## Fernando Pessoa **The struggle, however, is essentially between Germany and England;**

The struggle, however, is essentially between Germany and England; the other factors are sociologically secondary. The struggle is between two civilizations — the individualistic and collectivistic type, as was at once seen by most people, and of these the first type is England, and the second example Germany. The other countries involved do not count on this level: they are not civilized at all; they have not obtained any personal civilization, any civilization that can be called theirs.

That France is not civilized is a patent thing; the forces that represent civilization, that, indeed, produce it, are all present there, but they do not act in the direction of civilization. They neither cohere in the sense of individualism, nor in the sense of collectivism. They merely cohere in the sense of incoherence.

Of Russia it is not necessary to speak: that half savage people has no claim to civilization except belonging to it, nor even more than a slight claim to Europeity.

Austria is not a nation at all, but an Empire (...)

Italy is three-quarters civilized. It is, however, too much of the French type to be anything like a civilized nation.

Belgium, though it had no right to exist as a nation, was more of a civilized community than France.

Of the Balkan peoples the least said the better; they have no pretension even to being civilized. Their very strength is that of uncivilized people — their qualities of combativeness, loyalty and (...).

A nation which does not produce traitors can hardly be said to be civilized; a nation which produces too many cannot be said also to be. England is the example of a civilized nation, with such magnificent examples as the late Sir Roger Casement, Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Mr. Frank Harris.

Of Spain and Portugal no mention need be made; they are more or less African in their very ideals, which are either to ape Europe (the lower part of Arquivo Pessoa

Europe) sedulously, or to be themselves in a still lower manner. Spain, however, stands lowest (...)

Germany, properly speaking, is not civilized also. It has gone the wrong way, but it has gone organisedly on that wrong way.

s.d.

**Pessoa Inédito**. Fernando Pessoa. (Orientação, coordenação e prefácio de Teresa Rita Lopes). Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1993: 168.

«O Templo de Jano».