

The Balkanization of the System: Ernst Jünger and the Endtimes

By Tomislav Sunic

It seems that the prognoses about the imminent death of the West were not just a favorite topic of the German philosopher of history Oswald Spengler, the author of the much acclaimed *The Decline of the West*. In times of great geopolitical disruptions and social polarizations, such as those sweeping now over Europe and the USA, predictions about a pending catastrophe seem to be a cherished subject among countless intellectuals, especially those who portray themselves as traditionalists or nationalists, or even worse, those who *are* portrayed by their detractors as *White racists* or *radical right-wingers*. In a flurry of philosophical prose dealing with the purported balkanization of the West, and announcing the apocalyptic endtimes, one could single out the name of [Ernst Jünger](#), a late German essayist and novelist, whose name was once associated with the so-called conservative intellectual revolution in Weimar Germany, and who is today eulogized by all sorts of White nationalists and traditionalists as a leading figure in understanding the endtimes of the West.

A subject that also needs some clarification is the word “balkanization,” a word whose lexical and conceptual connotations over the last decades has come to be associated not just with state fragmentation, but also with ethnic and racial turmoil. How could Ernst Jünger and some of his types of “dissenting sovereign individuals” be relevant in understanding and combating unparalleled racial changes that have occurred in Europe and America over the last three decades? As a man of considerable foresight, but also of insight, Jünger contemplated different types of nonconformist individuals—people that stood up to the System at different historical times and in different political environments. However, nowhere in his voluminous work did Jünger envision the racial turmoil which is soon likely to bring Europe and America into a real cycle of chaos.

Hopefully, some of Jünger’s works and some of his types—his “Gestalt” of “sovereign individuals”—can be useful in understanding postmodern times and what role that individual should play in the System. The ongoing multiracial balkanization of the liberal experiment in Western Europe and America may soon yield far more catastrophic results than the former communist endtimes in Eastern Europe in the aftermath of WWII.

The notion of endtimes is not new. It is reminiscent of the biblical prophecies of the Apocalypse and the descent of the new Heaven upon Earth. Thus, in the [Book of Revelation](#) there are warnings, but also upbeat signs:

Then I saw ‘a new heaven and a new earth,’ for the first heaven and the first earth had passed away, and there was no longer any sea. I saw the Holy City, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride beautifully dressed for her husband.

In its secular version, however, this biblical notion of endtimes can be observed among many modern intellectuals who display a strong monotheist and Judeo-Christian mindset. Such a do-good divinatory and eschatological mindset surfaces quite often among secular scribes of the

modern System, particularly in their advocacy of Communism, Liberalism, multiculturalism, and their latest avatar, the so-called ideology of human rights. Such utopian, optimistic systems of beliefs offer, as a rule, the formula for the glorious unfolding of the future.

However, in the process of the voyage to the final destination of multiracial embrace, real, but more often surreally evil creatures need to be doctored up to make their entrance onto the world scene — if for no other reason than to give further legitimacy to the prevailing founding myths of the System. Accordingly, the System must squash those wicked figures, usually viewed as symbols of absolute evil. Thus, on the one hand, System world-improvers must ceaselessly dispense flowery formulas about the birth of the paradise on earth; yet, on the other, they must never tire from raising the specter of the absolute evil lurking in the guise of a “neo-Nazi,” a looming “Islamofascist, an “anti-Semite,” “a religious fundamentalist,” “a Holocaust denier,” a “right-wing extremist,” “or a “White supremacist” — all of whom dwell on the invisible horizon, all of whom are geared up to bring about the Undemocratic Judgment Day. Should a freedom-loving free spirit — a nonconformist individual—ever question such interim scenarios of the System, he is condemned to silence; or worse, he will be tracked down by the System Thought Police. In the realm of combatting absolute, existential evil, facts and empirical data are quite irrelevant.

One encounters the notion of endtimes in the old European sagas and myths as well, although ancient Europeans had a cyclical view of the flow of time. Well, after all, after each storm, clear weather must show up on the horizon. Ernst Jünger must be credited for making a sharp distinction between the traditional European times of destiny, i.e. the cyclical times and the modern liberal, linear and measurable times of today’s System.

Destiny can be anticipated, it may be felt, it can be dreaded, but it must never be known. Should that occur, man would live a life of a prisoner who knows the hour of his execution (*An der Zeitmauer*, 1959, p.25)

One may tentatively surmise that in order to set up a rock solid future, the System must demand that its constituents behave like docile inmates on the death row.

In its desire to arrest the flow of time and bestow upon the mankind ready-made salvation formulas, the System cannot allow any criticism of its founding myths. The scenario of a possible undemocratic endtimes makes the System nervous and therefore irrational; it prompts its servants to be constantly on the alert and to consider it their sacred duty to resort to the criminalization of those viewed as icons of the absolute evil. Thus, a nonconformist man designated as an evil man is no longer considered a human, but a dangerous animal. Hence, like a dangerous animal, he has no right to enjoy the protection of the law. He must be killed and removed for good.

The Nonconformist in the Balkanized Endtimes

Once upon a time for many people in Europe, especially those in Eastern Europe, Communism was the symbol of the endtimes. The course of the communist era following the end of the World War II seemed to have been set in stone. Indeed, after the disaster of 1945, there were many intelligent Europeans who seriously thought that Communism was not only the end of their world, it was the end of *the* world altogether. Today, for postmodern White Europeans and

Americans, the same question is resurfacing. Is the balkanized West, or whatever the word West may mean today, moving to even more dreadful endtimes? Or are the current times of the System only a passing cosmic yawn that will soon go away? Perhaps, future historians will give the appropriate name for the current System only when, as is so intensely desired by their many enemies, there are no majority-White nations or, better yet, when White people physically disappear.

The problem for many White Europeans and Americans is how to come to terms with the time flow of the System. Can the current times they now live in be any worse than they already are? Where is the end of the endtimes? In a larger historical framework, the time flow of the System represents just a fraction of a second and should, therefore, be of little concern for the survival of the White man. However, for a single lifetime of a racially and culturally conscious White dissenter and nonconformist, the System seems to drag on with no end in sight.

Thinking of time as cyclical, especially in the case of war and social chaos, has historically been well appreciated by all White peoples. Today the notion of the recurrence of upheavals is much weaker, which is largely due to the forceful imposition of the multiracial and ecumenical mindset, promising that each tomorrow will be better than today. However, with the significant shifts in the racial profiles of Europe and America, followed by terrifying global financial turmoils, the possibility of the endtimes of the West is no longer a working hypothesis.

The concept of balkanization does not only imply geopolitical dislocations or ethnic and racial disruptions — a process traditionally and often pejoratively ascribed to the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula. Balkanization also means a poor sense of self-worth, a sensation of fleeting or passing identities that are continually replaced by new contradictory identities. This is today visible in the ongoing changes in the racial profile of the multiracial System whereby a host of divergent racial identities collide with each other, each trying to portray itself as the victim of the other identity.

Today, however, **the** increasingly balkanized Europe and America may require from Whites a different type of self-perception, one which has less to do with their own ethnic identity but more with their adherence to the common European gene pool. And of course, it also requires new types of dissent and news forms of non-conformist action. Arguably, Jünger could be of help in furnishing some didactic tools for the right choice of non-conformism; or he may provide archetypes of free spirits, which he so well describes in his novels and essays: the rebel, the partisan, the soldier, and the anarchist. Despite the fact that Whites, especially in Europe, still continue to be immersed in their outdated tribal animosities and in-fightings, they cannot deny the fact that they are witnessing a unique low-intensity conflict with non-Europeans—this time not on foreign turf, but on their own territory in the heart of Europe and America. In light of mass migrations from Third World countries, even Europeans and Americans with scant explicit racial and cultural awareness, are forced to choose sides. The forthcoming conflict will not necessarily pit Whites against non-Whites; nor does it need to be a military battle for a historical territory. The conflict may only require choosing the right type of dissent in confronting the process of multiracial balkanization, such as different forms of “cognitive wars” waged via different electronic devices. For instance, a nonconformist who decides to live in the woods amidst wild animals, like Jünger’s forest dweller the [Waldgänger](#), has to behave like a wild animal.

Conversely, the individual who decides to live among bandits can hardly have success in

preaching the Gospel. Even tentative guerilla warfare will radically change its nature. During his military campaign in Spain Napoleon was reported to have said that fighting irregular troops or partisans required that the regulars become partisans or *guerilleros* themselves. The same goes for the modern figure of the sovereign nonconformist who will need to assess the situation first and then act accordingly. No political system has ever declared itself criminal; it is always the opponent who does so. As Carl Schmitt noted, “the modern partisan expects neither justice nor mercy from his enemy. He has turned away from the conventional enmity of the contained war and given himself up to another—the real—enmity that rises through terror and counter-terror, up to annihilation.”

Unfortunately, many self-proclaimed White racialists think they can fight the System by violent means. Jünger’s sovereign type of a nonconformist wisely watches from his watchtower and waits for the right moment before he strikes. Perhaps one could learn some lessons from the rebels in the Vendée province during the French Revolution, or from Balkan outlaws during the Turkish occupation stretching from the 16th to 19th century. Those rebellious “sovereign individuals” lived as peasants one day, but were ready, the day after, to take up arms. In a similar vein, one hundred years ago, the Italian anti-liberal sociologist, Vilfredo Pareto, obliquely suggested how to confront the feelings of uprootedness in the liberal System: “Whoever becomes a lamb, will find a wolf to eat him.” (“Dangers of Socialism,” *The Other Pareto* (1980, p. 125).

Naturally, that does not presuppose that a nonconformist must leave a life of the wolf all the time in order to beat the System. Only the time flow will tell which figure of dissent best fits a particular historical moment. The sheep’s clothing can sometimes come in handy.

With the approaching endtimes many Europeans and Americans will be compelled to practice the talent of survival regardless of their wolfish or unwolfish nature. For some this may mean borrowing a type of Jünger’s sovereign individual living in the forest, or somewhere on the marble cliffs in Dover or in Colorado, and contemplate passively the horror of the endtimes. For some, that would entail the detachment from all political or tribal ties, yet remaining constantly on the alert against the intruders. Jünger remained his entire life a very circumspect man, a natural born loner, always on his solitary watchtower, always observing in the capacity of a seismographer the approaching endtimes, yet never actively participating in violent activities and never attempting to arrest or roll back the endtimes.

Of course this may pose a moral problem for would-be young White non-conformists who can barely tolerate the mendacity of the System. One can take again the example of Jünger and examine his role during the National Socialist rule in Germany. Very obliquely he explains his rejection of National Socialism in his allegoric and autobiographic novel [*On the Marble Cliffs*](#).

Later on, Jünger tacitly supported his colleagues at the High German command in WWII France, who plotted the assassination of Hitler. A timeless question now arises. Must one peacefully abide by the law of the System, even if the System is violent and abhorrent, or should one try to violently remove the very nature of the violent System? Or to put it differently; if Jünger had such a fine foreboding of the allegedly tyrannical times why did he not try to kill Hitler himself? After all, Hitler had a high opinion of his earlier works, and Jünger could have, had he wished, acted accordingly. If the summer of 1944 in Paris was too risky for him, the earlier times, such as the late twenties of the same century offered him a golden opportunity to stage his own violent coup against what came to be described after WWII as “National Socialist tyranny.” After all,

Jünger's earlier martial essays had enjoyed huge popularity among incipient National Socialist leaders and intellectuals in the Weimar Republic and enabled Jünger to cross paths with many future National Socialist bigwigs. Was Jünger just a small coward or a big opportunist?

One might reframe the same question, albeit in a different timeframe regarding the timeless subject of whether one should try to remove the purported evil system by force, or whether one should abide by the rule of the law of the purportedly evil system. Who showed more integrity and civic courage—or evilness? A handful of French Waffen SS volunteers who defended to the last man the Wilhelmstrasse in Berlin against the incoming Soviet troops on May 1, 1945 — knowing full well that the endtimes had arrived and that the game was already over? Or Jünger and his likes who had planned the assassination of Hitler, on July 20, 1944 — when half of Germany already lay in ruins? In a similar way, why does Jünger's alter ego the nonconformist character *Anarch*, from the city state of Eumeswill socialize and toast with Condor the Tyrant, whom he hates so much, instead of making an extra step to take the tyrant out?

One can tackle the same dilemma regarding ethical obligations vs. lawful behavior and civic respectability — or, to put it poetically, of “self- distancing” or “esthetic aloofness,” when observing the behavior of many White American and European covert nationalist intellectuals, who, behind their anonymous computer screens, burst with self-proclaimed civic courage, but who diligently backpedal when they need to confront the System in public. The fear of the loss of tenure or the anxiety of the pension plans cuts may have a far more gripping effect than the fear of facing the gallows.

The Endtimes of Small-Time Nationalism

The beauty of Jünger's prose is his rejection of small time White nationalism. Historically, European types of sovereign individuals, each sporting their own brand of nationalism, have never had a convergent effect on European peoples. All of them have been mutually exclusive and harmful to Europeans in general. In the balkanized multiracial Europe of today small time nationalism has no future. Figures of nationalist dissent, under the guise of the terrorist, the soldier, or the anarchist, including all types of nationalist fervor, such as the adherence to one's tribe, or the craving for an independent statehood at the expense of a neighboring European state or a tribe, as seen among Poles vs. Germans, Serbs vs. Croats, Irish against vs. English, etc., has proved to be suicidal for Europe. Such sectarian figures of rebellion or figures of nationalist dissent are dated. Acts of self -proclaimed patriotic anarchism or terrorism only legitimize the ongoing experiment of the System with stateless multiracialism.

Nobody knows well what will be the form of the new balkanization in Europe and America and which type of dissent a White individual will need to borrow from Jünger's arsenal. One should again recall a polymorphous type of the Anarch from Jünger's autobiographic novel *Eumeswil*. The protagonist, Martin Venator (alias the Anarch, alias Ernst Jünger) lives his double life of academic *Gelassenheit* — i.e., of “aloofness” and of “self- distance” in the vicinity of the multicultural Kasbah. Anarch is neither a rebel, nor a partisan, nor an anarchist. However, at a given moment, he could engage in all three of these types of conduct. For the time being Jünger's Anarch is just a respectable person who blends well with the System he despises.

Jünger's novels can be regarded as the *Bildungsroman* for today's postmodern White Europeans and Americans living in a multiracial and balkanized world, however with one serious exception:

in today's balkanized endtimes the enemy has acquired different features, which requires learning entirely different codes of conduct and waging an entirely different type of war.

The Anarch vs. Multiracial Mass Murder

The consequences of balkanized Europe and America may be dreadful indeed. Time does not have a stop, as Jünger notes. One must keep crossing the Wall of Time both frontwards and backwards in order to project oneself beyond the time flow and possibly foresee when open rebellion needs to commence. This may help avoid further cataclysms. In this respect one could draw a parallel between the current times of multiracial mass murder designed by the liberal System and the serial killings designed by the Communists in the aftermath of WWII. In retrospect, the former happens to be more effective than the latter, simply because it prevents the observer from making a clear-cut distinction between friend and foe.

One must bear in mind that communist genocides in the aftermath of WWII had a serious impact on the decline of the cultural and genetic heritage of White Europeans and Americans. For example, the Croatian and the ethnic German middle class, in what became communist Yugoslavia, including a large number of academics, were simply wiped out by the new communist class in the summer of 1945. Thus they could not pass on their heritage, their intelligence and their creativity to their offspring.

Today, however, in view of the System-induced "soft" mass murder of Whites, former communist mass killings may sound trivial. What the late communist commissars had failed to achieve with physical terror, the present-day liberal "super class" of the System is achieving with its own substitute ideology of "multiculturalism." The constant influx of non-Europeans has already caused the impoverishment of the European gene pool and can be comparable to a soft self-induced genocide of White peoples.

It must be born in mind that the terror unleashed by the Communists after the Second World War did not just have ideological reasons under the guise of the purported "class struggle." Communist serial killings were fueled by envy as well as by the awareness among their perpetrators of their own physical and spiritual inferiority. Similar attitudes of envy and racial resentment can be observed today among non-European immigrants, although they must hide them for obvious reasons. For the time being, neither physically nor logistically are Third World immigrants in a position to convert their resentments against Whites into a large scale conflict. For that matter, even the word "multiculturalism" can work miracles for them as it happens to be an apt euphemism used by the System. It is a handy code word for its ersatz ideology of discredited Communism. Both systems are popular among immigrants from the Third World, for the simple reason that both Systems offer them a lifestyle which is not conceivable, let alone acceptable in their home countries. In addition, multiracial balkanization flatters the ego of leftist intellectuals, who are aware that the denomination 'communism', after having been severely discredited, must be now replaced by the code word of 'antifascism' and 'multiculturalism'. Communism fell apart in the East because it had fully achieved its goals in the West.

The Racial Sovereign and the System

Capitalism must share a major portion of the blame for the balkanization of Europe and America. It is in the interest of Western capitalists to import the army of cheap labor into Europe and America. They show no compunction in cutting down the wages of their own domestic White

workers and in outsourcing national wealth. Moreover, imported immigrant workers, having lower IQ and little social or class consciousness, can better be manipulated than White workers by the new masters. They can better serve the interest of the capitalist super class and of leftist opinion makers who posture as their moral protectors. A German stockbroker or an East European ex-communist, who has recently recycled himself into a bank speculator, could not care less where his home is — as long as he makes money. Should one be surprised? The founding father of capitalism, the infamous, yet highly praised [Adam Smith](#) wrote long time ago: “The merchant is not necessarily the citizen of any country.”

Jünger’s alter ego, the Anarch, should not be surprised at the sight of a new Holy Alliance between the Merchant and the Commissar, between Big Business and the Left. The Left favors mass immigration because immigrants, in its eyes, represent the substitute symbol of the new proletariat. For the capitalist it is also advantageous to bring people from the Third World countries into Europe and America. As Alan de Benoist [notes](#), “*big business has reached its hand to the far-left, the former aiming at dismantling of the welfare state, considered to be too costly, the latter killing off the nation-state considered to be too archaic.*”

For this reason alone neither the Middle Easterners nor the Africans are to be blamed for the balkanization of Europe and America; rather the System and its politicians, the so-called capitalist “super-class” must be held accountable for the process of balkanization and the coming endtimes of the West. Big business, run by the White oligarchy in Europe and America, seconded by the guilt-ridden post-Christians on the one hand, and followed by the endorsement of racial promiscuity by the Left on the other, only bestow further legitimacy for the arrivals of millions upon millions of non-European new immigrants.

If White Europeans and Americans ever wish to reestablish their own racial sovereignty, they must demystify the first foe: capitalism. Foreign immigration will stop as soon as immigrants find out that the System’s economy has run out of fuel. In the last analysis, the entire legitimacy of the System has rested on the dogma of permanent economic progress.

The only functional type of dissent against the System is the sovereign racial individual, or the nonconformist with strong racial and cultural awareness, regardless whether he resides in California, Croatia, Chile, or Bavaria. Given the massive floods of non-European immigrants only a man with the longest racial and cultural memory has a chance of survival. However, the danger of total biocultural estrangement is now offering now a chance to all Europeans and European Americans to see the bigger picture and shake off their local tribal and territorial imperatives. Indeed, what does it mean today to be German, French, American, or English, in view of the fact that more than 10 percent of the citizens of Germany and more than 30 percent of American citizens are of non-European origin? All verbiage by the System about freedom, justice and tolerance, has by now obtained an opposite significance:

Are we allowed to conclude with a quote, regarding the meaning of all these upheavals that the world of freedom has disappeared? Certainly this is not the case. Freedom is eternal in the world, although it will be always newly conceived. Beyond the line, beyond the Wall of Time freedom can be felt as something which is today felt as coercion and vice versa. There are also places and surfaces where awareness of new freedom will arise, and these surfaces must be also taken into consideration, just as those where fear declines and as the surfaces expand. ... With it we must bear in mind that spiritual sovereignty has

been at all times a precious exception. Irrespective of the political and social fluxes, of their truisms, of their slogans, of their revolutions and of their reactions, of their independence from gods and priesthoods, of their independence from ethics and science of a given age — it has always been rare, and today perhaps more than ever before. (Ernst Jünger, *An der Zeitmauer*, p. 171).

A new identity of the sovereign racial individual must be embedded in racial and cultural awareness. The idea of race cannot be denied, even if this word is criminalized by the System's media and its ruling class on all wavelengths. The nonconformist who challenges the System can change his religion, his habits, his political views, his territory, his nationality, and even his passport, but he cannot escape his heredity. Undoubtedly, the study of race and heredity is met by the media today with ridicule and the scarecrow of the penal code, although when endtimes are near every human being, regardless of his race, regardless of his beliefs, wisely runs for cover to his tribe first. Should he forget or dismiss his racial type or his racial "Gestalt," he will be quickly reminded of it by another hostile racial outgroup. The recent war in the balkanized ex-Yugoslavia was a case study of reactive nationalism and reactive racialism. Citizens of former Yugoslavia, with little or no national consciousness, discovered their racial and national "new identity" only when the endtimes had begun, prompting many to [mutate](#) into grotesque hyper-nationalist Serbs or Croats respectively.

However, race-consciousness alone is not sufficient for the putative nonconformist or would-be White dissenter. Race has a larger meaning, and must be internalized in a spiritual way. Race is not just a biological given — race is also a spiritual must. There are many, many Whites in Europe and America who are mental misfits — despite their White body. A well proportioned body is by no means a guarantee for a good racial character as observed by a late German racialist scholar, [Ludwig Clauss](#): *"To investigate into the psychology of races means first and foremost to discern the meaning of its bodily form (Gestalt). This meaning, however, can only be understood from its psychological form."*

Non-European immigrants know well that they can thrive only in the regnant guilt-ridden post-Christian System, deeply steeped in beliefs in the moral imperative of multiracial diversity and self-hate on the part of their hosts. Ironically, feelings of self-hate are unknown among non-European immigrants, just as they are totally dismissed, if not ridiculed, by the rulers of the countries where immigrants come from. White Europeans who lived in Third World countries know the severity of racial exclusions and discriminations against Third World citizens by their own ruling elites. A Mexican *cholo* from southern Los Angeles, or a Turk with Asiatic features living in Berlin Kreuzberg, knows well which racial and cultural subgroup he belongs to in his native country. He can never be on the equal footing with a "White Turk" from the upper class, or with a White Mexican of Spanish ancestry. Incidentally, the ruling class in Turkey likes to brag about its Albanian or Bosnian phenotype, proudly advertising its "White" roots in public all over Western capitals. But they are not Europeans, nor will they ever be part of the West.

Must it get worse before it gets better? The question that needs to be raised by the dissenting White individual such as the postmodern Anarch in the balkanized West, is the following: what to do with immigrants? Integrate them? Assimilate them? Expel them? Is it ethical to deport them in the coming endtimes? If the System scribes and its chattering class do not wish to talk officially about this subject, it does not mean that the subject will go away. History is replete with mayhem and violence. In 1945 more than 12 million German civilians were subject to

“ethnic cleansing” in Eastern Europe — not within a period of years, but within a period of weeks and months. Nobody had ever thought that such mass human expulsion could happen on such a gigantic scale, let alone that it could be foreseeable. But it did happen, just as it was predictably followed by the proverbial shrug of history and by the silence of court historians.

Similar expulsions of millions of people from Europe and America will likely happen tomorrow, albeit carried out by different political actors and under the sign of another political system of beliefs. The question that needs to be asked by the nonconformist or any other White new Anarch, or any other White sovereign individual, is the following: who will be the architect of this new “ethnic cleansing” and who will be its victim?

Seen from the historical perspective the System is dead. Its experiment with the abstract dogmas of multiculturalism, economic progress and an ethnically and racially undefined population has failed. The balkanized Europe and America show us daily that the history of the System is history. There is sufficient empirical evidence attesting to that. A typical feature of a moribund political class is to start lecturing in solemn terms about its “infallibility, its “eternity” and about the “veracity” of its System — at a moment when its System is falling apart. Such wishful thinking has been common to all political élites throughout history. Even the palaver of today’s System-ruling super class about the “end of history” is similar to the rhetoric of the former political class in ex- communist Europe and the ex-Soviet Union — shortly before they collapsed. In the summer of 1989, military parades in East Germany were held, at which local communist politicians bragged about the “indestructibility” of the communist System. A few months later the Berlin Wall came down — and with it the death of their System.

Today’s ruling class in the System, be it in the EU, be it the USA, does not know where it is headed and what to do next. And for this reason alone it has to resort to the overkill of the world improving verbiage. The System is much weaker than it wishes to show, and one must neither overestimate its self-declared strength, nor forget its inborn fragility. The nonconformist Anarch lives again in the dangerous void of time. It depends on his powers of observation and on his willpower to decide what action he will take during the fast approaching endtimes. The plough and pen may need to become the sword again.