into account the particular abilities of each pupil. What was needed was schools for the gifted, which "provide a true aesthetic, moral, religious and patriotic education, not just an intellectual one, with criteria given by bio-typology and biopolitics"<sup>14</sup>. It was "indispensable to create 'Schools for Chiefs', which would continue and complete the work of the special elementary school for talented children, with appropriate methods of selection and training". The future Chiefs would be educated with a "sense of responsibility, of self-denial carried to the point of heroism, authority and a manly patriotism"<sup>15</sup>. Such schools would train adolescents morally and physically for a hard life in a cold climate, in a harsh landscape. They would be members of a new aristocracy.

## A network of refugees

More than 100 French-speaking collaborators and collaborators of European authoritarian regimes had taken refuge in the country, including the Franco-Argentinian journalist and publisher Charles Lesca (1887–1948), director, then managing editor, of the notorious newspaper *Je suis partout*, the French writer Marc Augier (1908–1990) (alias Saint-Loup), who joined the LVF and then the *Waffen-SS*, before publishing numerous books on his war experiences, the French architect, writer and politician Olier Mordrel (1901–1985), a co-founder of the *Breiz Atao* newspaper, of the *Parti autonomiste breton* (PAB) and then of the *Parti national breton* (PNB) and the Belgian Rexist Pierre Daye, not to mention hundreds of German National-Socialists, Italian fascists, Croatian Ustashas, etc., who may have arrived illegally (without a valid landing permit) or illegally (without any identity papers). De Mahieu kept in touch with several of them, establishing a kind of transnational network. This network, set up with the support of the Peronist government, was possible within the framework of the migration policies that had been taking place between 1940 and 1950. In order to make an "adequate" selection of those who would enter Argentina, a specific mechanism for granting visas to foreigners was organised within the General Directorate of Migration, under the responsibility of Pablo Diana, "an enigmatic character with strong ties to the political and business worlds"<sup>16</sup>, who considerably simplified administrative admission procedures, except for applicants who were identified with communism. To accomplish this task, a special corps of "confidential advisors" was created, composed of people who had been hierarchical officials in countries governed by National-Socialist/fascist regimes during the Second World War. According to Diana statements, "in all cases, the Director decided on his own and in good conscience on applications for entry or requests for settlement, and the only cases in which he required advice were those in which there was some doubt or it was unclear whether the candidate was good enough to enter the country; in the case of Yugoslav Slavs, he sought advice from Dr. Branco Benzon; in the case of Poles, Dr. Miroslaw Arcizeucki advised him; in the case



of Russians, Monsignor Constantino Irarzozf advised him; in the case of Frenchmen, Count Menou advised him; in the case of the Hungarians, a priest who presided over the Refugee Commission of the same nationality... all the persons mentioned presided over committees or organisations of subjects of those countries, and who, by their antecedents, deserved all the confidence that could be placed in them [...] some of them were known to the Presidency of the Nation and others to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"<sup>17</sup>. Some researchers believe "Count Menou" was de Mahieu's pseudonym.

Mahieu's personal correspondence shows that he was in contact, in addition to Pierre Daye and Marc Augier, with various refugees from defeated European regimes, such as the National-Socialist Johann von Leers, who in December 1952 owned a bookshop in Buenos Aires and lived with his family under the false name of Euer. In a letter von Leers wrote to de Mahieu, kept by the latter's son, it can be seen how they discussed the incorporation of Polish, Hungarian and Croatian anti-communists into the *Asociación Argentina-Europea*, an umbrella organisation of neo-National-Socialist groups under the leadership of former German air force pilot Hans-Ulrich Rudel (1916–1982) and the French academic, writer, biographer, literary critic and polemicist Maurice Bardèche (1907–1998), considered to be one of the founders of historical revisionism in France, along with Paul Rassinier. One environment in which de Mahieu maintained important contacts with other right-wing figures, both Argentinian and foreign, was the editorial office of the journal *Dinámica Social*. This journal, published monthly between 1950 and 1960, was founded by active Argentinian nationalists such as the brothers Jacovella, Ernesto Palacio, Juan Carlos Goyeneche, Marcelo Sanchez Sorondo, the Jesuit priest Leonardo Castellani, Julio Irazusta and Federico Ibarguren, and was edited by the *Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales* (CEES). Its director was Carlo Scorza, the last Secretary General of the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF). He had reached Buenos Aires in 1949 and started to work as a journalist to strengthen the political presence of neofascism in Argentina. His efforts were financially supported by large companies such as Branca, Gancia and Techint, as well as by

Vittorio Valdani, a very wealthy man, during and after Perón's regime. While the newspaper *Risorgimento*, the second press organ of the CEES, was an instrument for spreading neofascist ideas throughout the whole Italian community, *Dinámica Social* was an intellectual journal in whose pages many fascist and National-Socialist intellectuals debated the future of fascism after the fall of Hitler and Mussolini regimes. Scorza was extremely well connected with important figures within the transnational area of neofascism and, thanks to Valdani, also with important Italian businessmen in Argentina. It was common to find in the pages of this journal articles written by Italians, of course, but also by German, French and Belgian intellectuals. For example, its January 1953 issue contained articles written by Jacques Ploncard d'Assac (on the Cold War)<sup>18</sup>, Wilhelm Sassen (on China)<sup>19</sup>, the Spanish politician Manuel Fraga Iribarne, a leading figure of Francoism, by Maurras (the last one he wrote before his death in December 1952), Pierre Daye (on Maurras), as well as by de Mahieu<sup>20</sup>.

All collaborators agreed in principle on the defence of the Peronist "Third Position", with a marked anti-communist and anti-liberal trait. The most consistent views on the matter were held by de Mahieu, who retraced its origins and development since the 19<sup>th</sup> century in *La Estructura del Estado nacional* (?), and Gino Miniati, a former member of the PNF, expert on corporate trade union law and theorist of trade unionism, who had expounded his theory about the relationship between capital and labour in *Storia e tecnica dell'ordinamento sindacale fascista* (Pisa and Rome, 1940), a manual of corporate law which set out the historical mission of fascism: the definitive overcoming of the class struggle and its "recomposition". Faced with Peronism's attempt to elaborate a national trade union model, which in some ways came close to the proposal elaborated by corporatism in the 1930s, Miniati outlined the need for a social system based on a "new state". In his first article on the subject in Scorza's journal, the Italian stated that "the peoples understand that they will not be able to find their just equilibrium by choosing between individual capitalism [and] state capitalism". Faced with dichotomous economic conceptions framed in the "Cold War" scenario, it was

necessary to "find a third solution which, using the resources of individual initiative and the benefits of a superior discipline", would establish a new economic and social order. In the context of the dissolution of moral values and the spread of individualism, the corporate law expert also affirmed the need to subordinate "individual interests to those of the Nation [through] collaboration between the classes"<sup>21</sup>. The article-manifesto he published in *Dinámica Social* clearly stated the imperative to overcome the post-1945 capitalism/communism dichotomy in order to affirm the superiority of the corporate state, in which economic development and traditional values could coexist. In an articulate intervention on the history of trade union models in the same revue, de Mahieu proposed merging Miniati's project and the Peronist project of trade union reform: "[f]or some months now, President Perón has insisted several times on the need to give Argentine trade unionism a structure which will enable it to replace, in the public life of the Nation, the outdated parties. [...]. The mission assigned to the CGT [*Confederación General del Trabajo de la República Argentina*] by General Perón for the present year is of interest [to those who] refuse to choose between liberal-capitalism and communism and seek a new or renewed solution to political, social and economic problems." In this scenario, Argentina appeared as the "strange" case of a country that had "liberated itself politically from the capitalist 'occupation' without having a clear corporatist doctrine, which de Mahieu and Miniati wanted to offer it. The application of the trade union model, de Mahieu claimed, would have had to "destroy capitalism" and shape a system in which the interests of the producers and owners of the means of production would be subjected to the interests of the nation. In this scheme, Peronism, although it had achieved through "emotion" the consensus of the working masses, "needs a doctrine" to bring about this structural transformation<sup>22</sup>. For the French intellectual, a revolutionary stance was absolutely required, but one that was opposed both to capitalism and to the left, and he made this known in "¡Yo no soy capitalista!"<sup>23</sup> and "Conservadores y revolucionarios"<sup>24</sup>.

Not all collaborators were as radical, starting with Scorza himself, whose position de Mahieu considered as being too timid, due to

his being surrounded by a group of "capitalists, bourgeois and conservatives"<sup>25</sup>. In a letter to Daye, he pointed out the lack of commitment of several editors to the Third Position: "The first point that does not satisfy me is the attitude of many writers towards the third position. One of two things: either it is impossible to remain neutral in the face of Russian and American monsters, and the magazine has no reason to be. Or a third position, not only theoretical but also political, is thinkable and practicable, and then I do not understand why some contributors are constantly sliding from neutrality to the American Alliance. Didn't you write in the first edition that the third position is just a myth? I confess to not understanding that. For my part, I remain convinced that we have nothing to gain from enlistment in either camp."<sup>26</sup> He also complained about the magazine's stance on the racial question: "Another important thing: the refusal of racial discrimination stated twice. Tactic? I am well aware of that. I also understand perfectly well that D.S. [*Dinámica Social*] is not a new version of *Stürmer*. However, there are many political problems related to racial inequality, relations between ethnic groups, biological class inequality, etc. It is all very well to attack sterilisation: but we must admit some kind of eugenics if we do not want our race to rot even more."<sup>27</sup> "Eugenic selection is in reality the fact of a tiny minority of men who are aware of a problem that escapes the majority, and whose criteria of choice include a certain number of rationally established ideas", he wrote at the time in *La Naturaleza del hombre. Antropología Filosófica del Ser Humano*<sup>28</sup>, a book in which he basically concurred with the conclusions of Alexis Carrel, the French Nobel Prize for Medicine in 1912 and author of *L'Homme, cet inconnu* (1935), which won him worldwide success, on the causes of the degeneration of the white man: "The uprooted people of the big cities degenerate because of their unnatural way of life, but also because of the way they feed themselves. The synthetic and imported products on which they feed make them perpetual misfits."<sup>29</sup> Concerned with achieving an integral vision of the human being, Carrel was one of those who most strongly pointed out the need to establish a true Science of Man that would consider him in his totality and not in partial aspects as do all the

sciences that directly or indirectly deal with the human being. De Mahieu, who had a deep respect for him, wrote the forty-page preface to the Spanish translation of the above-mentioned book, which has since been constantly re-edited in that language<sup>30</sup>.

In 1955, de Mahieu lost his post at the University of Cuyo, as well as that of vice-director of the Institute of Human Studies that he had held since 1953 (he held it again between 1972 and 1976) at the University of Buenos Aires, following the coup d'état that ousted Perón from power in September. He took refuge in Brazil in September 1956, obtaining his permanent residence in July 1957. The first the job he carried out in Rio de Janeiro (presumably for the Brazilian government) seems to have been a population survey of the city's favelas. Then, according to his son's testimony, a cousin contacted him to teach French at the Brazilian Chancellery. Later, he was hired to teach courses and carry out sociological research, both in Brazil and in Canada. Still according to Xavier, de Mahieu's wife and children ended up settling in Bolivia because Florence had obtained a job as a representative of several companies. In 1961, de Mahieu's family resettled in Argentina and Jacques and Florence separated. Upon his return, de Mahieu returned to teaching in 1963, summoned by Professor Hector Martinotti, who was acting as academic secretary of the Jesuit Universidad del Salvador, to teach Political Theory. However, the experience was brief because de Mahieu's anticlericalism and the "fascist paganism" the Jesuit priest Ismael Quiles, director and founder of the University, felt he suffered from ran counter to the latter's Catholic project. Both de Mahieu and Martinotti settled at the Universidad Argentina de Ciencias Sociales, the former as vice-rector and dean of the Faculty of Sciences and the latter as general secretary. At this university, de Mahieu had several Tacuara militants as students and, through his communitarian ideas, he was to exert a direct and deep influence on this nationalist organisation.

## **Influence on nationalist movements**

The *Movimiento Nacionalista Tacuara* was founded around 1957 by six young middle and upper middle class Argentinian nationalists. The MNT, anti-liberal, Catholic and non-Peronist, mainly promoted the restoration of religious education, abolished by Perón, the fight against Judaism and the Left, and the establishment in Argentina of a national-unionist state based on the Falangist model. It extolled violence as a form of permanent mobilisation. Its ideology could be traced back to the cultural worldview of the interwar Argentinian and European right-wing: the Falangism of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the national-syndicalism of Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, the revisionist historiography and the anti-Semitism of the Argentinian Thomist priest Julio Meinvielle (1905–1973) ... until the young activists became acquainted with the book de Mahieu considered as his masterpiece: *El Estado comunitario* (1954).

*El Estado comunitario* is a dense book without concessions to the superfluous, in which the nature of the state is analysed from the coordinates of the concept of the "organised community". It begins by discarding the political ideology based on the notions of equality, contractualism, liberalism and democracy, defending natural inequality, including that between men and women, hierarchy and the will to power. Human beings are unequal both on account of their inborn gifts and on account of the different functions they perform. Command and obedience are the natural consequence of this. Institutions are instruments of state conduct, in situations suited to the leader's ends, with an ideology that acts according to his belief system with priority given to the practical over the scientific. Thus, the structural form of the state is limited to its broad organisational lines and is modified according to its requirements. "The legitimacy of the ruler is not determined by the degree of sovereignty, since it achieves value when it becomes a myth, becoming confused with the beliefs of the time, used to directly influence the masses, which reinforces the political power of the ruler"<sup>31</sup>. Indeed, "the state helps to overcome and prolong internal antagonisms, indispensable to the life of the community, in which social conflicts are neither the

result of its mistakes nor its crimes, but the effects of social life"<sup>32</sup>. The proposed communal state emanates from the organic set of social groups (families, companies, parishes) associated or federated in intermediate communities. These communities can be geosocial, such as the municipality, economic-social, such as the guild, religious and academic, such as the university. "Each intermediate community needs its own instances, for which it must have legislative and judicial power at the local level", the author explained to the magazine *Primera Plana* in January 1967<sup>33</sup>. De Mahieu therefore rejected "the party system as unnatural because it places the government of the community at the mercy of associations of individuals responding to particular interests"<sup>34</sup>. Human relations were necessarily conflictual, antagonisms being indispensable to the life of the community. Therefore, the role of the state was central in unifying with its authority the forces of the intermediate communities.

Many young Tacuaristas were immediately enthusiastic about these views and plans, particularly with the proposal of community participation of workers in company management<sup>35</sup>, and made this known just as immediately in the press; by referring to communal ownership of the goods of production, they set themselves apart from the classic economic postulates of nationalism, which limited themselves to establishing programmatically for the workers a fairer remuneration in their wages. *El Estado comunitario* soon appeared as recommended reading on political themes in the 1962 bulletin *Ofensiva* of the MNT. Next to it, *Evolución y porvenir del sindicalismo* (1954) appeared as a suggestion in the MNT's May 1st Command Bulletin by the young Tacuarista and sociology student Alfredo Ossorio, who had led de Mahieu to take an interest in Tacuara and has left us an interesting portrait of him: "The Frenchman was not a Marxist, but he had systematically studied Marx. He attacked the capitalist system of property and spoke of the communal state and the communal economy. One particularity that gave him a 'progressive' stamp was his careful critique of 'vulgar Marxism', a euphemism that allowed him to leave another Marxism, the 'original', untouched. [...]. Until then, we considered the left as 'petty-bourgeois goodness' and nationalism as 'revolutionary

evil'. We, of course, wanted to be 'bad'. From then on we began to be inspired by a phrase of Ramiro Ledesma Ramos: "If we have anything in common with Marxism, it is that which we can resolve through revolutionary rivalry"<sup>36</sup>." Meinvielle had nothing nor did he want to have anything to do with it. He accused the movement of being a hotbed for "Fidelism, Trotskyism and even Atheism"<sup>37</sup>. De Mahieu published an article in the magazine of the Association of Law Students of the Facultad del Salvador in which he supported the Tacuara militants in their polemic with him: "Communal ownership of the means of production is the goal we have to achieve; its communal possession, the immediate possibility that will allow us to end capitalism and restore the natural order of production"<sup>38</sup>."

In October, Meinvielle set up a parallel organisation called the *Guardia Restauradora Nacionalista* (GRN), which maintained a hardline, ultra-Catholic and anti-Semitic line; its motto was "God, Country and Home", and its main source of inspiration was still José Antonio Primo de Rivera. As far as he was concerned, Ossorio formed the *Tacuara Nationalist Revolutionary Movement* (MNRT) and edited the newspaper *Barricada*. In its 1963 issues, articles by de Mahieu appeared, such as "La revolución agraria", "Hacia un sindicalismo comunitario" and another one clearly influenced by him, "Nuestra Revolución", in which the communitarian sense of the State was claimed. The MNRT, without abandoning its nationalism, broke with the Church, the Right and anti-Semitism, and drew closer to Marxism and left-wing Peronism, from which would emerge of the cadres of guerrilla organisations such as the *Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas* (FAP), *Peronismo de Base* (PB) and, to a lesser extent, the Montoneros and the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* (ERP), which formed the military structure of the Marxist-oriented *Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores* (PRT), led by Mario Roberto Santucho during the 1970s. In the light of these facts, it is no exaggeration to say that it was the introduction of de Mahieu's ideas into the MNT that led to its split.



## Influence on Peronism

According to the historian Cristian Buchrucker from the University of Cuyo, "Mahieu's characteristic theses were not incorporated into any official party document, manual or program, and their echo has always remained confined to certain marginal bands of this multifaceted movement"<sup>39</sup>. In fact, de Mahieu's presence continued to be notable in the Argentinian Right in general and specifically in the Peronist right-wing. One of the areas where he played a central role was in the *Escuela Superior de Conducción Política*, an avatar of the *Escuela Superior Peronista*, run by a former SS captain, the Germano-Argentinian Carlos Fuldner (1910–1992), who had become a member of the Information Division of the first Perón government in 1947. It was reopened on 5 November 1964 by a resolution of the High Command at the behest of Perón, whose wife visited it during her stay in Argentina in 1965, with the intention of training political cadres; it was based in one of Jorge Antonio's houses, an Argentinian businessman and political figure, a close adviser to Perón, in Buenos Aires. Its secretary general was a young 24-year-old doctor and philosophy student who had travelled to Spain to seek Perón's approval: Pedro Eladio Vázquez, who would act later as Isabel Perón's personal physician. De Mahieu had been summoned by Peronist militants and professor Jorge Sulé to join the teaching team, which included the philosopher and sociologist Alberto Baldrich (1898–1982), who had served as Minister of Justice and Public Instruction (1944–45) during the *de facto* presidency of General Edelmiro Farrell (1944–46), Hugo Petroff, national secretary of the Teaching Secretariat (whose pedagogical secretary was de Mahieu)<sup>40</sup>, the historian and Peronist politician Enrique Pavón Pereyra (1921–2004), known for biographical works on Perón, to whom he was very close, and Hector Martinotti, professor of Philosophy from the Catholic University of La Plata (UCALP). De Mahieu became the school's academic secretary and was in charge of drawing up the courses, giving them a certain doctrinal coherence. The school ran two courses, one for political leaders and one for trade union leaders. De Mahieu's influence can be

seen in the general orientation of the school and in the concepts expressed by its director.

In 1966, the school published a short, yet dense, text entitled *Fundamentos de Doctrina Nacional Justicialista*. Although de Mahieu's signature does not appear on the document, the form and content leave no doubt as to its authorship: "The new Justicialist Constitution will ensure the continuing unity of the State in the person of its Head, situated above the three institutional powers. It will guarantee authentic popular representation through the intermediary communities and constituted bodies of the nation: provinces, guilds, the Church, universities, armed forces, etc. It will respect and encourage the self-government and forums of social groups and intermediary communities. [...]. This naturally presupposes the total and definitive suppression of political parties, which are the instruments of the demolitionist deception<sup>41</sup>." To de Mahieu, the scope of the reforms undertaken by the Justicialist state from 1945-1955 had been incomplete, since it "had, therefore, to act within the institutional framework created by the oligarchy, that is, with instruments inadequate to its purposes. It limited itself to giving new meaning to outdated forms. In the political field, the electoral majority that supported it allowed it to govern without abolishing the party system. In the economic field, the solid support of the trade unions allowed it to establish social justice without destroying capitalism. [...]. The national Justicialist revolution limited itself to eliminating the effects of structural causes that remained, constitutionally and legally, in force. In 1955, an inconsequential insurrectional coup was enough for the demolitionist regime to return to functioning as if nothing, or almost nothing, had changed since 1943"<sup>42</sup>. In the last section of the text, entitled "Mañana: La empresa comunitaria", it is argued that once capitalist parasitism is eliminated, classes will *ipso facto* disappear and there will be no more bourgeois or proletarians, but functionally organised and hierarchical producers in their enterprises. In this sense, the Justicialist revolution "does not, therefore, seek to reach a compromise between individualist capitalism and state capitalism, nor does it seek to improve relations between capital and labour. It repudiates all forms of

exploitation of man by man and wants to return, in all fields, to the natural social order. This is the meaning of our THIRD POSITION"<sup>43</sup>. This text, officially published by the school and endorsed by Perón, was reprinted numerous times in the following years and taken up by organisations such as the *Movimiento Nuova Argentina* (MNA) and the MNRT.

With the return of Peronism to power in 1973, de Mahieu was reappointed to the *Escuela* as National Teaching Secretary. He was a delegate for the city of Mendoza to the Supreme Council of the Justicialist Party. In 1974, he became Alberto Eduardo Ottalagano's advisor, an early Perón supporter, a politician, writer and lawyer, who had just been appointed rector controller of the University of Buenos Aires. He had a decisive influence on Peronist youth groups such as *Demetrios*, the MNA, the *Juventud Peronista de la República Argentina* (JPRA) and the *Legión Revolucionaria Peronista* (LRP). In the mid-1970s, Federico Rivanera Carlés, a relative of the founder of the *Liga Patriótica Argentina* and a collaborator to the newspaper *El Caudillo de la Tercera Posición*<sup>44</sup>, founded the Editorial Milicia, specialised in anti-Semitic and negationist titles<sup>45</sup>, to start with his *Los judíos y la trata de blancas en Argentina* and a Spanish edition of *Nous autres racistes : le manifeste social-raciste*<sup>46</sup> by Gaston-Armand Amaudruz (1920–2018), former deputy to Colonel Fonjallaz, one of the leaders of pre-war Swiss fascism. In the mid-1980s, Rivanera Carlés set up the *Movimiento Nacionalista Social* (MNS), which, at its peak, gathered a few hundred members of anti-Jewish, anti-Masonic and philo-national-socialist orientation who perceived themselves as a proletarian and revolutionary phalanx confronting "Zionist Internationalism". The MNS created the *Instituto de Investigaciones sobre la Cuestión Judía*, which organised lectures and edited volumes on Judaism and Freemasonry, and, between July 1985 and August 1989, published *El Ataque*, a monthly magazine whose title was probably inspired by Joseph Goebbels' *Der Angriff*<sup>47</sup>. De Mahieu is repeatedly warmly quoted in Rivanera Carles's books<sup>48</sup>.

## Contacts with European neo-fascist-(like) movements

From the late 1940s, the *Movimento sociale italiano* (MSI), considered to be the heir to the *Partito Fascista Repubblicano* (PFR) founded by Benito Mussolini, had sought to establish contacts with former national-socialist functionaries and neo-fascist groupings throughout Europe, setting up to this end a *Centro Studi Europei*, under the direction of Fabio Lonciari, the leader of the *Fronte Universitario di Azione Nazionale* (FUAN), the MSI's university student group, who launched the idea of Europe as a third force, corporative one, as well as, to spread this policy line, a magazine called *Europa Unità*. In March 1950, the MSI organised a conference in Rome. Participants included Oswald Mosley, members of the *Falange Española Tradicionalista* (FET), members of the *Bruderschaft*<sup>49</sup> and associates of Amaudruz, such as Roland Cavallier, Parisian editor of the Rexist newspaper *L'Europe Réelle*, Yves Jeanne, former *Waffen-SS* and René Binet<sup>50</sup>; the latter put the issue most forcefully in his journal, *La Sentinelle*: "DOWN WITH THE EUROPE OF STRASBOURG, DOWN WITH THE EUROPE OF THE FEDERALISTS, DOWN WITH THE EUROPE OF THE LACKEYS OF RUSSIAN OR AMERICAN IMPERIALISM"<sup>51</sup>; the objective, he urged, was to "forge the links between nationalists across the whole of Europe which will enable us to form THE ALLIANCE OF NATIONAL WORKERS' STATES OF EUROPE, while preserving the dignity and independence of each of our peoples"<sup>52</sup>.

It was decided to organise a second meeting, still in the Italian capital, in the Autumn; it took place between 22 and 25 October 1950 in the guise of a "youth conference" and under the formal auspices of the FUAN; the delegates included Per Engdahl, former head of the *Sveriges Fascistiska Kamporganisation* (SFKO) and leader of the *Nysvenska Rörelsen* (NSR); Bardèche, of the *Comité Français National* (CNF); Erwin Vollenweider, a Swiss who co-founded with Amaudruz the *Volkspartei der Schweiz/Parti Populaire Suisse* (VPS/PPS) in 1951; Horia Sima of the Romanian *Garda de Fier* and Karl-Heinz Priester, a former

member of the higher leadership of the *Hitler-Jugend* and later a publisher of historical revisionism, as well as a leader of the radical wing of the *Nationaldemokratische Partei* (NDP), a national conservative party in Hesse in the post-World War II period. These veterans were joined by several youthful sympathisers, including a contingent of FUAN members, as well as by Mussolini's youngest daughter, Anna Maria. The participants agreed to a major conference in southern Sweden the following Spring and, in the process, proceeded to lay the groundwork for the "first openly pro-fascist international in the immediate post-war period"<sup>53</sup>.

In May 1951, between sixty and one hundred delegates from all over Europe gathered at Malmö, at Engdahl's home, for three days. Among the participants were Swedes like the latter and his chief NSR lieutenants; Frenchmen like Maurice Bardèche, René Binet, (former Ravensbrück camp inmate) Odette Moreau, Henri Bernard, war correspondent for *Gringoire*, a right-wing weekly and Henri Bonifacio, chairman of the *Front d'Action Communiste* (FAC) and editor of *La Victoire*; Danes such as Arthur Kielsen of the *Dansk Reform Bevægelse* (DRB), *Fædrelandet* editor Frede Jordan and Jens Kudsk; Norwegians like Franklin Knudsen and former Vidkun Quisling associates Einar Jontvedt and Hroar Hovden; Italians such as MSI Deputy Secretary Arturo Michelini, Fabio Lonciari and FUAN activist Giuseppe Ciammarucconi; Oswald Mosley and some of his *Union Movement* comrades; Fritz Rossler (using the alias "Franz Richter") of the DRP; the Swiss architect Theodor Fischer of the *Nationalsozialistische Eidgenössische Arbeiterpartei* (NSEAP) (1931) and the Belgian art historian Johann van Dyck. The immediate practical objectives were to rehabilitate the public image of fascism, to draw up a common program acceptable to all participating groups and to determine an agreed-upon framework of action, including submitting a list of candidates for the forthcoming European Parliament elections (which were eventually cancelled). Following their deliberations, they officially founded the *Mouvement Social Européen/Europäische Soziale Bewegung* (MSE/ESB). Engdahl was elected as the head of the MSE/ESB's governing "four-man council", which also

included Bardèche, Priester, and moderate MSI leader Augusto De Marsanich; The Swede's book, *Västerlandets Förnyelse*, published the same year, was to be adopted in 1954 as the movement's main ideological document.

The MSE/ESB's perspective, like most postwar neo-fascist formations', was that of a pan-European "third force. Practically, this meant advocating the formation of a federated, independent, and self-sufficient Europe (without Great Britain), in fact a "European empire", anti-communist and corporatist, with a leader appointed by plebiscite, the unification and rearmament of Germany, the establishment of a united European army under European command in place of the Atlantic Alliance, the integration of Spain into this projected European federation, the defence of Western culture against communism and the promotion of social justice, particularly the introduction of standardised salaries, throughout the continent, the restriction of immigration to those who had already attained "a certain economic and cultural level"<sup>54</sup>, the promotion of "strong" men and women through education, the "spiritual regeneration of man, society and the state", a new civilisation, hostile to "the slavery of man and peoples and [to] bureaucratic dictatorship and [to] [...] the liberal-capitalist principle of the law of supply and demand"<sup>55</sup>.

While members, some of whom were former *Waffen-SS*, aimed at rehabilitating fascism in public, they asserted the need to improve it, but were not prepared to invoke Mussolini and Hitler as their spiritual forefathers; in fact, they sought to distance themselves from and partially disavowed crucial aspects of the policies and criminal activities associated with the two dictators. Bardèche was the one who went furthest in this direction, stating: "The MSE believes that fascism and National-Socialism belong to the past. It refuses to bring upon them a judgement of condemnation, but it also refuses to revive or imitate political forms that are today superseded. Our ideal is the achievement of social justice and the construction of a social order founded on work: our doctrine can make use of all the experiments of the past, but our ideal is a new one which is only inspired by the present."<sup>56</sup>. Furthermore: "The MSE condemns theories of racial persecution,

but it desires that each race should be reintegrated into its own historic territory."<sup>57</sup> These compromises, whether tactical or not, were to be bitterly opposed by the radicals, starting with Amaudruz, who had refused the invitation he had received to attend the Malmö congress, on the grounds that the delegates had previously distanced themselves from racism<sup>58</sup>. With four of his supporters, including Binet, he convened a congress in Zurich on 28 September 1951 and founded the *Bureau Européen de Liaison* that same day, renamed the *Nouvel Ordre Européen* (NOE) in 1954. With around 150 members, it disseminated its ideas through Amaudruz's newspaper, *Le Courrier du Continent* (1946) and "soon completely overshadowed the MSE/ESB in practical importance"<sup>59</sup>.

Its manifesto called for a "European racial policy"<sup>60</sup> to control inter-ethnic marriages and improve the genetic heritage of the white man through medicine and science. Politically, they campaigned for the establishment of a European confederation of neo-fascist states and the equality of the different ethnic groups (Slavic, Latin and Germanic) within the white race. To guarantee their freedom from the two blocs, they asserted the need to reach agreement with "the peoples of the Near East, India and South America"<sup>61</sup>. Consistent, they declared: "the hierarchy of races can only be based on their confrontation and then on respect for the particularities and traditions of each [...]. It is up to us: 1) to assert our desire to restore to their own traditions the races of the countries colonised by Europe; 2) to replace the current colonialist regime with a system of association respecting the traditions of each race, accompanied by strict racial segregation in the interests of each of the contracting parties; 3) to demand and achieve the return of non-native groups to their traditional areas."<sup>62</sup> Without realising that decolonisation implied, in the more or less long term, the wholesale colonisation of the former colonial empires by the former colonised. In France, de Gaulle kept a republican eye on this, while not shying away from declaring in a televised interview in 1959: "It is very good that there are yellow Frenchmen, black Frenchmen, brown Frenchmen [let yourself go]. They show that France is open to all races and that it has a universal vocation [your eyelids are heavy, your

limbs are numb]. But on condition that they remain a small minority. Otherwise, France would no longer be France [you feel sleepy]. After all, we are first and foremost a European people of white race, Greek and Latin culture and Christian religion [now sleep].

In 1969, at the 10<sup>th</sup> congress of the NOE in Barcelona, de Mahieu, together with Amaudruz and Jacques Baugé-Prévost (born in 1937)<sup>63</sup>, a Quebec hygienist and naturopath, founded the *Institut supérieur des sciences psychosomatiques, biologiques et raciales du Québec*, of which the Frenchman declared himself honorary doctor and of which Alain de Benoist, a founding member of the *Nouvelle Droite* (1969) and the leader of the ethno-nationalist think tank GRECE (1968), would later also be made honorary doctor. That same year, two projects de Mahieu had conceived in the early 1950s finally came to fruition.

The first was the publication of *Maurras y Sorel: Reacción necesaria contra la subversión burguesa de 1789*<sup>64</sup>.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, two currents of thought arose in Europe against the liberal theories that had overturned the age-old order of the West to the benefit of a small minority of merchants and usurers. The first, rooted in a traditionalism whose reactionary spirit it nevertheless rejected, directed its attacks against political liberalism: democracy. The second, stemming from utopian and scientific socialism, whose simplistic and deterministic interpretations it rejected, targeted economic liberalism. On the one hand, Maurras' doctrinaire action gave rise to nationalist minorities whose aim was to liberate the state, occupied parasitically by the bourgeoisie, and restructure it according to the "natural order". On the other hand, Sorel's work inspired syndicalist minorities who sought to liberate the proletariat from bourgeois exploitation and restore its members to their rightful place in productive society. They soon realised that their enemy was the same. This realisation gave rise to the synthesis of nationalism and socialism that developed in the various fascist movements that emerged in Europe after the First World War. *Maurras y Sorel* is intended to be a synthesis of the thought of these two authors, and it succeeds perfectly. In fact, it