


**THE NIETZSCHEAN CULTURAL POLICY AND THE EUROPE OF THE FUTURE:
STUDIES BEYOND GOOD AND EVIL**

**A POLÍTICA CULTURAL NIETZSCHIANA E A EUROPA DO FUTURO: ESTUDOS DE
PARA ALÉM DE BEM E MAL**

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ABSTRACT

In Beyond Good and Evil, Nietzsche takes on the task of preparing the way for the advent of a higher kind of culture for Europe. This requires a genealogical work, which leads to the origins of this new culture, access to which is very rare, for it's an opposite kind of widespread cultural weakness across the European continent. The identification of such sources requires a different view on modern Europe, which takes into account the psychology and physiology. From this new investigative approach you can run the cultivation work of certain rare cultural elements, almost extinct and difficult to proliferate and that still have an underground life, even in regions where the predominant culture proliferates most in Europe. Nietzsche refers in particular to France, the cradle of weak and degenerate culture, but prevalent because its fundamental values of Christian compassion and democratic equality.

Keywords: Culture. Europe. Strength. Weakness.

RESUMO

Em Para além de bem e mal, Nietzsche assume como tarefa preparar o caminho para o advento de um tipo mais elevado de cultura para Europa. O que exige um trabalho genealógico capaz de levar às origens desta nova cultura, cujo acesso é muito raro, por ser um tipo oposto à fraqueza cultural generalizada em todo o continente europeu. A identificação de tais origens requer um olhar diferenciado sobre a Europa moderna, que leve em consideração a psicologia e a fisiologia. A partir desta nova postura investigativa é possível executar o trabalho de cultivo de certos elementos culturais raros, quase extintos e de difícil proliferação que ainda possuem uma vida subterrânea, mesmo nas regiões onde mais se prolifera a cultura predominante na Europa. Nietzsche se refere, em especial, à França, berço da cultura fraca e degenerada, mas predominante, pois tem como valores fundamentais a compaixão cristã e a igualdade democrática.

Palavras-chave: Cultura. Europa. Força. Fraqueza.

RESUMEN

En *Más allá del bien y del mal*, Nietzsche asume la tarea de allanar el camino para el advenimiento de una cultura superior en Europa. Esto requiere un trabajo genealógico capaz de rastrear los orígenes de esta nueva cultura, de difícil acceso, ya que se opone a la

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debilidad cultural generalizada en todo el continente europeo. Identificar dichos orígenes requiere una perspectiva diferenciada de la Europa moderna, que tenga en cuenta la psicología y la fisiología. Desde esta nueva perspectiva investigativa, es posible cultivar ciertos elementos culturales raros, casi extintos y de difícil proliferación, que aún conservan una vida clandestina, incluso en las regiones donde más prolifera la cultura predominante en Europa. Nietzsche se refiere, en particular, a Francia, cuna de la cultura débil y degenerada, pero predominante, pues sus valores fundamentales son la compasión cristiana y la igualdad democrática.

Palabras clave: Cultura. Europa. Fuerza. Debilidad.

1 INTRODUCTION

The idea of a cultural policy in Nietzsche's philosophy, in *Beyond Good and Evil*, refers to a preliminary analysis of the way in which the conception of culture was constructed in Germany and France, between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. directly associated with the work of the land, that is, with agricultural activity. Only in the figurative sense did it apply to the things of the spirit, but always on the plane of productive, specific and determined energy.

In the nineteenth century, "culture" became the key word in Germany, especially after the unitary proclamation of the empire. In this period, "*kultur*" came to be related to the idea of "personal culture", of cultivation of the mind and spirit, represented by the term "*Bildung*". Then, gradually, it was used in cultured German circles in its most general sense, as a synthesis of all the achievements of civilized man in society. Culture then came to mean the sovereignty of the cultivated spirit and master of techniques, which achieved great popular support, functioning as a political weapon of intellectual enticement, with a sense of reaction and anti-Latin to anti-Catholic battle.

In France, unlike the German context, culture has always been basically *culture de l'esprit*, as "*civilization*". A term that represented the totality of man's creations and social and intellectual arrangements. In the nineteenth century, people spoke in France of *civilité* or *civilisation* and in Germany of culture (*kultur*). With these conceptions, a general frame of reference was in mind that took into account the development of humanity or of certain societies, from a less to a more advanced stage. Thus, when *civilization* and *kultur* were established in France and Germany, a fascinating chain of associations led German intellectuals to see an antithesis between the two concepts. For the German bourgeois, French habits were frivolous or downright evil. Much of this emerging class – and nation – consciousness took the form of moral indignation, directed against the Frenchized courtiers and nobles.

It can also be said that in the meaning of the German term "*kultur*" was implicit a non-political, even anti-political, predisposition, symptomatic of the frequent feeling among the German middle-class elites that politics and affairs of state represented the area of their humiliation and lack of freedom. For many intellectualized members of the German middle class, culture represented detachment and freedom from the unsatisfactory pressures of a state that granted them the position of second-class citizens, compared to the privileged nobility, denying access to leadership positions in the state, the responsibilities, power, and

prestige associated with these positions. By retreating culture into a non-political domain, middle-class intellectuals were able to maintain an attitude of reserve, often eminently critical of existing social life without engaging in any kind of active opposition to the regime itself.

Nietzsche is a supporter, in a certain perspective, of the German critique of French culture, as he considers that the predominant culture in modern Europe is constituted mainly by the elements that make up the *French civilization*. According to Nietzsche (1992), French civilization proliferated throughout the continent, transforming the European into a weak and degenerate being. And weakness and degeneration are justified by means of a process, which directs its causes against man himself, promoting a repressive intervention of his instincts. In this sense, culture would then be to weaken, tame, domesticate, transform the beast into a domestic animal. With this process, the "barbarians" "humanized" themselves and became the prisoners and victims of their own creation, transforming themselves into the opposite of themselves, making room for new barbarians.

Nietzsche sees the elements of this new barbarism in *German kultur*, as it was established in the eighteenth century, as a cultivation of the human species. The philosopher then carries out a "genealogy of culture" in order to reach the problem of man and his attempt at self-overcoming. From this experience it is possible to carry out a "genealogy of the soul", according to which cruelty, sexuality, aggressiveness, the desire for possession, the thirst for revenge and their derivatives will be synthesized by cultural components, so as to be transformed into a set of structured and organized psychic systems, without any kind of instinctive repression.

2 THE CULTURAL WEAKENING OF EUROPE AND THE CHANGE OF PERSPECTIVE

Nietzsche's critique, in *Beyond Good and Evil*, has as its main target the predominant culture in Europe of his time. For the German philosopher, although there is a generalized optimism, coming from the positivist belief in the progress of humanity and democratic politics, Europe is contaminated by a weakness that manifests itself in all Europeans². The

² There are several publications on the philosophical conception that Nietzsche developed in relation to the Europe of his time. However, the reading keys used by commentators are different. Patrick Wotling, for example, in his book *Nietzsche and the Problem of Civilization*, states that culture is the central problem of Nietzsche's philosophy, but his objective is to highlight the physiological aspect of this culture. Gérald Alvoët, in *Nietzsche et l'Europe: "Nous autres, bons européens"*, recognizes that the "Europe problem" is, above all, a cultural problem, however, his study has as its guiding thread the Nietzschean idea of the "good European". Unlike these researchers, my proposal is to address the problem of criticism and the Nietzschean project of overcoming, in *Beyond Good and Evil*, having as a key to reading European culture, as it presents itself in modernity.

moral values conveyed by dogmatic philosophy and Christian religiosity, even denied by the protagonists of a scientific and egalitarian Europe, the so-called Europeans of "modern ideas", continue to dominate throughout the continent.

The Europeans of "modern ideas", the main representatives of the predominant culture in modern Europe, are weak and degenerate men. They call themselves the spokesmen for the Europe of the future, the scholars, defenders of science, morality, freedom and equality. His "modern ideas" were initially disseminated in Europe with the French Revolution. And they expanded even more on the continent when spread by the predominant political movement at the time, the democratic movement.

For Nietzsche, the democratic movement is a modern interpretation of the Christian movement, which is at the service of the millennial process of leveling and diminishing the European man. This process is justified, embellished or concealed by "modern ideas". With them, culture assumes extreme conditions of weakness, by diminishing and leveling a large number of people. Such leveling and reduction is the result of a long historical process of transmission, from generation to generation, of moral values, to the point of becoming the cardinal values of all Europeans, which promoted changes of a physiological nature. For, according to Nietzsche (1992, p.180): "One cannot extinguish from the soul of a man what his ancestors did with greater pleasure or greater constancy"

Using a genealogical procedure, Nietzsche seeks the historical and physiological provenance of this weakening. According to the German philosopher, the weakness of European culture begins with the flourishing of Platonic philosophy. And the main historical events that prolong and generalize this weakening are: the rise of dogmatic philosophy, the rise of Christianity, and the flourishing of democracy. Such events are expressions of the weakening of the individual, who for a long time has been coerced into denying his strongest instincts. There was no cultivation, but coercion, which made possible a greater flourishing of the weaker instincts, thus dominating the consciousness of modern European man.

Dogmatic philosophy and Christian religiosity, at the moment when they assimilate moral values as cardinal values, become the main responsible for this kind of coercion. Christianity and its "prolonged subjection of the spirit" made the thought of European man follow an "ecclesiastical or courtly guideline or with Aristotelian presuppositions". This new direction that the thought of the European has taken has promoted a harsh and violent coercion of what is strongest in the spirit. An example of this, Nietzsche (1992, 90) states:

"precisely in the most Christian period of Europe, and only under the pressure of Christian value judgments, the sexual impulse was sublimated into love (*amour-passion*)".

The coercion of the strongest impulses promoted, according to Nietzsche, a weakness of the will, which manifests itself when the force acting on the individual is prevented from expanding, due to the pressure exerted by moral values, typical of the predominant culture in Europe. According to the German philosopher, the will present in the human being is a plurality of sensations, thoughts and affections, which derives from an even more basic condition, belonging to the inorganic world, the will to power. And, the fluidity of the will to power can be strong and intense or lose its strength and weaken. And, according to Nietzsche's critique, this is exactly what happened with European culture, because the will to power, by branching out and reaching the organic condition, where culture is possible, ended up creating secondary values, moral values, based on obedience and not on command. And, with the help of religion, philosophy, some artistic movements and politics, they ended up becoming predominant in Europe, putting even more pressure on the will to reach an increasingly weakened condition.

Faced with the pressure exerted by the prevailing moral values, the will to power cannot expand and ends up being exhausted, diluted. In this condition of dilution and exhaustion, man becomes unable to bear his own responsibility, thus losing control over his strongest virtues. The loss of this dominance ends up making it easier for such virtues to be denied and slandered as evil. With this, other virtues are praised and justified, those that deny any manifestation of force. In this way, the virtues that have become predominant in European culture are those that deny the will and value the weakness, as Nietzsche (1992, 119) points out: "Today the taste and virtue of time weaken and dilute the will, nothing is as current as the weakness of the will".

The awareness of the condition of weakness and degeneration in which the modern European lives may indicate the beginning of the strengthening and elevation of Europe. When he becomes aware of his state of life, this man begins to suffer involuntarily from a deep discomfort, capable of arousing a desire to distance himself from living with other people. In this condition it is possible to exercise criticism which, when it reaches a high degree, comes to question the very value of truth. Which is still something very dangerous, as it makes it possible to recognize untruth as something necessary for life.

The succession from weakness to strength consists in transforming all nausea, suffering, fury, and loneliness into criticism, which can only be achieved with the help of

philosophical knowledge. From this critique, fed by philosophy, it is possible to rescue everything that has been denied and slandered by the prevailing culture. This philosophy, proposed by Nietzsche, is not the heir of the Socratic-Platonic tradition, but a new philosophy, which has as its principle the impulse of command. Thus, the exercise of criticism, aided by a new philosophy, promotes a change of perspective, which enables a more intense manifestation of feelings and affections considered harmful and dangerous by the predominant culture. These affections were, for a long time, denied by the predominant morality in European culture, the Platonic-Christian morality, which values compassion, disinterestedness and altruism. Such denial promoted an accumulation of force, thus generating a type of tension.

Tension makes it possible to overcome the condition of weakness and degeneration, insofar as it can indicate the way to a life beyond the predominant morality in European culture. Which requires a rescue of opposing values, long denied. From this rescue arises the confrontation of values. The tension is the result of this confrontation. This only happens at rare moments in history, when dominant values are weakened. This condition of tension, capable of leading to the overcoming of the prevailing moral values and, with it, announcing a new culture for Europe, had until then an opposite effect, reaffirming the old morality in an even more generalized way. The greater the danger, the greater the response given by those who are threatened.

3 UNIFICATION AS A SYNTHESIS AND THE CULTURAL STRENGTHENING OF EUROPE

A strong and elevated culture must be projected in a perspective beyond the opposition between individual and collectivity. According to Nietzsche's philosophy, these two dimensions are not opposites, but only a defining marker of human creations. The culture manifested by the individual would then be a particular dimension of a more general instance, which groups together all the dimensions of human life. But since the modern European is still bound by this division, in order to go further, he needs to go in the opposite direction of the predominant culture, the herd culture. For in the opposite condition it is possible to reach the extreme of the prevailing perspective, reaching the state of tension and danger, which enables the European, by means of his consciousness, to realize a certain kind of detachment. Only in this way will the forces be converted into something elevated, thus opening the horizons to a new perspective, capable of promoting the cultural strengthening of Europe.

The spiritual detachment from collective life can lead the modern European to a kind of exercise that enables him to mix his impulses and achieve a synthesis capable of raising his strength to the extreme and promoting an overcoming of himself. This synthesis occurs through a long discipline and exercise, carried out in isolation. For voluntary solitude allows Europe to be seen from the perspective of a natural hierarchy, according to which philosophy, religion and morality are not ends to be achieved, but means, instruments of struggle for the strengthening of European culture.

The hierarchy perspective allows us to see a strong and elevated culture for Europe as a goal³. And if this goal is not to become just a possibility, it is necessary to undertake the arduous and difficult task of preparing the necessary conditions for the flourishing of this new culture. The goal depends on the accomplishment of the task. This, in turn, arises from a "need of the spirit" and a type of tension, the "tension of its arc". In such a condition of suffering and restlessness, man seeks to explore other paths not yet explored. At this moment, the process of self-overcoming begins⁴ and, consequently, the change of perspective.

Europe, seen by Nietzsche from another perspective, enables the philosopher to implement a new procedure capable of rescuing the moments of tension between strong and weak impulses in order to understand how one force is capable of dominating the other. This observation allows us to deepen our history⁵ and appreciate the moment when there was a significant manifestation of strength in the predominant European culture. Such a procedure is genealogy, by which the modern European achieves a historical sense capable of providing a free and in-depth view, a type of wisdom differentiated from that of the scholars. Only under this condition is it possible to identify the type of man to be cultivated, who lives in disadvantageous conditions in Europe, access to which is very rare.

³ If Nietzsche defined his goal, it would become an end in itself, as a teleological principle, in the same way as dogmatic philosophers think, that is, his philosophy would end up remaining in the register of philosophical prejudices. That is why the Europe of the future is in the register of possibility.

⁴ Self-overcoming occurs to the extent that one becomes aware of the condition of tension, suffering and restlessness in which we live. It is through consciousness that we can know our state of experience. Its role would be to let the strongest and most powerful impulses flow and not to inhibit them. However, what we have in modern Europe is the inhibition of these stronger impulses, thus prevailing a generalized weakness.

⁵ Nietzsche demands a new meaning for history, and also a remaking of oneself. With this proposal, the German philosopher rejects both the jus naturalist conception of a return to primitive human nature, as well as the positivist one, as well as the skeptical distancing. Culture is the collective manifestation of a more singular phenomenon composed of the multiplicity in conflicts of the impulses that make up the individual. Hence the need for this return to oneself, something denied by dogmatic philosophy, which prefers to focus on a foundation or system.

With the identification of strong men who live in extreme conditions, it is possible to implement a cultivation project, which consists of making forces contrary to the dominant values flourish. The flourishing of these forces, slandered as evil by the men of "modern ideas", will promote a conflict within the European himself, leading him to extreme tension. From this tension, like a digestive process, synthesis arises. For Nietzsche, this synthesis can already be experienced in the process of unification between the various European nations, which occurs in a very accentuated way in the modern period, especially between France and Germany⁶.

In France, the prevailing culture assumes extreme conditions of weakness. However, it is from this extreme state that, according to Nietzsche's philosophy, the elements necessary for the advent of the Europe of the future must flourish. One of these elements is the better capacity that the French have in absorbing foreign peoples. However, even though France is the main focus of the proliferation of weakness, which is generalized throughout modern Europe, this nation, according to Nietzsche, still holds the title of cultural superiority in relation to other European nations. This title owes not only to its power of absorption of foreign peoples, but also to its artistic capacity and also to its complex moralistic *culture*, which came from a long process of synthesis, which leads Nietzsche to state (1992, p. 162): "Even now France is the matrix of the most spiritual and refined culture in Europe, and high school of taste".

French culture does not have enough elements to strengthen European culture. A new element is still missing, capable of definitively breaking with the generalized cultural weakness. Nietzsche finds this element in the young German nation. Germany, by its very configuration, is more prone to barbarism⁷ than any other European nation. Such a propensity comes from superactivity, which manifests itself in the soul of the modern German, as described by Nietzsche (1992, p. 151): "The German soul is first of all multiple, of varied origin, more composed and superimposed than properly constructed".

For Nietzsche, it is possible to find this tendency to barbarism more precisely in German music. Wagner's music, for example, is made up of barbaric elements. However,

⁶ The unification defended by Nietzsche is not the one that aggregates and levels, led by the "men of modern ideas", but a cultural unification that synthesizes, in order to immediately select. The Europe of the future is of a synthetic nature, a supranational synthesis, which does not occur all at once, but depends on ever new syntheses and overcomings. Nietzsche sees the realization of this cultural phenomenon among the various European nations, especially between France and Germany.

⁷ Barbarism is conceived by Nietzsche as that strong and new condition, in which it is possible to pass from one culture to another. It enables the institution of elevated culture. The German people do not yet live in barbarism, but in semi-barbarism.

such elements manifest themselves, in a still quite confusing way, as an imbalance and mixture between the new and the old, between moments of fluidity and those of hesitation. Although it has, in a veiled way, a tendency to barbarism, the clearest and most generalized manifestation of Wagnerian music is patriotism, a type of movement that, by denying the possibility of synthesis, propagates a weak and degenerate culture.

In contrast to the patriotic music that proliferates throughout modern Europe, Nietzsche seeks the necessary elements for the cultural strengthening of the continent in music, which has a therapeutic function, which is capable of directing human life to its natural condition, which does not compromise health or corrupt taste. This type of music is only possible, says the German philosopher, when it is the result of a synthesis between North and South, just like Bizet's music. Only a supra-European music, such as Bizet's, allows us to glimpse a new perspective for the advent of the Europe of the future, in which politics must become an art, according to which to legislate is to effectively create. This creation is that of the god Dionysus, the creator of symbolic languages. The Europe of the future would then be a Dionysian Europe.

4 THE DANGEROUS CULTIVATION OF THE EUROPEAN OF THE FUTURE

The Europe of the future can be experimentally anticipated through the cultivation of the creative forces, which manifest themselves as an act of command, into a type of modern European who lives in disadvantageous conditions. This rare man has the ability to create and institute new values. But, in order to do so, it is necessary to make sure that his ideas can develop, even in conditions opposite to those "modern ideas", that is, such development must be not in the crowd, in the great number, in erudition, in the successful experiences of the sciences, but in the intimate and solitary dialogue carried out in the labyrinth of his own soul⁸.

Profound ideas, developed under opposite conditions, produce an effect on the modern European capable of revealing his true condition, that he lives in an epoch dominated by a weak and degenerate culture. This condition generates suffering, such as nausea, disillusionment, and excesses of rage. And such feelings feed a tendency to isolation, in which there is a great possibility of succumbing, as Nietzsche (1992, p. 190) states: "Whoever

⁸ The Nietzschean conception of the soul is different from that of the religious or dogmatic philosophers, who understand it as one, indivisible, immortal and superior to material conditions, including the human body. For the German philosopher, the soul is a structure composed of the plurality of impulses and affections, when manifested in social life.

has the desires of a high and exclusive soul and rarely finds his table set, his food ready, will always be in great danger".

The cultivation of the creative forces is a dangerous task insofar as it requires coexistence with weak and degenerate culture. Those who live in this condition suffer from disorientation, with a strong tendency to escape from this responsibility, from this dangerous knowledge, capable of revealing dangerous perspectives, which value the strongest affections of man and more conducive to loss of control, to barbarism. Therefore, the modern European, capable of preparing the way for the Europe of the future, is an endangered human being, difficult to find, who cannot identify with his own time. He is against the grain of history, he is a very select type who, according to Nietzsche (1992, p. 33): "instinctively seeks his castle and his retreat, where he is *safe* from the great number, the majority, the multitude; where he can forget the rule".

Disguise is the means that Europeans, in difficult conditions of development, use to take refuge in themselves and maintain contact with the large number of people. The mask is the way in which this European of high taste avoids making his own existence evident to others. There is not in this man that self-glorification which is characteristic of the man of "modern ideas." On the contrary, the mask disguises itself from others. His speech is his mask. He hides what this type of man really is. And when the modern European, with the strength to promote the cultivation of the Europe of the future, does not voluntarily assume the suffering arising from his task, but shies away. This man lacks knowledge of the depths of his soul. However, even with nausea, fury, disillusionment, suffering and loneliness, this man manages to understand his task. From then on, their efforts will be to intensify their strength and thus promote the succession from a state of life that promotes weakness and degeneration, to another condition in which living is confused with the creation of new, strong and elevated values.

The profound man, capable of cultivating the Europe of the future, must have the capacity to endure the danger and suffering that his task entails, since his life must flourish in conditions opposite to those of the majority. What makes it possible for this type of life to flourish and maintain is the elevation of consciousness, through knowledge. With a high conscience, the modern European can see everything that pleases the majority as something superfluous and worthless. The instinct of knowledge makes him leave his castle, his hiding in himself, and thus manage, even with much suffering, to bear the weight of a large number of people. That is why Nietzsche (1992, p. 10) characterizes the European of the future as:

"a new kind of philosopher", with "different taste and inclination, contrary to those that have existed until now".

The difference between the new philosopher⁹ and the existing one lies in the condition of its emergence. For the former, "hardness and cunning" provide the "most favorable conditions", unlike the latter whose conditions of emergence are the "gentle, fine, complacent disposition, the art of accepting things lightly". Another characteristic of the new philosopher, which makes him different from the previous ones, is that he is not "restricted to the philosopher who writes books – or even makes books of *his* philosophy". But the main characteristic of the philosopher of the future is freedom of spirit. According to Nietzsche (1992, p. 44): "Stendhal contributed with one last trait to the image of the free-spirited philosopher".

The free-spirited philosopher is the one who has an independent life, very dangerous, for braving risky places unknown to most, being able to succumb and disappear anonymously and isolated. This independence consists of the detachment that one must have in relation to other people, in detachment from the homeland and also in relation to the feeling of compassion. And yet, this new European must be independent of his own knowledge and his own virtues, so as not to be a victim of his own particularities. Nietzsche sees in himself the prototype of this new philosopher, capable of conceiving the human being in a different way and of seeking his growth in deep places not yet discovered by the scholars of humanity.

In the opposite condition, the philosopher of the future intensifies his strength and carries to the extreme all that is dangerous. In this condition, what is an expression of weakness becomes strength. Nietzsche (1992, p.165) cites some of these men who managed, at some point, to intensify their strength, but succumbed to the pressure exerted by the prevailing European culture: "I think of men like Napoleon, Beethoven, Stendhal, Heinrich Heine, Schopenhauer; do not reproach me if I also include Richard Wagner among them."

For Nietzsche, these men, the broadest and deepest, have the task of preparing the way for a new synthesis, capable of anticipating the European of the future. And, one of the expressions of their strength is in the way they overcame nationalist sentiment. Napoleon

⁹ Nietzsche also calls, in *Beyond Good and Evil*, the free-spirited man, who supports his own independence, the "good European". To contrast with the "good man", a unanimous type, defended and praised by the prevailing morality in European culture. In this converge Christians, dogmatic philosophers, scholars, democrats and socialists. The "good European", on the other hand, is the one in whom there is a great accumulation of strength, which does not allow him to be attached to a homeland, a people, a nation or a person. A kind of supranational man, capable of quickly overcoming nationalist sentiment.

represents the type of man who wants the unification of the European continent. The Napoleonic will, against which the nationalist movements react, has the force capable of making the whole of Europe manly. Beethoven and Schopenhauer possess the ability to produce thought and music beyond the Germans. Heine would have contributed significantly, with his liberalism and Judaism, to a thought beyond Europe. So did Stendhal, who not only produced supra-European thought, but also heralded the new psychology required for the cultivation of the Europe of the future. Wagner is included among these because he represents Germany's passage to Europe. The strength of these men is manifested in their artistic production that announces the unification of Europe.

Nietzsche's great concern is to ensure that these men of high consciousness do not degenerate and thus reach the condition of creating and legislating. But to do so, it is necessary to let flow all the force accumulated by the process of flourishing of the predominant culture in Europe. This possibility is made effective through the valorization of the conditions opposed to this predominant culture, that is, with the promotion of an inversion of values. Once the flourishing of the philosopher-legislator is guaranteed, he will have the task of promoting an intervention in culture and committing himself to the creation of an elevated culture. And one of the attitudes to be taken is the construction of an aristocracy or caste of legislative philosophers summoned to lead Europe.

5 CONCLUSION

The Nietzschean idea of a new, united and strong Europe, which must arise from the flowering of a new man and, consequently, of a new culture, can contribute to the improvement not only of Europe, but also of the countries that are under its influence, that is, of those countries that have assimilated Western culture, contaminated by "modern ideas". His proposal for overcoming modern man is not the progressive or humanist one typical of the defenders of science. But it consists in valuing aspects that are indispensable to life, which until then have been denied and slandered as if they were harmful to human beings. Nietzsche inaugurates a new perspective for the flow of existence, according to which weakness, suffering, loneliness, conflicts and tensions are indispensable to achieve another form of life.

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