

WORLD FASCISM

WORLD FASCISM

A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

VOLUME 1: A–K

Cyprian P. Blamires, Editor
with Paul Jackson

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, United Kingdom

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

World fascism : a historical encyclopedia / Cyprian P. Blamires, editor ; with Paul Jackson.

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-57607-940-6 (hard cover : alk. paper)—ISBN 1-57607-941-4 (ebook)

1. Fascism—History—Encyclopedias. I. Blamires, Cyprian. II. Jackson, Paul.

JC481.W67 2006

335.603—dc22

20006021588

10 09 08 07 06 05 / 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an ebook.

Visit abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.

130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116–1911

Production Editor: Vicki Moran
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Media Editor: Sharon Daugherty
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Media Resources Manager: Caroline Price
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This book is printed on acid-free paper ∞.
Manufactured in the United States of America

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Editor's Foreword

This work of reference fills a significant void in the field of modern historical/political studies. There are existing individual encyclopaedic dictionaries dedicated respectively to the Third Reich and to interwar Italian Fascism as well as smaller reference works taking a global approach to far-right movements (and I have found all of these most useful as a reference resource for the editorial work); but there is to date no substantial English-language encyclopedia giving in-depth global coverage on this scale to the modern phenomenon of fascism from its first stirrings in the nineteenth century up to the beginning of the new millennium. The present work gives comprehensive coverage to movements, ideologies, ideologues, and events generally associated with fascism across the globe. Our aim is to give coverage firstly to those openly identifying themselves as 'fascists' (e.g., Mussolini, Mosley), secondly to some at least of those who have been associated—often wrongly in our view—with the idea of fascism in the public mind (e.g., General Pinochet of Chile), and thirdly, to some whose ideologies seem to have certain affinities to fascism (e.g., General Qadhafi of Libya).

The person who spotted this gap in our resources and decided to do something about it was Robert Neville, a former ABC-CLIO editor based in the Oxford office in the UK, so many thanks are due to him. Without the interest and the enthusiastic backing of Professor Roger Griffin of Oxford Brookes University in the UK our project would not have got off the ground, and he can certainly be regarded as the midwife of this particular baby. As the project developed he proved to be an unfailing source of information, contacts, advice, and general wisdom as well as being a major contributor to the content, and in my capacity as editor I owe him an inestimable debt. Alongside him

the Advisory Board has also provided invaluable support and encouragement. I would in addition like to express my thanks to all the one hundred and twenty-plus contributors from all over the globe who have worked unsparingly to make the *Encyclopedia* a success. They are based at universities in twenty-four different countries, and the range of nationalities they represent is even wider. One of the greatest pleasures for me in the preparation of this *Encyclopedia* has been the emailing relationships the work has led me to establish with so many scholars all over the world. In addition I should say a word of thanks to my son Robert who was kind enough to devote some time to studying the text and commenting on it at a formative moment in its development and to David O'Donoghue, who inspired the addition of an important entry to our original list. I must thank my wife Trudi too for her stoic endurance of the the intrusions of this project into our family life. Finally, a particular accolade to Paul Jackson, not simply for his various weighty articles, but also for having read the whole text through at a crucial stage and offered his wisdom about it; in addition, I am grateful to him for undertaking to compose the chronology and general bibliography and to add many bibliographical items to a number of entries.

DISCLAIMER

The term 'fascist' as used in the present work is not being used for purposes of abuse of individuals but is a taxonomic category of political analysis. The selection of a particular passage from an author's writings does not imply his or her guilt by association for the sufferings inflicted on millions of persons as a result of the

policies pursued by the two fascist regimes half a century ago, nor for the acts of criminality and violence carried out by contemporary fascist movements committed to racist or terrorist violence. 'Fascism' in the present work designates a political myth or ideology. There are numerous cases of modern ideologues who produce texts that could be identified as 'fascist', but who stay aloof from paramilitary or mass movements and repudiate violence, seeing culture, not the streets or parliament, as the prime arena in which the battle for national, European, or Aryan regeneration is to be fought. They would be likely to resent their ideas being categorized as 'fascist' whatever structural links there

might be between those ideas and the core ideas of fascism as understood by the contributors to the present work. Moreover, it is quite possible to contribute to some of the newer discourses of fascism, such as revisionism or the New Right, without harboring any sympathy with organized fascism at all, but simply by having written works that can be cited as mitigating circumstances for the atrocities committed by Nazism, or as theoretical justification for the rejection of egalitarian ideals. For further clarification of these issues, see the Introduction by Professor Roger Griffin.

Cyprian P. Blamires

WORLD FASCISM

WORLD FASCISM

A HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA

VOLUME 2: L-Z

Cyprian P. Blamires, Editor
with Paul Jackson

A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, United Kingdom

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

World fascism : a historical encyclopedia / Cyprian P. Blamires, editor ; with Paul Jackson.

p. cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 1-57607-940-6 (hard cover : alk. paper)—ISBN 1-57607-941-4 (ebook)

1. Fascism—History—Encyclopedias. I. Blamires, Cyprian. II. Jackson, Paul.

JC481.W67 2006

335.603—dc22

20006021588

10 09 08 07 06 05 / 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an ebook.

Visit abc-clio.com for details.

ABC-CLIO, Inc.

130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911
Santa Barbara, California 93116–1911

Production Editor: Vicki Moran
Editorial Assistant: Alisha Martinez
Production Manager: Don Schmidt
Media Editor: Sharon Daugherty
Image Coordinator: Ellen Dougherty
Media Resources Manager: Caroline Price
File Manager: Paula Gerard

This book is printed on acid-free paper ∞.
Manufactured in the United States of America

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- SQUADRISMO*
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 HELMET”)
 STALIN, IOSIF VISSARI-
 ONOVICH “JOSEF”
 (real surname, Dzhugashvili)
 STALINGRAD, THE BATTLE OF
 STARACE, ACHILLE
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 VALOIS, GEORGES (real name,
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Introduction

Part I: Defining Fascism

Unlike most reference books, *World Fascism: A Historical Encyclopedia* cannot, in the very nature of things, avoid being controversial. There are two reasons for this. One is that not all scholars are prepared to accept the idea that the original Italian Fascism and other political systems share some kind of common mentality or ideology; to them, German Nazism, for example, was so different from Italian Fascism that it is completely erroneous and false to historical fact to call them both *fascist*. Nazism was specifically and uniquely Germanic in its thinking and its mentality, whereas Italian Fascism was specifically and uniquely Italian. The wartime alliance between Mussolini and Hitler was an accident of history, and it provides no indication whatsoever of a common mind between them. They were both totalitarian dictatorships, but history is littered with such dictatorships, the vast majority of which could not by any stretch of the imagination be labeled “fascist.” Historians of such “nominalist” persuasion are unlikely to be convinced to join the fold of comparative fascist studies by the entries in this volume, whatever their empirical content.

The second reason why this encyclopedia is controversial is that even those scholars (the majority) who do accept that a phenomenon called *fascism* (spelled with a lowercase *f*, to distinguish it from specifically Italian Fascism—that is, the creed, practices, and policies of the Italian Fascist Party—spelled with the uppercase *F*)

can be identified as a common feature in many political systems, differ as to the common elements that compose it. For example, some have focused on the shared technique of the mass rally and the promotion of politics as spectacle, as a theatrical display of military and state power; some have focused on the leader cult, some on the doctrine of corporatism, and some on the resort to the tactics of terror. Several major scholars have defined it in such a way that it excludes Nazism as one of its manifestations. Indeed, until quite recently scholarly disagreement about what is to be understood by the generic term *fascism* would have made it almost unthinkable even to contemplate an encyclopedia of fascism whose entries broadly share a common perspective on the central topic.

However, the last few years have seen the growth—at least within the non-Marxist and Anglophone human sciences—of a convergence of scholarly opinion about the main features of fascism that I have referred to as the “new consensus” in fascist studies, though it is a consensus that is inevitably partial and contested.¹ As a result, it has become possible to contemplate a global treatment of fascism as a worldwide phenomenon originating in nineteenth-century Europe and that continues to be advocated and propagated in the third millennium, a treatment that will be broadly acceptable to the majority of experts working in fields relating to fascism, nationalism, and racism. The following is a working definition of how this emergent consensus views the phenomenon of global fascism:

2 Introduction

A revolutionary form of ultra-nationalism bent on mobilizing all “healthy” social and political energies to resist the perceived threat of decadence and on achieving the goal of a reborn national or ethnic community. This project involves the regeneration both of the political culture and of the social and ethical culture that underpins it, and in some cases involves the eugenic concept of rebirth based on racial doctrine.

This definition contains three core elements that are fundamental to the definition of generic fascism adopted in this encyclopedia.

THREE CORE ELEMENTS

Ultra-nationalism

The term *ultra-nationalism* is absolutely fundamental, and it must be understood as something totally different from traditional nationalism. Modern nationalism in the West is widely understood as based on “civic” concepts of nationality arising from legal processes that grant permanent rights of citizenship and residence even to culturally unassimilated ethnic or religious groups. But *ultra-nationalism* regards as “mechanistic” (see MECHANISTIC THINKING) and meaningless the notion that the mere granting of a passport or even the acquisition of a language is a sufficient prerequisite for an immigrant’s acquiring a nationality. Instead, it promotes an “ethnic,” “organic,” or “integral” concept of nationality that stresses the primacy of identity, of belonging to a supposedly homogeneous culture, shared history, or race that it sees as undermined by such forces as individualism, consumerism, mass immigration, cosmopolitanism, globalization, and multiculturalism. Fascist ideology builds on a concept of the nation as a living organism that can thrive, die, or regenerate, a suprapersonal community with a life history and destiny of its own that predates and survives “mere” individuals and imparts a higher purpose to their lives. (At the same time, it must of course be borne in mind that fascists may well choose to adopt the outward guise of a democratic political party or invoke apparently liberal principles such as freedom of speech as part of their tactics to increase popular support and gain power.)

The ultra-nationalist component of fascism means that it has assumed a wide variety of ideological permutations simply because of the extraordinary diversity of unique historical, religious, linguistic, political, military, or colonial factors involved in the emergence of modern nation-states and national communities. It has

also embraced strikingly different notions of national belonging, ranging from purely cultural and historical attachments to the incorporation of scientific notions of genetics, eugenics, and racial hygiene; in the case of the Third Reich, the nation itself was defined in terms of both cultural and biological racial purity, so that nationalism and racial pride became virtually identical. In Nazi parlance, to be German thus meant belonging both to a nation-state, a national culture, and to a discrete racial entity, even though the historical, geopolitical nation of Germany was far from coterminous with the imagined entity called the “German race.” So it is no more than a paradox when some fascists celebrate both their own (mythicized) nation and belonging to a supranational “home,” such as the White Race or Europe. It is on the grounds of this plural sense of belonging that a British Nazi can feel a much deeper sense of kinship with nationalistic “Aryans” in other countries, especially German Nazis, than with those of his own liberal fellow-citizens who lack a real sense of “roots,” let alone with (nonwhite/non-Europeanized) “immigrants.”

It is true that extreme forms of nationalism together with the aspiration to revolutionize society have been evident in certain regimes dedicated to “really existing socialism” in the twentieth century—not only in Russia and China but also in smaller nations such as Romania and North Korea. However, although as regimes they share some features with fascist totalitarianism, they cannot be regarded as coming under the definition of fascism offered here. In contrast to fascism, their core ideology centered not on reversing the nation’s decline, so as to bring about its rebirth, but on overthrowing a superseded social and economic system, whether feudal or bourgeois, in the name of a new phase of human history that would eventually emancipate all workers or all nations everywhere from the shackles of capitalism and the scourge of alienation. That kind of utopia is anathema to fascists, for it ultimately destroys both the nation and any sense of national belonging. (However, there have been attempted hybrids of fascism and communism; see, for example, NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM.)

Revolution

Our definition takes fascists at their word and accepts their claim that they are engaged in a revolutionary struggle to reverse decadence and inaugurate a national rebirth. It excludes from the category of fascism organized forms of chauvinism and racism such as the Austrian Freedom Party (see HAIDER, JÖRG) or France’s

National Front; for, although these may exhibit many features of interwar fascism, have roots in historical fascism, and even attract the vote of “genuine” fascists, they lack the revolutionary agenda of creating a new postfeudal, postliberal, or post-Soviet order.

No single template can be identified for the type of national community that would result from a successful fascist revolution, since in each case a unique constellation of historical factors conditions the policies on such issues as territorial expansion, technology, the participation of the working class and the peasantry, religion, art, demographic policy, women, or race. According to our definition, there have historically been only two actual government regimes that can properly be defined as fascist, Fascist Italy and the Third Reich, and they differed strikingly in such areas as the ambition of their colonial policies, the deployment of state terror, the implementation of policies of racial purification and ethnic cleansing, and the control of “cultural production” (painting, literature, architecture, and the like). These regimes also illustrate the fact that fascist movements can host deeply contrasting attitudes toward artistic modernism, the retention of private industry and finance capitalism, the role of the countryside as the source of racial regeneration, and the need to create a fascist International to induce the rebirth not just of individual nations but also of Europe itself.

Rebirth

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the definition we have offered, and certainly its hallmark as representative of the emerging new consensus in fascist studies, is the centrality it accords to the vision of regeneration, rebirth, or “palingenesis” (from the Greek *palin*, “again,” and *genesis*, “birth”), all three terms with organic connotations of reversing decay and of revitalization rather than of merely overthrowing one system to replace it by another. It is a myth closely connected to the idea of “cleansing,” “purifying,” or “redeeming” the nation as stressed in other definitions of fascism convergent with the one explored here. The destruction of the existing liberal or conservative system, the extensive deployment of highly invasive forms of social engineering, the elaborate displays of ritual politics, even the leader cult itself, all prominent features shared by Italian Fascism and Nazism once in power, were in fact not ends in themselves but means to an end: the transformation of society into the basis of a regenerated national community. The erection of a new political system and the militarization of society were not the

principal loci of the fascistization of the nation but rather the preconditions or concomitants of a deeper metamorphosis that fascists wanted to bring about in the nature of society: their final goal—like that of the communists—was to create a new national character, a new man.

Far from being a modern notion, rebirth is one of the fundamental archetypes in the history of human myth-making, playing a crucial role in the cosmology and ritual, whether metaphysical or secular, of virtually every human society that has existed since Neanderthal times. One has only to think of the power that continues to emanate for devout Christians from the image of Christ’s resurrection, or of how much the notion of renewal permeates all forms of New Age therapy, practice, and “alternative” belief, to realize the persistence of its mythic resonance. When combined with the modern ideology of ultra-nationalism, itself capable of generating enormous affective energy in times of collective danger or of outstanding achievement by a military, cultural, or sporting elite, it forms a mythic compound (“palingenetic ultra-nationalism”) that in the crisis conditions endemic to interwar Europe proved able to unleash a huge mobilizing power both as an elitist movement and as a populist force.

The importance that the promise of comprehensive social renewal acquires within the dynamics of fascism is not confined to the emotional affect it can produce on an elite of dedicated fanatics. The very nebulosity of the myth of rebirth is vital in enabling a fascist movement to recruit support from people with widely differing social backgrounds, heterogeneous values, and conflicting theories of how particular failings of society or symptoms of decadence may be remedied. Fascism’s ability under the “right” historical conditions to weld into a unified movement diffused and fragmented constituencies of disaffection and utopianism is due in no small measure to the power of the notion of an ill-defined renewal or palingenesis to override the conflicts between rival visions of the new order, which, without this all-purpose mythopoeic “glue,” would lead to irreversible fractionalization. This “override” effect resembles the way in which the experience of being in love can be so overwhelming to a couple as to make a host of practical objections or problems seem trivial. Because “rebirth” is ultimately a metapolitical phenomenon, a spiritual or psychological metaphor of radical change rooted in archaic notions of accessing a “sacred” higher dimension of time itself, its pervasive role in fascist ideology means that the same movement can host a wide range of projects for renewal in such different spheres as the military, foreign policy, imperialism, the

role of women, demographic policy, art, economics, technology, and sport, while accommodating contrasting elements of elitism and populism, together with deep divisions over the role that the past should play in inspiring the present renewal of society.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of fascism's palingenetic component, however, is the alchemical property that it displays in the most intimate symbolical sphere of the human imagination: its capacity to transmute despair into hope, absurd death into sacrifice, end into beginning, twilight into dawn, ruthless destruction into ritual cleansing, symptoms of decline into harbingers of a new era, the bleakest winter into a new spring. To inhabit a palingenetic mind-set is to experience all issues and events as if they partook of a magical dimension invisible to the uninitiated, turning what to outsiders might seem like chaos and darkness into a dramatic narrative of decay's mysterious metamorphosis into renewal shot through with shafts of light. Palingenetic mythopoeia lies at the very heart of the human capacity to sanctify the profane, sacralize the secular, and create a web of religious sentiments and presentiments that bind the seeming confusions of reality into a world infused with transcendent meaning. When, as in fascism, the object of this faculty is the national community, then its very history is endowed with spiritual, transcendental, sacral meaning; if a fascist movement actually succeeds in conquering power, it will tend naturally to institute a "political religion" that sacralizes both the nation and the state, which is now charged with instituting the new order. Even before that, it will tend as a movement to espouse overtly charismatic, spectacular, ritual forms of politics that make the liturgical aspect of the "civic religion" fostered by liberal democracy (for example, the state opening of Parliament in Britain or the State of the Union Address in the United States) pale into insignificance.

The definition of generic fascism given above may be illustrated by two samples of the fascist style of ideological discourse taken from speeches made by fascist leaders. The first comes from a speech by Mussolini on the eve of the March on Rome in October 1922, a major step in Italian Fascism's "conquest of the state." The second comes from an address by Hitler at the Nuremberg Rally of September 1935, two years after the Nazi "seizure of power."

Mussolini

We have created our myth. The myth is a faith, a passion. It is not necessary for it to be a reality. It is a reality in the sense that it is a stimulus, is hope, is faith, is courage. Our myth is the nation; our myth is the

greatness of the nation! And it is to this myth, this greatness, which we want to translate into a total reality, that we subordinate everything else.

For us the nation is not just territory, but something spiritual. There are States which have had immense territories and which have left no trace in human history. It is not just a question of size, because there have been minute, microscopic States in history which have bequeathed memorable, immortal specimens of art and philosophy.

The greatness of the nation is the totality of all these qualities, of all these conditions. A nation is great when it translates into reality the force of its spirit. Rome becomes great when, starting out as a small rural democracy, it gradually spreads out across the whole of Italy in accordance with its spirit, till it encounters the warriors of Carthage and must fight them. It is the first war in history, one of the first. Then, gradually, it bears its standards to the ends of the earth, but at every turn the Roman Empire is the creation of the spirit, since the weapons were aimed, not just by the arms of the Roman legionaries, but by their spirit. Now, therefore, we desire the greatness of the nation, both material and spiritual.²

Hitler

At some future date, when it will be possible to view these events in clear perspective, people will be astonished to find that just at the time the National Socialists and their leaders were fighting a life-or-death battle for the preservation of the nation the first impulse was given for the re-awakening and restoration of artistic vitality in Germany. It was at this same juncture that the congeries of political parties were wiped out, the opposition of the federal states overcome, and the sovereignty of the Reich established as sole and exclusive. While the defeated Center Party and the Marxists were being driven from their final entrenchments, the trade unions abolished, and while National Socialist thought and ideas were being brought from the world of dream and vision into the world of fact, and our plans were being put into effect one after the other—in the midst of all this we found time to lay the foundations of a new Temple of Art. And so it was that the same revolution that had swept over the State prepared the soil for the growth of a new culture.

Art is not one of those human activities that may be laid aside to order and resumed to order. Nor can it be retired on pension, as it were. For either a people is endowed with cultural gifts that are inherent in its very nature or it is not so endowed at all. Therefore such gifts are part of the general racial qualities of a people. But the creative function through which these spiritual gifts or faculties are expressed follows the same law of development and decay that governs all human activity.³

Clearly, there are important differences between these passages. While both are resoundingly nationalistic, the references to culture as the expression of racial qualities distinguishes the German speech from the purely cultural nationalism alluded to in the Italian. Mussolini's invocation of the Romans as the role model for the greatness of a nation would make no sense in Hitler's speech (unless it were part of a general eulogy of the past cultural glories of Aryan peoples). There is furthermore an element of biological determinism in the second passage foreign to the first (although, as a matter of historical fact, Fascist Italy did eventually attempt to "Aryanize" and biologize its conception of the Italian race). Nor should it be inferred from these two passages that the two fascist leaders had the same view of art. In practice, Mussolini displayed an almost total indifference to aesthetic issues and presided benevolently over a plethora of contrasting artistic styles and creeds following a principle that has been called "hegemonic pluralism." Hitler's speech, on the other hand, is one of many that he made as the ultimate arbiter of cultural issues, in which capacity he was about to launch a ferocious campaign against artistic modernism as an expression of decadence (involving the selling off or destruction of thousands of works of art, not to mention the persecution of their creators). This drive to purge Germany of aesthetic decadence ("cultural Bolshevism") was a direct corollary of the mission to destroy all the ideological and racial enemies of the New Germany that became the thrust of World War II.

Despite all these points of contrast, the parallels between the two passages remain striking. At the heart of both lies the vision of national greatness to be realized in order to replace a decadent liberal system. In both, the key to the revolution is the will or spirit needed to translate dream or myth into practice, thereby transforming the course of history itself. Moreover, the speeches from which these extracts were taken are in fact to be seen as *performative* acts—that is, they are not intended simply to reflect on the times but actually to shape them through the power of ideas to inform actions directly—and thus, to use a phrase from another speech by Mussolini, to "make history." Despite the vast differences in their personalities, both men came to embody the idea of providential and redemptive forces of rebirth spontaneously generated from the depth of the national soul, to save the nation in its hour of need. Once the collective hopes for renewal were projected onto them, they were transfigured among their supporters into "charismatic" leaders, a blend of head of state, war-lord, legendary hero, savior, and seer. They

thus came to incarnate the spirit of the new order and of the "new man" necessary for history to enter a new era and for time to begin again.

We have to remember that whereas for us today the words they uttered are now frozen impotently on the page, the fanatical devotees among their first hearers responded to them in the context of what to them was no ordinary event, but one that took place in a higher, ritual time in which an invisible bond was renewed between them and their leader. For them, what they were listening to was no mere "propaganda" but liturgical confirmation of the fundamental axioms of the fascist worldview. Even these brief passages convey some of its key elements: the violence of military intervention and the dismantling of democracy is, in the mind of the fascist, not destructive or barbaric but regenerative and cathartic, forming the precondition to national renewal; the nation is first and foremost a spiritual entity, a sum far greater than its visible parts, so that the sphere of politics is organically linked to the sphere of art and culture, which is no longer conceived as an independent realm of innovation and self-expression but rather as the externalization of the genius of a whole people; the imminent flourishing of art is to be seen in terms of renaissance, as a revival of an earlier high tide of creativity, whether that of the Romans or the heyday of premodernist German art.

Both speeches imply that the spirit of the revival is not that of backward-looking reaction born of nostalgia for premodern idylls (even if the German text refers to "restoration") but of rebirth. In other words, political renewal is intimately bound up with cultural renewal, pointing to the "total" conception of the nation and the interconnectedness of all its component spheres that underlies fascist totalitarianism. Approached in this way, the nation itself, with its institutional, political, economic, military, social, and human resources, comes to be seen by the fascist elite as the raw material to be molded and sculpted into a living community, retaining from the decadent old order everything capable of transformation, and discarding the remainder as waste. If the spirit of the nation can be reawakened and purged of the forces of decadence, then the revolution will take place in every sphere of society, great achievements will follow in politics and art, and the new man, *Homo fascistus*, will be born. In the words of a Nazi ideologue: "The new human being lives in conscious service of the community, but with a deeply personal sense of responsibility. He is not a person 'in his own right,' and not the embodiment of a class, but of his people. He does not live for himself, but as an integral part of a living whole."

Hence for Mussolini, Fascism does not strive to conquer external territory for its own sake, and certainly not primarily for economic ends, but as a symbolic gesture, part of the project of colonizing the inner space of Italy so as to turn its inhabitants into modern Romans capable of achieving greatness once more. Similarly for Hitler, the reversal of the terms of the humiliating Versailles Treaty and the acquisition of an empire is not just a question of military might and political will. Its premise is the rebirth of Germany, the “growth of a new culture” whose hegemony on the world stage will save the West from terminal decline.

SOURCES OF CONFUSION

Taking fascist ideology at face value

The approach being taken here to the phenomenon of “fascism” is suspect to some commentators, simply because it takes seriously the claims of fascists about their creed. Curiously, it has long been legitimate in some academic circles to apply one standard to the apostles of communism, whose belief-systems have been generally reckoned sincere in intent even if misguided and horrendously destructive in implementation, while applying another standard to the propagandists for fascism. These have been widely assumed to be using their ideology merely as a cloak to cover a naked desire for dictatorial tyranny or destruction for its own sake—without actually believing in it themselves. In particular, simply to take at face value fascists’ claims about the revolutionary nature of their cause was for a long time unthinkable for many experts within fascist studies, and it is still anathema to most convinced Marxists. For the latter, the driving force behind fascism is precisely the desire to crush the only true revolutionary process of the modern age—namely, the bid by socialists to overthrow capitalism and usher in the next stage in the evolution of humanity toward a communist society. Fascism is thus, for them, inherently reactionary, no matter how much it adopts the rhetoric and outward trappings of popular revolution in order to deceive the masses about its true purpose. As a result, some Marxist intellectuals have even read apologetic intentions into the new consensus, as if the attempt to understand Nazism’s worldview somehow meant justifying it (which is no more logical than suggesting that a cancer specialist approves of cancer).

A key premise behind the definition applied in this introduction therefore needs to be spelled out—namely, that it is perfectly legitimate to apply to fascism

the same principle used by academics when defining any ideological phenomenon, whether a premodern cultural system or a modern political movement—that is, “methodological empathy.” This is the deliberate attempt to understand policies and events not from “outside” but from “within,” in the way that those responsible conceived them, and hence to achieve a deeper grasp of their inner rationale and logic.

This principle is part of the stock-in-trade of cultural anthropology. Thus, however much aspects of ancient Egyptian or Aztec societies, for example, can be explained in generic categories such as “superstition,” “feudal oppression,” or “patriarchy,” the starting point for understanding them is their cosmology, accepted in its own terms as a way of interpreting the world. Reconstituting the belief-system that led to the building of pyramids as the vehicle for the pharaoh’s passage to immortal life, or as the sacred site for the constant flow of human blood required for the Fifth Sun to continue its orbit, is not a matter of justifying irrational notions about the cosmos or rationalizing suffering. It serves rather as a technique for learning more about the societies that held those beliefs. It is not apologetic, but heuristic.

The same is true of historians engaged in the study of particular episodes in the evolution of Western society. No matter how much inhumanity or corruption has been presided over by political systems associated with Christianity, absolute monarchy, conservatism, or liberalism, it is normal historiographical procedure to characterize their underlying ideologies in terms of the values, aspirations, and worldview of their major protagonists and thinkers—rather than on the basis of how they were experienced and perceived by their victims. To approach the Thirty Years’ War solely as the clash of rival territorial ambitions, or the colonization of Latin America solely from the perspective of the inhabitants of an Incan city that had just been looted by conquistadors, would be considered poor, even perverse, historiography, no matter how much light those events might throw on the exploitation of Christianity by secular interests as the rationale for wealth and power, or on the “phenomenological” realities of conquest for its victims.

Inevitably, the unprecedented scale on which crimes against humanity were mass-produced by the policies of the Third Reich, and the inconceivable number of lives lost as a result of the war to defeat it, between 1939 and 1945, made it virtually impossible for the generation of academics who lived through those events to apply methodological empathy to understanding what had just happened. Fascism was natu-

rally interpreted as the breakdown of civilization, as an orgy of nihilism and barbarism, or as a display of capitalism's most terroristic and destructive "imperialist" impulses. Children of their age, most academics instinctively characterized it in terms of what it was against, rather than what it was for, portraying it as the ruthless enemy of whatever they upheld as valuable—whether freedom, socialism, liberalism, humanism, Christianity, culture, progress, or reason. Fascism, now equated in the public mind with Nazism, was the product of a pathological national culture, an aberrant path to modernity, the last-ditch stand of a doomed imperialist system, or the megalomania of evil genius.

Some scholars, even those of the stature of Hugh Trevor-Roper and Denis Mack Smith, were so bemused by the seeming contradictions between the proclaimed beliefs of fascist leaders and their actual practice that they simply conjured away the importance of the vision of national redemption in interpreting their actions, dismissing fascist ideology as little more than euphemistic claptrap cloaking a traditional Machiavellian pragmatism. But between 1960 and 1980 a small number of scholars began pioneering a more sophisticated way of approaching fascism, explaining it as the product of a profound structural crisis in liberal society and, in its own terms, as a revolutionary bid to resolve that crisis and create a new type of national culture. Although their theories inevitably had idiosyncratic elements and might conflict on key issues, Ernst Nolte, Eugen Weber, Juan Linz, Stanley Payne, Zeev Sternhell, and George Mosse together established comparative fascist studies as a legitimate field of academic enquiry. In doing so they made it possible to treat the external features of fascism in interwar Europe (with which it had become identified)—uniforms, leader cult, militarism, spectacular or religious politics, social engineering of conformism and collective enthusiasm, elimination of individual freedoms and of the rights of workers—not as definitional traits but as the outer trappings of a movement that was working to achieve a "higher" purpose, one that it treated with deadly earnest. In different ways they all accepted that the propaganda machines of fascist parties and regimes were attempting not to brainwash the masses in order to enslave them but to induce them to share genuinely held beliefs and aspirations.

In that respect George Orwell's *1984*, though undoubtedly a brilliant evocation of the terrifying experience of living under a modern totalitarian state for someone with deep-seated humanistic instincts and convictions, is also quite misleading, since it implies that at the very heart of the regime lay an ideological

vacuum, the absence of any genuine ideals other than those of a pathological sadist. What pioneers of fascist studies had in common was the belief that it was a perfectly legitimate scholarly enterprise to describe fascism in the terms that its ideologues themselves employed, as a movement of extreme nationalism bent on creating a new type of sociopolitical order, whose generic contents and "style" were dictated (in interwar Europe, at least) by the peculiar sociopolitical climate of crisis and disorientation that emerged in the aftermath of World War I. Equipped with this definition it was possible to identify the common ground shared by movements that called themselves fascist (for example, Italian Fascism, the British Union of Fascist, *Le Faisceau* in France), but, more important, to classify as fascist for the purposes of comparative study a large number of ultra-nationalist movements whose ideologues did not necessarily have recourse to the term themselves (as in the case of Nazism and the Romanian Iron Guard).

The relationship between fascism and conservatism

In its own terms then, fascism was not simply another reactionary or conservative force, for it had genuinely revolutionary aspirations. Just as many international socialists interpreted World War I as the externalization of a structural crisis of liberal democracy that heralded the age of socialism, so ultra-nationalists were predisposed to see in the chaotic events that burst upon Europe after 1914 the signs that a process of decay, affecting not just their nation but the whole of the West, was about to give way to a new age. It also follows from this methodological premise that, in marked contrast to the earlier generation of historians, scholars working in harmony with the "new consensus" take seriously the claim of many fascist ideologues to want to bring about a new type of culture. Fascism's stress on the primacy of values, ideals, and the will, its tendency to "aestheticize" politics through elaborate liturgical displays of mass energy, and the importance that it attaches to artistic, intellectual, and cultural activity are not therefore to be dismissed as the cynical propaganda of a fundamentally barbarian, nihilistic ideology. Rather, they are to be viewed as part of a drive by a modern regime to bring about a total change in values and ethos, an anthropological revolution. It is this drive that in turn explains their improvisation of an elaborate "political religion" that sets out to sacralize the state and induce the collective experience of living through the inauguration of a new historical era in the life of the nation.

Undeniably, the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini both devoted vast resources to propaganda and social engineering, but that was not in order to manipulate or “brainwash” people for the sake of it, nor to conceal a vacuum of cynicism, perversion, and nihilism; at least some of their adherents were undoubtedly true believers in a new faith who took themselves to be collaborating to achieve its rebirth. The ultimate goal of fascists was not territorial expansion or total control, but a regenerated culture in the “total” sense familiar from anthropology when it talks of Hindu or Mayan culture.

Many nationalist parties or movements have wanted the benefits of civil society to be enjoyed only by an indigenous population that culturally or ethnically fully “belongs” to the nation (the product of deeply utopian and ahistorical imaginings). They are not “fascist,” however, according to our definition, unless they pursue an agenda (whether overt or covert) not only of “regime change” but also of “system change”—the wholesale replacement of liberal democracy by a new order. There have been episodes even in the history of liberalism that have an affinity with fascism, as when Robespierre attempted to purge France of the enemies of the revolution through the Terror, or when World War I temporarily but effectively turned liberal nations into authoritarian states, condemning millions of their citizens to the horrors of trench warfare. But lacking a vision of a postliberal new order, revolutionary France and World War I Britain did not come close to developing anything that could justly be called fascism.

A far more serious source of confusion for the novice to the comparative study of fascism is its complex relationship with conservatism. Interwar Europe retained a considerable political and social legacy from the age of absolutism, and in a number of countries right-wing nationalist regimes were in place based upon authoritarian forms of monarchical or military power. In Latin America too, several military or personal dictatorships were established, while Imperial Japan became ever more aggressively expansionist abroad and totalitarian at home. It has become part of the “common-sense” view of the history of the period for all of these to be seen as symptoms of the so-called era of fascism—a perception apparently corroborated by the way in which so many of these regimes deliberately adopted elements of the fascist style of rule, such as vast displays of spectacular politics, a youth movement, the cult of the nation, the portrayal of the head of state as a charismatic leader, and the militarization of society. The equation of authoritarian conservatism with fascism was seemingly corroborated by the help offered to

Franco’s war against the Spanish Republic by Hitler and Mussolini: the net impact of this on global opinion was for the cause of Franco to be equated with the cause of fascism. Later on, Japan’s alliance with Germany and Italy in the Axis encouraged the belief that Japan too was fascist. The anticommunist and anti-Soviet stance adopted by all authoritarian right-wing regimes after 1917 also seemed to bear out the Marxist classification of them as “fascist.”

However, from the perspective of the definition adopted in the present work, fascism is in principle as hostile to conservative forces as it is to liberal ones. But in the interwar period, fascism was forced into collusion with conservative forces for tactical reasons whenever the prospect of gaining power opened up, for it lacked the mass support to carry out the national revolution on its own. Mussolini’s Fascism is exemplary in that respect. Mussolini’s movement started out in 1919 with a radical program of anticlericalism and republicanism partly conceived in the Futurist spirit of making a radical break with the past. But within a decade the “anti-party” had become the basis of a deeply hierarchical single-party state that upheld the monarchy, had signed a pact with the Vatican, was instituting a cult both of “Romanness” and the state, and had become heavily dependent on Italy’s existing military establishment, business and industrial sector, and civil service for its survival. Its leadership, youthful enough at the time of the March on Rome in 1922, was by the early 1930s well on the way to becoming a gerontocracy, a reactionary old guard hated by a new generation of fascists as obstructing the second wave of revolutionary energy that many youthful idealists wanted to see spread not just through Italy but also the whole of Europe.

Franco’s Spain demonstrates another permutation of the tangled nexus between fascism and conservatism. Although aided by the fascist dictators, General Franco was by instinct true to his profession as an army commander, and deeply aware of the threat to the traditional ruling elites posed by national revolutionaries fighting for a “New Spain.” As a result he kept his options open with Mussolini and Hitler, cultivating enough of the image of a fascist dictator to make them believe that he might become a full partner in the New European Order and incorporating the fascist Falange into his regime rather than eliminating it. That was a shrewd move, since its paramilitary squads had fought alongside Franco’s regular troops in the Civil War; by institutionalizing the Falangists he was able to maintain a facade of revolutionary dynamism and youthful activism while essentially perpetuating the institutional

structures of preliberal Spain—notably the aristocracy and the Catholic Church.

In fact then, conservative forces classically take every opportunity to eliminate, marginalize, or neutralize fascism, and only when they require the populist appeal supplied by fascism to reinforce their own political legitimacy are they prepared to deal with fascism, on a temporary basis. The notable exceptions to this rule are Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, where conservatism supplied the tail to the fascist dog; only in the Third Reich, however, was revolutionary nationalism able to achieve a high measure of ascendancy over the civil service, industry, the military, and the church (the monarchy had been abolished in 1918). Yet here too conservatives played a crucial role in enabling fascism to seize power in both cases, having persuaded themselves that it would help destroy the threat from the Left and restore law and order.

As for Imperial Japan, there is no doubt that in the course of the 1930s its ruling elites were increasingly impressed by the territorial expansion of Italian Fascism and Nazism, as well as their open contempt for the League of Nations. The Third Reich became a role model for the country's bid to create a vast Asian colonial empire based on the alleged cultural and racial superiority of the Japanese and their right to achieve geopolitical hegemony in the Far East. However, the fact that it attempted to realize this utopia with its feudal social and political system intact—and hence not under a charismatic leader but a divine emperor—makes parallels with European fascism specious. The invasion of Manchuria in 1931 was not the expression of a revolutionary bid to bring about the rebirth of Japan out of its decline, but of the attempt by hawkish elements within the dominant military faction to maneuver the political caste into pursuing policies that would enable Japan to fulfill its considerable potential as a colonial power in the East, now that the age of European imperialism was drawing to an end. It had been placed in that position thanks to an extraordinarily rapid program of modernization, industrialization, and militarization carried out by an arch-conservative “ancien regime” with the minimum of democratization, secularization, or need to mobilize mass populist energies. The Japan that formed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in 1937 certainly displayed features that can be illuminated by some generic terms deployed by Western specialists in the human sciences and historians, such as “conservatism,” “militarism,” “feudalism,” “nationalism,” and “totalitarianism.” However, the peculiarities of its modernization and rise to nationhood mean that approaching its

behavior as a twentieth-century military and colonial power Eurocentrically in terms of its relationship to fascism is likely to lead to more misunderstanding than insight, distracting attention from features of its imperialism for which there is no Western counterpart and that must be explored from within Japan's own history and culture. It is a history that demonstrates the power of conservatism to operate as a modern form of imperialism in a way foreign to the Western experience.

The relationship between fascism and modernity

A further confusing area is that of the relationship between fascism and modernity. The sharp contrast between the level of economic development in Italy and Germany on the eve of their respective fascist takeovers, and the vast gap separating (for instance) the Britain of the British Union of Fascists from the Romania of the Iron Guard, make it clear how fallacious it would be to locate the genesis of fascism within a particular stage of modernization. A corollary of fascism's antagonism to traditional conservatism is that it would be equally erroneous to assume that it is intrinsically hostile to modernity. Rather, its aspiration to inaugurate a new age has made many fascists believe themselves to be hypermodern, with the qualification that they have seen their task as restoring to modern life those roots and communal ethical boundaries without which it seems to them to become essentially vacuous and nihilistic. What fascism does viscerally oppose is not modernity, as such, but those elements within modernity that it considers to be fueling national decay and the erosion of that sense of a higher purpose to existence that fascism associates with membership in an organic community. While opposing cosmopolitanism and the spread of materialism, fascism can at the same time celebrate modern technology and the triumphs of the corporate economy; while envying the dynamism of the capitalism and technology of the United States, it can reject America's exaggerated individualism and moral decadence.

Similarly, there was no contradiction if Nazism celebrated Aryan values and the glories of the Germanic knights while also taking pride in its newly created motorway system; the autobahn was precisely the demonstration of the eternal Aryan genius for technology and culture, and a symbol both of the synthesis of ancestral land and forests with modernity and of the opening up of the nation to the whole people made possible for the first time through the “People's Car,” the Volkswagen.

Nor was it inconsistent with the myth of a Thousand-Year Reich if the Nazis used the latest IBM technology to keep tabs on some of the millions consigned to rot or die in the concentration camps as victims of what, seen by those not under the thrall of Nazism, are clearly ancient reflexes of hatred and prejudice rationalized by pseudo-scientific theories of racial purity and decadence. The Nazis saw themselves as pioneering a new age, fusing the healthiest parts of the earlier ages with the best of modernity. It was the spirit of the past that fascists looked to in order to inspire the new era of greatness. They had no intention of restoring the various ways this spirit had externalized itself in more glorious days by abandoning the fruits of the industrial and technological revolutions.

This paradoxical relationship with the past gave fascism a complex relationship with aesthetic modernism in the interwar period. There was no inconsistency if some fascists celebrated the thrust to transcend decadence and inaugurate a new era at the heart of much modernist art, while others saw in it a symptom of rootless cosmopolitanism, the privatization of the artists' vision, the boundless commercialization of art, or the symptom of a loss of racial instinct. At this point it became a symbol of decadence rather than its transcendence. Underlying both responses was the same longing for art to reflect the health and dynamism of the national community, rather than the originality or genius of the artist. As such, fascism itself can be seen as one manifestation of modernism, understood not in the narrow artistic sense, but as a drive to counteract the disembedding, disenchanting, decentering impact of modernity that could manifest itself not only in movements of social revitalization, such as eugenics, utopian town planning, or youth movements, but also in revolutionary forms of politics with ambitious social programs to put an end to modern degeneracy.

Fascism's relationship to religion

Many fascists under Mussolini and Hitler experienced no fundamental contradiction between their religious faith and commitment even to the most extreme policies of the regime, and some clergy were enthusiastic party members and contributors to the leader cult. In Italy, where Catholicism permeated social and political life, this gave rise to the phenomenon called clerico-Fascism, which, in terms of our working definition, is a hybrid of fascism with Christianity rather than a variant of fascism itself, symptomatic of the highly developed human capacity to live out value systems contain-

ing components that are theoretically contradictory and incompatible. In Romania, the Iron Guard incorporated elements of the imagery and rhetoric of the Orthodox Church into its ideology, but that is to be attributed to the fact that in multiethnic, multicultural Romania, Orthodoxy was an indicator of "Romanian-ness." To make it an integral part of the consciousness of *omul nou* (the New Man), the Orthodox metaphysical element of religion was subtly replaced by the component of secular nationalism: Christ was stripped of genuine otherworldly mystery and was reduced to a metaphor for national redemption and the ultimate sacrifice demanded of "true" Romanians. A similar process of the perversion of religion into an ingredient of ultra-nationalism is exhibited in the relationship to Catholicism of the Falange in Franco's Spain, the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the Croatian Ustasha, and the Belgian Rex, in the use of Dutch Reformed Christianity by the prewar South African *Ossawabrandweg* and the postwar *Afrikaner-Werstandsbeveging*, and the invocation of Lutheranism in the Finnish People's Patriotic Movement.

A close study of such examples will confirm the fact that fascism promotes a fundamentally secular worldview. It postulates a supra-individual realm, but one that does not extend beyond the strictly this-worldly transcendence afforded by the epic history of the "organic" nation, rather than a metaphysical eternity made possible in a supraterrrestrial spiritual, divine dimension. As Hitler declared in a moment of lucidity, "To the Christian doctrine of the infinite significance of the individual human soul . . . I oppose with icy clarity the saving doctrine of the nothingness and insignificance of the individual human being, and of his continued existence in the visible immortality of the nation." From this perspective Nazism's "Positive Christianity" was as much a euphemism as the "resettlement" of Jews or the "selection" of concentration camp inmates. It is consistent with this that Italian Fascism and Nazism developed elaborate forms of "political religion" that aped Christianity, and that their more radical and coherent ideologues wanted to impose as an ersatz faith and liturgy, substituting for belief in Christ a pagan cosmology and secular values centered on the nation and race. There is no doubt that in the long run Nazi leaders such as Hitler and Himmler intended to eradicate Christianity just as ruthlessly as any other rival ideology, even if in the short term they had to be content to make compromises with it.

Despite the clarity of such examples, fascism's relationship with religion is made problematic by the difficulty of drawing a neat demarcation line between the

secular and the religious. In the United States, radical-right forms of Christianity, such as Christian Identity, and pagan variants of white supremacy, such as Aryan Nations, pose thorny taxonomic issues; some experts (notably Walter Laqueur) argue that radical religion itself—such as radical Islam and radical Hinduism—constitutes a form of “clerical fascism” that shows every sign of growing in importance in the new millennium. However, the policy of the present work is to regard such phenomena as more appropriately treated in an encyclopedia of religious politics or fundamentalism, no matter how many surface affinities there are between right-wing fanaticisms of any denomination.

These are just some of the issues that continue to generate controversy in comparative fascist studies, and we have not even attempted to discuss perhaps the most crucial one of all for historians—namely, how the ideology and values of fascism relate to its praxis, and to the concrete events in which individual variants of it have been involved as a sociopolitical force in modern history. In considering such questions it is worth bearing in mind that ultimately, like all taxonomic and generic concepts, the label *fascism* is a “cognitive construct,” or what Max Weber called an “ideal type.” It has been abstracted from the data relating to a cluster of singular phenomena between which a certain kinship is sensed, such as different variants of “feudal system,” “revolution,” “bourgeoisie,” “modernity,” or “totalitarian state.” Ideal types cannot be “true” in the absolute sense, but they can have differing degrees of usefulness to the academic researching a particular area. The definitional essence of fascism is not some priceless treasure to be found only through a daring leap of the romantic or historical imagination, or what one historian sarcastically likened to the Holy Grail. It resembles rather an industrial diamond in being an entirely “man-made” product, a conceptual entity constructed through an act of idealizing abstraction in which flights of speculation are strictly controlled by down-to-earth data. It is thus a deliberate cognitive act that takes place at the beginning of an empirical investigation in the human sciences for mundane, strictly heuristic purposes. Defining fascism is not an idealistic quest but a functional starting-point for writing aspects of its history.

Roger Griffin

Notes

1. For more on the “new consensus” and the evolution of fascist studies hitherto, see Roger Griffin, “The Primacy of Culture: The Current Growth (or Manufacture) of Consensus within

Fascist Studies.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 1 (2002): 21–43; Aristotle Kallis, ed. 2002. *The Fascist Reader*. London: Routledge; Roger Griffin, ed., with Matthew Feldman. 2003. *Critical Concepts: Fascism*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge.

2. Benito Mussolini, Il discorso di Napoli, [The Naples speech], October 24, 1922, text in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, No. 255, October 25, 1922; and in E. and D. Susmel, eds. 1951–1981. *Omnia Opera di Benito Mussolini*. Florence: La Fenice, Vol. 18, pp. 453–458, cited in Roger Griffin, ed. 1995. *Fascism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 43–44.
3. Adolf Hitler, “Art and Politics,” in M. Muller and Son. 1935. *Liberty. Art. Nationhood*, pp. 33–42, cited in Roger Griffin, ed. 1995. *Fascism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 139–140.

Part II: A Short History of Fascism

THE ORIGINS OF FASCISM

It is consistent with these reflections on the nature of fascism that it has assumed radically contrasting expressions according to the specific national culture and political situation in which it has attempted to transform the status quo. It has also undergone profound changes in external expression and specific ideological content, according to whether it was born out of the structural crisis of liberal civilization and capitalism in the decade following World War I, or whether it has had to adapt to the very different threats to the (supposedly) “organic nation,” “national community,” or the mythic European motherland of individual ethnicities posed by the general return to stability and prosperity in the liberal capitalist world after 1945 and the emergence of the Soviet Empire.

As a fusion of the rebirth myth with ultra-nationalism, fascism has naturally emerged in societies in which two conditions have prevailed: (a) an established tradition of ultra-nationalism that rejects not just feudal or absolutist notions of dynastic power, and conservative ideas of restoring a preliberal social system (the “ancien regime”), but also liberalism itself; and (b) a prevailing sense of national decadence, weakness, and decline. In late-nineteenth-century Europe that conjuncture came about when the explosive forces of “modernity” precipitated the subjective crisis in the myth of rationality and progress associated with the “revolt against positivism” and the closely connected modernist revolt

against “decadence.” This expressed itself in the widespread preoccupation within artistic and intellectual circles with moral and cultural decline and renewal (for example, Dostoevsky, Nietzsche, Wagner), which in turn formed the backcloth to intense speculation about how to stop the rot and recenter a world sliding into spiritual anarchy through a revolution that would have to be as much ethical and metapolitical as political. At the end of the nineteenth century, “palingenetic” forms of ultra-nationalism remained utopian, with no real sense of the need to mobilize the masses, but by 1900 several countries were producing varieties of such forms that warrant the label “proto-fascism”: notably Germany, Italy, and France, all of which went on to produce vigorous fascist subcultures after 1918.

Where and when a fully fledged form of fascism first manifested itself is a more tricky issue to resolve. By the turn of the twentieth century there was abundant writing both fictional and nonfictional available to Germans expressing the *völkisch* longing for the nation to throw off the decadent forces that were threatening its cultural and racial essence and bring about a total rebirth. Italy too hosted rich seams of cultural nationalism calling for the newly formed nation to complete its Risorgimento by discovering a unifying vision that would finally allow it to become a great nation and put an end to Giolitti’s liberal regime, which was allegedly condemning it to mediocrity, disunity, and impotence. On the other hand, some scholars have argued that, ideologically, fascism already existed fully formed in France by the outbreak of World War I, born out of the fusion of antimaterialist Marxism with “tribal” nationalism. This resulted from the collaboration of syndicalists searching for a myth that would unleash the forces of popular revolution, with ultra-nationalists influenced by Maurras’s attempt to find a way of mobilizing the populist energies necessary to regenerate France. It has even been suggested that the key ideas of French fascism were subsequently imported by Italian syndicalists to become the germ of Mussolini’s movement. Yet that remains a minority view.

Scholars associated, wittingly or not, with the “new consensus” alluded to above broadly agree that the period from 1880 to 1914 was crucial for incubating fascism and producing all of its key ideological ingredients: for example, the organic conception of nationalism, the rejection of Enlightenment reason, the obsession with decay and renewal, the call for new elites, the cult of the body as the vehicle of health and beauty, eugenic notions of degeneration and the improvement of the race, and the conception of the modern state as charged with the task of realizing the ideal society (the

so-called “gardening state”). However, a majority opinion is that World War I was indispensable to the actual birth of fascism, supplying the vital factor that turned utopian fantasies about palingenesis into a practical form of politics bent on bringing about a national revolution. It was the war that mobilized millions in the name of a “sacred duty” to save the nation, that placed the masses at the center of politics, that gave the modern state license to make unprecedented incursions into the lives of its citizens, that displayed the awesome destructive power both of technology and of mobilizing myths, that pulverized the myth of progress, that provided a glimpse of the awesome transformations that the symbiosis of state power, technology, and mass man could achieve through the process of “total mobilization,” and that created the conditions for the collapse of the ancien regime in Europe and for the Bolshevik revolution to take place in Russia. It was the war that made it “common sense” for millions, and not just for the intelligentsia, that the world was either experiencing the death throes of the liberal era—and even the death of Western civilization itself—or the birth pangs of a new order whose final contours and nature were beyond the scope of the imagination. Seen from that point of view, fascism first appeared as a fully fledged political force in Italy and Germany in the immediate aftermath of the armistice of 1918.

It was World War I that first gave Mussolini the visionary certainty that the demobilized soldiers returning from the trenches could form a new elite destined to regenerate Italy. In 1919, Mussolini formed the Fasci di combattimento in Milan, and Gabriele D’Annunzio, former decadent artist and self-styled Nietzschean but now Italy’s foremost nationalist poet, became the self-consciously charismatic leader of the occupation of the city of Fiume on the Dalmatian coast by disaffected troops and their officers who believed that the Italian victory had been betrayed in the peace treaties. Even as Mussolini and D’Annunzio proclaimed the birth of a “new Italy,” the far more severe conditions of national humiliation and social breakdown in Germany had given rise to several intensely racist and anticommunist parties attacking the fledgling Weimar Republic and campaigning for the establishment of a new Germany based on a reborn national community. One was the Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund. Another was the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (DAP), an obscure *völkisch* nationalist party with links to the arcane Thule Society, disseminating an occultist form of anti-Semitic racism called Ariosophy, an offshoot of the wave of occultism that in the 1890s and 1900s had been one of the West’s major

revitalization movements at a populist level. The DAP found its fortunes transformed when a few months later it recruited a certain Adolf Hitler as one of its key speakers and added “National Socialist” to its name to form the NSDAP. If a symbolic date has to be chosen for the birth of fascism, it thus seems appropriate for it to be 1919, though it is unwise to identify it with any one person, group, or event.

THE STRUCTURAL DIVERSITY OF FASCISM

This approach to the origins of fascism rejects the “diffusionist” view that fascism spread outward from one place or movement as factions in different countries succumbed to its influence. Instead it stresses a “structuralist” interpretation that sees similar phenomena being produced by similar historical conditions in different countries. It also interprets attempts to emulate a particular manifestation of revolutionary nationalism (Italian Fascism, Nazism) as the sign that ultra-nationalists in different countries needed successful role models if they were to translate their vision of national regeneration into reality, but not that they were simply copying for its own sake. Fascism was not “imported” from Italy, Germany, or France but appeared wherever indigenous factors and conditions created the need and the “political space” for revolutionary nationalist politics, each variant generating its own unique ideological contents and policies. As a result it is extremely hazardous to generalize about the origins or contents of fascism at the level of specific ideological contents or policies. For example, all fascisms are concerned with reviving the “greatness of the nation,” and hence have a built-in tendency to develop overtly racist policies. Yet it is the specific history of the nation in which a particular variant of fascism arises that determines the content of the racial policies (which particular core historical or ethnic groups are to be regenerated, and which if any are regarded as racial enemies), the type of racism (how far it draws on anthropological, cultural, historical, linguistic, religious, genetic, or eugenic components), and whether it argues for racial superiority in a way that leads to persecution or “merely” to segregation on the basis of the need to preserve difference. The example of Nazi Germany underlines the dangers of generalization about this aspect of fascism: not only was its anti-Semitism far from being homogeneous—its importance as an issue, the rationales offered for it, and the solutions envisaged for the “Jewish problem” varied considerably among committed Nazis—but the official

policies Nazism adopted as a movement and regime to purge the national community of decadence underwent extensive transformation as time went on.

Similarly, it was the pre-fascist condition of a nation and its specific situation in the aftermath of World War I that dictated whether fascism adopted an expansionist foreign policy and what its contents would be. To take an extreme example, it was only natural that interwar Hungarian fascism was intensely irredentist, since so many millions of Hungarians found themselves living within Romania’s expanded borders as a result of the peace settlement of World War I—in particular, the Treaty of Trianon of June 1920—which used territorial penalties and rewards to punish the losers and reward the victors. Yet at the same time this settlement ensured that Romanian fascism did not nurture expansionist plans, since as part of the victorious coalition it had been richly rewarded with new territory at Hungary’s expense; thus it was in this respect at least a “sated” nationalism (like British nationalism, for the British Empire was still the most powerful on earth).

If it is futile trying to identify core fascist policies, it is no less counterproductive to attempt to trace the origins of fascism back to particular currents of thought, such as social Darwinism, elite theory, vitalism, or millennialism, let alone individual thinkers, such as Barrès, Sorel, Pareto, Nietzsche, Haeckel, or even Mussolini himself. Not only does the ultra-nationalism of fascism mean that the origins and development of each of its variants has to be seen in its unique national context, but also that each variant proves on closer inspection to be a highly eclectic blend of ideas and influences that defy tidy theoretical analysis, with individual ideologues drawing on different sources for their ideas even within the same movement, and several different currents of rebirth myth jockeying for position.

Thus fascism’s resistance to conventional political or intellectual analysis is partly due to the fact that many of its most important activists in the interwar period, true to the late-nineteenth-century spirit of vitalism (the “revolt against positivism”) celebrated the primacy of action over theory and showed contempt for party political programs, coherent doctrines, and theoretical rationales. But it is also because, despite its desire to appear homogeneous, each movement of appreciable size and momentum is liable to contain rival variants of the vision of the reborn nation, each one representing a different synthesis of ideas, even at the highest level. Leading Nazis such as Adolf Hitler, Gregor Strasser, Walther Darré, Joseph Goebbels, Heinrich Himmler, Alfred Rosenberg, and Fritz Todt, for example, held a wide range of opinions on the need to overhaul capitalism

and create a corporate economy, workers and peasantry in the national revolution, the appropriate aesthetic expression of Nazi technological and technocratic modernity, the centrality of “racial hygiene,” and the role to be played by pagan and occultist theories of the Aryan race. There were even significant differences in the intensity and “biologism” of their anti-Semitism and the radicalness of the solutions they envisaged to the “Jewish problem.” What enabled them to make common cause was their shared passion for the cause of national rebirth, combined with their belief in Hitler and the NSDAP as the embodiment of and vehicle for that rebirth.

Fascism’s eclecticism and heterogeneity means that it defies straightforward analysis in terms of specific ideological axioms or the Left/Right political spectrum. In different ways, Italian Fascism and Nazism combined a conservative view that human potential is constrained by natural forces, the belief in private property, and the need for hierarchy with “left-wing” ideas of the possibility of creating a “new man,” direct state involvement in welfare and in the regulation of the economy, and the formation of a classless (though still hierarchical and unequal) society through the agency of the so-called national community. Both also advocated the need for a new elite of political soldiers, while stressing the need to mobilize popular energies, and both synthesized a belief in the value of the past as a repository of eternal values with the commitment to an intense program of technological modernization carried out in a radical spirit that gave them few qualms about breaking with any traditional institutions and values that did not serve the higher interests of the nation. Other forms of fascism manifest similar paradoxes. Movements in Romania and South Africa, for example, combined elements of conventional Christianity with pagan ideas of race and destiny.

Such syncretism not only operated in different fascisms to produce contrasting policies on art, demographic growth, the role of women, the economy, and technology, but also could produce a proliferation of different theories on the same issue within the same movement. Thus Italian Fascism attempted to institute a “corporatist” economy, but the state made little effort to resolve the glaring differences between left-wing currents of corporatist theory, which retained remnants of a socialist commitment to class equality, and right-wing currents, which saw the experiment as a way of neutralizing class conflict in the interests of the state and capital. There was also a rival Christian variant of corporatism promoted by the Vatican with its own spokesmen under the Italian Fascist regime. This prolif-

eration of corporatisms partly explains why the so-called corporatist state never became a reality. By contrast, in the sphere of artistic production, Italian Fascism deliberately adopted a hands-off policy while encouraging the public to identify Italian Fascism with all outstanding cultural achievements in the spirit of “hegemonic pluralism,” referred to earlier, resulting in a large number of conflicting aesthetic codes whose protagonists invariably claimed theirs to be the most expressive of the spirit of the New Italy. Nazism, on the other hand, though it launched a four-year economic plan and set up enormous state enterprises, such as Hermann-Goering Works and the Todt Organization, never embraced an economic theory of corporatism. Yet in practice it comprehensively corporatized all aspects of cultural life and production within the Reichskulturkammer (the “Reich Chamber of Culture”).

Meanwhile the British Union of Fascists (BUF) adopted an Italian-style corporatist theory enriched with elements of home-grown Keynesian economics, while its stand on artistic decadence came to be increasingly modeled on the antimodernist and anti-Semitic policies of Nazi Germany, even if its own racism was never overtly biological or eugenic. Predictably, the party press claimed that a BUF victory would usher in a new golden age, not just of British military strength and colonialism but also of art, emulating the glories of the Elizabethan or Shakespearean Age, the last time Britain had experienced the longed-for conjuncture of political and cultural greatness. The theory of history espoused by BUF leader Sir Oswald Mosley, however, drew not just on a highly selective version of Christian ethics but on the Nietzschean superman theory as well (partly mediated by George Bernard Shaw) and on Spengler’s theory of the decline of the West, to which he believed international fascism provided the answer. His own vision of the Greater Britain was highly technocratic (though it retained the monarchy), even if one of his better-known followers, Henry Williamson, developed a deeply anti-urban and proto-Green variant conceived to save Britain’s countryside from the ravages of cosmopolitanism along the lines of Darré’s Blood and Soil in Germany. The BUF had other idiosyncrasies, not just in its choice of national heroes (Robin Hood and King Arthur were treated as forerunners of national socialism), but also in celebrating pacifism and appeasement rather than war—but on condition that Britain retain her vast colonial empire and thus uphold, not liberal humanist ideas of peace, but the Pax Britannica. No matter how derivative in its genesis, the BUF was thus very English in ethos and iconography. It is clear from these examples that any attempt to look for a

core set of fascist ideological components or policies beyond one as nebulous as national rebirth is misguided. Instead it is more fruitful for attempts to understand the nature of fascism as a revolutionary political project to start by concentrating on the historical conditions in which it arose.

ITALIAN FASCISM AND GERMAN NAZISM

Fascism took concrete form as a movement at a time when Europe had just emerged from a war that had mobilized and demobilized millions of uniformed men, raised national consciousnesses to fever pitch, and militarized the ethos even in states that had not participated in the war. The aftermath of the war saw the collapse of the ancien regime in Europe, the removal of the German monarchy, the redrawing of the maps of Germany and central Europe, the Russian Revolution, and attempts by Bolsheviks to internationalize it throughout the capitalist world. It was an age of upheaval, crisis, and revolution, shattering the illusion of indefinite stability, progress, and peace that had characterized the Belle Epoque and creating a mood of the times in which Spengler's *Decline of the West* became a best-seller on the strength of the title alone. The war produced a Europe of crowds, rallies, and thronged squares, where media technology had developed enough to produce a powerful propaganda machine capable of reaching millions of ordinary lives yet to be privatized by consumerism, the car, multichannel television, video games, and cellular phones. In these extraordinary conditions any political movement that wanted to revolutionize the status quo naturally expressed itself as a mass uniformed movement run on military lines by a leader whose image was that of a soldier rather than a statesman, and poured energy into staging spectacular forms of charismatic politics once the necessary critical mass had been achieved in terms of public support. That is why outwardly Fascism, Nazism, and Soviet Communism under Stalin look so similar on the newsreels to the untrained eye: an orgy of brainwashing propaganda, megalomania, and state terror.

The background to the emergence of Italian Fascism was the incomplete nature of the Risorgimento, as summed up in d'Azeglio's famous remark that unification had succeeded in making Italy but not in making Italians. Vast areas of the peninsula were in social and economical terms chronically underdeveloped, compared with Germany, Britain, or even France, and the

nation lacked the industrial, military, and colonial might to be a Great Power. The traditional corruption and weakness of the political system made it unable to deal with the pressing problems posed by the primitiveness and ungovernability of "the South," the persistent refusal of the Church to recognize the Italian state, or the militancy of revolutionary socialists. It also proved unresponsive to the longing for an improvement in living conditions that was rife among the millions of ordinary people from all over Italy whose lives had been affected, and in many cases devastated, by the sacrifices necessitated by participation in the war. The treatment of Italy by its allies in the peace settlement of 1919, which was shabby, even if it was not the "mutilated victory" D'Annunzio claimed it to be, only reinforced the widespread sense (which had for decades been common among the intelligentsia and ruling elites) that Italy was in the vicelike grip of decadence.

It was against this background that Italian Fascism achieved power. It did not "conquer the state" through a surge of mass electoral and social support, or a tide of mass charismatic energy, but it exploited the ineffectiveness of Giolitti's government in tackling the threat from the revolutionary Left. However, when Mussolini set about replacing the parliamentary system with a totalitarian state in 1925, no mass protest movement arose to voice its opposition. Indeed, the majority of Italians actively or passively welcomed the Fascist experiment, not just as the basis for the imposition of law and order after years of instability and social unrest but also as the only way in which their nation would reverse the decline and become great again. From then on Fascism's popularity grew, arguably reaching its highest point when, in May 1935, Mussolini was able to announce from his balcony to an ecstatic crowd in the square below and to millions more Italians listening to his speech at home that "Ethiopia is Italian."

By contrast, the Germany that emerged from the war in 1918 had already "nationalized" its citizens to a high degree. This was an undertaking considerably aided by the fact that, at the turn of the twentieth century, even if Britain remained the greatest colonial power on earth, Germans knew that their country had become the most productive military, industrial, and cultural power in Europe. Their formerly secure sense of national identity was now to suffer a series of blows that followed on from a surrender that took many Germans by surprise and bequeathed the myth of the nation's having been "stabbed in the back" by (Jewish) Social Democrats: the abdication of the emperor and the end of the Second Reich; the brief seizure of power by communists in Berlin and Munich; the imposition of a

deeply humiliating and economically punitive peace settlement at Versailles, including the loss of Alsace and Lorraine; the occupation of the Ruhr by foreign troops; an acute monetary crisis that culminated in the hyperinflation of 1923; not to mention the wave of horrendous social distress that swept across the nation as hundreds of thousands of demobilized soldiers, many mutilated by injuries sustained in battle or psychologically damaged, tried in vain to reintegrate themselves into a society in which millions mourned loved ones who now seemed to have died for nothing. This collective misery was lived out within a nation already saturated with the hypercharged chauvinist sentiments that affected all combatant nations in the cauldron of World War I but that had been given a particularly aggressive dynamic by a powerful tradition of belief in the cultural superiority and unique destiny to greatness of Germany. The latter had been first articulated in response to the occupation of German provinces by Napoleonic troops a century earlier. By the last decade of the nineteenth century the belief was finding expression in a proliferation of *völkisch* literature that evoked the myth of a “true Germany” which had been travestied by the modern nation-state, as well as in forms of pangermanism and anti-Semitism that were emerging in German and Austrian political subcultures with increasing virulence.

What imparted a particular coloring and intensity to German ultra-nationalism was the fact that the rapid urbanization and secularization of society, accompanied by the growth of science and technology in an area of Europe that not long before had been predominantly rural, had, by the late nineteenth century, given rise both to powerful “antimodern” (but modernist) currents of nostalgia for connectedness with virgin nature, and to pseudo-scientific, biological and eugenic forms of a highly modernized racism. To make matters worse, there was also a long and complex history of anti-Semitism in the German-speaking world that created a backlash against the growing emancipation and integration of Jews under the Second Reich. Apart from influential nationalistic associations such as the Pan-German League, Wilhelmine Germany also hosted numerous societies devoted to paganism and esotericism, some of which in the early 1900s were refining occultist varieties of racism and anti-Semitism almost unknown elsewhere in Europe. The result was that when the collective national identity underwent the trauma of 1918, a wave of brooding anomie (a sense of social and moral vacuum) gripped many Germans who lacked deep spiritual anchors in a personal or metaphysical sphere immune from the vicissitudes of his-

tory, thus swelling currents of hyper-nationalism that had started flowing well before the outbreak of war. A powerful ultra-Right subculture came into existence almost immediately, articulated by authors who in different ways argued that Weimar was not a true state: what was needed was a German revolution that would allow the nation to arise from the ashes of defeat and humiliation and become once more the great cultural and political nation it essentially remained, despite defeat, betrayal, and humiliation.

It was against this backcloth of a highly diffused, multifaceted, and racist ultra-nationalism (one that had no real equivalent in Italy) that the spark of national revolution represented by the minute Deutsche Arbeiterpartei could be fanned by Hitler into the flames of the NSDAP. Upon its reformation in 1925 the party became a populist movement and parliamentary party—albeit one with a very small electoral base till 1930; within three years Hitler had managed to use it as the vehicle for bringing together into a single ecumenical force all the major currents of German ultra-nationalism that existed at the end of the war. These ranged from extreme anti-urbanization and “blood and soil” ruralism to an intense commitment to modernization and technology, from pagan and occultist blood mysticism to eugenics, from overtly religious to extremely secularized varieties of thought that could appeal to representatives of all academic disciplines and artistic milieux as long as they were committed to the vision of German rebirth. Nazism could also build on the existence of a highly developed civic society and on the widespread Prussian cult of obedience, efficiency, and duty that had no counterpart in Italy.

For all their array of distinctive features, Italian Fascism and German Nazism actually had a striking amount in common. Both of them cultivated an organic view of the nation and a cyclical vision of the fundamental processes of history, according to which it could be periodically “renewed”; both rejected materialism, conservatism, communism, socialism, and liberalism in principle in the name of a new order. Both tended to promote a vitalistic and idealist concept of reality that celebrated action, the will, and the power of myth. The structural parallels go even deeper. From a sociological or anthropological perspective, both regimes offered a solution to the ailments of modernity, analyzing those ailments in terms of anomie, alienation, and decadence. At an experiential level these translate as an acute sensation, not necessarily expressible in words, of the breakdown of genuine community and a shared cosmology, and the loss of a center and a collective identity; of the atomization of

society; of the erosion of the spiritual and metaphysical dimension to life resulting from the spread of materialism and individualism; of the reduction of culture to self-expression, sensuality, or sensationalism to the point where artists and intellectuals had ceased to be the interpreters and articulators of the healthy values of the “people”; of the decay of tradition, traditional values, and hierarchies through the impact of egalitarianism, democracy, and secularization.

To reverse this decay, neither regime attempted to return to an idealized past of the nation (as conservatives would have it). Instead, both set out to forge a mythic link between the present generation and a glorious stage in the past (the Roman Empire, the pristine age of the Aryans) that would enable the “eternal values” that it embodied to live once more in the new order. Both regimes thus upheld a cyclical vision of historical time and intended their revolution to inaugurate a renewed era of national greatness. Their politics were informed by a totalizing view that naturally expressed itself in a “totalitarian” style of politics, not in the sense of oppression but in the attempt to make each Italian and German belong mind, body, and soul to the regime. They were meant to internalize the cosmology and values of Fascism and Nazism as fully as medieval Christians were meant to live out the values of Christianity in every aspect of their lives. The natural expression of this concept of politics was in both cases a highly developed theatrical and liturgical style, creating a “political religion” that implicitly sacralized the regime and its leaders as objects of veneration. Certainly Hitler and probably Mussolini (whose private thoughts on such issues are more difficult to glean) intended belief in the new order they had created eventually to replace conventional religious faith, no matter how many concessions to Christianity were necessary in the short term.

Even in areas where major differences between the regimes become apparent—such as the relative absence of anti-Semitism in Fascist Italy before 1938 compared with the Third Reich, or the Italian Fascist enthusiasm for artistic modernism (notably Futurism) compared with Nazism’s rejection of it—closer consideration reveals that here too the regimes are more kindred spirits than has often been assumed, especially by historians who insist that Nazism was a product of Germany’s “special path” to modern nationhood, so that attempts to apply comparative perspectives are fruitless. For example, some Italian Fascist artists cultivated an anti-urban, “back to nature” form of art known as *strapaese*, which had parallels with the Nazi art associated with the cult of “blood and soil,” and while Nazism is reput-

edly antimodernist, a genre of art existed that celebrated the construction of motorways and factories in a triumphalist technophile spirit related to Futurism, even if stylistically remote from it. A small but vociferous faction of Nazi art theorists argued that expressionism (a German form of modernism) was pervaded with a deeply antidecadent Aryan dynamism, and they lost out to the vehemently antimodernist Rosenberg lobby only in 1935.

As for the question of race, from early on Italian Fascism energetically pursued a policy of demographic growth through a whole raft of state measures to encourage births. It also instituted a cult of athleticism and sport that was linked to the celebration of the Romans as a physically and spiritually gifted world-historical race with a special historical destiny now being renewed under Fascism. In the aftermath of the colonization of Ethiopia, antimiscegenation laws were introduced to preserve the purity of Italian blood from contamination by contact with “natives.” There were also currents of anti-Semitism within Italian Fascism from early on that, in the 1930s, grew in outspokenness not only under the impact of Nazi Germany but also as a response to the increasing radicalness of Zionism in its call for Jews to be given their own homeland in Palestine. It is thus simplistic to regard the Fascist race laws promulgated in 1938 that declared the Italians an Aryan race into which Jews could never be assimilated as a simple import from Nazi Germany, especially since there is no evidence that Hitler applied direct pressure on Mussolini to address the “Jewish problem” in Italy.

Stereotypes about Italian Fascism and Nazism reinforced in the popular cinema (which paradoxically reflect widespread racist stereotypes about Italians and Germans in general) make it tempting to assume that everything about Mussolini’s regime was messy, chaotic, improvised, and relatively benign, in stark contrast to a Third Reich that was monolithic, well coordinated, punctiliously planned, and irremediably evil. Film versions of World War II have created stock images of German soldiers as humorless fanatics readily obeying orders, while their Italian opposite numbers could not wait to fling off their uniforms and revert to their good-natured humanity and love of life, women, and music. In fact, however, despite the rhetoric of total unity, collective will, and the leaders’ seer-like long-term vision of the future, both regimes contained conflicting currents of ideology, many centers of power (they were “polycentric” and “polycratic”), and a great deal of improvisation (they were, in a manner of speaking, palingenetic ad-hocracies). There were

fanatical Fascists in Italy prepared to commit atrocities, and there were Nazis who disobeyed orders and risked their lives to help victims of the Third Reich. But the most fundamental kinship between the two regimes, the one that underlies the surface similarities of institutions, political style, and policies, lies in a shared vision of national rebirth that enabled their most fervent activists and ideologues to feel that they were part of the same revolution, which was inaugurating a new era in history.

Specimens of the same political genus they may have been, but a vast gulf separates the impact of the respective policies of Italian Fascism and German Nazism on their own populations and on the history of the twentieth century. Both regimes were expansionist, as befitted a fascist state in an age in which national greatness was equated with colonial possessions. For its part, Fascist Italy set out primarily to complete some unfinished business of liberal Italy by conquering Ethiopia, thereby avenging the famous defeat of Italian troops at the hands of the Abyssinians at Adowa in 1896, and enabling the regime to claim that it had fulfilled yet another part of its mission by giving Italy an African Empire to emulate the Romans and join the league of Great Powers. It was drawn into supporting Franco in the Spanish Civil War largely so as not to be eclipsed by Nazi Germany and to be seen to play a leading role in the war against Bolshevism and the defense of “Christian” civilization. It became embroiled in World War II against the instincts of Mussolini, who was aware that he was the junior partner in the Rome-Berlin Axis and that his military resources were deficient. At the same time, however, he was reluctant to surrender the initiative entirely to Hitler and so lose the spoils of what seemed at the time like Nazism’s inevitable victory in Europe. Left to its own devices, Italian Fascism is unlikely to have aspired to much more than turning Italy into a modest colonial power with a high profile on the international stage, widely respected abroad for its modern armed forces and its resolute stand against Bolshevism and social chaos, even if that meant defying challenges to its sovereignty by the League of Nations.

By contrast, Nazi expansionist policy evolved considerably over time and was driven not by one but by a cluster of goals. Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* had already committed the NSDAP to reversing the terms of the Versailles Treaty and redeeming the “blood sacrifice” of the millions of war dead by ending foreign occupation of the Ruhr and incorporating all ethnic Germans in the new Reich, which in practice involved annexing the Czech area of Czechoslovakia (home of the Sudeten Germans) and Austria, and taking back Alsace and Lor-

raine from the French (the Alto Adige could not be “redeemed” immediately because of the alliance with Mussolini). It also revived old dreams of an empire in the East, which under Hitler meant the colonization of Poland, the Baltic States, and Russia, so as to provide a vast supply of food, raw materials, oil, industrial capacity, and labor, as well as the elimination of Bolshevism from Europe. Once the war had started, plans emerged for Germany to rule a geopolitical area of privileged status formed by the Germanic peoples (which might also have been extended to include the British Isles) and to create a New European Order dominated by Germany. The prerequisite for a vast program of conquest and colonization, elements of which were deeply rooted in German history (such as the enmity with France and Poland) while others evolved or were improvised in the light of unfolding events and the opportunities they brought, was the creation of a war machine of an unprecedented level of material and human strength.

By 1937 the speed and level of Nazi rearmament had created a domestic situation in which only the acquisition of colonies and vassal states could avert a deep economic crisis, which in practice meant a new European war, something that Nazi military forward planning took for granted. What enabled such a policy to be envisaged in the first place was that, unlike Italy, Germany on the eve of World War II was one of the most technologically advanced and productive industrial nations in the world, dominating nearly every sector of manufacture and technical innovation, not least military technology. Moreover, Germany had displayed the ability to mount a military campaign of awesome power in World War I, and had been defeated economically and diplomatically rather than by force of arms. It thus had the military, industrial, and technological means, as well as the human resources and public consensus, necessary to undertake a program of military conquest that was quite inconceivable in Italy.

Another factor that contributed to the distinctiveness of the Nazis’ scheme of territorial expansion was their racial concept of nationhood and history. In contrast to the founders of Italian Fascism, the Nazi elite embraced from the outset a belief in the nation not just as a cultural but also as an ethnic entity, a conviction rationalized both through the deeply “Romantic” currents of nineteenth-century nationalism and through genetics, physical anthropology, social Darwinism, and eugenics. This scientific vision of the nation not only led to the rationalization of anti-Semitism in biological as well as cultural terms but also had an impact on every aspect of Nazi ideology. The belief in the Aryan

stock of modern Germans as an anthropological and genetic reality, and the resulting idea of national greatness and decay as a function of racial health and purity, informed the Nuremberg race laws, the genocide of the gypsies, the sterilization and euthanasia programs, the campaigns to eradicate homosexuality and “social parasitism,” the war on decadent art and attempts to engineer a healthy German substitute, the new pseudoscience of “racial hygiene,” the demographic policy to breed more Germans, the Nazification of school curricula, the cult of sport, and the vision of the “new man.” Biological racism also underlay the Third Reich’s claim on ethnic German populations outside Germany’s state borders, as well as conditioning the spirit in which territorial expansion was carried out. Collaborating French, for example, were treated relatively benignly, because they were considered citizens of a civilized country heavily influenced in its history by Aryans and Germans, whereas Poles and Russians were assumed to be intrinsically subhuman; the utter brutality of their occupation and colonization reflected that premise. In the Russian campaign both the military and civilian populations of the enemy territories were generally treated by convinced Nazis with the same contempt that in the main the Spanish and Portuguese armies had shown the indigenous populations of Latin America in the sixteenth century, or that was expressed by many European colonialists in their attitude to native Africans when slavery was at its height. By contrast, Italian Fascism only belatedly adopted a “scientifically” racist and anti-Semitic concept of the nation, and then half-heartedly, though it should be remembered that “normal” European assumptions of the primitiveness of non-European peoples were demonstrated in abundance in the brutal Italian colonization of Ethiopia.

It is the program to commit the systematic genocide of the Jews that has understandably become the most notorious manifestation of Nazi racism, though it is important not to forget the many more millions of Russian and Polish civilians and soldiers murdered by the Nazis, the genocide of the Roma and Sinti peoples, the mass murder of the “hereditary ill,” the ruthless persecution of communists, homosexuals, and Jehovah’s Witnesses, “decadent” artists, defiant Protestants and Catholics, and many other categories of racial and ideological “enemies,” as well as the use of forced labor on a gigantic scale, involving the exploitation of “human resources” from many creeds and nations to keep the Third Reich’s arms industry in full production to the bitter end. The Holocaust remains in the collective historical imagination of postwar generations one of the defining events of the twentieth century, on a par

as a calculated act of mass destruction of human life with the purges carried out by Stalinist communism and the dropping of the two atom bombs on Japan in the summer of 1945 (though the rationale for each is, of course, entirely different). Its enormity as an episode of painstakingly planned and executed mass murder carried out by a highly advanced and nominally Christian European state with an extraordinarily rich cultural heritage and highly educated and “civilized” population is one of the most important reasons why historians, especially in Germany, are still reluctant to apply the generic perspective offered by fascist studies to the Third Reich: the Holocaust seems to set the German case definitively apart, as something entirely *sui generis*—unique and disconnected from the world outside.

Fascist studies must not, of course, be used to detract from or “relativize” the uniqueness of a human catastrophe that historical analysis can never adequately capture, nor to mitigate the element of personal responsibility, moral failure, and guilt involved in every single act of persecution, torture, and murder. However, even here, where explanatory powers, understanding, and the language of humanism are stretched to the limit, the theory of fascism as advocated by the “new consensus” has something important to offer. Once Nazism is located within generic fascism, three important aspects of the Holocaust are thrown into relief. First, the ultra-nationalism of the Third Reich, of which it was one of the ultimate expressions, was far from being a product of something peculiarly German, since it is common to all fascisms, which in turn were incubated by the ultra-nationalist cultural climate of Europe as a whole. Even its virulent anti-Semitism was far from unique. Not only was it found in less intense forms in Italian Fascism and in the British Union of Fascists but it also existed in intense, eliminatory forms in the Croatian Ustasha, the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the Romanian Iron Guard, and in Nazi-dominated regimes such as Vichy France and the Salò Republic, as well as among those elements of the populations that collaborated in the genocide in Poland, the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Russia. What makes Nazism unique is that it was the only fascist movement that actually acquired power in an advanced industrialized nation-state, which placed it in a position to apply huge resources to the ruthless implementation of its eugenic vision of the new order.

Second, seeing Nazism as a form of fascism highlights the role played by modernity in making the “final solution” possible. Fascism draws on the past for mythic inspiration but is forward-looking, pursuing

the realization of an alternative, rigorously “futural” temporalization. It does not reject modernity, only its “decadent,” nation-destroying elements. It enthusiastically embraces whatever elements of modernity can help bring about the national revolution. In many respects the Holocaust is a product of the hyper-modernity and hyper-rationality of the modern state in the permutation of it created by the Third Reich, rather than of “antimodernity” or of regressive, reactionary barbarity. Once the modern state takes upon itself the task of deploying its enormous material and human resources to pursuing what it has designated a higher cause, or creating the ideal society at whatever cost in terms of the suffering inflicted on its own citizens and those of other states, then atrocities can occur with a minimum of individual responsibility and personal will being involved.

Finally, the “new consensus” highlights the ritual and cathartic dimension of the Holocaust. Far from being conceived in a purely destructive, nihilistic spirit, or being the emanation of Hitler’s own pathological anti-Semitism, let alone the product of the personal sadism and hatred of his many thousands of “willing executioners,” the destruction of European Jewry was conceived by many of those who participated in it, and by all the Nazi leaders, as just one major episode in the necessary process of purging Europe of decadence. It was informed by the same logic as the eradication of the hereditarily ill in the so-called euthanasia program, or the burning of decadent books and paintings: the unhealthy must be purged to make way for the healthy, death is the necessary prelude to rebirth (a principle known as “creative destruction” or “German nihilism”). A deep ritualistic impulse informs such a logic, fusing the instrumental rationality of modernity with man’s most archaic psychological mechanisms for imbuing time with meaning, and endowing all those whose sense of purpose and morality is locked into this logic with the conviction that they are carrying out a higher and sacred mission, beyond the comprehension and judgment of profane minds. A member of the Red Cross who made an unofficial inspection of Nazi death camps in 1944 was asked by a BBC journalist why he did not attempt to confront the commanders of Auschwitz with the moral enormity of what was happening in their camp. He answered that the very idea was preposterous: “These people were proud of their work. They were convinced of being engaged in an act of purification. They called Auschwitz the anus of Europe. Europe had to be cleansed. They were responsible for the purification of Europe. If you cannot get your head round that you will understand nothing at all.” A

chilling palingenetic logic of “creative destruction” runs through all the cultural, racial, and foreign policies enacted so meticulously and ruthlessly by Nazism and the events they unleashed: Nazism was at once irreducibly unique and yet simultaneously a manifestation of generic fascism.

THE FASCIST ERA?

To devote so much time to the Third Reich’s relationship to Italian Fascism and generic fascism runs the risk of endorsing the “Nazi-centric” view of fascism that it is one of the purposes of the present publication to challenge. There has been a regrettable tendency in reference works and in survey histories for Nazism to become the subliminal template for the essential “nature of fascism,” the manifestation of its deepest impulses and essence. This false premise creates two significant distortions in the understanding of fascism as a generic ideological and historical force. First, it detracts attention away from the sheer diversity of interwar fascisms and from a recognition of their almost universal failure to achieve power. Second, it makes the evolution of fascism after 1945 almost incomprehensible.

One of fascism’s outstanding general traits when compared with conservatism, liberalism, or socialism is the vast gap between the ambitious rhetoric of total renewal and its actual achievements. Italian Fascism’s dream of a Third Rome proved to be wildly unrealistic, and the mass Fascistization of the Italians, which might have seemed partly realized when a wave of excited patriotism swept Italy on the conquest of Ethiopia in May 1935, turned out to have been a clamorous failure once World War II was under way. Although Nazification initially made great inroads into German society, when the war turned against the Third Reich the genuine enthusiasm of millions for the regime decayed into mass conformism maintained through the increasingly intensive use of propaganda, social engineering, and state terror, even if the Hitler myth itself proved stubbornly resistant.

The most obvious pattern to emerge from a comparative survey of fascisms outside of Italy and Germany in the interwar period is that of their chronic political weakness and widespread marginalization. A unique configuration of factors accounts for each failure in detail, but one common denominator stands out: the “political space” available for a revolutionary nationalist project to establish a new order was simply too small because of the structural stability of the conservative, liberal, or (in the case of Russia) communist system

that they were attempting to overthrow—in some cases reinforced by displays of popular opposition to the threat that fascism posed. Fascists made few inroads into the power of the state outside Italy and Germany. In England, BUF membership peaked at 50,000, at most, in 1934, and Mosley's "Greater Britain" remained a chimera; in Ireland, the most radical component of the Blue Shirts that followed their openly fascist leader, Eoin O'Duffy, to form the National Corporate Party (the Greenshirts) in 1935 had a minimal impact on events, beyond intensifying the general climate of political crisis and uncertainty in the newly liberated nation-state. Minute, easily marginalized movements, whether parties or pressure groups, emerged on Italian Fascist lines (in the 1920s) or increasingly Nazi lines (in the 1930s) in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and every Scandinavian and Benelux country, but the only ones to achieve any importance historically were those that formed the basis of collaborationist parties under Nazi occupation—namely, Quisling's *Nasjonal Samling* in Norway, Mussert's *Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging* in Holland, and Degrelle's *Rex* in Belgium, which became overtly fascist only after war broke out.

In Finland the virulence of anticommunism caused by the proximity of Soviet Russia, and the legacy of the civil war between nationalists and communists, provided the habitat for a more substantial ultra-Right movement, leading eventually to the emergence of the IKL (People's Patriotic Movement). The IKL was both a party and an extraparliamentary movement, with a typically fascist vision of the Finns' special historical and cultural mission as a race and the imminence of its rebirth as a Greater Finland. As it happened, though, it too was kept safely at bay by the liberal system. Only one other European democracy hosted a more significant ultra-Right subculture after 1933—namely, France. There a cluster of minute formations and much larger paramilitary movements espoused anti-communist and ultra-nationalist ideas, some of which were influenced by Nazism; most, however, drew on the country's long tradition of ultra-conservative opposition to Republican liberalism and socialism. Their total membership probably represented a constituency of hundreds of thousands at the peak of nationalist agitation against the Blum government in 1934, and there are grounds for seeing the veterans' league of the *Croix de Feu* as one of the largest fascist movements of the interwar years—that is, before its ban and subsequent domestication within the *Parti Social Français*. However, the extreme fragmentation of the French ultra-Right deprived its supporters of the cohesion, prag-

matism, and leadership of a movement like the NSDAP, factors that were necessary to challenge the stability of the Second Republic, however much of a threat they seemed to pose at the time. Outside Europe, movements inspired by Nazism in the United States and Australia remained minute, while the home-grown movements of Afrikaner ultra-nationalism in South Africa, the *Ossawabrandweg* and the *Greyshirts*, never threatened British dominance of interwar South Africa (although the *Greyshirts* misjudged their strength sufficiently to make an abortive attempt to launch a pro-Nazi civil war). Overall, then, with the outstanding exceptions of Italy and Germany, liberalism effectively withstood the attempts by domestic fascist movements to overthrow it.

It might be assumed that conservative authoritarian regimes could afford to be more hospitable to fascism, especially since in theory they both shared some important core values (such as nationalism and "family values") and had common enemies (for example, communism, individualism, and materialism). Yet, though fascism may subsume many traditional conservative elements, its revolutionary, palingenetic, populist thrust makes it the archenemy of authoritarian conservatism and the social elites whose interests it serves. Therefore it should not be surprising that fascism was also neutralized whenever it showed signs of undermining the hegemony of traditional preliberal ruling elites. Thus in Portugal, Salazar had no scruples in suppressing Rolão Preto's National Syndicalists (Blue Shirts) when they threatened to mount a coup. In Vichy France, genuine fascists such as Déat and Doriot were given no chance under Marshal Pétain to become part of the ruling cadres and generally preferred to remain in the Nazi-occupied zone, where they enjoyed more freedom to nourish their utopian fantasies of playing a proactive role in the European New Order in the company of numerous artistic and intellectual fellow-travellers of Nazism. In Latvia the leader of the Peasant's League, Ulmanis, suppressed the *Perkonkrust*, or Thunder Cross, after he set up an authoritarian regime to solve the state crisis. In Hungary, Horthy's right-wing authoritarian government imprisoned Szálasi when his Arrow Cross–Hungarist movement experienced a sudden surge in popularity in 1938. It was only when the Third Reich forced Hungary into becoming a puppet state that he was made its nominal head, a compliant tool in the imposition of the "final solution" on the substantial Jewish population. In Austria, the threat posed to the authoritarian state by the fascist element in the paramilitary *Heimwehren* was neutralized until the country's annexation by the Third Reich (the

Anschluss), despite the assassination of Dollfuss by Austrian Nazis in 1934 (a vivid demonstration of the underlying hostility between fascism and conservatism).

The two movements that break with this pattern are the Falange in Spain and the Legion of the Archangel Michael (Iron Guard) in Romania, both of which can be argued to have shared government power. However, Franco's incorporation of the Falange into his regime was a calculated move to enable him to exploit its image of dynamism, radicalism, and youth while effectively neutralizing it as a revolutionary force. In Romania, both King Carol and General Antonescu cynically attempted to use the legion to the same ends. King Carol did so only once he realized that his attempts to crush it were undermining his popularity, though his abdication soon put an end to the experiment. Antonescu tried to channel the significant popular enthusiasm for the legion into support for his National Legionary State. However, he could not control its most radical elements, and with the approval of Hitler he finally deployed the army to wipe it out root and branch in an extreme display of state terror.

The same basic pattern was exhibited elsewhere. In 1937, General Vargas crushed Brazilian Integralist Action (AIB), the largest fascist movement outside Europe. Led by Plínio Salgado, who had given his movement a sophisticated ideology and historical vision of renewal, the AIB's elaborate organizational structure and "political religion" had developed a significant presence in Brazilian society, its membership by 1934 numbering more than 200,000; but it was still no match for state troops. In Chile the National Socialist Movement's attempted coup of 1938 was easily put down by the military regime, whereupon it mutated into a democratic party. Elsewhere in Latin America various blends of military dictatorship with democratic institutions maintained power in the interwar period, largely untroubled by the numerous populist nationalist movements that arose without the mass support or clear-cut revolutionary agenda to pose a real threat or to be classified as unambiguously fascist. Japan in the 1930s hosted a cluster of right-wing projects and groupings, but one of the few attempts to create a movement of populist ultra-nationalism on European lines was the minute "Eastern Way," modeled on Nazism. This made a significant ideological break with the fundamental principle of Japanese conservatism by turning the emperor into a purely symbolic national figurehead. Immediately it showed signs of raising its public profile through mass meetings it was banned and its leader, Nakano Seigo, placed under house arrest, whereupon he committed the ritual suicide of the samurai warrior.

There are, however, two at least partial exceptions to this pattern of fascism's abject failure. There are convincing arguments for seeing Argentina's postwar Peronist government as an attempt to steer the country into social and economic stability by fusing the familiar elements of Latin American rule—namely, military junta and personal dictatorship—with features drawn from Italian Fascism, especially the combination of nationalism, militarism, trade unionism, and genuine populism, and the palingenetic rhetoric of a new order, a reborn national community, and a "new man" modified to adapt to the conditions of postwar history. Peronism thus emerges as a rare example of a hybrid of fascism and conservatism in power. The other major exception is China, where Chiang Kai-shek, deeply impressed by the continuous displays of youthful enthusiasm and disciplined nationalism being staged at the time in both the Italian Fascist and Nazi regimes, gave official backing to two movements, the Blue Shirts and New Life, in an attempt to infuse his Nationalist Party regime with genuine populist and revolutionary fervor. Although both movements were eclipsed by the United Front, formed to fight the Japanese in 1937, they seem to represent a unique case of fascism's being promoted by a nationalist regime from above to revolutionize the masses, and not simply used for its propaganda value.

In every other instance, conservative reaction prevailed over revolutionary fascism whenever the latter posed a serious threat to its interests. Nor should it be forgotten how far Italian Fascism's revolutionary zeal was dampened in practice by the extensive compromises it had to accept with a multitude of conservative forces in Italy, and that it was the monarchy that sealed Mussolini's fate in July 1943, when Victor Emmanuel III placed him under arrest. It was also conservative elements within the military that came within a table leg of killing Hitler in the Stauffenberg Plot of 1944.

Given the almost universal impotence of fascism to break through in the period from 1918 to 1945, and the compromise and failure that characterized it when it did, it is legitimate to ask if the phrase "fascist era" is justified at all. Certainly it should not be inferred from it that fascism was the dominant form of government of the day—far from it. Yet a cluster of factors makes the phrase telling. First, the Spanish Civil War was widely seen at the time as a trial of strength between communism and fascism. Given the material and military support that Italian Fascism and Nazism gave Franco, and that Stalin gave the Republican government, those who fought against the Nationalists can be forgiven for interpreting the war as a stand against the rise of international fascism, no matter how unconvinc-

ing Franco's own fascist credentials. Had support for the Republicans by democratic nations led to the defeat of Franco along with his allies, there is every likelihood that it would have had a considerable impact on restraining Hitler's foreign policy—at least in the short term. Second, Nazism's policies of territorial expansion and racial purification had such terrible consequences for the world that they have left a profound mark in the way the whole era has entered the collective memory, and at a popular level of the historical imagination Nazism is widely equated with fascism. Third, fascism was strongly identified by the Right as the rising force of the age at a time when liberalism was seemingly in terminal decline. Consequently, there was hardly a single authoritarian right-wing regime in the world by 1940 that had not partially fascistized itself outwardly, whether in Portugal or Spain, in Austria or Yugoslavia, in Latvia or Estonia, in Vichy France, Poland, or Greece, in Brazil, Argentina, or Japan. Fascism was a product of the peculiar historical conditions of post-World War I Europe, but it came to dominate the minds of all Europeanized nation-states to a point where the future of human civilization itself could be seen as a Manichean struggle between communism and fascism, with liberals mostly condemned to look on impotently from the wings.

POSTWAR FASCISM

Even after the Allied victory in 1945 some fascists continued to dedicate their life's energy to the cause of national revolution as an immediate possibility. However, once liberalism had recovered its stability and capitalist economics and technology had delivered greater prosperity to ever more citizens of the "One-Third World," the preconditions for fascism to become a mass revolutionary movement disappeared; many came to believe that, despite the growing signs of decadence, national rebirth had to be indefinitely postponed until the present "interregnum" was over. Their function as activists and ideologues has thus changed from directly bringing about the new order to preparing the ground for it, and adapting the core values of national revolution to the development of modern history away from the initial conditions that had engendered it after World War I.

One of the more conspicuous results of this process of adaptation to new realities is that, although some forms of revolutionary nationalism (that is, fascism) still promote a narrowly chauvinistic form of ultra-nationalism, its dominant forms now see the struggle for national or ethnic rebirth in an international and

supranational context, an aspect of fascism that in the interwar period was comparatively underdeveloped. Thus Nazism has been adopted throughout the Westernized world as the role model for the fight for Aryan or white supremacy, producing what can be called "universal Nazism." Within Europe most national fascisms see their local struggle as part of a campaign for a new Europe, one far removed from the vision of Brussels or Eurolandia. Third Positionism, meanwhile, especially in its more outspokenly anticapitalist, National Bolshevik forms, campaigns for a radical new world order in which the dominance of the economic, cultural, and military imperialism of the United States has been ended. It looks forward to an entirely new economic system and international community, and its struggle against the present system fosters a sense of solidarity with nonaligned countries such as Libya, the Palestinians, and even Iraq and Yugoslavia when they are "victims of U.S. imperialist aggression," thus blurring traditional divisions between extreme Left and Right.

The second change is a pervasive "metapoliticization" of fascism. Many formations have vacated party-political space altogether, and important areas of it have even abandoned the arena of activist struggle, choosing to focus on the battle for minds. The most clear expression of this development can be seen in the New Right, which grew out of the recognition that dawned in French neofascist circles in the 1960s of the need for a radical change of "discourse" with which to regain the credibility for revolutionary forms of antiliberal nationalism that had been destroyed by World War II and its aftermath. Taking the concept of "cultural hegemony" to heart resulted in a "right-wing Gramscism" that aimed to undermine the intellectual legitimacy of liberalism by attacking such core features of liberal democracy as individualism, the universality of human rights, egalitarianism, and multiculturalism. They did so not on the basis of an aggressive ultra-nationalism and axiomatic racial superiority, but in the name of a Europe restored to the (essentially mythic) homogeneity of its component primordial cultures by the application of a "differentialist" concept of culture. This seeks to put an end to the rampant vulgarization and ethnic miscegenation that they see as endemic to modern, globalized multicultural societies. At the heart of such an ideal lurks the belief in the decadence of the present system and the possibility that a new historical era may yet arise.

Later versions of the extraordinarily prolific, but still hopelessly marginalized, New Right (the Russian offshoot of which is called Eurasianism) have placed increasing stress on the need to transcend the division be-

tween Left and Right in a broad antiglobal front. Fascism's metapoliticization is also a central feature of the other main "supranational" forms of rebirth ideology already referred to—namely, Third Positionism, and its close cousin National Bolshevism (though some forms of Third Positionism are violently anticommunist). All these advocate in different ways the inauguration of a new global order that would preserve or restore (through policies and measures never specified) the unique ethnic and cultural identities (first and foremost European/"Indo-European" ones) allegedly threatened by globalization.

The battle "to take over the laboratories of thinking," as one German New Right ideologue put it, takes place on other fronts as well. Historical Revisionism and Holocaust denial are widely dispersed and highly deliberate assaults on the collective memories of the postwar generations. These are calculated to exploit the power of the academic register of historical and scientific enquiry, to rewrite history in such a way as to minimize, relativize, or cancel out altogether the crimes against humanity committed by fascist regimes. The 1960s counterculture also bred New Age, neopagan, and occultist variants of the Hitler myth and forms of nationalism that embrace various visions of the threat to humanity posed by materialism and globalization, one strand of which led to Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* becoming a prescribed text for the intellectuals of the Italian New Right. Other currents of fascism have taken on board ecological concerns, often as an integral part of the New Right critique of the Western concept of progress.

Contemporary fascism's absence of ties with mass party-movements or regimes with centralized hierarchies of command or directorates of propaganda allows it to retain considerable ideological flexibility. In the United States, that has enabled it to enter into a sufficiently close relationship with certain forms of fundamentalist Christianity to produce new forms of collaboration and hybrid between religious and secular racism (in particular, white supremacism and anti-Semitism, the Christian Identity network being the outstanding example). Other revolutionary nationalists have used the popularity among proletarian racists of (appropriated and suitably adapted/perverted) punk rock and heavy metal to create a highly productive "white noise" music scene geared to the legitimization of racial hatred and violent xenophobia. At least the lyrics of fascist punk music make no attempt to disguise its racism under layers of New Right "metapolitical" or "differentialist" discourse. Nor do they euphemize the palingenetic dream of "purging"

the nation from decadence though an apocalyptic racial war, a vision that is the main artery of continuity between this culture and interwar Italian Fascism and Nazism. Thus one of the songs of the seminal white noise band, Ian Stuart Donaldson's Skrewdriver, roared out to its audience:

*Hail and thunder, the lightning fills the sky
Not too far it comes before the storm
Hail and thunder, we're not afraid to die
Our mighty fearless warriors marching on.
With high ideals we make our stand
To cleanse the poison from our land.[. . .]
They spread a flame, a wicked spell
To keep our people locked in Hell.[. . .]
But now the devil's cover's blown
The strength of light is going to break the evil seal.*

The fact that White Noise CDs and concerts set out to whip up racial hatred and inspire racially motivated crimes underlines how misleading it would be to imply that fascism's metapoliticization and ideological diversification have led to its abandoning the sphere of activism and violence altogether. The difference is that, instead of being absorbed into paramilitary formations of the mass party, such as the Nazi SA, activism is now often concentrated within minute, specially formed cadre units such as the Combat 18 group in the United Kingdom or the numerous "black terrorist" cells that carried out bomb attacks in Italy during the 1970s. Even more significantly, racist violence is increasingly carried out not by members of fascist parties but by groups of racists acting on their own initiative. Similarly, a number of terrorist outrages have been committed by "lone wolves" who were not under any centralized command at all, but who had formed a deep sense of personal mission to further the cause as communicated to them by a variety of sources. The outstanding examples from the 1990s are the "Oklahoma bomber," Timothy McVeigh, and the London nail-bomber, David Copeland. The way in which McVeigh and Copeland internalized an extreme right-wing worldview and carried out their self-appointed mission in a spirit of "leaderless resistance" is symptomatic of the biggest change of all to affect fascism in the "post-fascist age": groupuscularization. In the context of extreme right-wing politics in the contemporary age, "groupuscules" can be defined as numerically negligible political (frequently metapolitical but never party-political) entities formed to pursue palingenetic ideological, organizational, or activist ends with an ultimate goal of overcoming the decadence of the existing

liberal-democratic system. Although they are fully formed and autonomous, they have small active memberships and minimal if any public visibility or support. Yet they acquire enhanced influence and significance as a result of the ease with which they can be associated—even if only in the minds of political extremists—with other ideologically and tactically similar grouplets whose activities complement their own efforts to institute a new type of society.

The groupuscle thus has a Janus-headed characteristic of combining organizational autonomy with the ability to create informal linkages with, or reinforce the influence of, other such formations. This enables groupuscules, when considered in terms of their aggregate impact on politics and society, to be seen as forming a nonhierarchical, leaderless, and centerless (or rather polycentric) movement with fluid boundaries and constantly changing components. This “groupuscular Right” has the characteristics of a political and ideological subculture rather than a conventional political party movement, and it is perfectly adapted to the task of perpetuating revolutionary extremism in an age of relative political stability.

Far from dying out since 1945 then, fascism has in reality displayed a vigorous Darwinian capacity for creative adaptation and mutation. It has diversified, specialized, and groupuscularized in order to fill as many civic (and uncivic!) spaces as possible, now that mainstream political spaces are denied it. It may have withered on the vine as a would-be party-political mass movement, but it has assumed a new capillary form and operates like some small organism resistant to hostile environments. Collectively these keep an extremist agenda of revolutionary nationalism alive in forms that are practically uncensurable, since the groupuscular Right shares with the Internet it uses so readily the property that the information and organizational intelligence it contains is not lost through the suppression of any one of its nodes.

In its New Right adaptation, which in some countries (notably France, Germany, Italy, and Russia) has achieved a degree of respectability within orthodox culture, fascism can help rationalize and legitimate neopopulist attacks on multiculturalism and feed fears about the erosion of national or ethnic identity (albeit in a “differentialist” and pseudo-xenophile rather than an openly xenophobic spirit). This in turn can reinforce a climate that breeds traditional xenophobic racism and help to ensure that the default position of liberal democracy in particular countries shifts to the right rather than the left on such issues as international trade, citizenship, immigration, and economic asylum seekers.

To that extent New Rightists would be justified in claiming at least some measure of success for their attempts to undermine the hegemony of actually existing liberal democratic values, though these are under threat even where it is not a perceptible presence in political culture. As a movement capable of transforming society, whether through military coup, electoral victory, political trade-off with the ruling elite, or the extensive ideological subversion of pluralistic democracy, fascism may be a spent political force able to mobilize only a minute percentage of the population into active support, however large the tacit support for its racism, chauvinism, and xenophobia in milieux with exacerbated social and racial tensions. Nevertheless, those who consult this historical encyclopedia with the notion that fascism is purely a phenomenon of the past should be mindful of the words of Pierre-André Taguieff, one of the most astute observers of contemporary French extremism:

Neither “fascism” nor “racism” will do us the favour of returning in such a way that we can recognize them easily. If vigilance was only a game of recognizing something already well known, then it would only be a question of remembering. Vigilance would be reduced to a social game using reminiscence and identification by recognition, a consoling illusion of an immobile history peopled with events which accord with our expectations or our fears.

Roger Griffin

SUGGESTED READING

- Gregor, A. James. 1999. *Phoenix*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction. *A text that provides insight into the continuity between interwar and postwar fascism, while both offering a vigorous critique of Griffin's “new consensus” and corroborating some of its fundamental tenets about the ideological dynamics of fascism.*
- Griffin, Roger, ed. 1995. *Fascism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *An influential primary-source documentary reader that covers the interwar and postwar eras and the history of fascist studies, while presenting an early formulation of the “new consensus” on the fascist minimum (the smallest number of traits that a movement or regime must have before it becomes classifiable as ‘fascist’).*
- Griffin, Roger, ed., with Matthew Feldman. 2003. *Critical Concepts: Fascism*. London: Routledge. *A five-volume “library” collection of secondary sources on fascism that demonstrates the extreme diversity both of the phenomenon and of the critical perspectives it has generated.*
- Kallis, Aristotle, ed. 2002. *The Fascist Reader*. London: Routledge. *An excellent secondary source reader on interwar fascism that also takes stock of the current state of the debate within fascist studies.*
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interpretation of generic fascism and assessment of its current prospects as a political force by a specialist who operates on the basis of an ideal type of fascism that conflicts with the “new consensus.”

- Larsen, Stein, ed. 2001. *Fascism outside Europe*. New York: Columbia University Press (Boulder Social Science Monographs). *A seminal collection of essays on non-European fascisms edited by a major expert on comparative fascism who offers an interpretation of its global diffusion radically divergent from that offered in this introduction.*
- Mann, Michael. 2004. *Fascists*. New York: Cambridge University Press. *An impressive attempt to write a panoramic, empirically detailed history of interwar fascism and explain its nature as a political and historical phenomenon from a sociological perspective, thereby complementing and challenging the one-sidedly “ideological” approach consciously adopted in Griffin’s work, including the entries to this encyclopedia.*
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by someone who consciously applies the approach to fascism proposed by the “new consensus,” though with the typical misgivings that many so-called empirical historians have when using social science concepts.

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ABSTRACTION

Term of abuse current in interwar fascist vocabulary to denigrate the principles of the upholders of such values as human rights, the brotherhood of man, egalitarianism, and internationalism, which fascists dismissed as “unreal” abstractions. To generalized “human” rights, fascists preferred the rights of the Italian or the German or the Aryan; to the hoped-for brotherhood of man they preferred the bonds of the national community; to aspiration to an ideal of egalitarianism they preferred acceptance of the “natural” hierarchies and elite structures endemic to human societies and seemingly required by Social Darwinism; to the “pipe dream” of internationalism (*see* LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE) they preferred the existent reality of the nation; to Rousseau’s claim that “all men are born free” they preferred a focus on each individual’s dependency from birth on family and wider community. In all this they saw themselves as having a preference for concrete and realistic styles of thought over idealistic and unrealistic theorizing, and hence as preferring “science” to “fantasy.” They believed that they stood for a realistic, scientific, rooted modernity in preference to the liberal modernity of abstract individualism.

Much of this is at least as old as Aristotle, who held, for example, that men are by nature divided into “sheep” and “shepherds,” and Machiavelli. But it also

tapped into the nineteenth-century reaction to the French Revolution, beginning with Edmund Burke (1729–1797), whose *Reflections on the Revolution in France* first appeared in 1790. Burke believed that society requires its members to observe the laws and customs in which they have been brought up, rather than to agitate for some vague “rights of man,” which in his view could lead only to division and anarchy. This argument was taken up by the Traditionalists in France, who followed Burke in focusing on the dependence of each child born into the world on the nourishment, nurture, and support of family and the wider society; thus the individual’s obligations to the community must trump all other considerations. The Traditionalist critique of revolutionary abstraction found its way into the integral nationalism of Maurras and the Action Française. However, it is often overlooked that there were parallel critiques of revolutionary abstraction on the Left, where the argument was made that liberals offered their abstract slogans like “liberty, equality, fraternity” simply as sops to the poor, who felt better for them but still had no bread. (There was also, of course, a critique of revolutionary “abstractions” from the Anglo-Saxon utilitarian school, which denied that concepts like “the rights of man” have any meaning at all: the English legal reformer Jeremy Bentham dismissed them contemptuously as “nonsense on stilts.”)

The preference for the defense of existing customs over revolutionary “abstractions” became a hallmark of

nineteenth-century conservatism, but in the hands of Romantic nationalism it transmuted into a harsh advocacy of the superiority of the ethos and principles of whatever nation it was to whom the ideologue in question belonged. Nazi ideologues in particular—and they represented the culmination and extreme exaggeration of nineteenth-century Romantic nationalism—promoted the idea of “Germany” (not just the nation with her existing borders but an idealized nation of all ethnic Germans) as bearer of a uniquely powerful understanding of nature and the world arising out of her special history and her “soul.” Pro-Nazi philosophers like Hermann Glockner and Ferdinand Weinhandl claimed that Germans had a special ability to “look at” (*anschauen*) the world through a direct manner of perception; they contrasted this with the abstract “rationalist” way of thinking *about* the world practiced in the Franco-British tradition of philosophizing that derived from Descartes. Some Nazi hard-liners in the scientific world criticized the physics of Einstein as too “abstract” and “Jewish” and not sufficiently “intuitive.” Ironically, this alleged earthiness and concreteness of the German way of seeing had itself now become detached from the defense of traditional national institutions, for the Nazi creed was itself ruthlessly revolutionary.

Mussolini too condemned his “internationalist” enemies for their “abstraction.” But appropriately, perhaps, it was the far-right French Vichy regime that embodied this aspect of fascist ideology most succinctly when it boldly replaced the hallowed (abstract) slogan of the French Revolution *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité* with the new trio of *Patrie, Famille, Travail* (“Fatherland, Family, Work”). These are names for concrete and familiar entities that the individual can easily visualize. Moreover, during the Vichy regime, busts of *Marianne* (not a real person, but a symbolic idealization of the supposed beauty of the French Revolutionary ideal) in public places were replaced by busts of the regime’s leader, the very real person Marshal Philippe Pétain.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ARYANISM; BLOOD AND SOIL; COSMOPOLITANISM; EGALITARIANISM; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; INDIVIDUALISM; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MICHELS, ROBERTO; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; PANGERMANISM; PÉTAÏN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; ROOTLESSNESS; SCIENCE; TRADITIONALISM; VICHY; *WELTAN-SCHAUUNG*

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ABYSSINIA: **See** ETHIOPIA
 ACCADEMIA D’ITALIA: **See** ART;
 SCIENCE

ACERBO LAW, THE

Law passed by the Italian Chamber of Deputies on 15 July 1923 that opened the door for the Fascists to gain control of the Parliament. It was drafted by Undersecretary of State Giacomo Acerbo (1888–1969), and it provided that the electoral list that received the greatest number of votes—provided it amounted to more than 25 percent of the total—would be entitled to two-thirds of the total number of seats (535). The rest of the seats were to be shared out proportionally among the parties. Many liberals supported the bill, which they hoped would introduce more stability into the political order. In the next elections, in April 1924, Mussolini was able to secure the election of 374 of his supporters (including 275 fascists), and that prepared the way for his subsequent destruction of the parliamentary governmental system.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARLIAMENTARISM

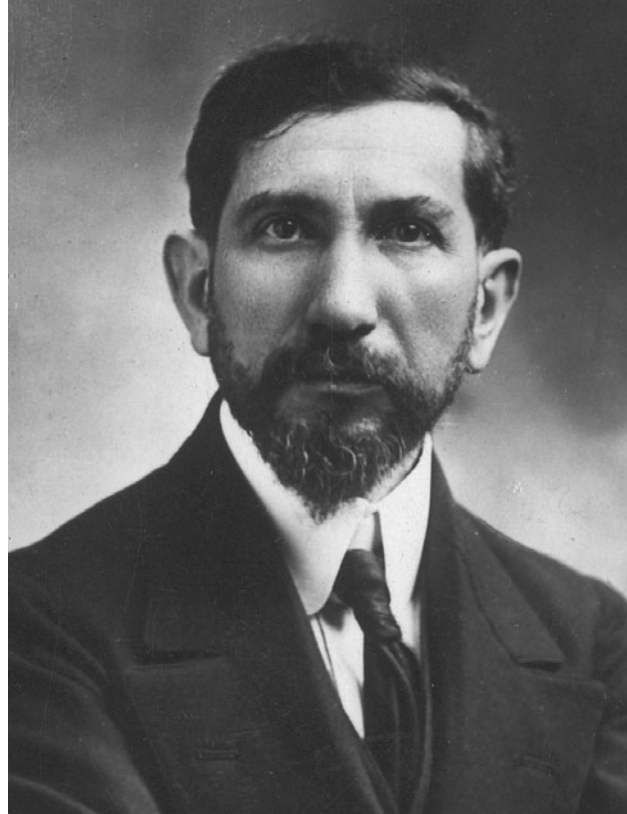
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ACTION FRANÇAISE (FRENCH ACTION)

French royalist league founded before World War I, often regarded as a forerunner of fascism. It was set up on 8 August 1898 by various opponents of Dreyfus: Jacques Bainville, Henri Vaugeois, Maurice Pujo, and Charles Maurras. The following July a bimonthly paper, also named *Action Française*, was brought out. It became a daily paper on 21 March 1908, run by Maurras and Léon Daudet. The Action Française (AF) advocated monarchism, saw the nation as the foundation of society, showed respect for Catholicism and established traditions, and claimed to be in a struggle against international plutocracy and the influence of Jews and freemasons. The AF was notable for the originality of its fusion of political intellectualism—both through the publications of the various intellectuals attached to the movement and through the courses provided by the Institut d'Action Français—with a muscular form of political activism, particularly through the formation in 1908 of the Camelots du roi (“king’s street peddlers”) action groups.

An extremely potent political force in the years before World War I, the AF went into a relative decline after the mid-1920s. One reason was that many of the people who had joined the AF because they saw it as a potentially revolutionary force, capable of producing a synthesis between nationalism and syndicalism, became disillusioned with its failure to do so. One of the key figures in that disillusionment, Georges Valois, left the movement in 1925 to form the first French fascist party, Le Faisceau (“The Bundle”). A further factor in the movement’s decline was the decision by the Vatican on 29 December 1926 to place it out of bounds for Catholics, forcing thousands of them to withdraw. New members did join, but many recruits got caught up in mobilization for what they saw as more radical movements. That would be the case for many of the young activists who joined the movement at the beginning of the 1930s. Such activists as Robert Brasillach, Pierre Gaxotte, Lucien Rebatet, Dominique Sordet, Claude and Gabriel Jeantet, and Eugène Deloncle passed through the AF before moving in the direction of fascism as the 1930s progressed. Despite their traditional hostility to Germany, Maurras and the AF supported the national revolution under Pétain after the



Charles Maurras was the leading figure in the French nationalist movement Action Française, often considered to be a precursor of interwar fascism. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

collapse of France in 1940. The last edition of *Action Française* came out on 24 August 1944, and the movement was dissolved after the war.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ANTICLERICALISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; BLANCHOT, MAURICE; BRASILLACH, ROBERT; DREYFUS CASE, THE; FRANCE; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM; NATIONALISM; PERONISM; PLUTOCRACY; PROTOFASCISM; REBATET, LUCIEN; SYNDICALISM; TRADITIONALISM; VICHY

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ACTUALISM

The name of the philosophy espoused by Giovanni Gentile, generally recognized to have been the philosophical mentor to Mussolini's regime and the only truly fascist philosopher to be accorded a respected place in the history of philosophy. Actualism was rooted in the tradition of idealism, and it sprang from the difficulty experienced by eighteenth-century philosophers in finding a philosophical proof of the reality of the external world. Idealists concluded that in the absence of such a proof we have only the content of our thinking that we can be sure of. There were various versions of idealism, but Gentile's actualism held that the only defensible idealism was an absolute kind. He denied that our convictions about the world are the result of passive observation, alleging that all knowledge arises out of a conscious choice made by our minds; we choose from the waves of impressions that we receive those that seem to work, or those that we can fit into the achievement of some goal or aim. This applies not simply to individuals but also to communities and their collective goals.

Thus it is our minds that construct reality, not the reality we experience that molds our minds. Actualism in fact holds that it is our purpose and our role as humans to construct or fashion ourselves through thinking, a process that it denominates "self-actualization." With regard to other persons, we experience them as having something called "spirituality," and with them we find that we share something different and more profound than we can share with mere things. Other persons call up in us a longing for mutual affection and sympathy, and philosophy becomes ethical. Indeed Gentile defined his system of pure idealism as in essence a system of ethics. Moreover, since each individual has within his mind the concept of "the other," we can say that the concept of society is immanent in every person. This implies a rejection of the classic liberal opinion as incarnated in the French Revolution, that society is composed of isolated individuals having inalienable rights who choose of their own volition to come together to create a society. Gentile conceived of individuals in society as belonging together in a single transcendent self that gives them a common consciousness. What is real is the collectivity, not the individual. Only communities are transcendent; individuals are transient, and the transcendent reality is embodied in

the state. So the state is very far from being an arbitrary construction put together at the behest of a number of individuals. Since it represents an organic continuity that actually transcends the existence of any individual within it, the state has priority over the individual, not just philosophically but also in terms of ethics.

What bonded Gentile's thought particularly strongly to fascism was his argument that whereas in a previous era it was the church that represented the foundation of each individual's social consciousness, in modern times it is the nation that unites individuals in the state. But twentieth-century men are heirs to a long tradition of individualism that has distorted their perceptions; what they most need is to be reminded that they cannot find the self-fulfillment that they crave except by consciously identifying themselves with the transcendent historic community to which they belong. That can be achieved only through a sacrificial commitment by which the individual, exercising or undergoing an iron discipline, buries his own individuality in that of the state. If the individuals within a state are to make such a commitment, they must be educated to do so, and the state itself must take responsibility for that education: the state must become the educator of its citizens. Both in his writings and in his professional career, Gentile strove to promote the importance of education.

Actualism gave to the Italian Fascist regime a philosophical rationale, at a time when many intellectuals were turning away from the positivism and scientism that had been predominant in pre-World War I Europe. Although Gentile drank deep at the sources of German Neo-Hegelianism and was generally indebted to German thought, actualism did not play any part in German Nazism, which sought its intellectual justification precisely in the scientism that Gentile rejected. Although it proclaimed that "Germanness" implied a unique way of looking at the world that was entirely different from the Enlightenment rationalism that prevailed in France and the Anglo-Saxon world, Nazism based itself on a conviction that the "scientific" deliverances of a certain kind of anthropology and biology and "racial science" could be relied upon. However, although the Nazis regarded themselves as perfectly at home with science, they had a particular conception of what that meant, in the sense that they believed not simply in the empirical study of the deliverances of the senses but also in a certain uniquely "Nordic" way of perception that was some kind of intuitionism or "seeing" (*schauen*) that gave them a uniquely superior *Weltanschauung*.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTHROPOLOGY; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANNES; INDIVIDUALISM; LIBERALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*

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ADORNO, THEODOR W.:

See PSYCHOLOGY

AESTHETICS: See ARCHITECTURE;

ART; MODERNISM; STYLE

AGRICULTURE: See FARMERS

AHNENERBE (FORSCHUNGS- UND LEHRGEMEINSCHAFT) (GERMAN ANCESTRAL HERITAGE SOCIETY)

A German society established in 1935 to look for support for the racial theories of some National Socialists in the study of prehistory. In 1937 it was integrated into the SS. It attracted academics in good standing and carried out some useful research—for example, the excavation of a Viking fortress, and expeditions to Tibet and the Near East. During World War II anthropological research was conducted on the skulls of Auschwitz victims, which were measured to compare with those of Aryans. The organization was also involved in the medical experiments carried out by Rascher in Dachau and by Mengele in Auschwitz.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; MENGELE, JOSEF; MEDICINE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SS, THE; TIBET

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ALBANIA

In 1939, Italy invaded Albania. A satellite government led by Shefqet Vërlaci was established. However, real power lay with Mussolini's son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano. Albanian society was subjected to fascist influences, and the new government promoted the Albanian state as the core of a future Greater Albania to which Kosovo would be annexed. For years, Albanians in Kosovo (Kosovars) had complained about being oppressed by Slavs. With the German invasion of Yugoslavia, Kosovo was annexed to Albania, and its new leaders—Rexhep Mitrovica, Iliaz Agushi, and Bedri Pejani—exact a terrible revenge on non-Albanians: 100,000 Serbs were expelled, and many thousands were massacred. Paramilitary organizations such as the *Vulnari* and the *Balli Kombëtar*, inspired by myths of Albanian masculinity, were responsible for these atrocities. The shock troops ignored the protests of the Italians, whom they considered unmanly. The *Mrdita* paramilitaries and Xhafer Deva's police also wreaked havoc. The most violent Kosovar force was the SS *Skanderbeg*, created in 1944 as an elite death squad. In addition to massacring Serb civilians, it also hunted down Jews.

After Italy's capitulation in September 1943, German forces invaded Albania and placed in power a regime led by the Kosovars Vehbi Frashëri and Deva. In gratitude to the Nazis for "liberation" from Slav rule, the Kosovars proposed that Albanians were "Aryans of Illyrian heritage." However, by September 1944 the Albanian state was close to collapse, and the capital, Tirana, had fallen by November. Nationalist resistance in Kosovo lasted longer. Led by Deva, nationalists endeavored to purchase weapons from retreating Germans with the aim of carrying out a "final solution" of Slavs in Kosovo. The overwhelming force of the Yugoslav partisans prevented this, but although the insur-

rection was crushed, it was not until 1947 that Kosovo was fully reintegrated into Yugoslavia.

Rory Yeomans

See Also: ARYANISM; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; CORFU; EXPANSIONISM; HONOR; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; PARAMILITARISM; SERBS, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YUGOSLAVIA

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ALMIRANTE, GIORGIO (1914–1988)

Originally a schoolteacher from Parma, Almirante became the editor of two racist Fascist journals during the Mussolini dictatorship in Italy. After the latter's collapse in 1943, Almirante served as chief of staff in the Ministry of Popular Culture for the Salò Republic. In 1946, Almirante helped to found and became the first leader of the MSI, a party that quickly became the principal neofascist force in Italian politics over the succeeding decades. He was removed from his leadership post in 1950 by conservative figures who wanted to make the MSI a respectable participant in parliamentary life. When that attempt eventually failed, Almirante resumed the MSI's leadership in 1969. Under his direction, the MSI welcomed back into its ranks Giuseppe "Pino" Rauti and a number of individuals linked to Italy's violent neofascist underground. During the turbulent late 1960s and early 1970s, Almirante was accused of promoting a "strategy of tension," of simultaneously appealing to a "silent majority" of Italians who wanted a restoration of law and order while covertly promoting right-wing violence. The aim of this strategy, many journalists argued, was to create a sense of sufficient disorder in Italy that the public would tolerate a coup d'état and the advent of a military neofascist dictatorship. The accusations, probably exaggerated, led to demands that the MSI be placed outside the law and that Almirante be prosecuted for antidemocratic scheming. These efforts did

not succeed, but neither did the "strategy of tension." In the 1980s, Almirante was replaced as MSI secretary and spent the remainder of his life as the party's ceremonial president.

Leonard Weinberg

See Also: ITALY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; POSTWAR FASCISM; RAUTI, GIUSEPPE "PINO"; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF

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AMERICA: *See* AMERICANIZATION; U.S.A.

AMERICANIZATION

Term of abuse in the vocabulary of fascists in the interwar era, when such new cultural imports as jazz music and Hollywood movies were felt by some in Europe to embody the penetration of "alien" values into their world. The rise of the modern cinema and popular music industries were tied in by the celebrated car maker and anti-Semitic propagandist Henry Ford to "Jewish" influence, on account of the strong representation of Jews in the production of Hollywood films and in the promotion of modern music; Ford and others denounced "showbiz" as a source of "Jewish" corruption in U.S. society. Such arguments were picked up enthusiastically by the Nazis, for whom "Americanizing" influences might often be a code for "Jewish" influences.

In postwar fascism, the term *Americanization* has a different, though not totally unrelated, set of connotations. Some fascists have taken on board the agenda of antiglobalization, anticapitalist, and ecological movements, and they turn the fire on the United States as the archetypal capitalist nation, which is home to many of the world's great multinationals. They also attack the United States as the world's major polluter. There are elements too for whom fascism has become a defense of "European" values against not only the influence of nonwhite immigrants but also the homogenized culture of "McDonaldization."

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CAPITALISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; ECOLOGY; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; FILM; FORD, HENRY; GLOBALIZATION; GRECE; IMMIGRATION; NAZISM; NIHILISM; PERONISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RADIO; SEXUALITY

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AMIN AL-HUSSEINI: *See* PALESTINE

ANIMALS

The eclectic nature of fascism, so often obscured by militant rhetoric, is very evident in policies regarding animals. The early Italian Fascists glorified technology, romanticized war, and dismissed humane issues as effete sentimentality. Mussolini, for example, said that Italian Fascism denied the equation which said that well-being = happiness, an equation that regards men as mere animals content to eat and drink and get fat as though they had only a vegetative existence. Nevertheless, the Fascist government in Italy did pass an animal protection law in 1931 that contained the strongest restrictions on animal experimentation in Europe to that date. It was to serve as a partial model for similar legislation in Nazi Germany and elsewhere. The law allowed experiments on warm-blooded vertebrates to be performed only by authorized scientific institutions and under the supervision of the director. It also regulated the care and handling of laboratory animals, and demanded that they be anesthetized during experiments, provided that was not incompatible with the purpose of the research.

Internal contradictions within fascism are even more apparent in Nazi attitudes toward animals. While deliberately cultivating brutality toward human (and often animal) life, the Nazis introduced the most comprehensive humane legislation in the world and laid the foundations for the study of animals throughout much of the twentieth century. The composer Richard Wagner, who was an important influence on Hitler and other Nazis,

had become a crusader for animal protection toward the end of his life. He popularized the idea that animal experimentation, or “vivisection,” exemplified the “sterile rationalism” of Jewish thought, while kosher slaughter was ritualized cruelty. These notions enabled the Nazis to rationalize anti-Semitic measures with appeals to animal welfare. Shortly after they came to power in 1933, the Nazis enacted a comprehensive law on the slaughter of animals that effectively banned kosher practices.

In turn the law on slaughter inaugurated a comprehensive series of laws regulating the treatment of animals in meticulous detail, including a comprehensive animal protection law of 1934 that was revised and expanded in 1938. Practices such as cock-fighting and the use of hunting dogs were forbidden. A law on transportation of animals, passed in 1938, carefully regulated how much space, food, and water various animals were to receive during transport, while Jews and others were being indiscriminately crammed into cattle cars destined for concentration camps. The enforcement of animal protection laws was, however, erratic. Members of organizations such as the Hitler Youth and the SS were sometimes forced to practice cruelty toward animals—for example, by strangling pigeons or dogs—in order to teach unquestioned obedience.

Animals were important in the symbolism and the applied science of the Nazi regime. Predators such as the eagle and wolf were invoked to inspire fierceness in battle. Dogs, especially, were used to model the ideal of pure blood, which was central to the Nazi eugenics programs. Konrad Lorenz, a prominent member of the Nazi regime’s Office of Race Policy, articulated a theory of genetic degeneration based on an analogy between careless breeding of animals in the barnyard and racial miscegenation of human beings in cities.

Groups that draw on fascist traditions, especially in Europe, have continued to emphasize animals, for example by protesting ritual slaughter performed by Muslims and Jews. Today it is common for opposing parties to invoke fascism as a negative paradigm in debates on issues involving animal protection. The organization PETA, for example, launched an advertising campaign in 2003 entitled “The Holocaust on Your Plate,” comparing the meat industry to Nazi death camps. On the other hand, critics of animal rights often point out that severe restrictions on animal experimentation under Nazism accompanied grisly experiments on unwilling human subjects.

Boria Sax

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BLOOD; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; ECOLOGY; EUGENICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LORENZ, KONRAD;



The Berlin Reichstag (parliament) greets Hitler's announcement in March 1938 of the annexation of Austria to Germany with rapturous applause. This was the first step toward the fulfillment of the Nazi dream of a greater German Reich uniting all the Germans of Europe. (National Archives)

MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATURE; RATIONALISM; SS, THE; TECHNOLOGY; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAR; YOUTH

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ANSCHLUSS, THE

Roughly translates from German as “union”; effectively referring to the annexation of Austria—thereafter la-

beled the *Ostmark* in the terminology of the Nazis—by the Third Reich in March 1938. Such an annexation was specifically prohibited by the terms of the various peace settlements following World War I, and again in 1931 in relation to a proposed “customs union” between Austria and Germany under the Weimar Republic. The *Anschluss* may be understood as Hitler’s final repudiation of the provisions of the Versailles Treaty.

By 1920 the Austro-Hungarian Empire had been dissolved into various smaller states, with Austria comprising 7 million German-speaking inhabitants and occupying a pivotal strategic area in Central Europe. In the same year, the first point of Nazism’s Twenty-Five Point Program demanded unification of all Germans into a Greater Germany (*Grossdeutschland*). Austria was to become a major aim of Nazi revanchism during the Weimar Republic, and in 1934 a failed coup d’état by Austrian Nazis—in Vienna, yet coordinated from Berlin—resulted in the death of the chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss, the formation of the so-called Stresa

Front to contain German expansionism, and heightened political tension in Austria.

However, by 1938 the international state of affairs was much more conducive to the aggressive foreign policy increasingly pursued by the Nazi regime, especially given German domestic strength, international relations with Fascist Italy, and the evident appeasement pursued (particularly) by Britain and France. Conflict with Austria loomed after a meeting between Hitler and Austria's conservative chancellor, Kurt von Schuschnigg, at Berchtesgaden on 12 February 1938, at which Hitler issued political ultimatums with strong martial overtones. Demanded were an amnesty and a free rein for all Austrian Nazis, the appointment of two Nazis to the Austrian cabinet, as well as the development of economic ties between the two countries. Schuschnigg accepted before the three-day deadline, but he retaliated with a surprising decision on 9 March 1938 to hold a referendum (constructed in a manner unfavorable to the Nazis) on Austrian independence four days thereafter.

A range of options in response were hastily discussed by Nazi functionaries—particularly Hitler, Goering, and Goebbels—including invasion, propaganda leaflets to be distributed by airplane, and renewed threats. Bolstered by Mussolini's diplomatic support, Hitler made military preparations while simultaneously insisting upon Schuschnigg's resignation as well as a restructuring and postponement of the plebiscite. Despite much negotiation between Vienna and Berlin, by midnight on 11 March 1938, Schuschnigg had resigned; the Nazis' puppet in Austria, Arthur Seyss-Inquart, had been made chancellor; and Austrian armed forces had been ordered not to resist the invading German forces. On 12 March, German troops marched into Austria, and the next day the Law for the Reunion of Austria with the German Reich was drafted; on 15 March 1938, Hitler spoke to a crowd of hundreds of thousands of jubilant Viennese as their new head of state.

Matt Feldman

See Also: AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GOERING, HERMANN; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON; SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR; THIRD REICH, THE; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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ANTHROPOLOGY

The subfields of physical, social, and colonial anthropology—as well as a racially adapted theory of diffusion and the idea of an Indo-Germanic culture circle—contributed substantially to the Nazi version of the fascist conception of a nation in crisis and in a state of decadence, from which only an ultranationalist worldview that envisioned national regeneration could save it. While the relationship of academic anthropologists in universities and university research institutes to National Socialism was complex, that of popular anthropologists or of anthropologists working for Ahnenerbe, the research institute of the SS, was formative.

Academic anthropologists like Eugen Fischer and Diedrich Westermann, for example, were close to the regime. In the Prussian Academy of Science, following a lecture by the physical anthropologist Eugen Fischer on the 8 May 1941 about “White Africa,” Fischer and Westermann formed a commission to organize interdisciplinary research on Northern Africa. The topic “White Africa” was chosen not only for its German colonial interests but also for its affirmation of the diffusion theory of Himmler and the SS—namely, that the *Herrenschicht*, here applied to Africa, were “white Africans” who came from the north, established larger statelike organizations, but eventually disappeared among the black masses, thereby losing their hegemony.

Already in 1910, Eugen Fischer had published his book *Social Anthropology and Its Meaning for the State*. Here he warned that the same fate of cultural decline awaited Germany that had befallen Portugal, Spain, and Italy, and that was even then afflicting France. The idea of decadence, turning *Völker* into masses owing to Westernization and international wars, found its greatest expression in the writings of the popular anthropologist of race studies Hans F. K. Günther. His writing became popular after the defeat in World War I and the Treaty of Versailles. Basing his thought on the race theories of Gobineau, Chamberlain, and Galton, Günther saw the root cause of decadence in three processes: (1) rapid urbanization (*Verstädterung*); (2) the degeneration of *Völk* into mass (*Masse*); and (3) the counterselection (*Gegenauslese*) that occurs following major wars. Major wars destroy exemplary officers, soldiers, and hereditarily qualified families (*erbtüchtige Familien*), while urbanization and massification produce moral decline and reproductive irresponsibility. Since all Oc-

cidental peoples are racially mixed already, the three processes lead to biocultural catastrophe. Salvation lies in a “racial renewal” movement.

Schemann’s translation of Gobineau’s work, *The Inequality of Human Races*, had a major impact on the “racial renewal movement” in Germany. It was claimed that racial inequality justified favoring Nordic elements in Occidental peoples. Likewise, Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s work, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, helped to give credence to the idea that race plays a vital role in the life and history of peoples. The works of Vacher de Lapouge, *Les Selections sociales*, (1896) and *L’Aryen, son rôle social* (1899), further raised the importance of the role of the Nordic race in the history of Indo-Germanic language speakers. German anthropologists Otto Ammon (1842–1915) and Ludwig Woltmann (1871–1907), who was a student of Haeckel and popularizer of Gobineau, reinforced the special meaning of the Nordic race by highlighting its political and religious dimensions.

Günther and Ludwig Ferdinand Clauß (1892–1974), an anthropologist who taught race psychology in the philosophical faculty of the University of Berlin, soon linked racial with religious renewal within Hauer’s German Faith Movement. A former missionary to India who exchanged a hatred of Jewish-Christianity for a love of Hinduism and Buddhism, Hauer developed a race-based religion that he considered to be the essence of National Socialism. To him, a specific type of pre-Christian primordial godliness permeates a people and culture (that is, a race), and it is the task of an elite minority and persuasive personality to re-establish this collective representation as the ruling idea of a regenerative movement that answers the specific political yearnings of a specific people. To Hauer, Hinduism and Buddhism were vital parts of Indo-Germanic culture, which was determined by the Nordic race. Inevitably it clashed with Near-Asian-Semitic culture. Unlike the disintegrative thrust of Near-Asian-Semitic cultures, Indo-Germanicism acts as a reintegrative force of all forms of life under the formidable power of faith, with National Socialism as its guarantor. Hauer and company concocted an ideological mix that not only dazzled the anthropologists and indologists of Ahnenerbe but also pervaded the SS generally, from Himmler on down.

Karla Poewe

See Also: AHNENERBE; ARYANISM; BHAGAVADGITA, THE; BLOOD; BUDDHISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; EUGENICS; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE; GÜNTHER, HANS F. K.; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; NATION-

ALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SS, THE; TIBET; UNIVERSITIES; VACHER DE LAPOUGE, GEORGES; VOLK, VÖLKISCH

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“ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE

Fascism has frequently been identified more with what it is against than with what it is for, but the “positive” goals generating its negations, violence, and destructiveness are now being increasingly recognized by scholars. All ideologies have a built-in “anti-dimension,” because a corollary of asserting any set of core ideals is the rejection of values that conflict with them. Liberalism, for example, is by definition opposed to absolutism, communism, religious fanaticism, anarchy, and all forms of tyranny. One of the features that used to mark fascism out from other political ideologies, however, is that it was routinely described by political scientists, not from the point of view of its own protagonists but from the perspective of its enemies and victims. That is in marked contrast with the conventional academic treatment of ideologies such as liberalism and anarchism, whose attempted implementation has in the past led to violence against the established order, or of Marxism-Leninism, which, once adopted as the state ideology of the Soviet Union, was partly responsible for atrocities and abuses of human rights on an enormous scale.

The first analyses of fascism as an international (generic) species of politics—that is, as a phenomenon not confined to Italy—were carried out by Marxists. In the 1920s they established a tradition that persists to this day of interpreting fascism as the product of a crisis of capitalism. They argued that behind its dynamic, populist facade, fascism was driven by the drive to crush the revolutionary movement for proletariat

emancipation by resorting to a pseudo-revolution that exalted the supraclass interests of the nation while actually defending the vested interests of the ruling elites. By the 1930s the term *fascism* was being employed ever more frequently in liberal circles as well to describe both ultranationalist movements and extreme right-wing authoritarian regimes that seemed to be modeled on Mussolini’s Fascism. However, the prevailing uncertainty about what it stood for as a positive ideology meant that it was widely characterized in terms of its rejection of democracy, humanism, culture, civilization, and progress—or, even more loosely, in terms of its cult of violence and its theatrical, charismatic, or megalomaniac style of political display.

The unprecedented scale of destruction of civilian life and of mass-produced human atrocities caused by the Third Reich and its allies during World War II were naturally identified in the public mind with barbarism, madness, and evil. It is thus understandable if academics from both antifascist camps perpetuated the characterization of fascism after 1945 purely in terms of what it was against. Marxists, including those working under communist regimes, produced theories of varying degrees of sophistication, all of which axiomatically denied it an autonomous revolutionary dynamic. Meanwhile, Western liberal academics tended to treat it either as a subcategory of totalitarianism—an overwhelmingly negative concept in the context of the Cold War—or as generated by dysfunction, whether in the development of nationhood or the process of modernization, or by the personal pathology of its leaders. It is thus hardly surprising that the first major academic attempt to explore the ideological dynamics of fascism in their full complexity, Ernst Nolte’s *Three Faces of Fascism* (1965; German ed., 1963) still presented the “fascist minimum” as both a reaction against and emulation of Marxism on one level, and on another as “resistance to transcendence,” a concerted effort to reverse the human drive toward self-emancipation expressed in liberalism and socialism.

It was in the same decade that comparative fascist studies finally began to be enriched by the publication of theories which, in contrasting ways, recognized that the driving force of fascism lay in its bid to overcome decadence and achieve a “new order,” and that this project involved not just an economic and political revolution but also a cultural and anthropological revolution conceived in a totalitarian spirit—that is, one that aspires to produce a new type of human being through the vehicle of a secular political religion. Foremost among the pioneers of this approach in Anglophone scholarship, which is used increasingly now by histori-

ans studying aspects of fascism, were Eugen Weber, Juan Linz, George Mosse, Zeev Sternhell, and A. J. Gregor. For example, Juan Linz’s 1976 definition spoke of fascism as a hypernationalist/pan-nationalist movement which, in addition to having on its agenda the planned destruction of a whole list of political opponents, had the positive aim of “national social integration through a single party and corporative representation. . . . [W]ith a distinctive style and rhetoric, it relied on activist cadres ready for violent action combined with electoral participation to gain power with totalitarian goals by a combination of legal and violent tactics.” Linz argued that fascist ideology and rhetoric appealed “for the incorporation of a national cultural tradition selectively in the new synthesis in response to new social classes, new social and economic problems, and with new organizational conceptions of mobilization and participation, which differentiate them from conservative parties.”

Building on Linz’s work, Stanley Payne evolved his highly influential “typological description” of fascism in 1980. This groundbreaking approach to the problem of defining fascism outlined its “ideology and goals” in terms of wanting to create a “new nationalist authoritarian state” and to “realize a new form of modern, self-determined, secular culture.” However, even this theory still opened with “the fascist negations”—namely, antiliberalism, anticommunism, and anticonservatism.

A feature of the “new consensus” in fascist studies (see INTRODUCTION) is that the “inhuman,” negative effects of fascism are now interpreted as the direct product of its bid to achieve what, in its own perception, are positive goals, rather than of its inherently destructive or nihilistic nature. In other words, what to an outsider appears wanton destruction is considered by the fascist activist to be the precondition of and prelude to nothing less than the rebirth of the entirety of society (see INTRODUCTION, PALINGENETIC MYTH). In the case of the most extreme form of fascism that actually seized state power, Nazism, this principle expressed itself in the chilling “palingenetic logic” that was to run through all the major policies and actions of the Third Reich. The ruthless destruction of the Weimar parliamentary system, of the working-class movement, of decadent culture, of racial and ideological enemies, and all those considered morally or racially unfit to become full members of the regenerated national-racial community, the *Volksgemeinschaft*—all these are to be seen as the concomitants of, and ritual preparations for, the rebirth of Germany.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; COLD WAR, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NEW MAN, THE; NIHILISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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ANTICLERICALISM

A number of European interwar fascist movements were heirs to a tradition of anticlericalism going back to the French Revolution, and to the Enlightenment before that. Mussolini's early propaganda called for the "de-Vaticanization" of Italy, though he subsequently realized that this would alienate many potential sympathizers and became much more supportive of the Church in his public utterances. Hitler and the Nazi leadership were contemptuous both of the Catholic Church and of the Lutheran Church. Hitler despised Franco for his Catholicism. In France, matters were more complicated. There were those on the Right who retained the visceral anticlericalism of the republican heirs to the French Revolution, for whom the Church represented the forces opposed to the Revolution and its philosophy, but the predominant mood was probably one of sympathy for the Catholic

Church. Charles Maurras, for example, whose nationalism was of a Mediterranean type that exalted Latin culture and France's role as a bearer of it, saw the logic of accepting the importance of the Catholic Church's role in preserving Latinity and keeping that culture alive. At the same time, however, he himself did not practice the Catholic faith, and he saw his Action Française movement placed beyond the pale for Catholics by the Church, with a consequent dwindling of support. Although he was far from being anticlerical, his slogan *la politique d'abord* ("politics first") was bound to set him on a collision course with a body that stood for the primacy of the spiritual. The Action Française could draw on a strong reservoir of Catholic monarchism in early-twentieth-century France, but the papal interdict on the movement merely made official the obvious contradiction between extreme nationalism and membership in a global church. In Croatia and in Austria there arose for a time a type of authoritarian right-wing government known as clerico-fascism that involved an alliance between state and Church. In pre-Soviet and post-Soviet Russia there was a strong tradition of pro-Orthodox anti-Semitic nationalism that was and remains susceptible to the message of fascist and fascist political movements. Postwar fascism has proved mainly heterodox in religion, the most outstanding example being that of the European New Right, with its open advocacy of paganism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CROATIA; DEGRELLE, LEON; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; FRANCE; FRANCO Y BAHMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POSTWAR FASCISM; RUSSIA; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA

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ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE

On 25 November 1936, Germany and Japan signed a treaty designed to create a common front against international communism, designated under the word *Comintern*. Although it did not specify any particular country in this connection, there was a secret protocol that was directed against the Soviet Union. Italy joined the pact formally on 6 November 1937.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AXIS, THE; COMINTERN, THE; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II

ANTIFASCISM

I. POLITICAL

The antifascist response on the political level to the rise to power of Hitler and Mussolini in the 1930s was not homogeneous. Liberals, socialists, communists, and others could draw on different traditions in opposing fascism. Yet there were some lessons that tended to be accepted by antifascists across party divisions. A common argument on the Left was that the whole Left was threatened by the rise of the Right. Antifascists should put aside all temporary divisions and work together to prevent the rise of this great enemy. Yet diverse traditions advocated different forms of unity. The main form of antifascist unity in 1920s Italy was the *Arditi del popolo*, an alliance of former soldiers with radical unionists. However, the movement was isolated and defeated. The socialists and communists had no time to grasp the threat ahead of them before Mussolini took power. Between 1930 and 1932, German communists again argued for antifascist unity, and the result was the Iron Front, an alliance of communists with some members of the SPD's paramilitary *Reichsbanner*. The Communist Party was able to run what should have been a united project. Many interwar Marxists, including Antonio Gramsci, Ignazio Silone, Victor Serge, and Leon Trotsky, defended a different strategy, the "united front." In criticism of the German communists, they insisted that genuine unity required more than just one



Oskar Schindler—known to posterity through the Hollywood movie Schindler's List—was one of many who strove to save Jews from the fate the Nazis planned for them. (Keystone/Getty Images)

party repackaging itself under another name. They argued instead for a combination of all socialists. The best strategy for confronting fascism, they argued, would be one of working-class alliance. If a confident and cohesive working class confronted fascism, then the leaders of the Fascist Party would prove unable to hold their supporters together in opposition to it.

These and similar arguments did not go unnoticed. In Germany, copies of pamphlets calling for unity sold in the tens and hundreds of thousands. Breakaway parties were formed to the left of the socialists or to the right of the communists, calling for both to adopt united front politics. Independent journalists and artists took up the call. Yet the leaders of the socialists and communists alike failed to grasp their chance. On 30 January 1933, Adolf Hitler's Nazis took power. Within four months the left-wing parties and the trade unions were banned. After Italy and Germany, the third place where antifascist tactics were tried was in

Spain. Tens of thousands of Spaniards died in the battle against Franco. They were joined by large numbers of international volunteers. The best activists of the European and American Left served in the International Brigades. They fought and died for an internationalist cause. Some of the most famous conflicts between fascists and antifascists (such as the “Battle of Cable Street” in London) took place outside Spain, while the Civil War continued and in the very shadow of that cause. Yet the politics of the Civil War were complicated by changes in communist tactics. After 1935 the spokesmen of the Communist International argued for a new form of antifascist alliance, the Popular Front. Unity was now to be sought with any force, right up to the edges of the fascist party itself. Internal disputes undermined the opposition to Franco. Anarchists and others called for a revolutionary war against Franco. They suggested vital, creative tactics, such as the arming of popular volunteers (which was accepted) and the acceptance of the national right to independence as a means to undermine Franco’s hold over his Moroccan troops (which was not tried). Meanwhile, communists, liberals, and some right-wing socialists devoted themselves to the opposite task of downplaying the Spanish revolution for the sake of a potential alliance with the moderate socialists of Britain and France.

In addition to historical experiences, certain books, songs, plays, paintings, and other cultural forms have been shared by antifascists across Europe in the postwar era. Many were first produced for audiences of workers or intellectuals in the interwar years. One such has been Ignazio Silone’s novel *Fontamara*, a plausible account of an antifascist uprising in an isolated village in southern Italy. Silone’s own reputation has since come under fire from within his native Italy. His book has continued to be popular, however, as have the plays derived from it. Other forms of antifascist culture from the 1920s and 1930s include the pacifist essays of Albert Einstein; the antiwar paintings of Pablo Picasso, including his classic work *Guernica*, painted in response to Franco’s bombing raids; the poems and montage art of the Volksbühne circle, including John Heartfield; the radical sexology of Wilhelm Reich; the pessimistic cultural essays of Walter Benjamin; and the books written by such Holocaust survivors as Primo Levi. The British novelist Virginia Woolf fired her own broadside against fascism. Her book *Three Guineas* argued that fascist violence depends on certain images of male virtue that can be found even in liberal or mainstream texts.

The Nazis dubbed Weimar art and music “degenerate.” Not surprisingly, antifascists have used it as a common resource to draw upon since. The outstanding

examples of such culture were the plays produced by Bertolt Brecht, Max Reinhardt, Erwin Piscator, and Kurt Weill. The antifascist theater of the 1920s and 1930s did not see its task as being to provide high-brow thrills to the middle classes, but rather to create a new art, owned by plebeian audiences. The playwrights introduced bawdy songs and situations modeled on boxing fights or union meetings. In the proletarian citadel of Wedding, they drew on a network of workers’ choirs and acting groups. They forced their audience to think, to test their own ideas, and to challenge all authority. In a number of poems, Bertolt Brecht also attempted to put a demotic, even humorous case against fascism. His “Song of the SA Man” asked why individual workers had signed up for Hitler’s party; couldn’t they see that they and their brothers would lose out too? Another poem, “But for the Jews Advising against It,” made the ironic point that if the Jews were so extraordinary and so powerful, then why had Hitler not used them (rather than the Germans) to take on the world? Long before Hitler threatened to take power, Brecht railed against the society in which fascism could flourish. Certain other cultural forms, evolved in one country to meet a specific need, have tended to become general and now form part of the common iconography of antifascist campaigns across Europe and North America. They include the three antifascist arrows of interwar German antifascism; the yellow “lollipop” symbol, employed by the Anti-Nazi League in 1970s Britain; punk dress and music, derived from the same campaign; and the outstretched yellow hand of the French movement SOS-Racisme, often with the slogan “Don’t touch my friend” attached to it.

The greatest problem faced by postwar antifascists is that interwar fascism and postwar fascism have not been entirely alike. We can list just a few differences here. First of all, postwar fascism has frequently attempted to conceal its own past. Neofascists in France deny that they have a link to the interwar years. Their Italian equivalents describe themselves as “postfascists.” Second, the far Right has been less obsessed with the task of building a mass activist party, in competition with the far Left. One reason for that has been the relative decline of the old communist parties, and their replacement by a more diffuse series of anticapitalist “lefts.” Another has been the relative success that the far Right has achieved through electoral rather than street politics. Third, the main popular slogans of postwar fascism have been immediately racial rather than economic in character. Fourth, the far Right has grown in areas in which it was previously much weaker, including Third World countries. Fifth, the postwar years

have seen fascistic parties sharing in government power, but without the economic crisis of the interwar years, or (as of yet) the same calamitous results.

The conversion of neofascist parties to an electoralist strategy has raised tactical problems. In contrast to the 1920s and 1930s, the immediate postwar years were ones of rapid economic growth and relative prosperity. Meanwhile, the fascist parties were hampered by their association with Nazi genocide and an unpopular war. Such organizations as the Italian MSI have argued that only the adoption of more moderate-seeming tactics could increase their support. Antifascists have found that certain prewar tactics, such as the mass march designed to prevent a fascist mobilization, have had less success than previously, largely because the fascists themselves have not been marching. While the tactics of mass mobilization have remained important to antifascists, many have also had to develop new forms of electoral work.

The slogans of postwar fascists have been shaped by anti-immigrant racism. Race is perhaps even more ubiquitous in their propaganda than it was for the equivalent parties before 1933. Yet the process has been contradictory, for Europe has witnessed growing racial integration even as the popular press has expressed its hatred of successive waves of labor migrants and refugees. Whatever the complexities, the task facing electoral antifascists has been to win an argument in defense of peaceful racial cohabitation. In comparison to interwar antifascism, its postwar forms have been much more “cultural” and less “economic.” Antifascists have had to respond to the participation of postwar fascist parties in local and national government. Each far-right advance has been met by waves of popular protest. The greater the initial success, the greater has been the public resistance. Yet the experience of fascist advance has also created an expectation of further success. Widespread protests met the election of Berlusconi’s first Italian government, which included two far-right parties, the National Alliance and the Northern Leagues. The early response to the election of Berlusconi’s second government was far more muted. Antifascists have also been charged with explaining the difference between the experience of interwar and postwar fascism in government. Both Mussolini and Hitler entered government as leaders of minority parties in cabinet. Yet buoyed up by the support of extraparliamentary armies, they were able to achieve a reordering of the state. Postwar fascist parties governing as minority members of coalitions inside Europe (Italy, Austria) or outside Europe (India) have not attempted any similar “fascization” of the nation. Some antifascists have con-

cluded that postwar fascism has indeed been more moderate than its predecessors. Another response has been to point out that the particular radicalism of the 1920s and 1930s depended not just on the ideology of the new fascist parties but also on the total economic and social context in which they took power. Were Europe or the world to enter such a period of catastrophic economic decline as was witnessed after 1929, then the contemporary far Right would be far better placed than it was, even in the interwar years, to turn its dystopia into reality.

David Renton

See Also: ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE, THE; ART; AUSTRIA; AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CABLE STREET, THE BATTLE OF; COMINTERN, THE; CROCE, BENEDETTO; DEGENERACY; EDELWEISS PIRATES, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; GUERNICA; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IMMIGRATION; INDIA; INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; ITALY; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO; MUSIC (GERMANY); MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; ORWELL, GEORGE; POSTWAR FASCISM; REICH, WILHELM; *SEARCHLIGHT*; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUDIUS SCHENK GRAF VON; TRADES UNIONS; TROTSKY, LEON; TROTT ZU SOLZ, ADAM VON; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WHITE ROSE; WIESENTHAL, SIMON

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II. RELIGIOUS

All over Europe, there were courageous Christian leaders and individuals who took a stand against interwar and wartime fascism in the name of their faith. Alongside the multitudes of Jews in the concentration camps, there were also Catholic and Lutheran clerics and laypeople incarcerated because of their opposition to

Nazism. In Dachau three barracks were reserved for some 1,600 clergymen. On the German Lutheran side, the names of Bonhoeffer and Niemoeller are legendary. On the Catholic side, Cardinal Faulhaber was a thorn in the flesh for the Nazi regime, and some of those who spoke out vigorously have since been recognized by the Catholic Church as saints and martyrs: the names of the Polish Franciscan St. Maximilian Kolbe, who died in Auschwitz, and the Dutch Carmelite Fr. Titus Brandsma, who died in Dachau, are among the most eminent. Perhaps we may legitimately include the White Rose resistance movement in Germany under the Catholic umbrella, insofar as the Kolls who founded it were advised by a Catholic professor. There were also more subtle ways in which hostility to fascism could be expressed. The psychiatrist Karl Stern, a Jew by birth who was born in Austria but escaped the Holocaust, recorded that on the day when news came through to their community of Nazi anti-Jewish legislation, he was out in the street with his father. The Catholic priest, who had up to that point been unknown to them, came up to his father and made a special point of greeting him and shaking him by the hand.

III. HUMANITARIAN

The success of the Hollywood movie *Schindler's List* is a reminder that some individuals fought against fascism from within the system, not out of political or religious conviction but seemingly on general ethical or humanitarian grounds. Oskar Schindler was an example of a minor industrialist who not only saved as many Jews as he could but also went out of his way to produce substandard armaments in his factory, to speed the defeat of fascism. Others sought to protest by directly addressing fascist leaders, as was the case with industrialist Fritz Thyssen. Having initially been a supporter of Hitler, he became disenchanted with the Nazi regime and on 28 December 1939 left Germany for Switzerland. From there he sent a long letter to Hitler complaining of the persecution against Christianity and the Jews. He told the Fuehrer that the alliance with Stalin was the last straw. He made it clear that he wanted to avoid undermining the German war effort, but he appealed to the conscience of the German people against Hitler. "Listen to me and you will hear the voice of the tormented German nation that is crying out to you: 'Turn back, let freedom, right, and humaneness rise again in the German Reich.'" This is a reminder that, along with the many Jews who fled Germany and the Occupied Territories, there were also many principled non-Jews whose

costly decision to emigrate and to abandon their homes and possessions was made on grounds of hostility to fascist regimes. Among the most celebrated cases is that of the Austrian Von Trapp family, whose rejection of Nazism motivated their abandonment of the family estates and their emigration, which eventually took them to the United States. Their story was immortalized in the 1960s musical *The Sound of Music*.

IV. MILITARY

The brunt of the military fight against fascism was borne by the citizens of the Allied powers in World War II, but it should be remembered that many emigrants or escapees from fascist regimes joined the Allied forces in this war. Poles, Czechs, Frenchmen, and others played an important part in the military defeat of fascism. Equally, there were those who refused military service on conscientious grounds in what they considered an unjust war, suffering the ultimate penalty for it. The case of the Austrian Franz Jägerstaetter, who was executed after refusing to take the oath of loyalty to Hitler when he was called up, along with that of Carl von Ossietzky (*see* PACIFISM), is emblematic in this respect. Finally, many nationals in territories occupied by the Germans engaged in guerrilla resistance activities at great personal risk, often paying with their lives.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BARBIE, KLAUS; BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; EDELWEISS PIRATES, THE; FAULHABER, CARDINAL MICHAEL VON; GALEN, CARDINAL CLEMENS AUGUST VON; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PACIFISM; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PROTESTANTISM; RELIGION; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; *SEARCHLIGHT*; SKINHEAD FASCISM; WHITE ROSE; WIESENTHAL, SIMON

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ANTI-NAZI LEAGUE, THE

Launched in 1977, following clashes between the police and antifascists at Lewisham in South London, the Anti-Nazi League (ANL) was a mass movement in opposition to the UK National Front. Its main innovation was the use of music in the Rock against Racism carnivals. By 1979 the league could boast of having distributed some 9 million leaflets and 750,000 badges. Approximately 250 ANL branches mobilized some 50,000 supporters. The league claimed to have played a large part in the decline of the National Front vote, and to have contributed to the pushing back of fascism in Britain. It was dissolved in 1982 and relaunched in 1992.

David Renton

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; GREAT BRITAIN; NATIONAL FRONT (UK), THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; *SEARCHLIGHT*

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ANTI-SEMITISM

As a consequence of the Holocaust, it is often assumed that anti-Semitism and (generic) fascism are synony-

mous, but in fact the situation is a great deal more complex. Although it was a major plank in the ideology of Nazism, “biological” anti-Semitism was not a major element in the worldview of Italian Fascism until the late 1930s, by which time Mussolini had already been in power for fifteen years. In other words, Mussolini and his Fascist Party did not gain such support as they enjoyed in the general public on the basis of an overtly anti-Semitic platform, as the Nazis did, nor did their program once in office involve a campaign against Jews. Indeed, there were even Zionists attracted to Italian Fascism (*see* ZIONISM). There was certainly a level of classic “anti-Judaism” among Fascist Party supporters and their leaders, but that was a common feature in all sectors of European society at the time. Mussolini himself had a Jewish mistress, Margherita Sarfatti, for more than fifteen years, and he was quite happy for her to publish a (very adulatory) biography of him in 1925; it is impossible to imagine Hitler encouraging or permitting someone Jewish to write his biography. Indeed, Sarfatti prospered so much under Mussolini’s regime that she became one of the most powerful women in Italy in the late 1920s. Mussolini was certainly a racist with regard to black people in Ethiopia, but the list of his chosen enemies comprised mainly liberals, democrats, socialists, and freemasons rather than Jews, and a significant proportion of Italian Jews actually supported the Fascist Party until Mussolini’s introduction of anti-Jewish legislation in 1938. Mussolini’s list of “enemies” was much the same as Hitler’s, but he did not (as Hitler did) perpetually see lurking behind these enemies the figure of the Jew pulling the strings. Anti-Semitism cannot therefore be regarded as an essential part of the core of generic fascism—that is, of the shared nucleus of doctrines that were common to Italian Fascism and German Nazism.

Anti-Semitism had been around for a long time when the Nazis appeared on the scene, but not as long as is generally thought. Strictly speaking, modern anti-Semitism has its roots in the Enlightenment, and Voltaire was the classic anti-Semite. Modern anti-Semitism, in fact, is a phenomenon of a very different kind from the traditional anti-Judaism with which it is frequently conflated, a phenomenon that can be traced back to pre-Christian antiquity. Many of those who write about this topic gloss over or ignore the crucial difference between anti-Judaism, which is hostility to Jews on account of their religion (predating the appearance of Christianity), and anti-Semitism, which is hostility to Jews (purportedly at least) on grounds of race—that is, that Jews are believed to be a corrupt and corrupting race whose blood contaminates that of

“pure” races where there is intermarriage. The difference is crucial. From the anti-Judaist standpoint there is at least a way for Jews to redeem themselves: by conversion to Christianity. That route was taken by countless Jews down the centuries in Christian countries. Indeed, Margherita Sarfatti herself was baptized and received into the Catholic Church in the late 1920s. From the standpoint of biological anti-Semitism, however, there is simply nothing a Jew can do to integrate into society, because he is by virtue of his blood and race a harmful bacillus; the Holocaust was merely the chilling conclusion to an argument that the Nazis believed to be scientific, for they appealed both to currents within anthropology and to social Darwinistic ideas. Although baptized Jews initially escaped incarceration and deportation to the death camps, eventually they too were targeted for extinction. One of the most celebrated victims was the philosopher Edith Stein, a Jewish convert to Catholicism who had become a Carmelite nun.

Anti-Judaism as hostility to Jews on account of their religion can be traced back to antiquity. Originally it was provoked by the resolute monotheism that led the Jews to refuse to respect other gods than their own—and this kind of anti-Judaism can of course be found in the First/Old Testament. Christian anti-Judaism was hostility to Jews specifically on another religious ground: their rejection of the claim that Christ was the Messiah. This new variant of anti-Judaism became embedded in the Catholic world, subsequently being absorbed at the Reformation into Protestantism. Generally speaking, conversion of Jews to Christianity was regarded as perfectly acceptable, and biology was not an issue.

Paradoxically, the roots of the anti-Semitism embraced by Nazism are not to be found in this traditional Christian anti-Judaism at all, but in the opposite camp, in the campaign against the Christian faith waged by certain Enlightenment thinkers. These thinkers sought to undermine traditional Christianity and in particular the Catholic Church by destroying its foundation in the idea that the Israel of the First/Old Testament was a people to whom a special divine revelation had been given. In other words, although there appears on the surface to be a continuous tradition of hostility to the Jews in Europe, the anti-Semitism propagated by the Nazis actually arose out of a new movement of ideas that took its rise only with the Enlightenment and that had a new agenda: to pour scorn on the idea that the Jews were God’s chosen people and so to destroy Christianity and the churches. This movement saw that the New/Second testament made no sense

without the Old/First Testament. Christians saw themselves as “the new Israel,” and they buttressed their claims about Christ by pointing to the way that his coming was a fulfillment of the words of the Hebrew prophets. Following the English deists, Voltaire ridiculed the idea that a tiny desert tribe in the Middle East could have been the bearers of divine revelation, mocking Israel’s political and cultural insignificance as contrasted with great and powerful civilizations like those of Ancient Greece, Rome, and China. This was part of his program to rewrite the history of Europe: in place of the history in which the Bible and the rise and spread of Christianity played a central place, Voltaire put forward an account based on a humanistic appreciation of the literary, philosophical, and cultural glories of the historical empires. This was picked up by the celebrated British historian Gibbon, whose classic *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* largely blamed the rise of Christianity for the fall of Rome. For such thinkers, Christianity was penetrated with the “fanatical” and “barbaric” spirit of the ignorant desert people of Israel, and as such was the enemy of all true culture and civilization. Their association of Christianity and Judaism as common enemies of civilization was later to be picked up by the Nazis.

French Revolutionary leaders largely turned away from Voltairian anti-Judaism, however, and espoused the tolerancism inherent in the notion of the Rights of Man, which led them to introduce measures to grant citizenship rights to Jews. (This was one of the reasons for Nazi hostility to what the French Revolution represented.) The spread of the ideals of the French Revolution in Europe led to a gradual Europe-wide repeal of anti-Jewish legislation, and that enabled Jews openly to take up positions of leadership and influence in European societies for the first time in the course of the nineteenth century. That in itself began to provoke fresh resentment against them in some quarters. The international nature of Judaism made it into an object of suspicion to nationalism, which was in the ascendancy over much of Europe during the nineteenth century; at the same time, the pluralistic cultures that began to develop in the aftermath of the collapse of the old-regime idea of the “Christian state” proved unsettling for many Catholics and Protestants. A tendency developed among them to find comfort in conspiracy theories that blamed the new state of affairs since the French Revolution on targets with global networks, such as the Freemasons or the Jews or, later, the Bolsheviks—or all of them at once.

At the same time, the development of the “scientific” study of races in the nineteenth century (often itself

motivated by a desire to “prove” crude racial theories) led some ideologues to a belief in a superior Aryan Nordic race whose healthy blood was threatened with corruption by intermingling with the inferior Semitic breed. (Of course, strictly speaking, the Jews are only one among many “Semitic” races, but the term *anti-Semitic* came to be used only in relation to the Jewish people.) Darwinistic ideas about the survival of the fittest sharpened and intensified the racial panics whipped up by anti-Semitic propagandists. It is no accident that it was a biologist (and, curiously, an Englishman, though one completely unknown in England) named Houston Stewart Chamberlain who wrote the bible of Nazi anti-Semites, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, a best-seller so successful in Germany that it even led the author into a prolonged correspondence with Kaiser Wilhelm II. Chamberlain and others like him tried to rebuild an acceptably “Aryan” or “Nordic” version of Christianity by severing Jesus entirely from Judaism. They built on the work of German Protestant critics of the Bible to preach that Jesus himself had not in fact been a Jew; to do this they exploited the idea of his Galilean origins: Galilee (in northern Palestine), it was claimed, having been inhabited by heathen, non-Jewish tribes, as opposed to Judah (in southern Palestine, around Jerusalem). There was said to be a pure, original version of the non-Jewish teachings of Christ, which had been traduced after his death by the Jew St. Paul.

The critique of the Old Testament and St. Paul by propagandists like Chamberlain and his acolytes actually followed the lines of a classic Protestant polemic against the Catholic Church. This polemic had assumed that the supreme difference between the Old Testament religion and the New (the authentic one as preached by Christ) resided in a polarity between a “materialistic” Old Testament religion based on “externalism” (rituals of purification, outward obedience to the law, a system of ritual sacrifices) and a New Testament religion based on inward spiritual values (inward purity of heart rather than outward purification rituals, obedience of the heart to God rather than outward conformity with the requirements of the law, etc.). It had long been a classic argument of Protestants that Catholicism had in fact lost sight of this inward religion of the heart and lapsed into a materialistic practice of rites and ceremonies (the sacramental system, and the like), which was nothing more than a replay of the old Judaism. Both these themes—the “materialism” of the Old Testament and the “Jewish distortion” of the authentic “spiritual” message of Jesus into the “materialistic” religion preached by the

Catholic Church—were picked up by Nazi ideologues.

Nazi propagandists like Rosenberg followed in the footsteps of Chamberlain in arguing that it was the great hero Luther who had first led the Germans out of their Babylonish captivity to Catholic/Jewish materialism, preaching an inward spiritual religion against the materialistic focus on externals practiced by Catholicism and inspired by Judaism. In this view Luther was, however, only the pioneer; he was still himself not fully freed from the materialistic version of Christ’s teaching because he still continued to preach the reality of a divinely ordained positive religion based on a core of credal orthodoxy, and it was not until the nineteenth century that the significance of his emancipation from Rome was properly understood. Then it was finally grasped that Luther represented the resurgence of a peculiarly “Germanic” religious outlook definable simply as a magnificently unique inwardness and spiritual depth. This was claimed to be the true lost message of the real Jesus, who had in fact called for the complete obliteration of Old Testament “materialism” rather than for its incorporation into new rites and rituals as in the Christian churches.

This kind of traditional hostility to Jewish/Catholic “materialism” merged with the new “scientific” anti-Semitism in the approach of Nazi propagandists. Confusion has arisen because of the historical prominence of a parallel but rather different species of anti-Judaism in France in the late nineteenth century taken up by right-wing Catholics as part of their hostility against the secular governments of France. This was essentially a rerun of the old Catholic anti-Judaism, now dressed up in a different garb. Its foremost prophets were Alphonse Toussenel and Edouard Drumont. These writers and their imitators spread the fashion in French (Catholic) conservative circles of blaming the Jews for the French Revolution and for the “ills” of the republican secularist tradition that had emerged from it. Like Balzac and Carlyle and other satirists, they claimed that the nineteenth century was an era dominated by materialism and greed and financial speculation, a way of life that they contrasted starkly with the “noble” and “heroic” culture of an earlier pre-Revolutionary age. (This was the kind of tune played by the Irish politician Edmund Burke in his celebrated attack on the Revolution in 1790, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which inspired generations of conservative hostility to the Revolution.) They regarded the Jews as the very incarnation of this decadent spirit. Having emerged to prominence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (when there was a Europe-wide upsurge in anti-

Semitic propaganda following large-scale immigration of Jews into Western Europe after pogroms in the East), this brand of hostility to the Jews in France reached a paroxysm in the notorious Dreyfus case, which resulted in a defeat for the anti-Jewish lobby. That episode made a massive impact at the time and went down in history, partly owing to the onslaught against the anti-Semites by the novelist Emile Zola in his celebrated pamphlet *J'Accuse*. But the philosophy of those hostile to Jews in France at this point was poles apart from that of their epigones in Germany. The anti-Dreyfusards attacked the Jews as enemies of what they saw as the great traditions of French Catholic civilization; the anti-Dreyfusards were continuing the French Catholic Church's long war against the French Revolution, its Enlightenment anticipators, and the secular republic that it had spawned. (The Church did not finally begin to come to terms with the republican status quo in France until the very end of the nineteenth century, when Pope Leo XIII called for an end to hostilities.)

The anti-Dreyfusards were in fact viscerally hostile to the Enlightenment. They were at the opposite pole from the specifically anti-Catholic anti-Semitism that inspired the Nazis, based on the "scientific" rationalist and secularizing movement of hostility to Christian teaching that had developed out of the Enlightenment. A German photograph from the 1930s shows a charabanc draped with a banner expressing hatred for "Jews and Jesuits," and Rosenberg's classic textbook of Nazism repeatedly brackets together these great enemies of Nazi values. The Jesuits were singled out as representative of the spirit of Catholicism because they were not subject to the episcopal hierarchies of the national churches but were directly answerable to the pope, so that they represented the very acme of that internationalism that the Nazis so detested.

The "scientific" argument for anti-Semitism prevalent in Germany and favored by the Nazis built on the work of a Frenchman, Arthur de Gobineau, who claimed that race alone is the decisive factor in the rise and fall of civilizations, rather than such things as governments, ideas, or the influence of religion. In Gobineau's view, history shows that races rise to power in their pure state and fall when they have suffered contamination. He claimed that the purest contemporary race was the Aryans, believed to be the ancient forebears of the Anglo-Saxons. He argued that force and conquest were essential to the nature of the Aryans, aristocrats among their contemporaries. However, their racial purity was subject to contamination by interbreeding with lesser races, and that would spell their inevitable decay. Gobineau's ideas were popularized in

Germany by Ludwig Schemann, who evolved a classically antimodernist worldview that identified the horrors of modernity with values derived from technology and science. In 1925 he claimed that the prime need for the Germans was to rid themselves of the delusion that big cities, machines, and the emancipation of the Jews were signs of progress. The Nazis appointed Schemann to the Reichsinstitut for modern history, and he was awarded the Goethe medal for his services to the nation and the race—though his hostility to technology and science was far from being embodied in Nazi practice.

In Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, the hypotheses of a "German" science and a "German" religion were used as weapons of anti-Semitic propaganda. Religiously speaking, the history of mankind was held to center on a bitter struggle between God as embodied in the Germanic race and the devil as embodied in the Jewish race. The Teutonic peoples had been bearers of all the best spiritual and cultural values in Greek and Roman civilization, but they were remorselessly opposed by the Jews with their materialism, shallowness, and culturelessness. The "scientific" backing for this thesis was to be found in the work of anthropologists going back to Franz Josef Gall, who conducted research that purported to indicate a relationship between external physical characteristics such as skull shapes and internal qualities of character. This built on a long anthropological tradition that had sought a racial classification of tribes and nations with attributions of superiority and inferiority.

The kind of anti-Semitism that the Nazis tapped into may be seen as a manifestation of the sort of social panic instigated a century earlier in Europe by the theories of the English demographer Thomas Malthus. In proposing his thesis that population was increasing much faster than the food supply, Malthus created a panic about overpopulation that has persisted to the present day. Those who subscribed to "scientific" racial theories that identified the Jews as the ongoing threat to the purity of a superior Aryan race naturally promoted a panic about a Jewish threat to civilization. Unfortunately that panic met up with the anti-Judaism traditionally current in Christian societies, so that anti-Semitism actually increased the attractiveness of the Nazi movement to many active churchgoers, and even to church leaders. This was especially so when anti-Semitic propagandists claimed that Bolshevism too was a Jewish movement, since Christians were all too aware of the visceral hatred of Bolshevism for Christianity and the murderous and destructive measures being implemented by the Soviets to destroy the Christian faith

in their country. The idea that Bolshevism was a “Jewish plot” could seem all too plausible to Christian believers at that time. In propagating anti-Semitism, Nazis could even seem then to be advancing the cause of the Christian faith. All too few Christian leaders in the German-speaking world resisted such conclusions, which proved equally attractive to many Christians in other parts of the world. The long-standing tradition of anti-Judaism as a response to the Jewish rejection of Christ (though it was an attitude not supported by the Bible, and especially not by St. Paul) was so widespread in Christian countries that the open advocacy of anti-Semitism did little to damage the image of Nazism worldwide and indeed to many was a positive commendation.

Some observers saw the Nazi exploitation of anti-Semitic feeling as a tactic intended to woo working-class support away from the socialists. On this argument, the Nazis had no intention of eliminating capitalism or marginalizing the big industrialists, so they needed to provide the workers with another scapegoat—hence the convenience of the Jews in that role. However, that in itself does not seem to explain the extreme lengths to which the Nazis went, diverting vital resources at the height of the war—when it would have made sense to throw every resource into the military struggle—to the business of exterminating Jews. It must be assumed that some among them at least believed fanatically in their own anti-Semitic ideology, which, allegedly based on scientific premises, they considered unanswerable. The fanatical extremes to which the Nazis went in their devotion of energies, manpower, transport, and other facilities to the business of the Holocaust has proved a very thorny issue for Marxist commentators on fascism, who prefer to locate the reasons for human actions in immediate or long-term material gain to the actors. In fact, the Holocaust does have its logic, however, if the Nazis did actually believe what they claimed to believe—that the Jews were the prime cause of the decay of European civilization, that they were a parasite in an otherwise healthy body, and that they must be exterminated with the same ruthlessness that a surgeon would apply to the excision of a cancer.

The main thrust of Nazi anti-Semitic policy was embodied in the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which created two categories of German citizenship, relegating Jews to an inferior civic status. The Law for the Protection of Blood and Honor forbade intermarriage between the two categories. A further 250 decrees followed in the years up to 1943, excluding Jews from an increasing range of professions and posts, obliging them to wear the yellow Star of David, and confining them to ghettos.

The final decree made them outlaws in Germany. In the meantime, the gas ovens had been busily implementing the decision of the Nazi leadership at the Wannsee Conference to embark on a systematic elimination of Jews from Europe by mass murder. Governments in all the invaded or occupied territories were pressured into taking part in the war of extermination against Jews, and in some cases the collaboration was enthusiastic. The Nazis were able to tap into a widespread suspicion of the Jews in Europe, but some countries were much less cooperative than others—a higher percentage of Jews was protected in France, The Netherlands, and Italy, for example.

Among Mussolini’s associates in the Fascist leadership, Roberto Farinacci was one of the most violently hostile to the Jews: he was also known for being particularly pro-Nazi. The only major Italian ideologue sympathetic to Fascism who espoused Nazi anti-Semitism was Julius Evola. Some among the tiny Italian Jewish population (47,000 in 1938) actually helped fund Fascism in the early days, while by the mid-1930s about one in three Jewish adults was a member of the Fascist Party—a higher proportion than among the Gentile population. Ettore Ovazza, one of 230 Jews who took part in the March on Rome, later founded a stridently pro-Fascist journal. In 1933, Mussolini informed Emil Ludwig that anti-Semitism could not be found in Italy. He went on to observe that Italian Jews were good citizens, courageous soldiers, and prestigious academics, officers, and bankers. Biological racism had never been part of his program. Mussolini was at that time in fact somewhat contemptuous of Nazi racial theories. But in the late 1930s (when he had already been in power for fifteen years) he became increasingly convinced of the need to ally with Nazi Germany, and (in part at least) for that reason he pronounced the “Manifesto of Fascist Racism” to win over Nazi sympathies. This manifesto spoke of the Jews as “unassimilable” and proscribed intermarriage between Jews and “Aryans.” A series of anti-Semitic decrees based on the Nazi model were then promulgated, introducing a variety of restrictions on Jews. In general these decrees were not enforced with anything like Teutonic thoroughness, however, and 80 percent of Italian Jews eventually survived the war, though most had had to go into hiding. Up to the collapse of his regime in 1943, Mussolini told his diplomatic representatives in areas controlled by Italy not to hand over Jews to National Socialist forces. Under the Salò Republic the atmosphere changed dramatically, and members of the regime turned to active collaboration with the Nazis in rounding up Jews and surrendering them to the German forces in Italy.

Hitler's two pet hates were the Slavs and the Jews. The Slavs Hitler believed he could enslave—he admired the British Indian Empire and planned to imitate it in Russia, controlling a huge colonial territory with a small number of men, as the British had done in India. He did not want the Slavs eliminated; on the contrary, the idea was that they should be kept ignorant and unschooled, with just enough about them to enable them to act as lackeys and servants of the Master Race. And he knew that there would be nobody outside Russia who would care if that happened. But the Jews he could not control, because they were by definition and in very essence international. Nazism was hypernationalism; it exalted the German soul, but the Jews would forever be alien to that soul and could never be absorbed into it. In that light we can see that Hitler must have considered that exterminating the Jews was contributing to the war effort, because the Jews would always potentially be stabbing Germany in the back, as he accused them of having done in 1918. In eliminating the Jews he was eliminating a fifth column and thereby, in his eyes, making a crucial contribution to an eventual German victory. This is yet another reminder of the way that bitterness among the generation that fought in World War I sought an outlet in scapegoating, the favorite scapegoat for the Nazis being the Jews.

But eliminating the Jews would still not eliminate the “Jewish” spirit, as represented by materialism, egalitarianism, and internationalism; Hitler's *Table Talk*—transcripts taken down by official stenographers of his remarks made at dinner parties—makes it clear that the elimination of the Jews was but the prelude to an attack on the churches as propagators of the “Jewish” spirit, a campaign that Hitler planned to undertake once the war was over. In his mind the two campaigns were two stages in the same battle for the establishment of a properly Germanic empire purged of all taint of alien elements.

After the war anti-Semitism remained endemic in many places. For example, U.S. Hitler sympathizer and celebrated aviator Charles Lindbergh was living in a suburban enclave in Darien, Connecticut, that legally excluded Jews as well as blacks from owning property. The town was so notorious for its hostility to Jews that the makers of a film about anti-Semitism in the United States entitled *Gentleman's Agreement* actually used it as the setting for the film. The horrors of the Holocaust only gradually began to emerge into the consciousness of the world after the war's end. So appalling and indescribable did this genocidal project seem to most people, once knowledge of the facts was widely disseminated in the 1950s and 1960s, that anti-

Semitism seemed unthinkable. During the 1960s, when the minority rights issue first became fashionable, stories of guest houses in the United States with signs saying “No Jews” became an occasion of shock-horror reactions among listeners. Legislative measures in various countries often made such public discrimination an offense. (Unofficially, however, it could be practiced; the author recalls a search for lodgings in a French town in the early 1990s when a potential landlord was concerned to know if he was Jewish.) The mainline Christian denominations in Germany underwent a period of soul-searching about their past attitudes and attempted to make amends. However, anti-Semitism never went away; it has remained a particularly pronounced feature of neo-Nazism in the United States. In modern far-right Christian Identity circles some even hold to the theory that the Jewish race sprang originally from the sexual union of Eve with Satan.

In Europe, however, postwar fascism has generally focused on the issue of immigration in preference to that of anti-Semitism; indeed, it could be argued that the immigrant plays the same role for postwar fascism that the Jew played in prewar Nazism. Why should the modern fascist scapegoat the Jew when he knows that he can count on much more public sympathy by scapegoating the immigrant? However, desecration or vandalism of Jewish cemeteries is a not uncommon experience.

The issue of the past treatment of Jews in Europe is definitely a factor in the Middle East question. For many, support for Israel is a way of atoning for a sense of guilt about the Holocaust, but naturally Palestinians find that abhorrent; they argue that they are being made to pay the price for European guilt about something in which they had no involvement. Many Jews consider it important to distinguish between anti-Zionism (as rejection of the policies or goals of the state of Israel) and anti-Semitism. Equally, the existence of the state of Israel and of the Palestinian refugee campsite is made a reason for hatred of all Jews everywhere among many Muslim propagandists and their supporters; historical anti-Semitic libels, such as the “Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” continue to circulate freely in the Arab world.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; ANTHROPOLOGY; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ARENDT, HANNAH; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BOLSHEVISM; BUDDHISM; BUTLER, RICHARD GIRNT; CAPITALISM; CARTO, WILLIS; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIAN

IDENTITY; CHRISTIANITY; COLLINS, SEWARD; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COUGHLIN, FR. CHARLES EDWARD; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; DREYFUS CASE, THE; DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE; DÜHRING, (KARL) EUGEN; ECKART, JOHANN DIETRICH; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; EVOLA, JULIUS; FORD, HENRY; FREEMASONRY/ FREEMASONS, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION, THE; GERMANY; GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE; GÜNTHER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; *KRISTALLNACHT*; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; LEESE, ARNOLD SPENCER; LIBERALISM; LINDBERGH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS; LUEGER, KARL; LUTHER, MARTIN; MATERIALISM; MEDICINE; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSIC (GERMANY); MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS, THE; NUEVA GERMANIA; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALESTINE; PAPACY, THE; PELLE, WILLIAM DUDLEY; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POUND, EZRA; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROOTLESSNESS; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SCIENCE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; STOECKER, ADOLF; *STÜRMER, DER*; TECHNOLOGY; THEOLOGY; UNIVERSITIES; VIERECK, GEORGE SYLVESTER; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; WEBSTER, NESTA; WINROD, GERALD BURTON; ZIONISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT; THE

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ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION (1882–1946)

Far-right Romanian interwar politician. Appointed prime minister of Romania by King Charles II on 5 September 1940, after which he forced the king to abdicate in favor of his son Michael. Antonescu proclaimed the “National-Legionary State” in Romania on 14 September, with key positions for the Legion of the Archangel Michael, often known as the “Iron Guard.” He suppressed a rebellion by the legion four months later and eliminated the movement. Under Antonescu, Romania fought with Germany against Russia, hoping to regain the territories she had lost to the Russians. He was arrested by King Michael on 23 August 1944, detained in Russia from 1944 to 1946, and brought to trial and executed in Romania on 1 June 1946.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; ROMANIA; WORLD WAR II

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APARTHEID: See **SOUTH AFRICA**

APPEASEMENT

A term applied to the policy adopted by British prime minister Neville Chamberlain and French leaders (especially Edouard Daladier) in the face of the aggressive policies of Hitler and Mussolini in the late 1930s. The policy was in part motivated by a widespread sense at the period that Germany had been much too harshly treated in the Versailles settlement. Its most notorious features were the toleration of Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, Hitler's entry into the demilitarized Rhineland and annexation of Austria, German and Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War, and finally Hitler's annexation of the Sudetenland, which Chamberlain naively imagined would be the German dictator's final demand. Even Hitler's invasion of Poland in September 1939 was met with a tame response from the British and French governments, despite their declarations of war, but the German march to the west in 1940 confirmed the short-sightedness of the appeasement policy. Hitler himself was surprised by the lack of sustained opposition to his belligerent policies.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; ETHIOPIA; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPORT; SUDETENLAND, THE; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR II

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ARAB WORLD, THE: See **BA'THISM;**
MIDDLE EAST, THE; PALESTINE

ARCHITECTURE

No art form has been more consistently associated with fascism than architecture. Yet architecture under fascism was more diverse than is popularly thought and cannot be reduced to a specific "fascist style." Fascist architecture is more correctly defined by how it was used to support or carry out specific ideological aims or political goals, rather than as a coherent set of symbolic forms. As evidenced in particular by the sponsorship of large-scale public works in Italy as well as the personal involvement of Hitler in architectural projects in Germany and Austria, monumental building became a key element upon which a political ideology could be projected and, in some cases, through which specific policy goals could be enacted. While most interwar states favored some variation of classicism for their major public buildings, for several fascistic regimes, architectural production was more central to their cultural and social concerns. This was particularly true in Germany and Italy. By the end of World War II, a series of high-profile architects and major public commissions had become firmly associated with their respective governments and leaders. Because of the massive scale of the projects, the involvement of political leaders, including the dictators themselves in specific instances, and the use of building and construction for the enactment of political and ideological goals, architecture continues to be crucial for our understanding of the relationship of art and politics under fascism.

Italy was not only the first state in which a fascist party came to power but also the first to use public commissions to establish an ideological connection between architecture and fascist politics. In the capital, many of these projects related to Mussolini's interest in connecting his regime to the political symbols of Augustan Rome, a period of consolidation of political authority that was also well represented in such famous works as the *Ara Pacis* in the forum. Not only were Augustan sites like this forum excavated and studied but, in addition, imperial building types like the triumphal arch and the classical temple front were reintroduced in commissions for memorials and party buildings in Bolzano, Genoa, and Florence, among other cities. In addition, the interest in the urban form of the ancient forum, marked by an open space at the intersection of a major east/west and north/south axis, was also revived, particularly in plans for new cities such as the provin-



Paul Troost was commissioned by Hitler to build this Temple of Honor (“Ehrentempel”) to commemorate those who died in the abortive Munich putsch of 1923. The annual reenactment of this event became part of the Nazi calendar. (Library of Congress)

cial city of Littoria (1932; now named Latina) and the famous Rome Universal Exposition (EUR) grounds begun in 1937. The latter was to be the site of a proposed 1942 World’s Fair, but the buildings were subsequently turned over to government administrative work. The prominent architect Marcello Piacentini led the team that developed EUR’s marble-clad buildings with stripped-down neoclassical details. Piacentini had already shown early on in the regime his ability to adapt classical prototypes to contemporary state and party ideological needs. Such ideological claims became active policy in 1935, with the very real expansion of imperial interests through the invasion of Ethiopia, after which Addis Ababa was remodeled and some sections of the city based on classical Roman urban prototypes.

Yet while a modified neoclassicism was used in particular projects, it is important to emphasize that no single official style can be claimed for Fascist Italy. The

streamlined and modernist-inspired work of the group of architects known as the Italian Rationalists, as well as regional variations by lesser-known designers that invoked vernacular medievalist traditions, could also be adapted to an often contradictory Fascist ideology. The range of building styles and types reflected the interest of particular patrons, regional administrations, and immediate propagandistic needs that could encompass claims of Italy’s modernity and technological sophistication alongside arguments for a premodern return to the land. For example, the abstract forms and structural emphasis of the Rationalists were not rejected as too removed from the classicism favored in other commissions but rather celebrated in cases such as the famous *Casa del Fascio* in Como (1932–1936) by Giuseppe Terragni. Still, Terragni’s modern structural expression nevertheless was complemented by the use of traditional materials like marble that could be interpreted

with a specifically nationalist rhetoric, as well as interior decorations that included not only abstract sculpture but also images of Mussolini.

The range of stylistic options that allowed for a variety of patrons and propagandistic interpretations of architecture existed as well in National Socialist Germany. However, given the key role of Hitler and his greater influence on major commissions, the plurality of formal variations was more limited for major commissions and the political instrumentality of the building process more intense than in other authoritarian regimes. Architecture in Germany was not only a matter of promoting the physical presence of the Nazi Party—for example, through such commissions as Paul Ludwig Troost's party buildings for the Königsplatz in Munich (1933–1937). It was also a matter of enabling and promoting the governing principles of the regime in terms of a polycratic system of patronage for which Hitler was the final arbiter. Reflecting his interest as a young adult in becoming an artist and his experience in trying to live off of his sketches of buildings and tourist locations prior to World War I, Hitler had strong opinions about what he considered suitable state and party architecture. He was more decisive in his intervention in architectural production than were other fascist and authoritarian leaders.

Architecture had been crucial to National Socialist politicians and propagandists even in the struggle for power at the end of the Weimar Republic. Hitler signaled the importance of architecture to the Nazi Party by proclaiming in his autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, that powerful architecture was an expression of a strong *Volk*, praising dynastic cultures like ancient Egypt and Rome while decrying Berlin and its Jewish department stores. But further, Nazi denunciations concerning the supposedly internationalist and Bolshevik tendencies of the flat-roofed architecture of the Bauhaus and other modernist architects became one part of the antidemocratic propaganda.

Yet once in power after 1933, neither party leaders nor Hitler came out with an officially decreed style. Rather, different kinds of architecture tended to be favored by specific patrons, while politically or ideologically suspect architects were purged from public commissions. In this sense, architecture followed the general *Gleichschaltung*, or coordination, of other cultural administrations. So, for example, the SS often favored medievalist architecture for its buildings, and certain industrial and military complexes like those of the Luftwaffe might use the steel and glass of modernism. Still, for large-scale public and party commissions involving Hitler, architects tended to stick to a stripped

down neoclassicism massive in scale and solid in its masonry. Such buildings could be variably interpreted as either examples of an ideology of racial purity, in which contemporary Germany was linked to the supposedly Aryan peoples of classical Greece, or as manifestations of a new and powerful imperial state rivaling that of ancient Rome. Different patrons in the Nazi Party proposed these varying meanings for the built environment. Beginning in 1937 and the architect Albert Speer's announcement of plans to rebuild Berlin as the first of five "Hitler Cities" (including Munich, Nuremberg, Hamburg, and Linz), it had become clear to all who wanted to gain Hitler's attention that architecture and urban planning would be key to his peacetime initiatives.

But architecture served not only practical and ideological goals within the Nazi state. Architectural production was also integrated into specific policy initiatives and hence functionally related to the radicalization of racism and militarism. Speer's architectural office in Berlin, for instance, began to promote as early as 1938 a new policy for the concentration of the Berlin Jewish community and the deprivation of its property rights. For the architects, this was a way of gaining control over the property of displaced German Jews that could then in turn be used for non-Jewish citizens who needed to be compensated should the government appropriate their property for the massive site clearing necessary for the rebuilding plans. Furthermore, architects and urban planners also took part in streamlining specific aspects of the most extreme anti-Semitic policies. For example, the ghettoization of Jews in Eastern Europe depended on the manipulation of space and structures by professionals; most grotesquely, the SS architectural staff at Auschwitz helped make it possible through efficient planning of space to kill even more of European Jewry. In these instances, as in others, the Nazi state was the extreme example of how far architecture could be instrumentalized to promote a fascist project.

While fascist patrons made use of architecture in Italy and Germany to the greatest extent, architecture could also play a significant role at particular moments for other fascistic or right-wing authoritarian states. Most famously, at the 1937 Paris World's Fair, not only was the face-off of the Soviet and Nazi pavilions much discussed, but, in addition, the steel and glass structure for the Spanish Pavilion by Josep Lluís Sert and Luis Lacasa was seen with its art (including Picasso's *Guernica*) as a modernist rejection of the massive masonry structures of both the fascist and Soviet states. As a Republican building, it signaled the Popular Front policy of the government, which extended from the liberal to

the left in their struggles against Franco. Yet while the pavilion might appear ideologically neutral because of its simple materials, the context of the other monuments of the fair, the content of the Spanish exhibition, and the use of the facade as a support for statements promoting the Republican government meant that the architecture naturally paralleled the antifascist message. After defeating the Republicans, Franco did not devote his regime to architecture anywhere as much as Hitler did, but he did patronize several large-scale ideological projects, such as the massive complex in the Valley of the Fallen (1959) to memorialize supposedly both the fascist and antifascist soldiers who had died in the Civil War, although the antifascist message remains unclear at best.

With the defeat of the Axis powers at the end of World War II, the scale of the interwar projects and, particularly, those that focused on neoclassical masonry construction became associated not only with the extreme fascist Right but also the bombast of the Stalinist Eastern Block. Such associations further played a post-war role as polarized definitions of fascist or communist architecture were juxtaposed to the apparently democratic architecture of modernism, even though such easy transparencies between architecture and ideology would not have been recognized before the Cold War. Civic and corporate patrons in democratic capitalist cities increasingly favored modernist architects and steel and glass structures as a way of distinguishing themselves from the interwar politicization of masonry construction. Public interest continued to be drawn most intensely to Hitler's biography (including his early years as a failed artist) and the revelations brought forward by Speer, who completed several autobiographical accounts after his release in 1966 from Spandau Prison. In the postwar period, while modernists like Terragni had been relatively easily accepted as a focus of aesthetic study, Speer and other more traditional architects were not systematically treated in relation to their contribution to cultural policy. That situation began to change, particularly with the publication of several foundational texts from the late 1960s and early 1970s that confronted the role of architecture in fascist states.

Paul Jaskot

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; AXIS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; COLD WAR, THE; DECADENCE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GHETTOS, THE; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; GUERNICA; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; *MEIN KAMPF*; MODERNISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NUREMBERG; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROME; SARFATTI-GRASSINI,

MARGHERITA; SPAIN; SPANDAU PRISON; SPEER, ALBERT; SS, THE; STYLE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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ARDITI, THE: See ANTIFASCISM

ARENDR, HANNAH (1906–1975)

German-American philosopher and political theorist, famous for her theory of totalitarian dictatorship. Born into a Jewish family in Hanover, she studied philosophy, theology, and Greek at Heidelberg, completing a doctoral dissertation at the age of twenty-two. She studied under Jaspers and Heidegger. In 1933, Arendt fled first to Paris, where she worked for Zionist bodies sending Jewish orphans to Palestine, and then seven years later to New York. Her three-volume work *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951) inaugurated a new understanding of modern tyranny of Right and Left as essentially of a piece, exemplified by Hitler's Nazi Germany from 1933 to 1945 and Stalin's regime in the Soviet Union from around 1930 to 1953. She saw these dictatorships (much less, if at all, Mussolini's Italy) as a specifically modern and novel form of rule. Its prime feature is the combination of unprecedented state violence and control over all spheres of life with an all-embracing, historicist secular ideology. The social underpinning of this ideology is provided by a mass mobilizing movement geared toward total elimination of whole categories of people, not for what they may or may not have done, but because of their mere existence.

Arendt sees the essence of totalitarianism in "total terror" as practiced in Nazi concentration camps. In



American political philosopher Hannah Arendt is famous for her reflections on the nature of totalitarianism and for her commentary on the trial of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann. (Library of Congress)

these camps the eradication of all individuality and a completely arbitrary control over human life was achieved. Unlike the coercion used by traditional tyrants, oppression in these total institutions seemed not to have a utilitarian purpose, such as repressing opposition or spurring economic growth. (On that score Arendt may have underestimated Stalin's use of the Gulag system as an integral part of the Soviet economy, and Albert Speer's coalition with German corporations and their massive exploitation of prisoners of war and work camps to bolster the German war effort.)

In Arendt's view, the distinguishing characteristic of totalitarian ideologies is their metahistorical character. They are thought systems purporting to explain the origins and inner workings of history and provide a reliable guide to the future. By virtue of their power to simplify empirical reality, these ideologies facilitate mass action through ideological fervor. Above all, they

are characterized by the insistence on logical consistency ("logicality"): the leader's relentless and automatic process of deduction from race- and class-premises to the total elimination of the movement's putative "objective adversaries" (in the case of Nazism, European Jewry; for Stalin, kulaks and other "class enemies"). This element of total destruction of entire categories of people is deduced from a notion of "historical necessity," whether in the form of inexorable "laws" of history or biological "laws" of race. The goal of ideologies of this kind is to create "fictitious" worlds: modern utopias devoid of any contradictions and therefore inaccessible to any sort of empirical verification or refutation. That proved to be an idea with enormous appeal for masses uprooted from their social and mental moorings in times of upheaval and social fragmentation—for instance, in the wake of wars like World War I.

Strictly speaking, Arendt did not offer a coherent theory of the causes of totalitarianism but rather an historical account of the elements, as she put it, that "crystallized" into it—that is, made it possible or comprehensible. Two important conditioning elements of this kind were European imperialism and anti-Semitism. She uses these historical phenomena to trace the background of the totalitarian regimes to different experiences of the "superfluousness" of people, chief among which is the phenomenon of statelessness following the breakdown of the European system of nation-states after World War I, which in turn caused the demise of the rights of man. The Achilles heel of the European concept of individual rights was its attachment to citizenship. Groups lacking the rights bestowed by citizenship simply became a nuisance and were deprived of protection, even in liberal states. People who are "superfluous" in this sense are ideal victims of scapegoating and eliminationist terror in totalitarian regimes (for example, Jewish, Sinti and Roma, and homosexual "class enemies").

One of Arendt's basic themes is the fragility of civilization once the protective walls of the nation-state and its class system have broken down and are replaced by the barbarism of dynamic and ideology-driven mass movements principally recruited from among helpless people ("the mob"). This criminal underworld is generated by the unsettling dynamism of inflation, war, and unemployment. Imperialism in the nineteenth century had exported unscrupulous criminal elements like these across the globe and imparted in them a total loss of proportion, a sense that "everything is possible." The nihilism and lawlessness of this mentality was reimported to Europe and brought to bear on the diverse

pan-movements (that is, Panslavism and Pangermanism). These boundary-transcending movements sought to unify peoples across existing state borders by appealing to their putative collective ethnic, religious, or racial identities. In this imperialist heritage of limitless expansion and loss of moderation (that is, a sense of proportion), Arendt sees one of the most important sources of relentless totalitarian violence.

Arendt's theory must be seen in contrast to another strand of theorizing about totalitarian regimes, the tradition exemplified, for example, by Z. Brzezinski and C. Friedrich. That tradition underscores the rigidity, uniformity, and immobility of totalitarian regimes. Arendt's view is rather to interpret totalitarian political structures as excessive, dynamic, limitless, chaotic, nonutilitarian, and manically destructive. The experience of Mao's Cultural Revolution, North Korea under Kim, Cambodia under Pol Pot, the ethno-nationalism of the former Yugoslavia, and the sweeping genocide in Rwanda lends support, however, to Arendt's principal purpose: to warn against the alluring and immense power of totalitarian thought-systems to turn humans into beasts by encouraging them to suspend normal moral sentiment in order to facilitate the pursuit of highly simplistic utopian goals.

In her controversial book on the Eichmann case (1963), Hannah Arendt coined the phrase the "banality of evil." The most striking quality of Eichmann was not sadism, wickedness, or depravity, she wrote, but equally pernicious: "thoughtlessness," the inability to empathize with the victims or to grasp what he was doing in all its moral, psychological, and cognitive ramifications. She asks: "Do the inability to think and a disastrous failure of what we commonly call conscience coincide?" The exact meaning of these assertions has spawned a huge literature. In the context of her theory of totalitarianism, it seems fair to say that Eichmann forced Arendt to modify her position on the pervasiveness and terrifying motivational force of ideology. Eichmann seems to have shared most of the Third Reich's prejudices toward Jews, but Eichmann himself claimed that he was not a Jew-hater. Rather, he claimed, he would have preferred to "solve" the Jewish question through deportation to Africa or the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine. In Jerusalem, Arendt was struck by the lack of Nazi sloganeering or thought-forms in his defense—in fact, his seeming lack of fanaticism, his "ordinariness." This perverse "normality," or in Arendt's word "banality," of the man's character—not especially evil, rather mundanely bureaucratic—led her to characterize Eichmann as someone who "never realized what he was doing." Eichmann exhibited "a re-

moteness from reality" and an inability to see or feel his victims' sufferings, as well as a cognitive incapacity to view an argument from an opposite angle. Instead, he loyally performed his duties as he would in any other job (though he also served in an overzealous manner, as in Hungary in 1944). That this mental and moral detachedness, this "thoughtlessness," "can wreak more havoc than all the evil instincts taken together which, perhaps, are inherent in man—that was, in fact, the lesson one could learn in Jerusalem," Arendt wrote.

Bernt Hagtvet

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; GERMANY; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; ITALY; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PALESTINE; PANGERMANISM; RELIGION; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPEER, ALBERT; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; ZIONISM

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ARGENTINA

At first sight it is surprising that in spite of Latin America's long history of dictatorships and authoritarianism, fascist movements did not take root there. Probably the one country that might challenge that view is Argentina, not only because of the rise of

Peronism, which could be considered a local brand of fascist populism, but especially because of the development of an intellectual fascist public sphere in the 1920s and 1930s that contributed to delegitimize any prospect for democratic development in Argentina for years to come.

Perón's period was preceded by a decade or more of ideological turbulence that served as the intellectual background for the two attempts to establish a corporatist regime in Argentina. The first attempt was led by general Felix de Uriburu, who overthrew the democratic populist regime of Hipolito Yrigoyen. Influenced by the ideas of the nationalist poet Leopoldo Lugones and the ideological laboratory initiated at the journal *La Nueva Republica*, which brought together a new brand of antidemocratic integral nationalist intellectuals, Uriburu strove to replace popular democracy with a national corporatist regime. His attempt did not prosper, because of the strength of the conservative elites, who shifted the "corporatist revolution" into a type of corrupted limited democracy in which political parties were legitimated—except for the populist wing of the Radical Party, which was banned from politics. The period, known as the "infamous decade" because of the political corruption and economic dependency on Great Britain, was shaped by an intellectual flourishing of right and left nationalist ideas that prepared the ideological arena for a new political and economic development. This intellectual upheaval, which preceded the military fascist revolution of 1943, was marked by the synthesis of right and left nationalism into a single critique of the Argentinian liberal establishment. Despite differences in their intellectual sources, both right-wing and left-wing intellectuals shared a common critique of the liberal interpretation of Argentina's history and of British economic imperialism. They shared a common repugnance for liberal democracy and a common support for Argentina's "pro-Axis" neutrality in World War II. They both promoted a new type of nonliberal nationalist state above political parties.

The right-wing intellectuals who promoted this model were the brothers Julio and Rodolfo Irazusta, Juan Carulla Ernesto Palacio, Bruno Jacovella, and others. They were all influenced by Italian and French fascism, and especially the writings of Charles Maurras. Most of them rejected Yrigoyen's populist democracy from 1916 to 1930 and contributed to setting the ideological context for overthrowing the regime; however, during the 1930s they shifted to national populism, because they became convinced that fascism, unlike au-

thoritarianism, should be populist. During the 1930s they promoted the organization of a fascist public sphere marked by the flourishing of nationalist leagues like the Legion Civica, the Liga Republicana, the Alianza Nacionalista, and others. They stormed Buenos Aires streets and portended the commencement of a new fascist era for Argentina.

The nationalist Left was composed of a young group of intransigent radicals who rejected the conservative tendencies in the Radical Party. Known as FORJA, they focused on re-establishing "popular sovereignty" through popular mobilization and economic and cultural anti-imperialism. The most prominent figures within FORJA—Arturo Jauretche, Dario Alessandro, Manuel Ortiz Pereyra, Luis Dellepiane, and even Raul Scalabrini Ortiz (who was never a direct member of the group)—were far from being fascist counter-revolutionaries, despite being antiliberal nationalists. They supported a new type of "antipolitical party" populist democracy, and conceived of the nation as an organic unit mobilized by authentic leaders. Therefore, although their critique was focused on Argentina's liberalism and the sources of economic imperialism, they developed a concept of republican populism and a direct approach to democratic justice that largely delegitimated formal democratic procedures. Both trends set the ideological basis for the military revolution of 1943 that preceded Peronism, and should be considered the harbingers of a local brand of Argentinian fascism. Indeed, the impact that this intellectual tradition had on Argentina's political development, and especially on the military revolution of 1943 and the Peronism that followed it, is undeniable.

Argentina in the 1940s was a rich country with great potential to become an industrial democracy. Yet the military revolution of 1943 adopted the nationalist discourse of peripheral modernity and shifted Argentina's path of political and economic development from liberalism to autarkic development (*see* AUTARKY). This was not merely an authoritarian upheaval; it was a nationalist uprising that operated on a different vision of political modernization. More than once in Argentina, liberals have called for military intervention to "save" the constitutional order from populist, left-wing, and, nowadays, fundamentalist pressures. As some scholars have already noted, the propensity toward authoritarian politics has also been a part of the liberal political tradition. However, the category of integral nationalism goes beyond the idea of an authoritarian "solution" to conjunctural crises of liberalism. The new nationalism did not want to save liberalism but to go beyond it. Ar-

gentina's liberal-conservatives had been authoritarian, even while paying tribute to a liberal constitution, whereas the integral nationalists of the 1930s strove to redefine the idea of democracy from liberal to populist, and they replaced the liberal and socialist path to modernity with a new rhetoric of cultural and political anti-imperialism that was to become an integral part of Argentina's political culture.

Although several analysts are inclined to define as fascist the 1976 military regime in Argentina, that is not plausible. The 1976–1982 military junta led by General Videla was a criminal military regime, but it can hardly be defined as fascist. More akin to fascism are the examples of Aldo Rico and Muhamed Sinheldin, military men of lower rank who attempted a military uprising during Alfonsín's democratic rule. They were certainly ideological heirs of the nationalists of the 1930s and 1940s, and promoted a synthesis between right-wing national authoritarianism and left-wing anti-imperialism.

Alberto Spektorowski

See Also: AUTARKY; AUTHORITARIANISM; AXIS, THE; CORPORATISM; DICTATORSHIP; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; ORGANICISM; PERÓN, JUAN DOMINGO; PERONISM; WORLD WAR II

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ARISTOCRACY

Fascists have a long tradition of regarding themselves as flatly opposed to the egalitarianism that they associate both with traditional socialisms and with liberal-

ism. Where they have propagated their own version of socialism, as in National Socialism, the term *national* has carried connotations of elitism. The "nation" in question is not conceived as an association of those holding documents attesting their citizenship but as a mythical society of those holding to the true values of the nation, which, in the case of German Nazism, entailed purity of blood resulting from untainted Germanic descent without "alien" admixtures. Both Mussolini and Hitler regarded themselves as founders of a new aristocracy, a warrior race or nation that would embody true "Italian" or "German" values. Undoubtedly they both absorbed some of the thinking of Friedrich Nietzsche, who promoted a "heroic" morality of virility as an antidote to Christian ideas of meekness and the penitential spirit. A similar mind-set can be found in the Victorian Scottish writer Thomas Carlyle, who was also an influence on them, and it has definite echoes of Machiavelli as well.

A current of thought within National Socialism tried to float the idea of a new rural peasant aristocracy, but it never had any great influence in practice and was marginalized when the Nazis came to power. Hitler and Mussolini were both resolutely proindustry and pro-technology.

Neither Hitler nor Mussolini had any time for the aristocratic classes of their day; Hitler in fact criticized Mussolini in his *Table Talk* for not having gotten rid of the monarchy in Italy and therefore for being in thrall to a court. Ironically, however, the policy pursued under his regime of "racial purity" and the requirement to show evidence of untainted "Aryan" ancestry, particularly for membership in the elite SS, is reminiscent of the practice prevailing in ancien régime France of requiring genealogical proofs of aristocratic ancestry as a qualification for certain positions—for example, officerships in the army.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AHNENERBE; ARYANISM; BLOOD AND SOIL; CARLYLE, THOMAS; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; RURALISM; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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ARROW CROSS, THE (NYILASKERESZTES PÁRT)

A Hungarian pro-German, racist, and extremely nationalistic party, the Arrow Cross was created by Ferenc Szálasi on 23 October 1937. As a symbol, the arrow cross (the German swastika) predates the foundation of the Hungarian National Socialist Party (Magyar Nemzeti Szocialista Párt). The party had nearly 500,000 members by 1939, when it won thirty-one parliamentary seats. It espoused the ideal of a “greater Hungary,” and that brought it into conflict with Hitler and his ambitions for Central Europe. After having been banned at the outset of World War II, the party was legalized again in March 1944 under German pressure and was installed in power by the Germans some months after the German occupation of Hungary on 19 March 1944.

Arrow Cross leaders did not fully embrace German Aryanism and objected to the German occupation of Hungary, arguing that the Hungarist Movement alone could solve the country’s problems. At that time, the party counted about 150,000 paying members. It rose to power on 15 October 1944, when Regent Horthy offered the prime ministerial position to the leader of the party, Ferenc Szálasi himself. The Arrow Cross terrorized Hungary, rampaging through cities and creating fear in Budapest. Looting, killing, and causing havoc, the Arrow Cross gangs were led by its feared leader, Pater Andás Kun (1911–1945), a Catholic monk who ordered several mass murders in Budapest alone. For this crime he was hanged as a war criminal in 1945. The party’s brief tenure of government ended in January 1945, after the fall of Budapest to the Soviets the previous month. After the war, Szálasi and other Arrow Cross leaders were put on trial as war criminals by the Hungarian courts. Arrow Cross ideology has not completely vanished from Hungary; “Hungarism” is still propagated in the journal of the neofascist Hungarian Welfare Association, *Magyartudat* (Hungarian Awareness).

László Kürti

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARYANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; SZÁLASI, FERENC

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ART

Mussolini and Hitler (a painter himself) both understood the power of art and sought to make it serve their political visions. In Italy, Fascist artists and architects did not have to follow anything as dogmatic as an officially defined policy, but Mussolini’s theme of “modernization” informed his totalitarian state. That meant developing a new way of thinking about every aspect of life. This was the catalyst to make art that would change the values, ideals, and aspirations of all Italians; “art was to reflect modern life,” and there were three principal movements: Futurism, Novecento, and the Rationalists.

Futurism was initially a literary movement created by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, who produced violent polemics against all traditional art and aesthetics. Marinetti’s 1909 “Manifesto of Futurism” states: “It was time to create a new art, forged out of the beauty of speed and a glorification of war: art, in fact, can be nothing but violence, cruelty, and injustice.” He wanted art to be made that would speed the movement from rural to urban life, from peasant to industrial, and from democratic to fascist. The movement was so concerned with speed that poems such as *mots in libertà* contained no adjectives, adverbs, finite verbs, punctuation—nothing to slow it down. Futurists believed that they had invented a new language: onomatopoeia. This they defined in their technical manifestos as consisting of four basic types: realistic, analogical, abstract (the “sound of a state of mind”), and psychic harmony (the fusion of two or three of the abstract representations). This was the art of action, movement, and dynamism, often depicting idealized figures engaged in heroic action. It was vital that the work related to the space round it and had a direct relationship to it. This reflected the idea that there is an unbreakable connection between a political movement and the environment or

culture it inhabits. This so-called art of everyday life would manifest itself through all art and design, and especially through architecture, or “environmental sculpture” as the Futurists termed it.

The Novecento, which simply means the “new century,” was a movement that sought to build modern thinking with respect for, and continuity with, the past. The Novecento understood the potential benefits of reflecting the achievements of the past, particularly connecting through art elements of the Roman Empire to the “modernization” of Italy. The work of architect Piero Portaluppi exemplifies how Novecento combined the traditional with the modern. His *Corso Venezia* building in Milan retains the large central arch favored by traditional design, but the height of each floor is different, the finishes on the facades range from smooth to rough stone, and the windows are irregularly framed. The movement began in the gallery of Lino Pesaro in Via Manzoni in Milan, now the Museum Poldi Pezzoli. This was the first exhibition of the seven founding group members. The most famous painters were Emilio Malerba, Funi, Dudreville, Oppi, Bucci, Marussig, and Sironi. Mussolini and his influential mistress, the critic and Italian intellectual Margherita Sarfatti, supported the first exhibition. The work combined modern ideas of stillness, shallow perspective, and a cool, calm air that displayed a control over the self and the world around, reflecting at least in some degree the aim of Fascist aspirations.

The Rationalists were primarily an architectural movement founded by a group of seven idealistic students in Milan around 1927. Their best known members were Guiseppe Pagano, Piero Bottoni, Dullio Torres, and Gino Levi-Montalcini. They were focused on functionalism, removing anything that could be seen as decoration. The apartments they designed survive to this day—for example, the Palazzo Gualino complex. These brutal buildings have a rigid uniformity of structure, color, and surface texture, like boxes stacked upon each other. One unusual feature that seemed to ape the physique of Mussolini was that the windows are wider than they are tall. Torres redesigned the facade of the Italia Pavilion at the Venice Biennale in 1932 when Mussolini was at the height of his powers. This is a linear building whose lines are interrupted only by a simple winged lion, to represent St. Mark, the symbol of Venice, next to an imperial eagle, the Fascist symbol.

Italian art and culture under Mussolini were allowed to flourish without too many dogmatic rules (unlike in Russia and Germany). Mussolini used art to give his party credibility and status; to help to define their place

in history, he even developed “the Academy” (*Accademia italiana*) as the intellectual authority of the country, emphasizing Italy’s international cultural importance. However, members of the Academy did have to be loyal and active Fascist Party members. Mussolini’s support for the great Fascist exhibitions ensured that these were well attended by the public. The Venice Biennales, the Milan Triennales, and the Mostra della rivoluzione fascista (“Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution”) were propaganda exhibitions that encouraged Fascist art, where Fascist thinking could be portrayed as normal and modern.

When Hitler, an unsuccessful artist, became Fuehrer, he took revenge on the art world, personally supervising the Exhibition of Degenerate Art, held in 1937, which declared war on modern art. This was part of the so-called cleansing of German culture. Hitler defined true art as linked with the country life, with good health, and with the Aryan race. This was “national realism”: “We shall discover and encourage the artists who are able to impress upon the State of the German people the cultural stamp of the Germanic race” (Hitler, Party Day speech, 1935). Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi propaganda minister, and cultural theorist Alfred Rosenberg developed Nazi cultural policy—an absolutist policy, dogmatically and violently applied. Like Mussolini, Hitler used the power of architecture to further the Third Reich, building the Olympic stadium in Berlin. This powerful venue designed by Albert Speer would hold the Olympic Games and was intended to show the world the supremacy of the master race. Many of the forced laborers died during its construction. It was the essence of totalitarian design in the service of power, fitted to stage many Nazi rituals and rallies, something Hitler loved.

The Nazis were the great destroyers of art and intellectual thought. They disposed of the Bauhaus, describing it as a haven for socialists, Bolsheviks, liars, and Jews. Hitler wanted art that idealized the Aryan race and brought their stories to life, thus strengthening the Nazi myth-making and propaganda machine. Technique was prized over expression. Personal ideas and experimentation were seen as the work of Bolshevik thinking, which would be replaced with unambiguous story-telling that gave a clear model of life as it should be lived. To achieve this the Nazis exploited technology, producing works on a scale never seen before. These included *Der Giftpilz*, a range of anti-Semitic children’s books with titles such as *The Poisonous Mushroom* and *How to Tell a Jew*; newspapers including Julius Streicher’s anti-Semitic *Der Stürmer*, with many cartoons to

help the illiterate; and *Brennessel*, a Nazi humor magazine that was also highly illustrated throughout. They used photography, too, and made propaganda films such as *Der ewige Jude* (*The Eternal Jew*). They used filmmakers, sculptors, graphic designers, architects, and artists. Ernst Vollbehr (1876–1960) painted in gouache the party convention in Nuremberg. Other artists included T. Rieger, Herbert Schimkowitz, Maximilian Spilhaczek, and Arno Breker (“The Guard,” “The Warrior Departs,” “The Party and the Army,” “Preparedness”), Adolph Wissel (“Farm Family from Kahlenberg”), Hubert Lanzinger (“The Flag Bearer”), Albert Janesh (“Water Sports”), and Ernst Liebermann (“By the Water”). Where Mussolini used modernist art selectively to promote Italian Fascism, the Nazis were brutal in its suppression, even down to the smallest detail. Goebbels replaced sans-serif type (seen as a Jewish invention) with what he regarded as the more German-looking *Fraktur*; sans-serif, however, was more legible and could be set with narrow leading, thus packing more text onto a page, and so it did eventually replace the ornate *Fraktur* as the German typeface.

The Nazis admired Greek art, but their cultural policy created bland, arrogant, bombastic work that now looks like the stuff of kitsch cartoon fantasy comics. At the same time the great art of Germany was obsessively listed, rounded up, and sent to its own concentration camp, including paintings by Otto Dix, Braque, Derain, Chagall, Kirschner, Nolde, Heckel, van Doesburg, Ensor, and Beckmann. Hitler planned to sell off much of the more famous work but had many paintings destroyed, replacing them with works of which he approved. After the war this Nazi art was taken to the United States, perhaps to help pay for the huge cost of the war. While much of the graphics was kept as historical documentation and the posters formed a collection in the Library of Congress, the paintings and sculptures, housed in an airplane hangar in Virginia, were eventually offered back to Germany, which politely declined to receive them. It is widely believed that in the end this unwanted work was also destroyed.

Mario Minichiello

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ARYANISM; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; FILM; FORCED LABOR; FUTURISM; GOEBBELS, PAUL JOSEPH; GUERNICA; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MODERNISM; MUSIC; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; ROME; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SPORT;

STREICHER, JULIUS; TOTALITARIANISM; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAR

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ARTAMAN LEAGUE, THE

A 1920s nationalist anti-Slav youth organization in Germany, imbued with ruralist thinking and calling for a return to the soil. Heinrich Himmler was a member for a time.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BLOOD AND SOIL; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; RURALISM (GERMANY); SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY)

ARYAN MYTH THE: See ARYANISM

ARYAN NATIONS, THE

Formed in Idaho in the early 1970s, the Church of Jesus Christ Christian and its political arm, Aryan Nations, is a leading exponent of Christian Identity, a doctrine which claims that whites are the real descendants of the biblical Israelites. Led for many years by Richard Butler, it preaches that Jews are the product of Satan's sexual congress with Eve in the Garden of Eden. Following an incident in 1998 in which a woman and her son were assaulted by Aryan Nations security guards, a court case led to the organization's losing its land; bitter disputes as to its future followed.

Martin Durham

See Also: ARYANISM; BUTLER, RICHARD GIRNT; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM

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ARYANISM

Aryanism was one of the most important ideological elements in German National Socialism, and it remains important for many modern neo-Nazi movements in various countries today. Adolf Hitler and the early Nazi ideologues believed in an Aryan Master Race that had a mission to dominate all other peoples and races. The term *Aryan* was popularized in the late nineteenth century by the Anglo-German scholar Max Müller (1823–1900) as an alternative to *Indo-European*. “Indo-European languages” were treated as a particular category of languages that included Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavonic. Müller used the term *Aryan* only of language speakers, but others began to apply it to racial groupings, a practice that he himself never considered acceptable.

The story of how so-called Aryanism came to play such an important role in Nazi thinking is complex and goes back to the Early Modern era. In the sixteenth century there developed in German-speaking Europe

an aspiration to find ways of expressing the cultural unity of German-speakers, or “Germanness,” which some felt transcended actual territorial political divisions. That gave rise to attempts to “unmix” Germany as a melting-pot of different peoples in favor of a “pure Germanness.” The specifically “German” peoples were pictured as set apart from their neighboring peoples; the Germans were depicted as men who were original, rooted in the soil, free-spirited, and with a developed sense of honor, distinguished from other peoples by their positive qualities. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523) contrasted the “manliness” of the Germans as a “world-dominating” people with the “womanliness” of the Romans. The development of the notion of a “German special way” in spirit, culture, and race was encouraged by the German Reformation, especially in its sectarian form. That movement soon acquired (as did later the whole Aryan myth) a decidedly anti-Church and anti-Roman tendency, on the basis of theories which claimed that the originally free Germans adhering to a “natural religion” had been weakened in spirit and enslaved by the yoke of the Roman Church and had become “mixed in” with other culturally inferior peoples. Some humanists saw German as “the language of heroes” and aspired to “purify” it from supposedly later admixtures. Even Leibniz believed that German was closer to the lost “Adamitic primitive language” than Hebrew or Arabic. When Aryan studies began in the eighteenth century, the Germans were portrayed as the leaders of the noble Aryan Master race, set apart from other peoples by their “purity.”

Inspired by the discovery of new peoples and continents, and following older medieval theories according to which there were “pre-Adamitic peoples” who did not go back to the forefather Adam, some Enlightenment thinkers developed a theory of the distinct origins of the human races. This was intended as a rival to the Christian teaching that saw Adam and Eve as the original couple of all of humanity. These Enlightenment figures assigned to the blacks, whom they regarded as standing on a low spiritual level, all the lowly and primitive qualities, and to the creative white master races (Aryan and European) all the noble and higher qualities. Carl von Linnæus (1707–1778), the great classifier of nature, called the European “inventive . . . white, full-blooded. He is governed by laws.” At the other end of his scale (below the intermediate stages of Americans and Asiatics) stood the African: “foolish, lazy, apathetic . . . black, phlegmatic . . . ruled by the arbitrary power of his master” (*Systema naturae*, 1793). Pupils of Linnæus developed dualistic theories according to which the whites were the original race while the blacks had

emerged through a “mixture” of the whites with apes. David Hume (1711–1776) called “Negroes and generally all other species of men . . . inferior to whites by nature. . . . There has never been a civilized nation of other than white skin, not even a single one, which distinguished itself in trade and thought.”

Again as part of an anti-Christian propaganda war, Voltaire attributed to the spiritual culture of India temporal precedence over biblical Hebrew culture, tracing “Abraham” back to the Indian “Brahma.” Along with other rather bizarre theoreticians, he inspired the German Romantics in their love affair with India.

In Germany both Enlightenment and Romantic thinkers aspired to look beyond the Jewish-Christian horizon of the West. They were fascinated by the early Indian thinkers, now seen as the earliest representatives of a spiritual culture of humanity. India was regarded as the source of “the ways of humanity” and the “lawgiver to all peoples” in the words of travel writer Pierre Sonnerat (1748–1814). Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) inspired a Romantic cult of “Mother India”; India was for him both the source and place of origin of mankind itself and the source of the “religion of natural revelation,” of which the Hebrew Bible was only a “faithful copy.” For Herder, the Indians were perfect representatives of wisdom, science, nobility, and restraint; he celebrated the common origins of the “IndoAryans” and the racial and cultural-linguistic relationship between Indians, Persians, and Germans as representatives of the “high and noble.” Herder’s contemporaries at the German universities now sought to draw the outlines of an Aryan high culture that had developed separately from “Semitic” cultures and languages. In his work *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* (*On the Language and Wisdom of the Indians*, 1808), Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) claimed that a people of Aryan culture came from north India to the West, which meant that many ideas from ancient India were to be found among the old Germans.

His brother August Wilhelm Schlegel (1767–1845) was the first to give the Aryan idea a nationalistic turn, making an association between the root “Ari” and the German word *Ehre* (“honor”). Through E. M. Arndt and F. L. Jahn, “Aryan” or “Indo-German” studies in Germany took on a decidedly anti-Semitic coloring by the mid-nineteenth century, initially on the basis of the idea that the old Indian wisdom books represented the original revelation of God more perfectly than the Hebraic-biblical texts. This idea was formulated in increasingly dualistic terms: the original

pure texts of the IndoAryans, a world-dominating master people, were watered down and falsified by the uncreative and ultimately culturally “parasitic” Semites.

The French historian Jules Michelet (1798–1874) spoke in his *Histoire romaine* (1831) of the “long struggle between the Semitic world and the Indogermanic world”; for him, too, India was the “Mother of the Nations.” Other propagandists of Aryan studies, mostly theologians and Sanskrit scholars, constructed an “Aryan Christ” who had taught a master religion of the noble and the subjection of non-Aryan peoples—for example, the French Orientalist Ernest Renan (1823–1892), in his extremely successful work *The Life of Jesus* (7 vols., 1863–1883). Others accepted that the roots of Christendom were Semitic but argued that it had experienced its high point in the Middle Ages, when it was marked by the culture of the German Reich.

In the course of the nineteenth century, Aryan theories got mixed with a series of ideas prevalent at the time into an inextricable tangle; thus with race theory, which propagated the “racial pride” of the white races as the “motor of history”; with a crude form of social Darwinism that started from the struggle of the races with each other; also with “physiological” anthropology, which argued from physical racial characteristics, especially through skull measurements, to the spiritual and ethical superiority of the whites or the inferiority of the blacks. In Germany, Great Britain, and France, anti-Semitic cultural theories constructed the “cultural genius” of the Aryans over against the “cultural sterility” of the Semites. The Genevan linguistics scholar Adolphe Pictet called the Aryans the “civilizers of the world”: “[T]he race of the Aryans, chosen before all others, is the most important tool of the plans of God for the destiny of humanity” (*Les origines indo-européennes ou les Aryas primitifs*, 1859). For Gobineau, who brought together almost all of these theories and had his greatest influence in Germany, the white Aryan races had arisen in north India and were from the beginning led by “Providence” (later a favorite term of Hitler’s). In his four-volume work *Essai sur l’inégalité des races humaines* (*Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races*, 1853–1855), which made him the most influential prophet of Aryan superiority, Gobineau categorized nearly all known races according to the degree of their “mixture” with others, especially with Aryans or Semites. He saw in the “bastardizing of the Aryans” the main reason for the collapse of civilizations and cultures, which were condemned to general

“mediocrity” by it. It was Gobineau who gave a history-of-philosophy orientation to the Aryan/Jewish polarity.

The theory of the different origins of the Aryan and Semitic peoples became virtually a religious dogma for all anti-Semitic currents in Germany. Prescription of the separation of races and depiction of the dangers of a “mixing of races” became a fixed idea, with prophets of doom forever repeating the claim that the “inferior races” damaged the “higher” ones (“bad blood corrupts the good!”). In the nineteenth century, race researchers had speculated that an Aryan woman who had been “tainted” even just the once by a Jewish man could thenceforth bring into the world only “Jewish bastards.”

In parallel with the cult of the Germans in the second half of the nineteenth century there developed a no less exaggerated cult of the Aryans with religious-type features, and that also drew many representatives of early National Socialism under its banner. One of the main prophets was the German Orientalist Lagarde, who wanted to set the figure of Jesus Christ free from a Jewish context and outlined a Germanic or Aryan “religion of the future.” His example inspired a whole flood of writings that aimed at “Aryanizing” Jesus. Most of them were rather comical, such as the theory of Ernst von Bunsen (1817–1893), according to which the Bible had originated in an Aryan religion of the sun, and the first man, Adam, was an Aryan; the serpent in Paradise, by contrast, had been “Semitic” (*Die Überlieferung*, 1889). The young Richard Wagner had in 1850 compared Christ to the highest German god, Wotan, while the expatriate Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain was a tireless “prophet of Aryanism” who claimed that he had “demonstrated” the “non-Jewish descent” of Jesus Christ. His anti-Semitic *Foundations of the 19th Century* (1899) had a direct influence (down to the choice of title) on Rosenberg’s “Myth of the Twentieth Century” and on his Aryan mysticism.

Clearly then, in many respects the Nazi ideologues with their Aryan mystifications needed only to harvest where others—including some of the leading minds of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—had already sown. But in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler gave to the idea of the Aryan as “founder of culture” a peculiarly violent turn, claiming that the Aryan alone was worthy to bear the name “human,” so that all other peoples and races were no more than “subhumans.” This strict dualism between the “racially pure” Aryans and all others—especially Jews and Slavs—led in

Nazism to the radical outlawing of all “non-Aryans” and to their enslavement and attempted annihilation. The “Aryan Paragraph” formulated for the first time in the *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamten-tums* (Law for the Restoration of the Civil Service) of 7 April 1933 (which went back to a demand of Georg von Schönerer in the nineteenth century) decreed that all civil servants of “nonAryan descent” be retired. After this the Aryan Paragraph served for the systematic outlawing of Jews from all areas of public life. The identification of Aryanism and Germanness was recognized by the National Socialist state in a memo from the Reich Ministry of the Interior of 26 November 1935, in which the concept “Aryan” was replaced by “of German blood,” and later by the formula “those belonging to German or related blood.” The accompanying “Aryan proof” obliged Germans, especially applicants for official posts, to show an unbroken “testimony of descent” of “Aryan purity of blood” of their ancestors back to the year 1800. Official Nazi linguistic usage designated the taking of Jewish property into Aryan hands as laid down in the Aryanizing Decrees of 26 April and 12 November 1938 as “Aryanization”: the alienation of Jewish property without compensation in favor of “Aryan members of the nation,” who could acquire alienated Jewish goods. This is a typical example of the way that the “Aryan” idea served the Nazis both as a propaganda tool in their war against the Jews and as a cover for robbery and exploitation.

Significantly, the term *Aryanism* does not even figure in the index to Cannistraro’s *Historical Dictionary of Fascist Italy*, let alone as an individual entry. That is a powerful indicator of the lack of interest in Italy for the whole Aryan myth, which in fact is one of the key indicators of the profound differences between Italian Fascism and Nazism—alongside of their similarities. As with “Nordic thinking,” it seems to have been designed to make Protestant Germans and their secularized compatriots feel that they had a past to be proud of—both vis-à-vis the pride of the Latins in their Greco-Roman forebears and vis-à-vis the Catholic sense that the whole of Church history belonged to them. It is true that French scholars played an important role in developing the Aryan myth, but perhaps their agenda was different. As secularist heirs to the Enlightenment, writers like Gobineau and Renan were continuing the tradition of promoting a story of the past rival to the biblical account.

Markus Hattstein
(translated and enlarged by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: AHNENERBE; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS, THE; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUGENICS; GERMANNES; GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; NATIONALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; *NUEVA GERMANIA*; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SCIENCE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; SS, THE; THEOLOGY; TIBET; TRADITION; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUB-HUMANS"); VACHER DE LAPOUGE, GEORGES; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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ARYANS: *See* ARYANISM

ASOCIALS

Label given by the Nazis to persons whose way of life or weaknesses or deviant behavior they regarded as making them incapable and unworthy of being a part of society. They included beggars, prostitutes and the sexually nonconformist, alcoholics, destitute families, the work-shy, and travelers (*see* ROMA AND SINTI, THE). Persecution of "asocials" was instituted from the start of the Nazi regime in 1933, and many were imprisoned or sent to concentration camps. Some were forcibly sterilized.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSCHWITZ; BLOOD AND SOIL; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; HOLOCAUST, THE; MEDICINE (GERMANY); NAZISM; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SEXUALITY.

AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU)

Although there were a large number of Nazi concentration camps, the one that since World War II has come to represent them all and act as a symbol of the atrocity of the Holocaust is Auschwitz-Birkenau, whose remains continue to be visited by many thousands of tourists every year. Situated just outside the Polish town of Oswiecim, near Krakow, Auschwitz-Birkenau is also the largest mass murder site documented anywhere in history. Established first in May 1940 on territory occupied by Germany at the onset of World War II, Auschwitz soon emerged as the central killing center for Jews murdered by National Socialism and its allies. In less than five years some 1.1 million victims perished, overwhelmingly Jews, but also 75,000 Poles, 25,000 Roma and Sinti travelers, 15,000 Soviet POWs, and thousands of others—including many clergy and other persons opposed to Nazism on conscientious grounds. Its sheer size, slave labor facilities, and its bureaucratic management of genocide have made Auschwitz a central—often exemplary—part of the Holocaust story.

The development of Auschwitz-Birkenau was initially an exercise of trial and error under Rudolf Höss, camp commandant until his transfer in November 1943. On 14 June 1940, 728 Polish prisoners arrived to commence enlarging the camp in the first deployment of slave labor at Auschwitz. As the numbers of incarcerated Polish intellectuals and political dissidents increased, conditions further deteriorated—to the point that most prisoners died, through work, malnutrition, or, more and more commonly, execution. Even in its transformation from a disused Polish army base to concentration camp, and even before the large extermination facilities were operational, Auschwitz already meant death for the vast majority of those guarded by 300 members of the SS. The creation of Auschwitz-Birkenau as an industrial killing center owes to various factors: the increase of prisoners within expanding SS camps; investment of private capital; the onset of a "war of annihilation" against the Soviet Union; and especially, the Nazis' radicalizing plans for a "solution to the Jewish question."

In March 1941, Heinrich Himmler ordered Höss to enlarge the camp massively beyond the initially envisaged 10,000 prisoners, thus turning Auschwitz into the largest concentration camp and source of enforced la-

bor within the Third Reich. In turn, that decision was largely motivated by the willingness of the private German firm IG Farben to establish operations near Auschwitz, subsidizing prisoners' expenses so as to harvest some of the valuable raw materials nearby (such as coal and lime) for the German war effort; in addition, facilities were constructed for the production of synthetic rubber and fuel at a satellite labor camp called Monowitz, and later Auschwitz III (opened October 1942). Other companies benefiting from enforced labor included Krupp, Wechsel Metall-Union, Allgemein Elektrizitätsgesellschaft (AEG), and Oberschlesische Hydrierwerk; they were soon operating in some three dozen satellite camps, ultimately surrounding the original site of Auschwitz. Finally, Nazi population policy—especially following the invasion of the USSR in June 1941—grew more intense and ambitious toward “undesirable elements.” By the summer of 1941, Russian prisoners quickly outnumbered surviving Polish workers at Auschwitz, receiving even worse treatment and being worked to death at even greater rates: of nearly 12,000 laborers, only 150 Russian POWs survived their first year building Auschwitz. In a related development for “solving” Nazism’s “demographic problems,” Russian POWs were also the first group gassed by the pesticide Zyklon-B, in September 1941, at the initiative of Höss’s deputy, Karl Fritsch, in the infamous punishment cells of Block 11. Previous attempts at mass murder by the Third Reich through shooting, explosives, injections, and carbon monoxide tanks and engine fumes were all superseded by the efficiency and availability of Fritsch’s successful experiment with Zyklon-B.

By the time of the 20 January 1942 Wannsee Conference, organized by Reinhard Heydrich and Adolf Eichmann, most of the enormous facilities were in meticulous preparation to transform Auschwitz into the scythe of Nazism’s attempted elimination of European Jewry. Over the course of 1942, some 200,000 Jews from across Europe, from Slovakia to France, were transported on sealed trains to Auschwitz I; 70 percent died upon arrival, through “selection” by SS doctors like Josef Mengele, following gassing and mass burial. Further challenges to the enlargement of the killing facilities and the disposal of bodies were overcome in the spring of 1943 with the completion of nearby Birkenau (renamed Auschwitz II by the new commandant, Arthur Liebehenschel, in November 1943), containing eight gas chambers, four crematoria, and forty-six ovens, in all capable of “processing” 4,416 human beings every day. From the moment of design until the end of the gassings in November 1944, the facilities at

Birkenau were intended to annihilate “enemies of the state” of all types: those wearing insignias of pink (homosexuals), brown (travelers), green (criminals), black (“asocials”), red (dissidents), violet (Jehovah’s Witnesses), and especially yellow stars (Jews). Supplementing this genocidal machinery were about 3,000 SS staff, specialists, and military personnel; a railway terminus with elaborate techniques of deception and arrangements for the seamless disposal of thousands of victims simultaneously; as well as a constellation of laboring slaves and mechanisms of internal control—from electrified fences to inmate guards (*Kapos*).

The apex of extermination was reached over 1944, when some 400,000 Hungarian Jews were deported and gassed at Auschwitz in just over three months. Primary documents, recovered architectural studies, and painstaking historical research nevertheless confirm what wartime political leaders could not or would not accept, and which Holocaust deniers, anti-Semites, and neo-Nazis continue to question or trivialize: by the cessation of production-line genocide in November 1944, 1 million Jews had died at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The barking dogs, punishing roll calls, severe malnutrition and disease, tattooed prisoners and savage guards, storehouses of pillaged clothes or gold teeth, and smell of burning human remains—all ceased only because of the imminent defeat of the Third Reich. With the advancing armies closing on Germany, SS guards took about 60,000 prisoners on a “death march” toward central Germany; when liberating Soviet troops entered Auschwitz-Birkenau in late January 1945, only about 8,000 diseased and malnourished inmates remained behind. Such is the symbolic and representative nature of Auschwitz-Birkenau to the Holocaust as a whole that Holocaust Memorial Day falls annually on the day the camp was liberated, 27 January.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EICHMANN, ADOLF OTTO; GERMANY; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; HOMOSEXUALITY; I G FARBEN; JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES, THE; KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED; MENGELE, JOSEF; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; ZYKLON-B

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AUSTRALIA

It is difficult to determine which groups in Australia qualify as “fascist.” Although numerous extreme right-wing groups have existed in Australia since the country’s federation in 1901, there has been little agreement among experts about how to classify them. Some of the most significant groups were formed in the 1920s and 1930s, the high-water mark for fascism in Australia. The aftermath of World War I, economic depression, fear of communism, and the election of a radical labor government in the state of New South Wales produced a number of quasi-fascist and fascist paramilitary movements. In addition, local fascist branches were formed by Italian and German consular authorities and by Australians liaising with the British Union of Fascists.

The best known of the native organizations were the Old Guard, formed in 1930, and the New Guard, which split off a year later. There were, however, antecedents to these groups. One of them, probably the Australian Protective League, is thought to have formed the basis of the secret organization described by D. H. Lawrence in *Kangaroo*, which he wrote in Australia in 1922. At its height, the Old Guard had an estimated secret membership of 30,000, which included members of Australia’s business elite with connections to conservative politicians.

The New Guard was created by Lieutenant Colonel Eric Campbell and was a more public, working-class, and extreme organization than the Old Guard. It is remembered mainly for the intervention of one of its members at the opening of the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 1932: Francis De Groot slashed the ceremonial ribbon in order to prevent that honor’s falling to the state premier. After a visit to Europe, Campbell introduced

uniforms and the fascist salute to the New Guard, innovations that caused some members to leave. With the declaration of war in 1939, members of fascist organizations and fellow travelers such as P. R. Stephenson, from the anti-Semitic Australia First Movement, were interned.

In the postwar period the most influential extremist group was the League of Rights, established in 1946 by Eric Butler. Although the league’s origins lie in the Social Credit ideas of Major C. H. Douglas, it disseminates fascist propaganda and has links with neofascist groups in Britain. Support for the league has been strongest in rural areas, but its membership is aging; it has faced competition from the LaRouchite Citizens Electoral Councils. All were overtaken in popularity by Pauline Hanson’s One Nation Party, which emerged in 1997 and in 1998 secured one in four votes for the Queensland state legislature. That was the high point for the party, which has since all but disappeared. Although a few commentators described Hanson as fascist because of her racism and ultranationalism, and because some people attracted to her party had been members of neofascist organizations, most analysts placed her in the Australian populist tradition. Groups such as National Action, formed in 1982, and the breakaway Australian National Movement, provide less contested examples of fascist organizations. Members of both groups have been convicted of racist violence. Other groups, such as the racist Adelaide Institute, use the Internet to spread their views. The institute’s director, Dr. Frederick Töben, was arrested in Germany in 1999 and convicted of denial of genocide and incitement to racial hatred. Such extremist groups attract little public support.

Rae Wear

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CYBERFASCISM; GREAT BRITAIN; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; LAROCHE, LYNDON HERMYLE; NATIONALISM; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR I

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AUSTRIA

The period known variously as Austria's authoritarian, clerico-fascist, or Austro-fascist era encompassed the years 1933 to 1938. It grew out of Austria's troubled post-World War I experience and serves as a prelude to the *Anschluss* and Austria's absorption into the Third Reich. The story is a complex one, incorporating the chancellorships of former Christian Social politicians Engelbert Dollfuss and Kurt von Schuschnigg; the establishment of a one-party state under the Fatherland Front; the adoption of a corporatist, authoritarian constitution; a native fascist movement in the form of the Heimwehr; an Austrian Nazi party enjoying varying degrees of support from Germany; and the role of the Catholic Church, an issue in the frequent labeling of the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg regimes as "clerico-fascist." A further source of conflict was the widespread lack of confidence in the viability of Austria as a second German state in an era influenced at the outset by the Wilsonian doctrine of national self-determination and increasingly by the might of Hitlerian Germany.

As a homogenous state (94 percent German), Austria was spared the ethnic strife that bedeviled the other successor states to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But the breakup of what had been a unified economic entity of 54 million left Austria deprived of resources and markets and plagued by high unemployment. Out of a population of just over 7 million, nearly 2.5 million lived in Vienna alone. Robbed of its imperial status, the city could no longer employ the university-educated middle class or many of the bureaucratic and military elements that had formerly found a comfortable niche in the imperial apparatus.

Moreover, the country was polarized between two political camps, Social Democrats and Christian Socials, each representing vastly different social, economic, and cultural worldviews. The Christian Social Party was strong in the rural Catholic heartland, while the Social Democrats found their supporters in urban industrial areas, notably Vienna and Linz. In Vienna the Christian Socials too had a strong following among middle- and lower-middle-class elements, small business and property owners, and loyal adherents of the Catholic Church. Present also was a German nationalist movement, heir of the nineteenth-century Panger-

mans who had scorned the multinational "mongrel" Habsburg Empire, desiring instead unity within a *Grossdeutschland*. This movement, defeated and embittered after 1866 and Austria's exclusion from the Bismarckian Reich, had gained strength as the Habsburg Empire faltered. Pangermanism would be one of the spiritual progenitors of the Austrian Nazi Party as well as elements of Heimwehr fascism, a movement that enjoyed its greatest popularity in regions bordering the new Czechoslovak, Yugoslav, and Hungarian states.

In the immediate aftermath of World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, Austria's provisional government adopted the name "German-Austrian Republic," declaring its intentions to merge into a greater Germany inspired by the idea of national self-determination that was shaping the formation of the other successor states to that empire. But the treaties of Versailles and St. Germain forbade this early and peaceful *Anschluss*. Austria's postwar political history, then, properly began with the adoption of the Constitution of 1920. Austria was to be a federal state, with Vienna granted the status of a province. In the first regular elections held since the war, the Christian Social Party attained a slim majority of seats in the parliament, or Nationalrat. The Christian Socials would retain a small majority in nearly every subsequent election, and would likewise retain their hold on the chancellorship. But the party did so only in coalition with nationalist groups—notably, by 1930, the fascist Heimwehr. In May 1932, when Engelbert Dollfuss became chancellor, the Christian Social majority had been reduced to a single vote.

The rise to power of Adolf Hitler in January 1933 began the threat to Austrian independence that would culminate in March 1938 with the *Anschluss*. Hitler appointed Theo Habicht as his inspector general for Austria. From Munich, Habicht directed the Austrian Nazi Party in a campaign of propaganda and terror against the Dollfuss government and the Austrian people. Swastikas defaced public buildings, and bombs killed and wounded civilians. Dollfuss was portrayed in radio broadcasts as a lackey of Jewish, clerical, and foreign interests. In June 1933, Dollfuss banned the Nazi Party in Austria, a move that drove the organization underground, where it infiltrated the bureaucracy and police departments. Hitler retaliated by levying a 1,000 Reichsmark tax on any German citizen traveling to Austria, an astronomical sum aimed at crippling the tourist industry in Austria. Dollfuss believed that the way to preserve Austria's independence was to steer a middle

course between the Nazis and his Socialist rivals, and to do so under the auspices of an authoritarian government with trappings borrowed from populist fascist regimes abroad. In this he was encouraged by Mussolini—with whom he enjoyed both a personal friendship and a political alliance—and by his Heimwehr allies, upon whose eight votes in the Nationalrat he depended to bolster his one-vote Christian Social majority.

The pretext for the end of parliamentary government occurred on 4 March 1933, during a procedural vote in the Nationalrat. Karl Renner, speaker of the assembly, Social Democratic Party leader, and a former Austrian chancellor, resigned the speakership in order to be able to cast a vote. The next two men in line of succession for the speaker's chair resigned as well, plunging parliament into chaos. The next day Dollfuss, invoking the obscure 1917 War Economy Emergency Powers Act, declared the Nationalrat indefinitely suspended. For the next fifteen months he ruled by emergency decree, abolishing the Communist Party in May 1933 and, as noted, the Nazi Party in June. In May he unveiled his Fatherland Front, a state party given the appearance of mass support by a network of auxiliary organizations: a labor front, professional organizations, women's and youth groups. He moved forward with plans to implement a corporatist constitution modeled on those of Mussolini's Italy and Antonio Salazar's Portugal, as well as on the 1931 papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*.

The new constitution would not be implemented until 1 May 1934, following a series of dramatic events. At Mussolini's urgings, and in an attempt to neutralize opposition on the left, on 12 February 1934 government and Heimwehr forces launched a number of raids in search of weapons held by the Socialist Party's paramilitary organization, the *Schutzbund*. Socialists in Linz fought back, and in Vienna the Social Democrats called for a general strike. Fighting in the capital concentrated around the working-class housing complexes ringing the city. Constructed in the 1920s and early 1930s, these dwellings were the proud achievement of the Socialist-dominated municipal government in Vienna, which had benefited from the taxation powers granted by its provincial status. These massive projects (the most famous of which, the Karl Marx Hof, boasted more than 1,300 apartments) had attracted international attention among urban planners. Critics and pundits alike often noted the fortresslike character of these housing blocks; they now in fact became defensive

fortresses. The *Schutzbund*, however, armed with rifles, was no match for the heavy artillery employed by government forces. (Dollfuss reportedly wanted to use tear gas; the lack of stockpiles led to the decision to employ artillery.) During the ensuing five days of fighting, heavy damage was inflicted on the structures. Casualty statistics vary; the most reliable cite around 300 dead and 800 wounded, with losses fairly evenly divided. *Schutzbund* resistance collapsed. The brief civil war provided justification, if further were sought, for the suppression of the Socialist Party. Dollfuss then abolished all remaining political parties, including his own Christian Social Party, in June of 1934.

On May 1 the corporate constitution was promulgated. That same day the new concordat with the Catholic Church took effect. Modeled on the 1929 Lateran Treaty between the Vatican and the Italian government and on the *Reichskonkordat* between the Vatican and Germany in May 1933, the concordat assigned the Catholic Church a leading role in education and guaranteed the autonomy of the Church's youth and other social and corporate organizations, provided these confined themselves to religious activities. In fact, as would be the case in Italy and Germany, tensions and rivalries would occur between church and state in Austria as the government sought to expand the role of its Fatherland Front auxiliary organizations into precisely those areas jealously guarded by the Church: youth, education, women, and family. Such tensions undercut, at critical junctures, Church support for the regime and they serve as a caveat against any too-facile use of the "clerico-fascist" label in describing the Austrian regime between 1934 and 1938.

Dollfuss's triumph was short-lived. On 25 July 1934 a band of 150 Austrian Nazi sympathizers, dressed in improvised uniforms, entered the Ballhausplatz chancellery, seized hostages, and assassinated Dollfuss. The failure of the putsch can be credited to Dollfuss's actions: with less than an hour's advance notice from a participant-turned-informer, Dollfuss had suspended the cabinet meeting then in session and directed ministers to scatter to their respective offices across Vienna. A communications failure separated leaders of the putsch from its participants. The small force dispatched to kidnap Austrian president Wilhelm Miklas, vacationing in Carinthia, was foiled by a suspicious local police. Instead Miklas swore in Kurt von Schuschnigg, formerly the justice and education minister, as the new chancellor over the telephone. From the Defense Ministry, where the cabinet reassembled, Schuschnigg di-

rected a collaborative police, army, and Heimwehr effort. The putschists were arrested, its leaders tried and executed. Mussolini strengthened the existing deployment of 50,000 Italian troops at the Brenner Pass with an additional four divisions, warning Germany to make no further advances on Austria. Hitler disavowed the putsch, fired Habicht, and appointed the former Catholic Center Party leader Franz von Papen as his envoy to Vienna.

Dollfuss, who had risen to prominence on the basis of his work with farmers' organizations and local chambers of agriculture, had never lost a certain populist appeal. Schuschnigg, however, was reserved, even aloof. A lawyer, an intellectual, and a Habsburg legitimist by sentiment, Schuschnigg was an individual upon whom the mantle of fascist leader proved a poor fit. Moreover, his frequent use of the word *German* in describing the independent Austria to which he was strongly committed served to complicate the very question of national identity that he sought to solidify. Schuschnigg continued Dollfuss's policies at home and abroad. He strengthened ties with Italy and Hungary. He consolidated his position as chancellor in a series of measures against the Heimwehr. In April 1936, Schuschnigg reintroduced military conscription (in violation of the Treaty of St. Germain) in order to lessen the government's reliance on Heimwehr paramilitary forces. In May 1936 he forced Heimwehr leader Ruediger von Starhemberg out of his dual role as vice chancellor and head of the Fatherland Front. In October, Schuschnigg abolished the Heimwehr itself, absorbing its members into the Fatherland Front militia and expelling Heimwehr members from all remaining cabinet posts, while proclaiming himself *Front Fuehrer*.

Schuschnigg continued to walk a tightrope between an increasingly expansionist Nazi Germany and the growing stridency and violent actions of the underground Nazi Party. Moreover, as Germany and Italy drew together, culminating in the Axis alliance of October 1936, Schuschnigg lost a key ally. Attempting to clarify Austria's position vis-à-vis Germany, Schuschnigg entered into an agreement with Hitler on 11 July 1936. Each nation promised to respect the sovereignty of the other, but the wording in the agreement by which Austria acknowledged that it was a "German state" was one more example of Schuschnigg's near-mystical conviction that Austria represented the Christian *Deutschtum*, an authentic Germany that was heir to the Holy Roman Empire and the Habsburgs, a Germany that had been betrayed first by Bismarck's Reich and then by Nazism.

Such idealistic formulations, however, were of decreasing value in the face of forces bent ultimately on another variant of the *Grossdeutsch* solution.

Austria's authoritarian era moved hastily toward its conclusion. Hitler's march of aggression, begun with the repudiation of the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty and his occupation of the Rhineland, now focused upon Austria. Hitler summoned Schuschnigg to Berchtesgaden on 12 February 1938, where, under duress, Schuschnigg agreed to an amnesty for Austrian Nazis, including participants in the July 1934 putsch, relented to Hitler's demand for the inclusion of Nazis in the cabinet, and agreed to admission of Nazis into the Fatherland Front. Hitler then upped the ante in a speech on 20 February, promising "protection" for the 10 million Germans residing outside the Reich, a statement seen as a provocation by the Schuschnigg government. On 1 March, Nazi-led street violence broke out in Graz and spread to other areas of the country. In desperation Schuschnigg turned to the remnants of the Socialist Party, offering them a role in government. On 9 March he announced a plebiscite, scheduled for 13 March, asking Austrians to vote "for a free and German, independent Christian and social Austria." In a final indication of the authoritarian character of the regime, only "yes" ballots were to be provided. It was, however, a moot point. On 11 March, Hitler issued an ultimatum demanding postponement of the plebiscite, Schuschnigg's resignation, and the appointment of the Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart—since February 1938, minister of the interior—to the office of chancellor. Desiring to spare Austrians any bloodshed in what he deemed would be futile resistance, Schuschnigg capitulated and broadcast news of these developments, along with a farewell to the Austrian people. On 13 March, the day originally planned for the plebiscite, Seyss-Inquart instead proclaimed the *Anschluss* of Austria with Germany. Schuschnigg was arrested and would be held prisoner, for the most part at the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, until his liberation by the Allies in May 1945. Other political opponents of the Nazi "New Order," representing the full array of interwar Austrian political life and strife—Socialists, Christian Socials, Catholic lay activists, Fatherland Front and Heimwehr followers—were arrested. Jews were subject to particularly vicious acts of humiliation and suffering, a prelude to horrors yet to come.

The Nazi plebiscite of 10 April 1938 yielded a 99.75 percent "yes" vote for the *Anschluss*. Judging public sentiment, however, is difficult, given the arrests and intimidation of opponents that preceded the

vote and the likelihood of fraudulent reporting of results. Studies of public opinion between 1938 and 1945 reveal a complex picture of shifting and evolving attitudes toward the Hitler regime. Nazi attempts to win working-class support by portraying the party as anticlerical (and thus the heir to the Social Democrats), to woo large and small business, and to draw sharp contrasts between themselves and the “philo-Semitism” of the Schuschnigg regime highlight both the impossibility of viewing the pre-1938 era as indistinct from what came after, and the divisions of opinion in Austria that the Nazis hoped to exploit. At the same time, Austria did not forge a resistance movement on a par with those in other occupied countries. One of the more infamous concentration camps, Mauthausen, was located in Austria. A significant number of Austrians (many with Heimwehr connections) occupied high places in the party hierarchy: Ernst Kaltenbrunner was Himmler’s deputy in the SS; several SS chiefs in occupied Eastern European countries were Austrians; and Arthur Seyss-Inquart was one of only ten Nuremberg Trials defendants to be executed.

Austria’s postwar existence and its delayed confrontation with its interwar and wartime experience can be traced to the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943, wherein the Allies proclaimed Austria “the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression.” At the same time, the declaration noted that Austria bore “a responsibility which she cannot evade, for participation in the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany.” The latter caution was subordinated to the Cold War aim of securing a neutral, albeit Western-friendly, Austria. The former identification provided the Second Austrian Republic with a foundational myth, and delayed what the German language calls *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*—coming to terms with the past. That confrontation with the past—inconclusive as it proved to be—occurred during the presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim in 1986. Waldheim, secretary-general of the United Nations from 1971 to 1981, had returned to Austria to seek the largely ceremonial office of president as a capstone to a long diplomatic career. Instead, the Austrian weekly *Profil*, *The New York Times*, and the World Jewish Congress published information that disproved Waldheim’s account of those years—that his military service spanned the years 1941–1942, ending when he was wounded on the Eastern front, at which time he returned to the University of Vienna as a law student. In fact, Waldheim had returned to military service in 1942 and was a member of Army Group E, charged with carrying out the de-

portation of Jews from Greece and operations against Yugoslav partisans.

Legal judgments of a Nuremberg tribunal stating that officers of Waldheim’s rank were not criminally liable for activities carried out by Group E, and the judgment of commentators that his affiliation with Nazi student groups owed more to opportunism than to conviction, proved insignificant in the face of the resulting international furor. Waldheim’s own defense, that he had merely “done his duty,” echoed earlier discussions in Germany about collective guilt, and followed directly upon the 1985 “Bitburg Affair”—President Ronald Reagan’s and Chancellor Helmut Kohl’s visit to a military cemetery where SS officers were interred. Waldheim’s supporters complained of an international [Jewish] “campaign.” In the United States many saw Waldheim’s election as evidence of an unrepentant fascist nation. In 1987 the U.S. Justice Department placed the president on a “watch list” and barred him from entering the country. If anything, international opinion against the president only strengthened Waldheim’s standing in Austria, but the episode did occasion public discussion of what had long been taboo or ignored. Waldheim served only one term, leaving office in 1992. By then Austria was occupied with a dramatically changed situation in Central and Eastern Europe: the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the Balkan Wars of the 1990s, and its own pending admission to the European Union in 1995. These new circumstances would bring to the fore another politician, Jörg Haider, since 1986 leader of the Freedom Party (FPÖ).

The FPÖ’s origins can be traced to the 1949 League of Independents, or VdU. This “third camp” provided a political home to everyone not a member of the two dominant parties: the Social Democrats (SPÖ) and the Peoples Party (ÖVP). It thus embraced a wide range of views, from free-market liberals to populists to former Nazis, and enjoyed the tacit support (before 1955) of the U.S. occupation administration as well as leaders of the Volkspartei, who saw it as a coalition partner. By 1955/1956 the VdU had evolved into the Freedom Party. Its importance was relatively short-lived, however. FPÖ disillusionment with the ÖVP, a vacuum in its leadership, and the long SPÖ domination under the chancellorship of Bruno Kreisky (1970–1983) all served to diminish its role until the late 1980s. While news media attention abroad would focus on Haider’s praise of the full employment policies of the Nazis, or his remarks praising Wehrmacht veterans as men of character, within Austria Haider’s popularity resulted from growing discontent with the long

dominance of the two major parties. The SPOe and OeVP had presided over a consensus in Austria supportive of a generous welfare state, EU membership, an “Austrian Mission” that embraced the nation’s neutral status in a continent divided by the Cold War (a position rendered irrelevant by the early 1990s), and a commitment to providing a “first haven” for refugees (a role that became increasingly burdensome with the dismantling of fortified borders in the East and the outbreak of the Balkan wars). The postwar era, moreover, had witnessed the transforming social forces of secularism, feminism, and urbanization, reminiscent of changes that had swept European society in the 1930s.

Haider’s calls for strict limits on immigration, his anti-EU stance, and his opposition to generous social welfare benefits led many, at home and abroad, to see in the FPÖ the ghosts of the 1930s and of fascism. Countering this is the argument that Haider and those of his ilk represent not a return to the past but a threat to a future Europe marked by a strong European Union as an ever more important player in a globalized world.

Laura Gellott

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE, THE; AUSTROFASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; COLD WAR, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CORPORATISM; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; EDUCATION; EUROPE; EXPANSIONISM; FAMILY, THE; FEMINISM; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; HAIDER, JÖRG; HEIMWEHR, THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; ITALY; KALTENBRUNNER, ERNST; KORNEUBURG OATH, THE; LUEGER, KARL; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PANGERMANISM; PAPACY, THE; PAPAN, FRANZ VON; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PORTUGAL; POSTWAR FASCISM; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON; SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WEHRMACHT, THE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/ HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE

Major political power in Central and Eastern Europe prior to the end of World War I, ruled by the Habsburg dynasty and regarded by Hitler, who lived within its borders in his youth, as embodying the decadence of his day: not only was it a multiracial polyglot empire but, in addition, it allowed far too much of a say to its Slav inhabitants and wielded too much power over its German minority. After 1918 the territories of the empire were partitioned among Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia, with the Germanic rump remaining as the Republic of Austria. One of the dominant themes in Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* is the unsatisfactory racial mixing and cohabitation of this “mongrel” empire, for which he had nothing but contempt. To him it represented the antithesis of the ideal of the greater Germany that he wished to create, freed of Jews—whose presence and wealth in Vienna he had bitterly resented—firmly and decisively ruled by Germans, and with Slavs reduced to the status of a source of slave labor.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSTRIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GERMANNES; HITLER, ADOLF; HUNGARY; ITALY; MEIN KAMPF; POLAND; ROMANIA; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR I

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AUSTROFASCISM

A label frequently applied to the authoritarian system of government prevailing in Austria between 1934 and 1938; it is also sometimes referred to as “semi-fascism” or “imitation fascism,” and some have seen it as a variety of “clerico-fascism” (qv). The term was actually used by defenders of the regime, but its appropriateness remains a subject of dispute among historians. Although they were certainly a dictatorship and incarcerated their opponents in special camps called *Anhaltelager*, and although they actually employed fascist symbols, the Dollfuss and Schuschnigg regimes lacked the typical mass basis of fascist parties. Dollfuss wanted to adopt only the outward trappings of fascism at a time when they were fashionable (and partly as a sop to a belligerent Nazi Germany) to cloak what was in reality an attempt to revive an authoritarian Catholic-conservative form of government.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSTRIA; CLERICO-FASCISM; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; KORNEUBURG OATH, THE; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON

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AUTARKY

The policy of economic self-sufficiency pursued by both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. While the ideological origins of the policy lay in both regimes' commitment to expansion and war, the circumstances of the Great Depression in Europe, which persuaded a number of powers, both dictatorial and democratic, to pursue protectionist trade policies, played an important role in encouraging autarky.

Arguably, the Italian Fascist regime first moved in the direction of autarky when Mussolini, in his “Pesaro Speech” of 1926, vowed to defend the value of the lira to the last drop of his blood. The “Battle for the Lira,”

the first of Mussolini's “economic battles,” was as much a political as an economic policy. What was at stake in defending the lira at the parity of ninety to the pound sterling (its value when Fascism came to power) was the prestige of Mussolini and the regime, a positively Nietzschean battle for “the triumph of the will.” But economically speaking it was expensive, and insofar as it overpriced Italian exports, it thus ensured that when the Great Depression hit Italy, its effects would be seriously felt. The “Battle for Grain,” as a means of rectifying Italy's dependence upon expensive imports of wheat and other cereals, was another result of the Pesaro Speech. Like the “Demographic Battle,” it was not a success.

The adoption of a more explicit policy of economic autarky was prompted by the Italo-Ethiopian War and the economic sanctions that the League of Nations imposed upon Italy as a result. In 1935 attempts were made to conserve currency holdings in preparation for war, and to purchase and stockpile necessary raw materials and machine tools. After the end of that war, more systematic attempts were made at import substitution by alternative domestic supplies or by artificial products, which resulted in the discovery of natural gas in the Po Valley region and in the development of textile and petrochemical industries. But such a policy inevitably had its limits in a country that had never been well endowed with natural resources. As Italy once more faced balance of payments problems in the late 1930s, the regime resorted to manufacturing cartels, tariff barriers, currency restrictions, and massive regulation of economic activity to plug the gap. Mussolini effectively admitted the failure of *autarkia* in 1939, when he cited Italy's massive shortfalls in crucial raw materials, energy resources, and military goods as his reason for not joining Nazi Germany in its war against Britain and France. Italy's subsequent disastrous experience of combat, following his declaration of war upon Britain and France in June 1940, confirmed the inefficacy of autarky as far as Fascist Italy was concerned.

The need to bring about recovery from the effects of the Great Depression clearly played a very important role in the development of economic policy after National Socialism came to power in Germany in 1933, including the withdrawal of Germany from various sectors of the world economy to avoid reparations payments. An early form of autarky was the establishment of the *Reichsnahrstand*, an institution bringing about the vertical organization of the agriculture and food industries under the *Blut und Boden* enthusiast Darré.

His explicit aim was to make Germany as far as possible self-sufficient in foodstuffs in order to avoid the consequences of the Allied blockade during World War I, which had caused huge food shortages and undermined the war effort.

Another major element in the Nazi policy of autarky was the creation in 1937 of the Reichswerke AG Herman Goering, a new, state-owned and -managed firm whose purpose was to exploit to the full all ores on German (and later Austrian) territory, even if not as high grade as imported ones, in order to make Germany self-sufficient in iron and steel. In the Goering-directed Four Year Plan, the development of ersatz products—synthetic rubber, oil, and so forth—played a key part. As well as domestic production targets, part and parcel of the plan was a system of controls on tariffs, exports, currency holdings, and cartelization in key industries very similar to the Italian regulations, but which provided a more effective instrument of state management of the economy for the purposes of rearmament and war.

In fact, when Germany eventually did go to war, measures of autarky played a less important role than the exploitation of the economic resources of the countries that German armies invaded and occupied between 1939 and 1942—resources including foodstuffs, ores, other metals, energy sources, manufactured goods, and forced labor, as well as the resources of neutrals like Switzerland and Spain. The overall shape of the German war economy, while not seriously diminishing the weight of private capitalism, certainly tended more and more toward a National Socialist form of the “war socialism” practiced by other belligerents, most notably Britain and the Soviet Union.

John Pollard

See Also: BANKS, THE; BLOOD AND SOIL; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ECONOMICS; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; INFLATION; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PERONISM; SOCIALISM; TRADE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR II

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AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY, THE:
See FROMM, ERICH; PSYCHO-
ANALYSIS; PSYCHOLOGY;
SOCIOLOGY; REICH, WILHELM

AUTHORITARIANISM

Fascism and *authoritarianism* are often treated as virtually interchangeable terms in common parlance, and early students of fascism like Arendt and Wilhelm Reich often focused their attention on the flagrant abuse of power in fascist regimes. This approach was particularly influenced by research in the field of psychology. However, as Arendt herself saw, authoritarianism was not a trait peculiar to fascism, for the same phenomenon was observable in the Soviet Union. Hence the coining of the term *totalitarian* to apply to the dictatorial regimes of the interwar era. It might perhaps be argued that whereas communist ideologues at least *claimed* to be promoting egalitarianism and the liberation of the world’s poor from tyrannical oppression by a minority, and that they were therefore authoritarian “by accident” rather than by design, their fascist counterparts had no qualms about advocating a hierarchical authoritarian society as a permanent feature of their utopia. But although that could be taken to distinguish fascism from communism, it does not distinguish it from traditional conservatism, which also takes a hierarchical authoritarian social order as a given for all time, eschewing egalitarianism as a damaging pipe-dream. An excessive focus on the authoritarian nature of fascist thought and action in fact made it more difficult in the decades after World War II to understand the novelty and uniqueness of the phenomenon of fascism, which certainly does not reside in some uniquely “authoritarian” feature of its worldview.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARENDT, HANNAH; CONSERVATISM; DICTATORSHIP; EGALITARIANISM; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHOLOGY; REICH, WILHELM; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA

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AUTOBAHNS, THE

System of German motor roads, often considered to be one of the Nazis' greatest achievements. In fact, however, several associations in Germany had already developed plans for motor roads in the 1920s, but those projects did not materialize, mainly for economic reasons. Before its rise to power, the NSDAP had actually been quite ambivalent about the issue: as mass motorization was still in its beginnings, sections of the party saw *Autobahnen* as a superfluous luxury for the privileged. Only weeks after his rise to power, Hitler nevertheless announced a large *Autobahnen* program. On 27 June 1933, a law was passed to build up a special agency for this purpose. Head of the organization was the *Generalinspekteur für das deutsche Straßenwesen*, Fritz Todt (1891–1942). On 19 May 1935 the first stretch—from Frankfurt to Darmstadt—was opened. By mid-1936 some 125,000 workers were employed on the *Reichsautobahnen*, the highest number ever during the Third Reich. By the end of 1938, 3,000 kilometers had been completed. During World War II, POWs and forced laborers, Jewish and otherwise, were put to work on the *Autobahnen*, but the whole project lost priority because of the war effort. By the end of 1941 all the construction sites had been closed. By then, 3,870 kilometers had been completed, and another 3,000 kilometers were under construction.

The *Autobahnen* did not have a primarily military motivation, as is sometimes suggested: before 1939, those considerations did not play a large role. Also, the contribution of the *Autobahnen* in the fight against the Great Depression should not be overestimated. Their relevance for German traffic was not very significant either: in 1935, for example, only 16 out of 1,000 Germans owned a car (in the United States, it was 204 out of every 1,000). All in all, the “the Fuehrer’s roads” (an expression popularized by Todt) primarily played a cultural and symbolic role as expressions of the regime’s self-stylization. This is clearly reflected in

Hitler’s *Table Talk*, in which he speaks frequently about his love for fast cars on the open road (Mussolini’s equivalent passion being for flying). Despite their economic, military, and ecological shortcomings, as well as their low significance for German traffic at the time, they became the most successful propaganda product of the Reich and a reminder that Hitler, like Mussolini, was unabashedly at home with modern technology and had no time for those fascist propagandists who wanted to promote rural values. Mythologized while still under construction, the autobahns are praised by neo-Nazis and other apologists of the regime even today.

Kiran Patel

See Also: ECONOMICS; EMPLOYMENT; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDUSTRY; LEADER CULT, THE; MODERNITY; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; RURALISM; STYLE; TECHNOLOGY

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AVENTINE SECESSION, THE

Expression of protest against Mussolini’s regime on the part of members of the Chamber of Deputies from various parties. In June 1924, soon after the kidnapping of Matteotti by Fascists, 150 or so deputies withdrew together from the chamber and declared themselves to be the only true representatives of the Italian people, calling for the overthrow of the regime. Most of them were committed to constitutional means and hoped for support from King Victor Emmanuel III, but it was not forthcoming. Participants in the protest drifted away from the movement for various reasons, but after Mussolini assumed dictatorial powers in January 1925, they were left powerless; in 1926, Mussolini declared all the Aventine deputies stripped of their seats. The name

“Aventine”—after one of the hills of Rome—echoed the protest of Gaius Gracchus under the ancient Republic of Rome.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARLIAMENTARISM; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING

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AXIS, THE

Name for the German-Italian alliance sealed in May 1939, later expanded with the entry of Japan. Japan signed on to a tripartite axis in September 1940 when the German occupation of France and The Netherlands made French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies obvious targets for a Japanese takeover. Japan needed the backing of Germany in particular because of the danger of U.S. intervention in the event of Japan's pursuing an expansionist policy in the areas. In March 1941, Hitler promised German support in any war with the United States and honored his pledge after Pearl Harbor.

The relationship between Hitler and Mussolini effectively began in the autumn of 1936, but it became a full offensive military alliance only in May 1939. (It was widened by the Anti-Comintern Pact, formally including Japan in 1937). Until the spring of 1936, relations between the two fascist dictators had been cool. Mussolini had been concerned about the potential threat to the independence of Austria posed by a resurgent Germany committed to *Anschluss*; he saw Austria as an indispensable buffer on Italy's northern frontier. In July 1934, when Austrian Nazis murdered the Austrian chancellor Dollfuss, Mussolini sent troops to the Brenner frontier with Austria to warn off Hitler. In May 1935, he even signed the Stresa agreement with Britain and France against Germany.

The situation changed dramatically after the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935, when the League of Nations imposed economic sanctions on Italy. This threw Mussolini into Hitler's arms. The outbreak of the Spanish Civil war in July 1936, in which both fascist states intervened on the side of Franco, strengthened the new relationship. Mussolini talked of

a “Rome-Berlin Axis” around which, he declared, politics in Europe would henceforth gravitate. The Axis was strengthened by Mussolini's visit to Berlin in 1937, when he renounced his “protectorate” over Austria. Thus, in March 1938 he did not protest when Hitler annexed Austria.

In May 1939, Mussolini's foreign minister, Ciano, signed the “Pact of Steel” with his German counterpart, committing Italy to an offensive alliance with its Axis partner. Although Mussolini and Ciano did not yet abandon negotiations with Britain and France, the pact demonstrates that Mussolini believed that only through an alliance with Nazi Germany would he be able to defeat Britain and France and wrest from them the territories that would constitute his much-vaunted “second Roman Empire.” For his part, Hitler envisaged the pact as a diplomatic move, a way of keeping the Italians out of the clutches of the democratic powers, rather than one of military significance. Despite the pact, Mussolini did not join Hitler when Britain and France declared war upon Germany in September 1939. Offended by the Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact, fearing that Hitler had bitten off more than he could chew, and conscious that Italian public opinion was against war, he declared that Italy would remain “non-belligerent,” as he described it. But after Hitler's victories against Scandinavia, the Low Countries, and France in the Blitzkrieg, Mussolini became impatient to get in at the kill and declared war on Britain and France on 10 June, 1940. He pursued a “parallel war” to that of the Germans as a means of keeping them out of Italian spheres of influence. But the overstretching of already inadequate Italian economic and military resources and abysmal strategic decisions on Mussolini's part led to defeats in Egypt and Greece that brought the Germans into the Mediterranean. Mussolini worsened Italy's strategic situation in the summer of 1941 by insisting on sending an Italian division to support the Germans on the Eastern Front. In December 1941, following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Mussolini joined Hitler in gratuitously declaring war on the United States. Following Mussolini's overthrow in July 1943 and the Allied invasion of Italy, Hitler was forced to divert resources from the campaign against Russia inaugurated in June 1943. It is therefore arguable that Hitler's alliance with Mussolini ultimately contributed to his defeat in 1945.

The Axis was briefly revived following Mussolini's rescue by Skorzeny and the restoration of his regime in the form of the Salò Republic in September 1943. But in the words of Deakin, it was by now a “brutal friendship.” Mussolini's restored Fascist state was essentially a

puppet of Nazi Germany; Italy was under SS-Gestapo control, and a substantial part of northeastern Italy, Kustentland, was directly ruled by the German occupying authorities. The final humiliation was that in April 1945 the German authorities in Italy negotiated surrender to the advancing Allies behind Mussolini's back.

John Pollard

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; AUSTRIA; BLITZKRIEG; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; DOLL-FUSS, ENGELBERT; ETHIOPIA; FRANCE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE;

HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NETHERLANDS, THE; PEARL HARBOR; ROME; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SKORZENY, OTTO; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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BA'ATHISM: See BA'THISM

BADOGLIO, PIETRO (1871–1956)

Chief of staff of the Italian army, governor of Libya, and then Emilio de Bono's replacement to spearhead the invasion of Ethiopia in 1936. Born in the province of Asti, Badoglio pursued a military career and rose to the rank of general during World War I. His war record was not untarnished, as he carried some responsibility for the catastrophic defeat at Caporetto in 1917. Initially he opposed Mussolini, and the latter marginalized him by appointing him ambassador to Brazil. By 1924, however, he had reconciled himself to the regime and was appointed army chief of staff. After his success in capturing the Ethiopian capital, he was given the title of Duke of Addis Ababa. He resigned his army position in December 1940.

On 25 July 1943, King Victor Emmanuel III appointed Badoglio to replace Mussolini as head of government. Badoglio declared a state of martial law, had his former chief arrested, and opened peace negotiations with the Allies. The aggressive response to this by the German army obliged the new government to take

refuge first in Pescara and then in Brindisi and to avail itself of the protection of the Allies. Badoglio signed Italy's surrender papers on 23 September 1943, and his government declared war on Germany on 13 October. In June 1944 he was dismissed and replaced as head of government by Ivanoe Bonomi.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CAPORETTO; ETHIOPIA; ITALY; LIBYA; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; VICTOR EMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III; WORLD WAR II

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BAEUMLER, ALFRED (1887–1968)

German philosopher and art historian, one of the leading academic advocates of National Socialism, to which he remained loyal until its collapse in 1945. Baumler studied languages and art history in Munich from 1908, later applying himself with increasing en-

thusiasm to the study of Kant, upon whom he wrote his doctoral thesis in 1914. At the end of World War I, Baeumler gradually fell under the spell of the so-called conservative revolution; he read Thomas Mann and Oswald Spengler. He put his ideas into writing in *Metaphysik und Geschichte (Metaphysics and History)* in 1920. Baeumler was promoted to professor at the Technical University of Dresden in 1924. Around 1930 he drew nearer to National Socialism, confirming his commitment by joining the NSDAP following the elections in March 1933. Baeumler's lifelong veneration for Nietzsche was echoed in his National Socialist writings. He politicized and nationalized Nietzsche's "Will to Power," by reinterpreting it to apply to the political science of a Germanic hegemonic Reich. He was the most influential commentator on Nietzsche as a "proto-Nazi," presenting him as a prophet of National Socialism in spite of Nietzsche's open rejection of anti-Semitism and avowed distaste for nationalism.

In 1933, Baeumler was appointed to the newly created chair of political pedagogy at the University of Berlin. In his inaugural address he called for the burning of books considered antithetical to the Nazi philosophy, and that actually took place on the same day all over Germany. Baeumler's Germanism was constitutive for his thinking: its features were "honor" as the highest value, the heroic affirmation of "life" as a struggle, the Fuehrer principle, and the "instinct" of the "Nordic" man in opposition to rationalism. Baeumler's anti-Semitism was closely connected with his anticomunism. In his essay "The Jew in German Intellectual History: Karl Marx" (1944), Baeumler arrived at the conclusion that "the Jew" is merely parasitic and not capable of real intellectual productivity. Baeumler's concept of race was based upon his assumption that the "Germanic race" in its efforts toward superiority was subject only to a general "rule of life." At the same time it must be kept "pure" of foreign elements. After the war Baeumler was interned in camps for three years. In his hearing in front of the Denazification Committee, Baeumler was initially classified as "tainted," but after an appeal he was later reclassified as "untainted" and thereby acquitted.

Susanne Poci

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CIVILIZATION; DENAZIFICATION; GERMANIC RELIGION, THE; GERMANNES; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; LEADER PRINCIPLE, THE; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SPENGLER, OSWALD; UNIVERSITIES; VITALISM; *VOLK*; *VÖLKISCH*

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BALBO, ITALO (1896–1940)

One of the founders of *squadrisimo*. After taking part in World War I as an officer, Balbo helped to lead the March on Rome as a "quadrumvir." In 1929 he became minister of aviation. A passionate flyer, in 1931 and 1933 he organized two transatlantic flights from Europe to Brazil and the United States. Thanks to these adventures he became the most popular Fascist leader in Italy and the world after Mussolini. In 1934 he went to Libya as governor general, demonstrating great organizational capacities in that office. He unsuccessfully opposed the anti-Semitic legislation of 1938 and the military alliance with Germany. He died on 28 June 1940, a few days after Italy's entry into the war: in the course of a reconnaissance flight his plane was shot down by Italian antiaircraft forces by mistake.

Alessandro Campi (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LIBYA; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; QUADRUMVIRS, THE; *SQUADRISMO*; WORLD WAR I

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BALILLA: See YOUTH MOVEMENTS (ITALY)

BANKS, THE

It is clear that the collapse of the banking system in Central Europe in 1931 had a catalytic effect on the growth of fascism. Within two years Hitler was in power in Germany, and in Austria, with the demise of Credit Anstalt, foreign investment ceased; Dollfuss became chancellor in 1932, and the drift toward “Austro-fascism” had begun. We can see the same pattern in Italy. Banks such as Credito Italiano, Banca Commerciale, and the Bank of Italy suffered as part of the post-1918 economic malaise; they carried the can as firms went bust and repayment schedules went out of the window. When Mussolini arrived in power he was quick to throw a lifeline to key organizations, most famously Banca Italiana di Sconto and the (Catholic) Banco di Roma. That became the fascists’ policy across the board—propping up down-on-their-luck financial institutions.

In the same period, it is apparent that Hitler in particular saw bankers, banks, and banking as part of a multilayered “antinational conspiracy.” As early as April 1921, he attributed the desperate state of Germany’s economy to those who had profited by her collapse, noting that “Banks and Stock Exchanges are more flourishing than ever before.”

When we assess the reality of fascism in power, we must conclude that the banking sector was subject to enormous control. This was not socialist “nationalization” or “collectivization” but simply control. Hitler was keen to emphasize the distinction here. In a letter to Herman Rauschnig, he declared: “Let them [those on the left] own land or factories as much as they please. The decisive factor is that the State, through the Party, is supreme over them regardless of whether they are owners or workers. All that is unessential; our [national] socialism goes far deeper. It establishes a relationship of the individual to the State, the national community. Why need we trouble to socialize banks and factories? We socialize human beings.” In Italy private banks were taken over and heavily regulated. In 1931 the Italian Fascist regime established the Istituto Mobiliare to control and manage credit; later on, the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI) acquired all shares previously held by banks in industrial, agricultural, and real estate enterprises. And it was the IRI’s task to take on the work of the formerly private banks in fostering industrial development. In

this way the banking system evolved and survived, and by 1939 the IRI controlled the key companies in the key sectors: steel, shipping, construction, and communications. It could be argued plausibly that Mussolini’s dealings with the banking sector were quite successful.

There is also a sense in which the banks and key individuals within the banking sector in certain countries became involved in the fascist “project”—perhaps even as “silent partners.” Mussolini surrounded himself with financiers and bankers, including Count Giuseppe Volpi, a man who emerged as one of the most prominent finance ministers of the Fascist era. We also know that Deutsche Bank benefited considerably, in a financial sense, from Nazi patronage. That said, we must also note that in countries like Norway, which was invaded by the Germans and then became subject to Nazi diktats, the national bank was shorn of all its assets by Hitler’s agents.

The relationship between fascism and the banking sector did not end with the end of the fascist era. The postwar years have been littered with unsavory scandals in which specific financial institutions have been accused of inappropriate links with fascist governments. In 1999, for example, a French government commission, investigating the seizure of Jewish bank accounts during World War II, stated that five U.S. banks—Chase Manhattan, J.P. Morgan, Guaranty Trust Co. of New York, Bank of the City of New York, and American Express—had taken part. It stated that their Paris branches had handed over to the Nazi occupiers about one hundred such accounts. At the time this occurred, the United States was not at war with Germany, and the U.S. banks could have behaved differently. Moreover, the Nazis stashed millions of U.S. dollars’ worth of assets, gold, and bonds belonging to Europe’s Jews in Swiss bank accounts during the war. Reportedly, 76 percent of Nazi gold transactions went through Switzerland and the volume of trade between Swiss private banks and wartime Germany was very substantial. Swiss commercial banks bought \$61.2 million worth of gold during the Nazi era, the value of which (at rates applying in the late 1990s) would be more than \$700 million. The Swiss National Bank, SNB, acquired \$389.2 million, worth more than \$4 billion at today’s prices. The SNB had previously admitted to buying 1.2 billion Swiss francs’ worth of gold. The Bergier commission accused the Nazis of stealing \$146 million in gold from Holocaust victims, including at least \$2.5 million seized by the SS from inmates of Auschwitz and other death camps in Eastern Europe.

And as a postscript, we should note the fact that in July 2004, Barclays Bank shut down various accounts held by the British National Party. Reuters stated: “Barclays is closing accounts held by the far-right BNP after the BBC filmed party members saying they had assaulted Muslims.”

P J Davies

See Also: AUSCHWITZ; AUSTRIA; AUSTROFASCISM; AUTARKY; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; ECONOMICS; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINANCE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INDUSTRY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; RAUSCHNING, HERMANN; SS, THE; STATE, THE; SWITZERLAND; WALL STREET CRASH, THE

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BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR (ca. 1123–1190)

One of the historical models whose example was prized by Hitler, who used his name as a codeword for the launch of his Russian campaign in 1941—Operation Barbarossa. Considered one of the greatest German monarchs, Frederick engaged in an ongoing struggle with the papacy to assert his rights as emperor on the throne of Charlemagne. He died while on Crusade in Cilicia, but legend had it that he had actually gone to the east in search of the roots of his tribe and of the wonder-working relic known as the grail, a theme taken up by Richard Wagner in his writings. It was said that one day he would return to revive Germany's greatness.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

BARBAROSSA, OPERATION

Hitler's code name for his invasion of the Soviet Union, launched on 22 June 1941. It was the greatest military conflict of the modern era and the greatest land invasion in the history of modern warfare. It was also one of the greatest betrayals of history, since Stalin had obviously believed that Hitler's commitment to the Hitler-Stalin Pact was genuine. Placed under the aegis of the great German medieval emperor Frederick Barbarossa, it was intended to signal Hitler's determination to assert German imperium over Slavdom. It was also meant to demonstrate the superiority of the Germans, members of the master race, over the Slavs, considered in Nazi racial theory to be *Untermenschen*—“subhumans.” Special orders were given as to the treatment of captured Russians and Russian civilians, for whom the normal rules of war were not to apply.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; *UNTERMENSCHEN*; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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BARBIE, KLAUS (1913–1991)

Notorious as the “Butcher of Lyons” for his brutal “cleansing” of Lyons during the German occupation and for his belated trial in Lyons in the late 1980s (which made him the focus of intense news media interest), Barbie was born in Bad Godesberg on the Rhine, the son of two Catholic schoolteachers. In 1925 the family moved to Trier. He developed a particular hatred for the French because he believed that his fa-

ther's death (in 1933) had resulted from a war wound received at the Battle of Verdun. In 1935 he joined the SD, and in 1937 he was assigned, along with his unit, the task of "cleansing" Berlin of its population of Jews, homosexuals, and "undesirables." In April 1940 he became a second lieutenant in the SS. He subsequently earned a reputation for extreme brutality, even by SS standards, in the "purging" of Amsterdam's Jewish population. Transferred to Lyons to carry out a similar task in 1943, Barbie deported huge numbers of Jews to the death camps and had many French civilians thought to be complicit with the Resistance put to death. Among those he executed was the French Resistance hero Jean Moulin, and his achievement in dealing with Moulin resulted in an award from Hitler himself. After the war, Barbie was taken under the wing of the U.S. Counterintelligence Corps and enabled to escape to Latin America. He was sentenced to death in absentia by a French court but, although identified under his alias in Bolivia in 1971, he was not extradited to France until 1983. In 1987 he was given a life sentence, and he died in prison in 1991.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ASOCIALS; BOLIVIA; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FRANCE; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; ODESSA; SD, THE; SS, THE

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BARDECHE, MAURICE (1909–1998)

Although only a minor figure as a French prewar fascist, contributing from 1938 to the fascist newspaper *Je Suis Partout*, Bardèche (brother-in-law of Robert Brasillach) was prominent as a postwar French neofascist. He wrote a series of key texts aimed at legitimating prewar fascism (notably *Lettre à François Mauriac*, 1947) and Holocaust denial (*Nuremberg ou la Terre promise*, 1948), and promoting neofascism (*Qu'est-ce que le fascisme?*, 1961)—the first time that a member of the French far Right had dared proclaim himself explicitly fascist. He also promoted the work of other neofascists through management of the publishing house Les Sept Couleurs and his direction of the journal *Défense de*

l'Occident from its foundation in 1952 until December 1982. He co-founded the Mouvement Social Européen (European Social Movement) in 1951 with Mosley, Priester, and Engdahl, serving as its vice president; and he was involved in the Comité national français (French National Committee) with René Binet.

Steve Bastow

See Also: BRASILLACH, ROBERT; FRANCE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; POSTWAR FASCISM; SWEDEN

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BARMEN DECLARATION, THE; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE

BARRES, AUGUSTE MAURICE (1862–1923)

French writer, journalist, and politician whose work is seen by some commentators as producing an ideological fusion of nationalism and socialism that fed into the development of fascist ideology. Barrès's family had to flee from Prussian troops during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871, and this inspired in him a desire for revenge over Germany and a love for his native Lorraine. Educated in the law faculty at Nancy from 1880, he moved to Paris in 1882, where he became known as a symbolist and a decadent. In 1888 he published the first volume of his trilogy *Le culte du moi*, articulating an extreme individualism in which the self is the only reality. Boulangism, however, made him aware of the realities of the wider national community. Barrès successfully stood for parliament on 22 September 1889 in Nancy on a left boulangist platform in which anti-Semitism was used as the ideological nodal point unifying elements of socialism and nationalism (though he failed to get re-elected in 1893). Over the next few years he developed his doctrine of *la terre et les morts*, in which he argued

that the individual “I” is supported and fed by society: “I have been an individualist. . . . I have preached the development of the personality by a certain discipline of internal meditation and analysis. Having for a long time looked deeply into the idea of the ‘Me’ with the sole method of poets and novelists, by internal observation, I descended . . . to find at the bottom, and for support, the collectivity” (cited in Girardet 1983, 185–186). This identification of the “me” with the nation leads to an emphasis on rootedness, as revealed in his novel *Les déracinés*, published in 1897 as the first novel in a new trilogy, the *Roman de l’Energie nationale*.

In 1889, Barrès was a founding member of the Ligue de la Patrie Française (League for the French Fatherland), serving on its executive committee from 1899 to 1901. In May 1898 he failed to be elected in Nancy, this time on the list of a National Socialist Republican Committee. He was finally re-elected MP in 1906, in Paris, but only as a consequence of having abandoned the anti-Dreyfusards. He remained in parliament until 1923, growing progressively more conservative and abandoning his antiparliamentarism.

The importance of Barrès’s thought lies in the claim that it was an intellectual precursor of fascism. Sternhell, for example, argues that in Barrès’s thought could be seen a break with traditional conservatism, announcing a new discourse of the Right that prefigured the rise of fascism. Barrès, he claims, “waged a Nietzschean struggle against the French Enlightenment, Cartesian rationalism, the Kantian categorical imperative, the rights of man, liberal democracy, the idea of progress, and democratic education,” fusing this with a historical, cultural, and racial determinism completely foreign to Nietzsche.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM;

BOULANGISM; CONSERVATISM; DEMOCRACY; DREYFUS CASE, THE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FRANCE; INDIVIDUALISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; NATIONALISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROGRESS; PROTOFASCISM; RATIONALISM; ROOTLESSNESS; SOCIALISM; TRADITION

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BARTH, KARL: See THEOLOGY

BATAILLE, GEORGES (1897–1962)

Author of *The Psychological Structure of Fascism*, French avant-garde intellectual of the interwar and postwar periods whose work on transgression in a number of domains (economics, philosophy, eroticism) has been very influential on French theory. Bataille was the co-founder in 1935, with André Breton, of the antifascist group Contre-Attaque (Counter-attack). His attempt to use this group to counter fascism with equal force, organizing a “parallel mobilization” that would liberate rather than subjugate the masses and highlight “the anachronistic character of classical proletarian movements” (Richman 1982, 65), led to accusations that Bataille himself had fascistic tendencies. Bataille also co-founded a secret society, the Acéphale Group, whose journal of the same name published a special edition in January 1937 on “Nietzsche and the Fascists,” including an article by Bataille of the same title.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; FRANCE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH

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BA'THISM

Secular radical nationalist ideology developed in the 1940s by Western-educated Syrian educators who

sought, like earlier European fascists and various other types of revolutionary nationalists, to conjoin diverse currents of nationalism and socialism and thereby forge a new type of revolutionary movement. Elements of Ba'thist doctrine, which was inspired in certain respects by both fascist and traditional socialist conceptions, subsequently undergirded the "official" ideologies of dictatorial regimes established by reformist military officers in both Syria and Iraq.

The principal creator of Ba'thist ideology was the Syrian Michel 'Aflaq (1910–1989), who was born into a Greek Orthodox family in Damascus. After studying history at the Sorbonne between 1928 and 1932, he returned home and became a teacher. In the spring of 1934, a group of Arab nationalist and Marxist-oriented writers, journalists, and teachers from Syria and Lebanon—including 'Aflaq, future Ba'th Party cofounder Salah al-Din al-Bitar (1912–1980), and several disillusioned former Lebanese communists—held a meeting in the Lebanese town of Zahla to discuss common concerns. The result was the issuance of a statement entitled "In the Path of Arab Unity," which promoted the unification of the "Arab Fatherland"—that is, "the entire area between the Taurus and the Sahara and the Atlantic and the Arab [Persian] Gulf"—under a single party on the basis of language, culture, history, customs, and common interests, a scheme that was later adopted by the Ba'th. In 1935 these same activists created a short-lived journal called *al-Tali'a* (*The Vanguard*), which indicated that they saw themselves as the vanguard of this greater Arab nation and the spokesmen for a new generation that had emerged to educate and defend "the popular masses." It was from this milieu, where "rightist" and "leftist" activists interacted (in a manner reminiscent of the proto-fascist *Cercle Proudhon* in pre-World War I France), that vaguely socialist ideas were grafted onto pan-Arab nationalism.

In 1943, having already inspired and gathered together a group of pupils and European-educated nationalists, 'Aflaq and Bitar established a small vanguard organization known as al-Ba'th al-'Arabi (Arab Rebirth). This group later merged with two other organizations, former Parisian philosophy student Zaki al-Arsuzi's *al-Ihya' al-'Arabi* (Arab Revival) group in 1947, and Akram al-Hawrani's pro-peasant *Hizb al-Ishtiraki al-'Arabi* (Arab Socialist Party) in 1953, after which the combined group was known as the *Hizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabi al-Ishtiraki* (Socialist Arab Rebirth Party). Organizationally, the new formation fell into the category of what French sociologist Maurice Duverger has referred to as a "cell party." This type of party, which is also characteristic of communism and fascism, is particu-

larly well suited to clandestine and covert activities, and is essentially a pyramidal, centralized structure in which orders are transmitted from above down to the smallest organizational components. At the top of the Ba'th Party pyramid was a secretary general ('Aflaq himself between 1943 and 1965) and an executive body known as the National Command, whose members were elected by regional leaders during a biannual national convention. Below that were regional commands that represented individual countries in which the party had established its main branches (Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, and "Palestine") and then, in descending order, branches, divisions, companies, and three- to seven-person geographical, sectoral, and recruiting cells. Perhaps not surprisingly, the party operated on the Leninist principle of "democratic centralism," whereby internal debate and criticism were permitted only until a decision was reached, after which disagreement was no longer tolerated. 'Aflaq functioned both as a movement theorist who operated above the mundane political fray and as a mediator between the party's right- and left-wing factions, whereas Bitar was a key movement organizer and tactician who later held several government posts in Syria.

It is difficult to provide a concise summary of Ba'thist ideology, since 'Aflaq was an exhortatory, passionate, optimistic, and quasi-mystical writer who emphasized youthful energy and self-sacrifice, as opposed to a dry, systematic thinker. The official slogan of the Ba'th Party was "Unity, Freedom, and Socialism," which referred, respectively, to pan-Arab nationalism, independence from foreign political and psychological control, and vague notions of social justice. 'Aflaq's conceptions of nationalism were essentially derived from those of Sati' al-Husri (1882–1968), who had adapted and applied nineteenth-century German romantic, antirationalist, and illiberal nationalist ideas, with their focus on the unique characteristics of particular historically formed ethnocultural groups, to the Arabs. In a context marked by the imposition of British and French colonial control over Arab territories, it is not surprising that 'Aflaq carried these Germanophile sentiments even further. For him, it was above all necessary to revive the underlying soul of the great "Arab nation," whose essence was to be tapped by the party and personally embodied in all of its members, and in the process to supplant the corrupt, backward-looking elites in the Arab world. He also promoted the "structural transformation" (*inqilab*) of Arab society. However, his concept of "Arab socialism," like "German" socialism or the variants of socialism promoted by fascist theorists, was not only subor-

minated to nationalism in practice but also antithetical to Marxism. Far from being an advocate of class struggle, 'Aflaq insisted that all members of the Arab nation needed to work together harmoniously. As he put it, Arabs should never "lose" their nationalism or "confuse it with the felonious notion of class interests." Thus, although the Ba'th Party criticized the exploitation of the masses by "colonialists" and traditional elites, it saw itself as a corporatist-style arbitrator between social classes rather than as the champion of only one class. Likewise, although he viewed Islam as an expression of Arab genius, his overriding concern for national unity also turned 'Aflaq, who was himself a member of a religious minority in Muslim Syria, into a bitter critic of religious sectarianism.

'Aflaq and his civilian colleagues later lost effective political control of the movement they had created. During the 1960s, Ba'th-supported coups in Syria and Iraq temporarily brought more left-leaning elements of the party to the fore, whether rural officers from its Syrian Military Committee or quasi-Marxist "neo-Ba'thist" Iraqi civilians. After a long process of factional infighting, Hafiz al-Asad and Saddam Husayn established reform-minded, anti-Western militarized dictatorships that, in part because of their establishment of close Cold War-era relations with the Soviet Union, adopted certain Soviet organizational features. Yet both regimes brutally suppressed domestic communists along with proto-democrats, Islamists, and other opposition groups; their leaders—who developed considerable hostility toward one another—created personality cults and portrayed themselves as nationalist champions of the entire Arab world.

The above summary suggests that Ba'thism may have been a Middle Eastern variant of fascism, even though 'Aflaq and other Ba'th leaders criticized particular fascist ideas and practices. The Ba'th movement undoubtedly shared certain characteristic features of European fascism—the attempt to synthesize radical, illiberal nationalism and non-Marxist socialism, a romantic, mythopoetic, and elitist "revolutionary" vision, the desire both to create a "new man" and to restore past greatness, a centralized authoritarian party divided into "right-wing" and "left-wing" factions, and so forth; several close associates later admitted that 'Aflaq had been directly inspired by certain fascist and Nazi theorists.

Still another Middle Eastern movement with an apparent fascist character was the Ba'th Party's Syrian rival, the *Hizb al-Qawmi al-Ijtima'i al-Suri* (SSNP: Syrian Social Nationalist Party) of Antun Sa'ada (1904–1949), which openly praised European fascism,

established an armed party militia, adopted a racialized conception of the nation, and promoted the forcible creation of "Greater Syria," a more limited and parochial nationalist notion. In that sense the SSNP seems to have been more typical of interwar fascist movements, whereas Ba'thism (like Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir's *Harakat al-Dubbat al-Ahrar* [Free Officers' Movement] in Egypt), with its less sectarian pan-Arab agenda, is arguably more akin to the pan-European ("Nation Europa") notions promoted by many postwar neofascist movements. (Indeed, neofascist activists in Europe have periodically offered support, and not only rhetorically, to their "comrades" in the Ba'th movement.)

Jeffrey M. Bale

See Also: *CERCLE PROUDHON, THE; COLD WAR, THE; CORPORATISM; ELITE THEORY; HUSSEIN, SADDAM; IRAQ; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXISM; MIDDLE EAST, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; PALESTINE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; PHALANGE; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROTOFASCISM; QADHAFI, MU'AMMAR; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOCIALISM*

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BATTLE OF BRITAIN, THE

Legendary air combat over southern England that marked Hitler's first major setback in the military campaign he had opened on 1 September 1939 with his assault on Poland. Hitler had been convinced by Goer-

ing, chief of the Luftwaffe, that it would be able to crush the RAF as an essential preliminary to a planned invasion of Britain (Operation Sealion). The Battle of Britain, opened on 13 August 1940, was essentially over by 15 September, in that the Luftwaffe had suffered heavy losses, and from that point the attacks on British targets began to decrease. Their tireless and sleepless devotion to duty, their courage, and their supposed insouciance—together with the fighting qualities of the *Spitfire* planes they flew—have made the fighter pilots who fought this campaign into semimythical embodiments of heroic British resistance to the all-conquering Goliath of the Nazi war machine. That war machine had successfully crushed the resistance of countries from Poland to France over the prior twelve months.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; GOERING, HERMANN; LUFTWAFFE, THE; WORLD WAR II

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BAYREUTH

A place of pilgrimage for many Nazis—not least Hitler himself—as the home of Richard Wagner and location of the Bayreuth Festivals. After Wagner's death the Bayreuth Festivals were carried on by his widow, Cosima Wagner (1837–1930), until 1906, and they continued to be associated with a clear German National tendency that excluded Jewry. As Wagner's son-in-law and one of his most fervent admirers, Houston Stewart Chamberlain became another point of ideological attractiveness for the Nazi movement with his theory that history is a struggle between races. Hitler's visit to Chamberlain in 1923 marked the beginning of a very close relationship between Hitler and the House of Wagner, especially with Winifred Wagner. In 1930, Winifred Wagner, a convinced Nazi who had joined the NSDAP in 1926, took over the management of the festivals, and Hitler frequently visited the Wagner family, the children calling him “uncle Wolf.” Not surprisingly, then, the Bayreuth Festival got financial support from the NS regime after 1933 and changed its fre-

quency from biennial to annual performances. Each year Hitler and other prominent Nazi leaders went to the festival and let themselves be seen with the Wagner family. During the war the festivals gained further importance as soldiers and workers from armament factories were brought along by the thousands in order to boost their morale.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); HITLER, ADOLF; MUSIC (GERMANY); NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAGNER, WINIFRED

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BELGIUM

Fascism in Belgium had some specific characteristics, because it developed along the lines of the cleavage between the (Dutch-speaking) Flemings and the (French-speaking) Walloons. As with several other countries, the roots of the diverse fascist movements in Belgium are situated in World War I. As a consequence of that war, certain social groups became frustrated. The earliest fascist organizations were mainly shaped by French-speaking, conservative and Catholic former soldiers who turned against a broadening Belgian democracy after the introduction of universal suffrage (1919) and the subsequent electoral success of the socialists and the Christian Democrats. They recruited in the right wing of the Catholic Party. The most important organization was the Légion Nationale (National Legion) under the direction of Paul Hoornaert, with some 7,000 followers in the 1930s.

Another frustrated social group was the radical Flemish movement that stood for the recognition of Dutch as the official language of the Flemings. During the war this radical wing became a Flemish Nationalist movement that demanded Flemish independence. Some radicals collaborated with the German occupation and were punished after World War I for high treason. After the war, Flemish nationalism depended on

democracy to enlarge its following. In 1931, Joris Van Severen founded the *Verbond van Dietse Nationaal Solidaristen* (Verdinaso; League of Pan-Netherlandic Solidarists). Verdinaso was primarily a militia ideologically trained as a crack regiment and with the purpose of organizing a coup. Verdinaso did not take part in the elections. At first the group aimed at the destruction of the Belgian state and wanted to link up Flanders with The Netherlands to form a unified territory they proposed to call Dietsland. When the Belgian government issued a prohibition on militias, Verdinaso became a Belgian New Order movement that worked for the fusion of Belgium, The Netherlands, and parts of northern France. Verdinaso had some 5,000 members, living mainly in Flanders, but also a few hundred inhabitants of the Walloon provinces and The Netherlands. In 1933 the *Vlaams Nationaal Verbond* (Flemish National League; VNV), under the direction of Staf De Clercq, was founded. The VNV had the same objects in view as Verdinaso in its early anti-Belgian phase, but in a more moderate way. The party took part in the elections and had a moderate wing that agitated for an independent form of authoritarian government in Flanders. In 1936 this party got 13.6 percent of the Flemish votes (= 7.1 percent in Belgium).

The revelation of the 1936 elections was Léon Degrelle and his Rex Party, which managed to get 11.5 percent of the Belgian votes (three-quarters from French-speaking Belgium). Degrelle was a young Catholic politician who left the Catholic Party out of disagreement with its moderate attitude. In 1935 he founded Rex, which tried to attract discontented groups like Catholic conservatives, former soldiers, shopkeepers, and the unemployed. Degrelle had a flamboyant personality with a talent for public appearances, but he overestimated his political power. In an attempt to destabilize the Belgian regime, he made a compromise with the far-right winner in Flanders, the VNV. As a consequence of that agreement, he lost a part of his rank and file who considered the VNV to be a party of traitors to the state. Moreover, the head of the Catholic Church rebuffed Degrelle at the insistence of the Catholic Party leadership, and Rex began to disintegrate. In 1939, it gained only 4.4 percent of the votes. The remaining membership radicalized under the impulse of Degrelle to become a more fascist party. Degrelle tried to contact foreign fascist organizations, including in Germany. That was one of the reasons why cooperation with the extremely patriotic *Légion Nationale* proved impossible.

On the eve of World War II the fascist movements in French-speaking Belgium were divided and alien-

ated. They were also weak, because they had chosen the Belgian king as a symbolic leader above the party system. King Leopold III had some authoritarian sympathies, but he could not be tempted to an unconstitutional adventure and did not respond to agitation by Rex. The anti-Belgian Flemish Nationalist VNV was less hindered by patriotic ambiguities and divisions and managed to maintain its strength. In 1939, the party got 15 percent of the votes in Flanders. During the election contest the traditional parties treated the VNV as a fascist fifth column of Nazi Germany. That did not stop the Flemish wing of the Catholic Party from making policy contracts with the VNV on a local level, so that the VNV did not become isolated from the broad Flemish-minded Catholic movement of the Right. Nevertheless VNV leader De Clercq was aware of the fact that he could not realize his totalitarian and anti-Belgian ambitions in a democratic way. He counted on a new European war and made contacts with Nazi Germany with the intention of making political capital out of the coming conflict. He declared to the German military security agents (*Abwehr*) that he had a VNV-section in the Belgian army at his disposal that would follow his orders, even at the risk of the accusation of high treason. Belgian state security was aware of these contacts and arrested some VNV members and some politicians who were considered dangerous to the state, such as Van Severen and Degrelle. De Clercq remained a free man, but he was not able to carry out his strategy because of the actions of Belgian state security and the sudden surrender of Belgium—the Belgian army capitulated after eighteen days on 28 May 1940. Nevertheless, De Clercq had a meeting with the German military governor on 3 June and promised the collaboration of his party and its 30,000 active members.

De Clercq stole a march upon his more moderate supporters, who saw that the party-militants were ready and able to collaborate. The VNV cherished many ambitions. Although the military administration was not allowed to make decisions concerning the future of Belgium, Hitler gave orders that the “Germanic” Flemings should be favored over the “Latin” Walloons. Probably the memory of Flemish Nationalist collaboration during World War I influenced the decision. Some Flemish collaborators who had immigrated to Germany after World War I had close ties with Nazi organizations. That was why the VNV became the privileged partner of the new rulers. The conditional character of this collaboration became clear when the VNV was no longer permitted to propagate its pan-Netherlandic goal. An “independent”

Flanders in a German empire was the most they could aspire to. That did not hinder De Clercq from entrusting Hitler with his own destiny, with the future of his party, and with the future of Flanders. German National Socialist ideology (including anti-Semitism) became official VNV party ideology. The German military authority did not want the VNV to change its name into the Flemish National Socialist Party because it wanted to act carefully regarding the Belgian establishment—King Leopold III (who remained in the occupied country), the Church, the magistrates, the industrial groups, and of course the French-speaking Belgians. The idea of the VNV leader that the Walloon provinces stood for *Lebensraum* for Flanders, and that the ethnic Walloons could be deported to France, was rejected.

Léon Degrelle returned to Belgium after his imprisonment in France with the ambition of regaining his former status. His position was not very favorable, though, both because of Hitler's instruction concerning the Walloons and because he had acquired the reputation of being a political charlatan. In May 1941 the military authority forced Degrelle to fuse the Rex divisions in Flanders with the VNV. Verdinaso (which became leaderless after the death of its leader in French imprisonment) was compelled to do the same. That was why De Clercq could take the leadership of the unified VNV and cherish the hope that this would be the immediate precedent for a Flemish one-party state. He immediately discovered that the rulers in Berlin had other intentions. The VNV was opposed by a Pangerman movement that agitated for the unification of Flanders and Germany (with the support of the SS). At first this movement was called the Flemish SS; from 1941 on it became the Duits-Vlaamse Arbeidsgemeenschap (DeVlag) (German-Flemish Labor Community) under the direction of Gottlob Berger, right-hand man of SS leader Heinrich Himmler. The intense struggle between the VNV and the DeVlag/SS became obvious in things like the "contest" to recruit as many volunteers as possible on the German side in the war. Except on the nationalist level, there were no fundamental ideological differences between the two groups, though DeVlag took greater interest in typical National Socialist themes like anti-Semitism.

Soon Léon Degrelle realized that participation in the war effort was a way to get political attention. After the beginning of the German-Soviet war, he volunteered for the German army and formed a Walloon anti-Bolshevist division on the Eastern Front with a few hundred supporters. Degrelle distinguished himself as a soldier but remained a politician first and fore-

most. His experiences in Flanders had taught him that the SS was his most powerful ally. He succeeded in getting recognition for the Walloons as French-speaking "Germanics," which gave him the opportunity to integrate the Walloon Eastern Front soldiers into the Waffen-SS. Degrelle himself was decorated with the highest SS order and met Hitler in person, something that no other Belgian collaboration leaders managed to do. In fact, Degrelle became the leader of the Walloon annexationist Pangerman party, and Rex became a mere reservoir for Waffen-SS recruitment. In June 1944, Berlin acknowledged Degrelle as "Leader of the Walloon part of the nation," by the side of the leader of DeVlag, who became "Leader of the Flemish part of the nation"; the VNV was politically excluded. Following the usual Nazi policy, the most radical and servile followers gained the most. All this, however, was rendered meaningless by the fact that in September 1944, Belgium was liberated by Allied forces and the Belgian democratic state was restored. The supporters of the National Socialist occupation were convicted by military courts, but not one important political leader was executed.

Soon after the war the extreme-right tendency was able to reinstitute itself (in a version adjusted to the democratic context), because the Catholic Party (for electoral and political motives) pursued a weak policy with regard to the mainly Flemish nationalistic collaborators of the VNV. An undertow of postwar Flemish nationalism continued to defend the antidemocratic concepts of the prewar and wartime period. That is one of the explanations for the revival of extreme-right Flemish nationalism during the 1980s. In 2004, the extreme-right party Vlaams Blok got 24.1 percent of the Flemish vote.

Bruno De Wever

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERCQ, GUSTAVE ("STAF") DE; DEGRELLE, LEON; DIKSUIDE; FARMERS; GERMANY; HITLER ADOLF; HOORNAERT, PAUL; *LEBENSRAUM*; MAN, HENDRIK/HENRI DE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; PANGERMANISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REXISM; SEVEREN, GEORGES ("JORIS") VAN; SS, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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BENN, GOTTFRIED (1886–1956)

One of the most important German poets of the twentieth century, whose essayistic work revealed his anti-individualistic, antidemocratic, and antihumanitarian sentiments on historico-philosophical grounds. In 1933, as acting dean of the Section for Literature of the Prussian Academy of Arts, Benn demanded that the members of the academy sign a declaration of loyalty to the new National Socialist administration. Benn, an admirer of Marinetti, declared himself a supporter of the Fuehrer principle, calling for the “breeding” of a new “race” and for the putative synthesis of art and power in Italian Fascism. Even after he was declared to be “degenerate” in 1936, Benn understood his art as an appropriate supplement to National Socialist ideology. Benn justified his political misjudgments as based on his autonomous amoral concept of art in his 1950 autobiography *Doppelleben* (*Double Life*).

Susanne Pocai

See Also: ART; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; FUTURISM; INDIVIDUALISM; LEADER CULT, THE; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; VITALISM

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BENOIST, ALAIN DE (born 1943)

Leading postwar French extreme right-wing intellectual who is a graduate of the faculty of law and letters in the Sorbonne. De Benoist has made many journalistic and intellectual contributions to extreme-right publications under a variety of pseudonyms. He is best known, however, as one of the key figures in the French New Right movement GRECE. He was a co-founder of the main

tribune of GRECE, *Nouvelle Ecole*, in February/March 1968, becoming its chief editor in 1969; he also wrote editorials for the GRECE journal, *Eléments*, from 1963 (under the pseudonym of Robert de Herte), and from 1988 he edited the journal *Krisis*. De Benoist is also the author of a number of political and philosophical works. He has moved away from fascism in more recent years.

Steve Bastow

See Also: EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FRANCE; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; GRECE; POSTWAR FASCISM

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- . 2000b. “Interregnum or Endgame? The Radical Right in the ‘Post-fascist’ Era.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 5, no. 2: 163–178.

BERAN, RUDOLF (1887–1954)

Czech right-wing politician of the interwar period. During the first Czechoslovak Republic, Beran was an important figure in the Agrarian Party, which formed one of the pillars of the pluralistic system. Beran was one of the prominent members of the right-wing faction in the party, and in 1935 he was elected party leader. He favored cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Sudeten Germans and with Nazi Germany. In 1938, after the Munich Pact, Beran became party leader of the new right-wing Party of National Unification and prime minister of the authoritarian second Czechoslovak Republic. His administration pursued anti-Semitic and anti-Gypsy measures. After the Nazi occupation, in March 1939, Beran became for one month prime minister of the first government in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. He tried to defend a certain degree of Czech autonomy. In 1941 he was arrested by the Germans but was released in 1943. After the war he was sentenced to twenty years in prison, where he died in 1954.

Miroslav Mares

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; APPEASEMENT; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; NAZISM; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SLOVAKIA; SUDENLAND, THE; WORLD WAR II

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BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE

International sporting event that Hitler presented to the world as a showcase for the achievements and the glories of the Nazi regime. The eleventh Olympiad, held in Berlin in 1936, had actually been awarded in 1933 to the German capital, before Hitler's accession to power, and at first the Nazis denounced it as "a festival dominated by Jews." But Hitler did a volte-face and decided to use the Olympics as a public relations opportunity for his regime. There was a three-week moratorium on the anti-Semitic campaign, and Richard Strauss and Carl Orff were commissioned to compose music for the occasion, while artists worked on massive illustrative paintings and statues. For the first time a relay of runners carried the Olympic flame from Greece to Germany, and from the German border all the way to Berlin the roads were lined with children waving Nazi flags, creating, for the benefit of the press, a strong impression of a happy citizenry enthusiastic for the Nazi regime. The opening ceremony provided the opportunity for Hitler to parade with 40,000 SA men while a choir of 3,000 sang Nazi songs. Although shot-putter Hans Woelke won the first gold medal of the games for Germany, subsequently public attention and adulation shifted to the black U.S. sprinter Jesse Owens, who won four gold medals, somewhat tarnishing the luster of supposed Aryan superiority.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; ARYANISM; HITLER, ADOLF; MUSIC (GERMANY); NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; RACISM; SPORT



Although the Nazis invested a great deal in promoting the 1936 Berlin Olympics as a showcase for the regime and its ideology, superlative black American athlete Jesse Owens made their claims about "Aryan" superiority look ridiculous by his prowess. (Bettmann/Corbis)

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BHAGAVADGITA, THE

Title of Hindu Scripture meaning *The Song of the Lord*; Alfred Rosenberg, Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, Walter Wüst, and other SS intellectuals incorporated its metaphysics of battle and deed into their version of Nazism, which influenced Himmler and the SS. Indeed, Himmler de-

fended his lethal decisions and his detachment from their consequences with words spoken by Lord Krishna (*Krsna*) to the warrior Arjuna. To Nazis with this kind of interest, the *Bhagavadgita* conjoined the holy with the bellicose. Thus Hauer talks about *männertrotzige Kriege* (“wars of male defiance”) that, rather than obeying universalistic moral prescriptions, fuse mystic and warrior, making faith the ultimate sanction of war. The *Bhagavadgita* is a philosophical dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna on the occasion of a looming civil war that requires of the warrior that he kill people related to him. The warrior is faced with the conflict between his duty to fight for honor and empire and the guilt that he will inevitably incur because he must kill those of his own blood. Arjuna learns from Krishna that the conjunction of duty and guilt places the warrior’s deed beyond good and evil. Guilt is an inevitable accompaniment of many necessary human actions. “As is stated in the XVIII. Chapter of the *Bhagavadgita*: Everything done by the human being is afflicted with guilt (*sadosa*), like fire with smoke.”

Karla Poewe

See Also: ARYANISM; DECADENCE; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SS, THE; TIBET; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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BIANCHI, MICHELE: See FASCIST PARTY, THE

BIOLOGY: See EUGENICS; HEALTH; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM

BIRTH CONTROL: See DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; FAMILY, THE; RACIAL DOC-

TRINE; SEXUALITY; SOCIAL DARWINISM

BLACK HUNDREDS, THE: See ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; RUSSIA; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH

BLACK METAL

Musical genre favored by young neo-Nazis today, though it is less popular than “White Noise.” Black Metal is characterized by its “minimalist form, fast guitar riffs, hammering drums and unintelligible vocals” (Cayton 1999). Descended from death metal, it is overtly racist and usually explicitly National Socialist in its politics, with bands present in most European countries and North America; the most notable examples are Absurd (Germany), Burzum (Poland), Blood Axis (United States), and Kristalnacht (France). Some of those associated with Black Metal bands have been convicted of church-burning, violence, and murder.

John Pollard

See Also: NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; ROCK MUSIC; SKINHEAD FASCISM; WHITE NOISE

Reference

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BLACKSHIRTS: See GREAT BRITAIN; ITALY; SQUADRISMO

BLANCHOT, MAURICE (1907–2003)

Celebrated French journalist and literary critic and forebear of poststructuralism who was also a (dissident) sympathizer with Maurras; in the 1930s he attacked republicanism and the Rights of Man and contributed to many far-right reviews. In March 1937 he was one of a

far-right group who were arrested for incitement to murder—the targets having been left-wing prime minister Léon Blum and the communist Maurice Thorez. It has been said that Blanchot incarnated the “fascist spirit” of the era. Under the Vichy regime he wrote articles for the Petainist *Journal des débats* and lent his support to *Jeune France*, a Vichy cultural organization.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; VICHY

Reference

Wolin, Richard. 2004. *The Seduction of Unreason: The Intellectual Romance with Fascism from Nietzsche to Postmodernism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

BLITZKRIEG

A completely new concept of military attack whose stunning power at the start of World War II seemed to symbolize the merciless unstopability of the Nazi advance, their advanced military technology, and their superlative strategic thinking. Abandoning the trench warfare of the previous global conflict, the Blitzkrieg tactic involved destroying the enemy air force while it was still on the ground by assault from the air, bombing enemy transports, lines of communication, and troop concentrations, while light mechanized forces advanced with the heavier tanks in the rear. The term has since become synonymous with the idea of sustained, all-out, brutally aggressive attack.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LUFTWAFFE, THE; TECHNOLOGY; WORLD WAR II

Reference

Delaney, J. 1996. *The Blitzkrieg Campaigns: Germany's "Lightning War" Strategy in Action*. London: Arms and Armour.

BLOOD

A term that had an important status in Nazi ideology and that drew on a long tradition of racial thinking,

particularly in the Germanic and Anglo-Saxon worlds. Purity of blood was associated with racial vigor and race purity. The interplay between the rapidly developing science of serology and blood as myth were complex. In the nineteenth century, ideas of purity of blood and the “mixing” of bloods crossed physiological with cultural thinking. Gobineau spoke of blood in a cultural and linguistic sense. The physiological sciences assisted in racial classification. Blood groups were linked to racial types. This classification was pioneered by a Polish physiologist, Ludwik Hirsfeld, in Salonika in 1917. The linkage of ethnicity and blood group gave rise to a new methodology in anthropology, and from the 1920s large-scale surveys of blood groups were carried out. Julius Bernstein, a mathematician at Goettingen, made important contributions to the statistics of blood groups.

The German radical Right became increasingly interested in blood group studies and lobbied to exclude Jewish scientists from them. The right-wing publisher Julius Lehmann published a journal, the *Zeitschrift für Rassenphysiologie*, in 1928 as part of the endeavor to promote racial surveys by means of blood group study. The Nazi activist Walther Darré in 1929 popularized the ideology of *Blut und Boden*—“blood and soil”—as a program for rejuvenating the German peasantry and attracting rural support for the NSDAP. The Nuremberg Laws of 1935 were phrased in terms of blood purity. These sought to exclude marriage and all forms of sexual and social contact between Germans and Jews. Nazi race theorists—notably Lothar Tirla in Nuremberg—believed that sexual intercourse of a Jew with a German corrupted both the German and their offspring. These concerns with racial purity reached a culmination with the Nazi measures of racial screening in the occupied East. Racial experts attempted to identify residual Germanic elements among the Slavs. Not only Jews but also Roma were defined by the Nazis as having inferior blood and as meriting total eradication. Other “races,” such as Slavs, were also defined as inferior and subjected to exterminatory measures. Medical expertise was essential to maintain the fitness of higher races by eliminating the mentally ill and the severely disabled, and preventing reproduction among carriers of inherited diseases.

Scientists saw serological studies as important in immunology. Experiments were made in concentration camps, injecting infected blood in hopes of producing immunity to typhus. Malaria studies in Germany and Italy gave much attention to parasites in the blood. During World War II blood group research developed for the purposes of transfusion. Auschwitz prisoners

were forced to give blood in immense quantities. The SS had blood groupings tattooed on their upper arm. The Kaiser Wilhelm Institutes undertook blood protein research in association with Mengele at Auschwitz. The extent to which the scientists analyzing the blood at the institutes were aware of its provenance remains a matter of conjecture and debate today.

Paul Weindling

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ; BLOOD AND SOIL; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GOBINEAU, COMTE JOSEPH ARTHUR DE; HEALTH; MEDICINE; MENGELE, JOSEF; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; RURALISM; SCIENCE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SS, THE; UNIVERSITIES; *UNTERMENSCHEN*

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BLOOD AND HONOR: See SKINHEAD FASCISM

**BLOOD AND SOIL
(BLUT UND BODEN)**

A fundamental element in the belief system of some Nazi ideologues who preached a return to a rural way of life and the maintenance of the purity of the “Nordic” or “Aryan” race, often found in association with the veneration of Germanic divinities and an anti-Christian and especially anti-Catholic stance. The point of departure for blood and soil ideology was a critical attitude toward industrialization, liberalism, materialism, social democracy, and democratic demands—indeed, toward much of modernity as such. Linked to this was a lament over a postulated general cultural decline resulting from such social developments. A return to a rural way of life was proposed as a means to social renewal. The rural way of life was to lead to the development of virtues and characteristics that had allegedly been lost through civilization. A supposedly higher “Nordic” or “Aryan” type of man was to be bred through selection. The reproduc-

tion of persons who did not correspond to the ideas of the representatives of the blood-and-soil ideology—such as individuals with physical or mental handicaps, the so-called asocials, homosexual men, persons of the Jewish faith and Jewish origins, Sinti and Roma, and others—was to be restricted as much as possible. After World War I the actual murder of members of this only vaguely defined circle of persons was increasingly on the agenda. A close association arose between the blood-and-soil ideology and Social Darwinistic, eugenicist, and anti-Semitic thinking. The idea of a “healthy” people emerging from the peasantry was closely bound up with the demand for a corporatist society. The “new aristocracy of blood and soil” (the title of a book by the National Socialist Rural Affairs Minister Walther Darré) was to form the leadership elite of the renewed state system, and it would be constantly augmented from the ranks of persons “steered in the rural struggle for existence.” Representatives of the blood-and-soil ideology in Germany often propagated expansionist goals. New space for rural settlements was to be created in Eastern and Southeastern Europe. The Slav populace was regarded as inferior, and there was a plan for its enslavement or expulsion.

Blood-and-soil ideology was by no means exclusive to Germany or to National Socialist groupings. Knut Hamsun, Norwegian novelist and Nobel Prize winner for literature, is one of the best-known representatives of a blood and soil ideology. Other renewal movements that were very far from Nazism also called for a return to nature and to the virtues associated with peasant life. What was distinctive about Nazi blood-and-soil ideologues was their emphasis on breeding and the idea of an “Aryan race” postulated as superior.

Although blood-and-soil ideology was part of the National Socialist program, the realization of its social goals—a corporative society, a “new nobility,” a return to peasant values—was not seriously pursued after the access to power of Hitler and the NSDAP, and the blood-and-soil ideologues around Darré were quite soon marginalized. However, their ideas were to some extent reflected in the work of the race and settlement office of the SS, which took an active part in the expulsion, expropriation, and settlement policies in the conquered territories of Eastern Europe. The war against Poland and the Soviet Union came under the premise of conquering living space in the East. The murder of the Eastern European Jews and the Polish elites and the mass deportation of Poles, Ukrainians, and other Eastern Europeans for forced labor to Germany were part of the desired ethnic “new order” in Europe, although, of course, the recruitment of forced laborers also had a

pragmatic motive at a time of acute labor shortage. The murder of the Jews, Slavs, Sinti, and Roma as declared enemies and subhumans and persons deemed “unworthy to live” can be seen as an implementation of blood-and-soil ideology, along with the pursuit of “research” in racial hygiene, but there was only a very limited implementation of the breeding idea.

Among the practical measures that resulted from the blood-and-soil ideology were the Law for the New Ordering of Peasant Property Relations of 12 May 1933. This contains the following statement: “The indissoluble connection of blood and soil is the essential presupposition for the healthy life of a people.” The Reich Ancestral Estate Law of 29 September 1933 limited succession to male descendants and forbade the division of the land of so-called “ancestral estates.”

In keeping with their general lack of interest in racial theories, the Italian Fascists were not receptive to blood-and-soil ideology, but they did have their own brand of ruralism and nostalgia for a “healthier” preindustrial lifestyle.

Michael Schäbitz (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARTAMAN LEAGUE, THE; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; BLOOD; CIVILIZATION; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; FORCED LABOR; HAMSUN, KNUT; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOMOSEXUALITY; *LEBENSRAUM*; LIBERALISM; MATERIALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; RURALISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SS, THE; *UNTERMENSCHEN*

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BLUT UND BODEN: See BLOOD AND SOIL

BODY, THE CULT OF THE

The model of the “new man” to whose emergence the fascist revolution was dedicated was not the knightly champion of the weak of Christian myth, or the polymath humanist of Renaissance fame, or the Confucian

wise man, or the Romantic poet, but the warrior. It was inevitable, therefore, that fascism planned to do everything it could to encourage the physical health and fitness of the people. Fascist youth movements in Italy and Germany encouraged their members to participate in sporting activities and to enjoy walking and hiking in the countryside. Mussolini himself was not above being photographed bare-chested and apparently participating in physical activity. This is no doubt one of the numerous instances where fascism picked up on contemporary trends, for walking and hiking had been growing in popularity since the end of the nineteenth century. In the German-speaking world in particular, there was also a cult of nudity in some circles. In fact, fascism put itself at the head of a contemporary cultural movement that saw clothing becoming increasingly less formal and constricting, especially for women. After World War I voluminous dresses gave way to knee-length skirts, and women began to reveal much more of their bodies at the beach (where they had previously gone into the sea voluminously clothed) and in sporting activities like tennis, where bulky clothing was obviously an impediment. Men likewise took to shorts for sporting activities like football. This was yet another area where fascism, far from being reactionary, was in fact at the forefront of modernity. The German university guide for 1936 showed a file of young men four abreast, stretching back far into the distance: they are all bare-chested and wearing only shorts and shoes. Admittedly this was the year of the Berlin Olympics, but it would have been unimaginable in pre-World War I days.

As a movement that prided itself in being “young” and representative of all the most progressive and forward-thinking trends of the day, fascism naturally profiled young and beautiful bodies in its propaganda. That applied not just to young men but also to young girls. Fascists were out to create a “new order,” and that required all the physical and mental energy and fitness that only the young possessed. In the case of Nazism there was an additional reason for the cult of the body, for Nazi ideologues propagated the notion of Aryan superiority, which was understood not just as a superiority in intelligence but also as a physical superiority. Membership in the elite SS required a certain minimum physique, not simply because it was a crack fighting force but also because it was meant to be the very embodiment of the superiority of the Aryan race. A superiority in the soul was in fact believed to be manifested in physical beauty and physique. The Jew was considered to manifest his twisted soul by the caricatural physical ugliness that he was alleged to display

and that cartoonists liked to play on mercilessly. Eugenics was the Nazi answer to the threat of physical degeneracy, which might arrive should alien, non-Aryan, and therefore inferior elements contaminate pure Aryan stock. But in this they were following a trend of the day, since eugenics was widely fashionable in the 1930s far beyond fascist circles.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BLOOD; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; EUGENICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; LEISURE; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; PROGRESS; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REVOLUTION; SOUL; SPORT; SS, THE; *WANDERVÖGEL*, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YOUTH

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BOLIVIA

Many members of the very large German community in Bolivia adhered to National Socialism in 1933, and NSDAP local groups began to be formed in the country in 1934. Leading Nazi propagandists such as General Hans Kundt and SA chief Ernst Roehm, who was exiled to the country from 1928 to 1930, worked as military advisers to the Bolivian government. In 1937 a falangist party (Falange Socialista Boliviana; FSB) was founded by Oscar Unzaga de la Vega. It espoused a corporatist ideology, called for an “organic democracy” and “constructive” socialism, and favored the slogan “Solidarity, Discipline, Hierarchy, Responsibility, Authority.” Although it was opposed in the following years by successive governments, it always had access to money and political influence.

The Bolivian National Revolutionary Party (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario; MNR), established in 1941, took over European fascist ideas including anti-Semitism. The MNR was an extreme nationalist and anti-imperialist party advocating state interventionism and nationalization of the mines. Originally supported above all by young officers sympathetic to fascist ideologies, it aimed to be a party of national integration and made use of mass propaganda

methods. After 1946 it distanced itself, however, from its fascist beginnings. In the elections in 1951 the MNR was the strongest party, but it was kept out of power and launched a coup on 9 April 1952 with the support of miners and reformist officers. It embarked on land reforms but was cautious in regard to the promised nationalization of the mines. On 9 November 1964 a coup brought General René Barrientos (1919–1969) to power and marked the beginning of the regime of the generals, which lasted up to 1982. Barrientos relied on an alliance of the military with the peasantry, reacting brutally to socialist movements supported by the guerrilla activities of Ernesto Che Guevara. After the death of Barrientos there was a series of rapidly changing regimes, while the MNR and the falangist FSB came together to form a right populist front with the FPN (Frente Popular Nacionalista).

On 23 August 1971 a coup brought General Hugo Banzer Suárez (1926–2002) to power; his slogan was “Order, Peace, Work.” Suárez’s military dictatorship undoubtedly had fascist features. He suppressed all opposition by execution and torture (up to 1978, at least 200 men were murdered and 15,000 imprisoned on political grounds). He consolidated the power of the army and built a powerful secret police with advice from former SS officers. Under Banzer’s regime, the Gestapo chief and “Butcher of Lyons,” Klaus Barbie, had a spectacular career. Barbie got to Bolivia in 1951 with the help of the U.S. secret services and took citizenship in 1957 under the name of Klaus Altmann. He was unmasked in the 1960s and France demanded his extradition in 1972, but General Banzer refused. Barbie was the only senior SS officer who was able to continue his work after the war, advising the Bolivian regime in secret police matters. He was not extradited to France until 1983.

After coup attempts by the extreme Right, Banzer replaced the existing military-civil regime with a purely military dictatorship and abolished parties and unions. In 1975 he entered a close alliance with Chile’s military dictator Augusto Pinochet. His plan to settle 30,000 white settler families from the now independent Zimbabwe in Bolivia encountered stiff resistance from the Bolivian people. At the end of 1977 the mineworkers and their families rebelled, and about 1,000 men embarked on a hunger strike to force the release of political prisoners. Banzer was abandoned by the United States, and on 21 July 1978 he resigned as dictator.

The elections that followed led to widespread unrest under the fragmented parties of right and left. Banzer entered with his own right-wing party, National Democratic Action (Acción Democrática

Nacionalista; ADN), which had right populist traits, but in 1993 he made an electoral pact with the Social Democrats. From July 1980 to August 1981, Bolivia was ruled by the bloodiest regime so far, that of General Luis Garcia Meza, with systematic resort to torture by the secret police and the employment of death squads. Government chiefs were involved in the cocaine trade, and the regime was often referred to as “Cocaine Fascism.” Continuing instability and corruption eventually brought General Hugo Banzer back to power as president from 1997 to 2001 with his ADN, but he gave up power in August 2001 on grounds of ill health.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BARBIE, KLAUS; CHILE; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; FALANGE; GESTAPO, THE; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; NATIONALISM; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PINOCHET UGARTE, GENERAL AUGUSTO; PROPAGANDA; REVOLUTION; RHODESIA; SOCIALISM; SS, THE

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BOLSHEVISM

A major factor in Hitler’s rise to power was fear, among political elites as well as German society at large, of “Bolshevism.” In common parlance in the English-speaking world, Bolshevism was often referred to as “the red peril” (while the perceived Asiatic menace, in particular of Communist China, was known as “the yellow peril”). Also, *Bolshevism* became an abusive term for describing ideas associated with the Soviet Russians and their disciples, not just among fascists but in the population at large as well, and it gave rise to the expression “bolshie,” used of a person who is considered obstructive and rebellious.

The Russian term *bol’shevizm*, literally “majorityism,” emerged during the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party in London in 1903, when a radical faction led by Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) won the majority in a vote and started to call itself *bol’sheviki* (“majorityites”). Although the moderate forces within the RSDLP subsequently often

collected majorities, they were henceforth called *men’sheviki* (“minorityites”). Whereas, in 1905–1906, an imminent split of the RSDLP was eventually prevented by restoration of party unity, a similar conflict of the two factions in 1912 led to the emergence of two distinct parties. In April 1917, the Bolsheviks formalized the split by calling themselves RSLDP (Bolsheviks). In 1918, they renamed themselves Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks). The name All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) was used from 1925 until 1934, when the title Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) was introduced. In 1952, the appendix, (Bolsheviks), was dropped.

Scholarly interpretations of the Soviet experience have used the term *Bolshevism* with three conceptualizations. First: Following Lenin’s own claims and the official Soviet doctrine, it is seen as representing one—namely, the crucial—variety of Marxism. Bolshevism, also called Marxism-Leninism, is perceived as the result of a consistent application of Marxist theoretical principles to Russian political reality, if not practical politics, in general. Second: Following the critique of Lenin by left-wing intellectuals of his time, Bolshevism has been interpreted as a fundamental revision or betrayal of classical Marxism. Here, Bolshevism appears as a form of secular fundamentalism that misuses egalitarian and scientific pretensions to underpin an exclusive concept of politics and repressive political institutions. Third: Following historical interpretations that see the Soviet period as a constituent part of Russian national history, a third approach stretches the meaning of the term *Bolshevism* to signify a general pathology in Russian political thought that had been present before the emergence of the Bolshevik Party, and traces of which can be found in the political thinking of post-Soviet Russia’s economic reformers. *Bolshevism* here means a radical approach to modernization in which rapid economic reform and social engineering by an unaccountable government are accompanied by suppression of political pluralism, surplus extraction from the population, and other repressive measures that may include state terrorism.

The rise of Bolshevism in the early twentieth century was intimately linked to the emergence and political success of both the Italian Fascist and German Nazi movements. Under the influence of Georges Sorel, a branch of Italian socialism developed into National Syndicalism, which became a principal component of Italian Fascism. In spite of Bolshevism’s and fascism’s different attitudes to, above all, private property and nationalism, both fascists and antifascists acknowledged common sources and resulting similarities be-

tween Bolshevism and fascism, including their revolutionary ideology, their elitism, their disdain for bourgeois values, and their totalitarian ambition. Notwithstanding such affinities, fascism rose to power after World War I on a radically anti-Marxist platform that addressed the dread, among the upper and middle classes, of a communist revolution. The shared anti-Marxism of the old establishment and fascism constituted, apart from other common denominators, such as nationalism or sexism, a major precondition for their cooperation throughout Mussolini's rule, as well as for temporary alliances between conservative and fascist groupings across Europe during the interwar period.

While Italian Fascism's relationship to Bolshevism was ambivalent, Nazism had few affinities with socialist revisionism and has often been identified with anti-Bolshevism. The German philosopher of history and pioneer of comparative fascist studies Ernst Nolte radicalized this view to a theory amounting to a partial apology for Nazism. The cruelty and annihilation policies of the Nazis were, according to Nolte, paradoxically informed at one and the same time by their horror of Bolshevism and by their copying of the Bolsheviks. While general "extremism theory" does not claim a "causal nexus" between the Gulag and Auschwitz, as Nolte does, it establishes a close relationship between right- and left-wing extremism in seeing them not only as radically opposed but also as in vital need of, or even fundamentally similar to, each other.

Although these interpretations have been disputed, a number of features of Bolshevism and Nazism/Fascism did show striking similarities, including their revolutionary action and proletarian nation theories, leadership principles, one-party dictatorships, and party-armies. In some cases Hitler publicly acknowledged his debt to the Bolsheviks when, for instance, proposing to make Munich "the Moscow of our movement." Whether or to what degree the Red Guards or early Soviet concentration camps constituted necessary models for similar institutions created later by the Nazis has, however, been a matter of debate.

Although a reduction of Nazism to anti-Marxism, as has been proposed by Nolte, is misleading, pronouncement of radical anticommunist slogans was both a major electoral campaign strategy of various fascist movements and a coherent expression of fascist anti-universalism. As Europe was shaken by news of the Bolshevik regime's consolidation, mass crimes, world-hegemonic ambitions, and intrusion into foreign communist parties via the Comintern, fascist militant anti-Marxism gained acceptance in many

countries. More often than not, fascist anti-Bolshevism was linked to anti-Semitism within theories of "Judeo-Bolshevism," seeing the relatively high percentage of assimilated Jews in the early Bolshevik Party leadership and first Soviet governments as proof of a Jewish plot. Paradoxically, conspiracy theories of the Nazis and other fascist movements linked "Jewish Bolshevism" in the Soviet Union to "Jewish finance capital" in the West.

Notwithstanding Hitler's pronounced anti-Bolshevism, a significant minority of early Nazi leaders, including the Strasser brothers and Joseph Goebbels, voiced qualified pro-Bolshevik views in the mid-1920s. Later such inclinations gave way to Nazism's sharpening of its profile as Germany's most radically anticommunist movement—a tendency that, in view of emerging Stalinism and its increasing influence on the German Communist Party, contributed to the NSDAP's electoral success. It also informed the civil war-like situation in Germany in the early 1930s, when militias of the Nazis, communists, social democrats, and other political forces were engaged in frequent street fighting. Although anti-Bolshevism constituted a major factor in Nazi ideology, propaganda, and activities, it was, at least in Hitler's worldview, a concept subordinated to radical anti-Semitism. Within the latter, Marxism, Christianity, and liberalism all appeared as inventions of the Jews.

In some interpretations, finally, Bolshevism, especially in its Stalinist transmutation, is seen as belonging to the family of fascist ideologies. This conceptualization implies that Russian socialism underwent, in the 1930s to the 1950s, a transition that, in some ways, followed the revision of West European socialism initiated by Sorel and others in the late nineteenth century, and that eventually led to the emergence of certain French, Italian, and other varieties of fascism.

Whereas the transformation of Russian Bolshevism had to remain veiled in the Soviet period, abrogation of universalism and celebration of nationalism became manifest in the reformulation of the agenda of the post-Soviet Communist Party of the Russian Federation undertaken, above all, by its leader and major ideologue, Gennadii Ziuganov (born 1944). Post-Soviet Russian socialist revisionism did not, however, lead to a fascistization of the Russian "communist" movement. Rather, Ziuganov's agenda, sometimes labeled National Bolshevism, expresses a specifically Russian variety of ultraconservatism that idealizes the "achievements" of the Soviet regime, especially under Stalin, and has a largely positive attitude to the czarist period, following

nineteenth-century Russian political thinkers in identifying the “Russian Idea” with socialist principles. This form of nonfascist ultranationalism sees, in distinction to orthodox Marxism, continuity between the prerevolutionary, Soviet, and post-Soviet periods, and is open to alliance with fascist forces. It claims that the Russian people—or “healthy forces” within them—follow an alternative civilizational path, a sustainable form of development in which modernization takes place without the disrupting effects of individualism, globalization, social division, loss of traditional identities, and sexual emancipation.

Andreas Umland

See Also: ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CHRISTIANITY; COMINTERN, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GLOBALIZATION; GOEBBELS, PAUL JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; POST-WAR FASCISM; REVOLUTION; RUSSIA; SEXUALITY; SOCIALISM; SOREL, GEORGES; SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; SYNDICALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; WORLD WAR II

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BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH (1906–1945)

German theologian and pastor and member of the Protestant Confessing Church movement. Bonhoeffer joined the political conspiracy to overthrow the Nazi regime and was executed on 9 April 1945 in the Flossenbürg Concentration Camp. Bonhoeffer's opposition to Nazism was shaped by his family (many of whom were strong supporters of the Weimar republic), by his theological perspectives, and by his experiences abroad, particularly in the ecumenical movement. During the 1920s ecumenical leaders were already alarmed by fascist trends in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, particularly by the ideological co-option of religion embodied in nationalistic, ethnically defined religious movements like the German Christians. Bonhoeffer was an early critic of the *völkisch* church advocated by German Protestant nationalists, speaking out at an ecumenical meeting in 1932 against the racialized theology of Emanuel Hirsch and Paul Althaus. He was also influenced by his time in the United States in 1930 and 1931 as an exchange student at Union Theological Seminary, New York. He became interested in the African-American experience of racism and in the labor movement, and gained a new appreciation for the importance of civil liberties. In the early months of the Nazi regime he drew direct connections between his U.S. experience and what he was seeing in Nazi Germany, writing the U.S. theologian Reinhold Niebuhr on one occasion that Germany needed a civil liberties union.

In February 1933 he gave a radio address on the “Fuehrer principle” that was a direct attack on the authoritarian model of leadership symbolized by Adolf Hitler; broadcasting authorities took Bonhoeffer off the air in the midst of his remarks. In April 1933, his essay “The Church Faces the Jewish Question” raised the possibility of church resistance against state authorities who had ceased to exercise power legitimately. Bonhoeffer had emerged as an early and outspoken critic of Nazi policies and of the pro-Nazi German Christian movement. Throughout the 1930s, however, his primary focus was the role and identity of the Protestant church under the new political circumstances. He represented the radical wing of the Confessing Church in calling for a church that would remain independent of

BONAPARTISM: See CAESARISM

Nazi ideology, and he devoted much of his ministry to training and supporting Confessing Church candidates for the ministry. By the late 1930s, Bonhoeffer had become politically active in the German resistance, under the influence of his brother-in-law Hans von Dohnanyi, who worked with the German military intelligence (*Abwehr*) office led by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris. Bonhoeffer acted as a courier, carrying resistance documents abroad via his ecumenical contacts. His writings during the resistance period focused on the ethical dilemmas faced by people under totalitarianism, particularly the unique ethical demands of resistance. His resistance experience also shaped his thinking about the church and the future of religion. In the decades since his death, Bonhoeffer has become a symbol of religious resistance against oppression, and his writings have inspired Christian political activists throughout the world.

Victoria Barnett

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; CANARIS, ADMIRAL WILHELM; CHRISTIANITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; JULY PLOT, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM (THEOLOGY); LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; PROTESTANTISM; RACISM; RELIGION; THEOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; *VOLK*; *VÖLKISCH*; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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BONO, EMILIO DE (1866–1944)

A key leader in the Italian Fascist regime, De Bono, a career soldier, was decorated for his courage in action in World War I. He was appointed one of the quadrumvirs who organized the March on Rome, and when Mussolini came to power he became director general of public security and then the first commander of the Fascist militia. He was especially valued by the regime for his connections with members of the Italian royal family. De Bono was accused of complicity

in the Matteotti murder but acquitted. In September 1929 he was made minister of the colonies, and in that role he played an important part in Italian government policy toward Ethiopia, which he was keen to invade. He was responsible for all the preparations for the Ethiopian war and led the invasion forces into the country on 3 October 1935. Mussolini was dissatisfied by his conduct of hostilities, and he was replaced by Badoglio. De Bono gradually lost faith in Mussolini, and at the Grand Council meeting of 25 July 1943 he voted for Il Duce's deposition. In January 1944 he was executed by the restored Mussolini regime for this treachery.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BADOGLIO, PIETRO; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; ITALY; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; QUADRUUVIRS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE

An event that has gone down in history as an early symbol of the deeply antihumanistic, philistine, and tyrannical nature of Nazi doctrine. Appointed Reich propaganda minister in 1933, Goebbels embarked on a policy of bringing the arts into line with Nazi goals. He encouraged German students to strip their libraries of “un-German” books and burn them. As its contribution to this campaign, the German Student Association called for a nationwide action against the Un-German Spirit, which was to culminate in a purging of “un-German” books by fire. Local chapters of the association were to be responsible for publicizing this program. The association produced twelve “theses” (a word that was deliberately reminiscent of the Theses of Martin Luther, generally considered to have been the opening shots in the German Reformation) on the need to “purify” the national language and culture of “alien” influences. Placards announcing the theses were posted, and these called for the universities to become focuses for German nationalism. On the night of 11 May of that year, a special ceremonial



The public ritual bonfires of “corrupt” books encouraged by the new Nazi regime in Germany in 1933 symbolized the “purification” required to seal the rebirth of the German people. (National Archives)

bookburning was held in Berlin to the accompaniment of SA and SS band music and a torchlight parade. At least 20,000 books were brought by members of right-wing student organizations from the library of the Wilhelm Humboldt University and other collections and were thrown into a huge bonfire in front of the university while Goebbels made an enthusiastic speech. Particularly singled out for destruction were books written by Jews, socialists, and liberals, and they included works by Marx, Freud, Einstein, Proust, H. G. Wells, Thomas Mann, Heine, Sinclair Lewis, Erich Maria Remarque, Hemingway, and even Helen Keller. This Berlin event was broadcast live across Germany. The same symbolic ritual was repeated in university towns across Germany, in some places on other evenings.

These symbolic ritual “cleansings” excited a shocked reaction from the world’s news media. In the United States the significance of what had happened was

widely understood, and there were demonstrations and protests in several U.S. cities. The celebrated journalist Walter Lippmann wrote that “there is a government in Germany which means to teach its people that their salvation lies in violence.” The burning of the books is an illustration of the brilliant propagandist mentality of Goebbels, who understood that such visual illustrations of Nazi policy and principles said as much to the German people and to political opponents of the regime as any legal enactment.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BAEUMLER, ALFRED; DEGENERACY; FREUD, SIGMUND; GERMANNES; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; LIBERALISM; LUTHER, MARTIN; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; SA, THE; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; UNIVERSITIES

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BORMANN, MARTIN (1900–1945)

A close friend of Hitler, from May 1941 leader of the party chancellery and from April 1943 “secretary to the Fuehrer.” After World War I, Bormann was involved with different radical right organizations and associations. In 1924 he took part in a lynching and was condemned to a year’s imprisonment. After his entry into the NSDAP in 1927 his career in the party began. In 1928 he was active in the party head office in Munich. After the rise to power of Hitler and the NSDAP, he advanced in July 1933 to the position of chief of staff with Hitler’s deputy in the party, Rudolf Hess. In October 1933 he was promoted to the rank of a Reich leader of the NSDAP. With the “Adolf-Hitler-Contribution to the German Economy” organized by Bormann in 1933, which brought money from employers into the party coffers, he demonstrated (not for the first time) his skills with financial affairs. In 1933, Hitler entrusted him with the administration of his own finances, and that brought him access to the Reich chancellor and to the close circle around him.

The powers of Hess’s staff, and later those of the party chancellery, were never clearly set out and were constantly extended. Its principal task was to implement the will of the party over the state apparatus. This meant participation in legislative activity, a deliberate assertion of influence over appointments, and frequent interventions on the state and party political levels. After Hess’s flight to England in May 1941, Bormann was appointed to succeed him. His department had the title of Party Chancellery and he himself the authority of a Reich minister, but his actual power went beyond his formal positions in the party and state apparatus. He has often been ascribed the role of actual deputy to Hitler—though that must be nuanced—and he was certainly one of the most influential individuals in the regime. This found expression in his subsequent appointment in April 1943 as “secretary to the Fuehrer.” Factors that assisted him in his

rise to the position of gray eminence of the National Socialist state and confidant of Hitler were his administrative and financial abilities, his unscrupulousness and intriguing, and his unconditional loyalty to Hitler. He remained at Hitler’s side right up to the latter’s suicide, and he pursued to the end—though with decreasing success—the implementation of Hitler’s lunatic orders, including the destruction of Germany’s remaining infrastructure.

Bormann pursued the aims and the ideology of the NSDAP with the utmost brutality. He pushed through the exclusion of the Christian churches from public life, favored extremely harsh treatment of the Slav population in the territories occupied by German troops, and an intensification of the anti-Semitic measures of the Nazi state. Bormann’s ultimate fate remained unclear for a long time. In October 1946 the International War Crimes Tribunal in Nuremberg condemned him to death in absentia. In spite of frequent reports that Bormann had survived, the search for him proved fruitless. In 1972 the state prosecutor at Frankfurt came to the conclusion that a body found in that year in Berlin was unquestionably his. It is likely that at the beginning of May 1945, Bormann was killed in an attempt to escape the encirclement of Berlin. Doubts have however been repeatedly expressed as to this version, and a shadow of uncertainty over his final end still lingers.

Michael Schäbitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHRISTIANITY; GERMANY; HESS, RUDOLF; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); WORLD WAR II

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BÖSZÖRMÉNY, ZOLTAN

Founder of the agrarian-based Hungarian National Socialist Workers’ Party (Nemzeti Szocialista Magyar Munkáspárt) and its newspaper, the *National Socialist*. Party members wore brown shirts together with the

swastika. His party was renamed the Hungarian National Socialist Workers' Party Scythe Cross Peoples' Movement (Nemzeti Szocialista Magyar Munkáspárt Kaszásokereszt Böszörmény népmozgalom). The new symbol was based on two crossed scythes supporting a skull, with a sword and an eagle on top. The colors were the national red-white-green. Membership was highly hierarchical and secretive, with new members forced to take an oath—sometimes with a coffin or a skull in presence. Members admitted were called storm troopers, and Böszörmény was referred to as the Great Leader (*Vezér*). His party attempted to enter official politics by running in twelve different districts during the 1935 national election. However, none of the candidates—not even the Great Leader himself—were elected.

Following this defeat, Böszörmény's extreme ideas led him to a futile attempt to overthrow the government in 1936 by organizing a wholesale uprising. It was a botched coup that ended with him and his followers in court and with the disbanding of the Scythe Cross Party. Böszörmény was allowed to escape to Germany, and between 1938 and 1940 he lived under the protection of the German political police; he was later returned to Hungary, where he was arrested and jailed. The date of his birth is not known, nor any details as to the end of his life.

László Kürti

See Also: ARROW CROSS, THE; CULTS OF DEATH; GERMANY; HUNGARY; LEADER CULT, THE; NAZISM; SWASTIKA, THE; WORLD WAR II

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BOTTAI, GIUSEPPE (1895–1959)

Italian Fascist journalist and politician, elected to parliament in 1921 after war service. In 1923, Bottai founded the periodical *Critica fascista* (1923–1943),

which represented the views of those who took the regime's ideology and corporatist aspirations seriously. After 1926, as undersecretary at the Ministry of Corporations, he helped to draft the Fascist Charter of Labor and served as minister of corporations from 1929 to 1932. Later he became minister of national education (1936–1943). During the 1930s he supported the reformist aspirations of younger fascists and backed more innovative and modernist trends in art and architecture through his work at the Ministry of National Education. However, he enthusiastically applied the racial and anti-Semitic legislation of 1938 and 1939 in the schools. An opponent of Italy's alliance with Nazi Germany and entry into World War II, he voted on the Fascist Grand Council to remove Mussolini on 25 July 1943.

Alexander de Grand

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; AXIS, THE; CORPORATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; WORLD WAR II

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BOULANGISM

French political ideology associated with a movement focusing on General Georges Boulanger (1837–1891), who became minister of war in the French government in 1886. He created a personality cult, sought a mass following, and combined a radical, action-based extreme nationalist doctrine with progressive socioeconomic proposals and antiparliamentary rhetoric. Some historians have consequently branded his movement “pre-fascist.”

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CAESARISM; FRANCE; LEADER CULT, THE; NATIONALISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROTOFASCISM

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BOURGEOISIE, THE

Mussolini was not afraid to praise the “petty bourgeoisie” of small and middle peasants. He more rarely spoke, though, of an urban petty-bourgeoisie or bourgeoisie, either in praise or condemnation. The term *bourgeois* was employed occasionally by himself and other fascist ideologues as a term of abuse, referring to individuals or their mentality. In this context, it conveyed notions of crassness, materialistic values, cowardice, and the inability to comprehend the heroic ideal of the fascist “warrior.” The bourgeois preferred his own comfort to the battle for the regeneration of the nation. This kind of contempt for bourgeois values was something that fascists shared with their opponents on the Left, and indeed it was a commonplace of nineteenth-century art and literature—for example, in the novels of Balzac, from which Marx said he had learned a great deal. For fascists as for the communists, the bourgeois mentality was supremely incarnated in the hated creeds of liberalism, individualism, and parliamentarism.

In the interwar years, a number of socialists identified fascism as a tool of the existing order. In 1924, the Comintern defined fascism as “the instrument of the big bourgeoisie for fighting the proletariat.” In 1924, Stalin characterized fascism as “the bourgeoisie’s fighting organization.” In 1931, Manuilsky claimed that fascism “grows organically out of bourgeois democracy.” Four years later, Dimitrov analyzed the phenomenon as “a form of class domination [by] the bourgeoisie” (Beetham 1983, 153ff.). Such formulas drew on Marx’s distinction between the workers and the owners of capital. They have since fallen out of favor. First, they are seen to minimize the capacity of fascists to organize independently on the basis of their own demands. Second, they underestimate the conflicts between different blocs of capitalist interests.

In the period before the fascist seizure of power in Germany and Italy, the leaders of the far Right debated the future relationship between the fascist parties and the existing economic rulers. The leading fascist politicians knew that they had to choose between the interests of their supporters and those of the wealthy. Once they had taken power, the conditions of the workers would either rise or fall. Fascist unions would have to choose whose interests they represented. If public services were to improve, someone would have to pay for the changes. Understanding the logic of these choices,

the leaders of the Italian and German fascist parties recognized in advance that they would have to rule in alliance with the generals, the businessmen, and the leading civil servants. Long before fascist movements took power, they began to make contacts with the ruling class. Hitler’s famous 1932 speech to the Düsseldorf industry club belongs to this period.

Both in Italy and Germany, the members of the capitalist class were faced with their own choice of whether to accept fascism or to confront it. Different fractions of capital chose different options. The Italian Confederation for Industry backed Mussolini only after his seizure of power. In Germany, there were some prominent businessmen who supported Hitler’s party from the early days. As early as 1922, Hitler’s backers included publishers, steel magnates, and the industrialists Henry Ford and Fritz Thyssen. One important factor lying behind the National Socialist breakthrough in the 1930 elections was a pact with the leading German media magnate Alfred Hugenberg. Other units of capital preferred a quieter solution to the crisis. When the economy was at its strongest, fascist methods often appeared barbaric. Yet as recession took hold, many bosses concluded that they had no other option but to crush their workers.

In opposition, fascist parties had promised to rule in the interests of the entire nation. The actual beneficiaries did not include the workers, who suffered from falling real wages, rising prices, the dissolution of the unions, and an increase in working hours. In many factories the rate of work intensified. When people complained, they were liable to be taken away by the secret police. Rural groups also suffered under fascism, as did small employers, whose numbers fell sharply under both regimes. The relationship between fascism and the bourgeoisie was complex. In early 1920s Italy and early 1930s Germany, there were very few signs of tension between industrialists and the new governments. Quite to the contrary, many businessmen were happy to see the fascists destroying the institutions of the organized working class. Yet fascism did not simply obey the laws of capitalist rationality. The longer that fascism remained in power, the greater were the tensions. There was no economic logic, for example, in killing skilled Jewish metal workers, who might otherwise have built the arms for the German war effort. Moreover, World War II was catastrophic for both Italian and German business.

David Renton

See Also: BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; COMINTERN, THE; ECONOMICS; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORD,

HENRY; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUGENBERG, ALFRED VON; INDIVIDUALISM; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; SOCIALISM; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; THYSSEN, FRITZ; TRADES UNIONS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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BRASILLACH, ROBERT (1909–1945)

Key literary fascist in 1930s France, contributing from 1931 to *Je suis partout* (which he directed from 1937 on) and Thierry Maulnier's *Combat*, in addition to acting as a literary critic for *Action Française*. Mobilized during the war on the French side, he returned from captivity in April 1941 and subsequently resumed his activities as editor of *Je suis partout*. Although he became increasingly disillusioned with Nazism as the war progressed—he wrote his last article for *Je suis partout* on 27 August 1943—that did not bring an end to his literary endeavors on the far Right; he moved, rather, to the journal *Révolution nationale*, run by Drieu la Rochelle's former secretary, Lucien Combelle. He was arrested after the war, then tried and sentenced to death for treason.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; NATIONALISM

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BRAZIL

Brazil produced one of the largest fascist organizations in South America—*Acção Integralista Brasileira* (Brazilian Integralist Action; AIB)—often referred to as the Integralistas. AIB formed in 1932 when several smaller right-wing forces joined together under the leadership of Plínio Salgado. It emerged in a time of political upheaval and economic crisis. The Depression had hit Brazil hard, causing the price of coffee, its major export, to plummet. In response to the economic and political turmoil that ensued, Getúlio Vargas assumed the presidency of Brazil and effectively ended the Old Republic and the rule of the landed oligarchy. The climate of political and economic uncertainty that ensued afforded the AIB the political space it needed to organize. Taking advantage of this opportunity, AIB became the first "nonproscribed national and popular party in Brazil." (Deutsch 1999, p. 248). AIB organized support at the municipal, state, and national levels and developed a mass base among Brazilians. It reached out to workers and promised them that they would obtain social justice in the future Integralista state. It supported workers for two reasons: (1) to undermine the appeal of the Communist Party, which led many of the unions and had successfully organized workers; and (2) because it believed that workers, as Brazilians, should be incorporated into its nationalist and corporatist plans. By 1936, AIB had roughly 200,000 members, 20 percent of whom were women.

Inspired by the ideas of Italian Fascism, AIB was nationalistic, anticommunist, and anti-Jewish. AIB had three primary goals: (1) to form an Integral state; (2) to establish a corporatist government; and (3) to centralize the nation. It considered itself a revolutionary force because it rejected conservatism and "embraced a dynamic and total view of continued material and spiritual renovation." Unlike many other fascist organizations, AIB was racially tolerant and included some members of African and indigenous ancestry.

Like its Italian counterparts, the AIB understood the importance of symbols and rituals to solidify people's identification with the group. Every year local chapters of the AIB commemorated the "Night of the Silent Drums" and paid tribute to fallen Integralistas. The annual ceremony began at 11:00 P.M. with the singing of the Integralista hymn and ended at midnight with three minutes of silence. The ritual served to bind the scattered chapters together into one na-

tional party and reaffirm members' sense of their own history. Although the AIB encouraged women to join the movement, it maintained distinct roles and images for men and women. Women joined a female group called the *Blusas Verdes* (Green Blouses), while men formed the *Camisas Verdes* (Green Shirts). The uniformity of the color indicated a shared organizational affiliation, while the distinct names reflected a gender coding that mirrored the organization's vision of men's and women's separate roles in society and politics. AIB women maintained the groups' charity organizations and helped the poor. Nevertheless, their involvement in the militant fascist organization placed them in a more confrontational situation, one that demanded some modifications to their "traditional" gender roles. On at least one occasion, they stood guard as their (male) leader spoke and jeering leftists threatened to attack. Despite their more masculine attire and willingness to confront an angry crowd of men, these women worked to preserve established notions of gender. When they paraded they wore floral bouquets to soften and feminize their appearance, and they set up classes to instruct women in cooking, sewing, home economics, civility, and childcare.

Much of its leadership, including Plínio Salgado, believed that the party could achieve power through electoral victories. AIB participated in municipal, state, and national elections, and many of its candidates won seats. Unwilling to fully depend on legal means to obtain power, however, the AIB occasionally resorted to violence and engaged in street fights with the Left, some of which resulted in deaths on both sides. The fascist organization mistakenly believed that it operated with Vargas's full support and erroneously expected him to rely on the Integralistas as his party after he came to power. Instead, Vargas staged a coup in 1937 and, once he was firmly established in power, suppressed all political parties, including AIB. In May 1938 members of the AIB, in conjunction with some members of the navy, attacked the presidential palace and other government institutions. Their attempted coup failed and led to the arrest of 1,500 people, some of whom served jail terms while others, including Plínio Salgado, went into exile. Government repression effectively weakened the Integralistas, which, to all intents and purposes, ceased to exist.

Although AIB no longer functioned, some of its ideas and members continued to play an important role in Brazilian politics. Vargas presided over the *Estado Novo* (New State) from 1937 to 1945, which implemented some of the corporatist ideas promulgated by

AIB, such as the subordination of the working class to the state. It also sponsored the conservative gender ideas that the Integralistas favored, such as the definition of woman as mother. Confronted by the growing power of the Left and the reforms instituted by the João Goulart government (1962–1964), some Integralistas supported the 1964 coup that overthrew his government. Salgado joined ARENA (National Renovating Alliance), the more promilitary of the two parties approved by the military government set up following the coup, as did other AIB members.

Margaret Power

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; *ESTADO NOVO*; FASCIST PARTY, THE; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; REVOLUTION; SALGADO, PLÍNIO; STYLE; SYMBOLS; VARGAS, GETULIO DORNELLES; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WOMEN

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BRITISH FASCISTI/ BRITISH FASCISTS, THE

The first British movement to identify itself openly as a fascist party, founded by Rotha Lintorn-Orman in 1923 as the British Fascisti and renamed British Fascists in 1924. Prominent individuals who lent their support to the birth of the party were Lord Garvagh, its first president, and his successor, Brigadier Robert Blakeney, along with other senior services personnel including the Earl of Glasgow, Colonel Sir Charles Burn MP. Arthur Hardinge, Fellow of All Souls and former ambassador to Spain, became party treasurer in 1926. The British Fascisti was set up as a paramilitary organization; it included an infantry section whose members were expected to confront socialist agitators on the streets. There were divisional and district commanders to supervise the different units. At headquarters there was a grand council to act as the decision-

making body. To some extent this mirrored the militaristic styles of organization found in movements like the Boys' Brigade or the Salvation Army, but the parallels with Italian Fascism are clear. Although there was no uniform initially, by 1927 a blue shirt with dark trousers or skirt and blue hat had been adopted. The consensus of scholarly opinion is that the "fascism" of the movement lay more in its trappings than in its ideology, which is generally reckoned to have been a form of ultrapatriotic conservatism. But its historic position as the first concrete outward sign of a desire to emulate Mussolini and his Fascist movement in Britain gives it some significance, as does the fact that it was founded by a woman, who indeed ensured that there was a high degree of feminine involvement in the party. The scholarly consensus here is that while Lintorn-Orman had anything but a radical feminist agenda, she did harness feminist activism in the name of a radical nationalism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CONSERVATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GREAT BRITAIN; LINTORN-ORMAN, ROTH; PARAMILITARISM; STYLE; WOMEN

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BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE

A racial fascist party founded in 1982 in the United Kingdom by former National Front chairman John Tyndall. After nearly a decade in the political wilderness, in 1993 it won a council seat in Tower Hamlets, East London, though it was lost the following year. Nick Griffin, who assumed the chairmanship in 1999, provided a fresh impetus through his attempts to "modernize" the party. Following race riots across northern England in 2001 and a barrage of anti-asylum hysteria from the press, the BNP won a string of local election victories in the Midlands and northern England between 2002 and 2003.

Graham Macklin

See Also: GREAT BRITAIN; GRIFFIN, NICHOLAS; IMMIGRATION; NATIONAL FRONT (UK); POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; TYNDALL, JOHN

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BRITISH UNION OF FASCISTS, THE:
See GREAT BRITAIN

BROEDERBOND, THE

Masonic-type organization founded around 1918 in South Africa to protect and promote the Afrikaner People and their culture. The Broederbond (Afrikaner Brotherhood) originated before 1910 within the student debating society Jong Suid Afrika. Initially membership was open, but physical attacks by opponents caused them to become a secret society in 1921. In 1925, the leaders went to Potchefstroom University College to ask for help. A complete reorganization along Christian-National lines followed. For the next thirty years Potchefstroom academics supported by like-minded Calvinists dominated the Broederbond, which created a host of cultural organizations including the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge (Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Organizations), the Volkshkas (People's Bank), trades unions, and popular publications. The Broederbond tried to distance itself from fascist and Social Darwinist sympathizers with Hitler during World War II, but its Calvinist language was not always easy to distinguish from white supremacist racial rhetoric. During the 1950s, Prime Minister Henrik Verwoerd (1901–1966) wrested control of the Broederbond from the Calvinists, causing a bitter internal feud. According to the opposition press, the Broederbond was a nefarious secret society controlling the government. To many Afrikaners it was a Robin Hood-type organization that helped farmers fend off bankruptcy during droughts and bought shoes for the children of poor families. In 1989 the Broederbond polled its members, who

decided that now was the time to release Nelson Mandela, abandon apartheid, and chart a new course for South Africa.

Irving Hexham

See Also: CONSERVATISM; HITLER, ADOLF; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOUTH AFRICA; WORLD WAR II

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BROWNSHIRTS: See SA

BRÜNING, HEINRICH (1885–1970)

Chancellor of Germany from 1930 to 1932 and a key figure in the rise to power of Adolf Hitler. Brüning came to the chancellorship as a member of the Center Party at a time of economic crisis. He could not persuade the Reichstag to accept his financial medicine, and in July 1930 he dissolved it. Instead of increasing his support, as he had hoped, the new parliamentary membership produced by the resulting elections contained increased numbers of Nazis and communists. Brüning resorted to rule by presidential decree. Eventually, dissension between himself and President Hindenburg led to his dismissal from the chancellorship in May 1932. After Hitler took power at the beginning of 1933, Brüning tried to persuade Hitler's Nationalist allies to join the Center Party in forcing through modifications to the Enabling Act, so as to preserve civil liberties, but the Nationalists refused; the act, the foundation of the dictatorial powers assumed by the Nazi regime, was passed. The following year Brüning fled to the United States, where he became a Harvard professor.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CENTER PARTY, THE; ENABLING ACT, THE; GERMANY; HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

Reference

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BUCARD, MARCEL (1895–1946)

Involved in numerous French extreme-right movements between the wars before taking the helm of the fascist movement Parti Franciste, Bucard was born into a petit-bourgeois family. He had seemed destined for an ecclesiastical career but moved into politics after fighting in World War I. He unsuccessfully stood as an MP for the right-wing Union Nationale et Républicaine in 1924, before disillusionment with parliamentary politics saw him join Valois's Faisceau. He next became involved in the extreme-right newspaper *L'Ami du Peuple*, backed by the perfume millionaire François Coty, for whom he acted as a link with the Croix-de-Feu. In 1932, Bucard co-founded the Milice Socialiste Nationale, and on 29 September 1933 he founded Le Francisme, subsequently renamed the Parti Franciste. This was dissolved by the government on 18 June 1936, but reconstituted as the Parti Unitaire Français d'Action Socialiste et Nationale (PUF). Bucard revived the Parti Franciste following the Armistice, becoming an active collaborator, and was one of the founders of the Légion des Volontaires Français (LVF). Arrested on 30 June 1945 in Merano in Italy, he was tried the following February and condemned to death.

Steve Bastow

See Also: FINANCE; FRANCE; LA ROCQUE DE SEVERAC, FRANÇOIS, COMTE DE; NATIONALISM; SOCIALISM; VALOIS, GEORGES; WORLD WAR I

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BUDDHISM

Buddhism was used to various ends by Nazi propagandists and SS researchers calling themselves Na-

tional Socialist scientists. Propagandists like Johannes von Leers saw it as an “active and courageous” religion. According to him, Gautama Buddha, an Aryan, faced down suffering, decay, and death by conquering human greed for life and wealth, thereby witnessing to a very non-Jewish spirit. Jakob Wilhelm Hauer saw the world in terms of a fundamental clash between two faith-worlds (*Glaubenswelten*), the Near-Eastern Semitic and the Indo-Germanic. Buddhism was part of the Indo-Germanic faith world that he hoped would once and for all triumph over “Jewish” Christianity. The Nazi Buddhist scholar Georg Grimm (1868–1945) hoped that Europe would be freed once and for all of Jewish mythology. The holy religions returning home, as it were, from Asia were falling on fertile soil in Nazi Germany.

SS researchers saw Buddhism from two perspectives. First, Buddhist and Sanskrit scholars at universities or the Ahnenerbe Research Institute of the SS attempted to prove the Aryan origins of the Buddha-doctrine. Second, they intended to research what value and teachings the practices of Shakyamuni (Gautama Sidartha) might have for the founding of a new National Socialist religion. Since the swastika was also an important symbol for Buddhists, it was used by German Buddhists before World War I, and Karl Gjellerup’s best-selling book *Der Pilgrim Kamanita*, published in 1913, had a swastika on its cover. The book was an inspiration for Himmler. Himmler’s theory informed the research of Ahnenerbe scholars. Favoring monocausal explanations, he argued that Germanic culture originated on the island of Atlantis, colonized the world, and left traces of a buried holy Aryan world religion, of which Buddhism was a part, in Asia. SS scholars like Ernst Schäfer and Bruno Beger were expected to find proof of the Aryan world religion in the remote mountains of Tibet. While the lamaism of Tibet that Schäfer and Beger discovered did not conform to the SS notion of a warrior religion, and also created conflict with the Ludendorffs, who saw lamaism as part of a world conspiracy of occultists to conquer the mind of Europe, it soon enchanted SS men. After all, Schäfer’s Ph.D. advisor, Hans F. K. Günther, claimed that Tibet’s aristocrats were connected to the higher European race; the lamaistic Buddhist bureaucracy became an example to the SS order, and lama death-rituals prepared SS researchers for their future work in the death camps.

Karla Poewe

See Also: AHNENERBE; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; GOEBBELS, MAGDA; GÜNTHER, HANS

FRIEDRICH KARL; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE; OCCULTISM; SS, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; TIBET; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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BUF: See GREAT BRITAIN

BULGARIA

Fascist parties and organizations never became a mass movement in Bulgaria, but between 1934 and 1944 the country showed a pronounced sympathy for the Axis. In the late nineteenth century a majority of the Bulgarian elite were pro-German. The “Greater Bulgaria” re-established in March 1878 on the lines of the medieval Bulgarian empire after liberation from Turkish rule did not last long. In July 1878 (the Berlin Congress) Bulgaria had to cede a large part of Macedonia to Serbia and Greece and Süddobrukscha to Romania, which was confirmed after the Balkan War of 1913. Right-wing conservative and nationalistic circles continued to nurture hopes of recovering those territories (“Revision Policy”), and the entente with Germany and the Axis after 1934 was chiefly to serve that purpose. In World War I, Bulgaria came in on the side of Germany and Austria for the same reason, and in 1915/1916 occupied Macedonia and Süddobrukscha, only to lose them again in 1918/1919.

In October 1918, Czar Boris III (1894–1943) came to the throne, and he was to play a key role in the rapprochement with the Axis. In the years after 1919, conservative regimes came to power with the chief aim of opposing communism. From 1923 to 1926 the right-wing extremist Alexander Cankov (1879–1948) was president, a militant anticommunist who in 1934 founded the National Social Movement (Sgovor) as a general disparate fascist movement of right-wing renegades from the bourgeois parties. His followers were known as “Cankovists.” In 1932, Christo Kuntschev also founded a Bulgarian pendant to the NSDAP, the

NSBRP, which, however, fragmented and faded. From 1929 there were intensive trade contacts between Bulgaria and Germany, and Cankovists and right-wing Bulgarian officers were courted by Italy and the German Reich in 1933.

Czar Boris made overtures to Germany and was received by Hitler in Berlin as his first foreign state visitor on 1 March 1934. After the collapse of the military regime of Georgiev (May 1934–January 1935), the czar took over the government provisionally on 22 January and then definitively on 21 April 1935. The personal government of the czar showed a mixture of authoritarian-conservative, fascist, and monarchistic traits and is therefore differently assessed; while in the West it was considered a “royal dictatorship,” in Marxist history it is described as “monarcho-fascism.” After the prohibition of parties decreed in June 1934, the czar also dissolved the Cankovist organization and the parafascist officers’ association of “Legionaries,” but on the other hand in 1936 took Cankovists on board as ministers in the government. Following a state visit to Bulgaria by Hermann Goering and other senior Nazi officials in May 1935, there were increasingly intensive contacts between the German and Bulgarian governments. In 1937, Bulgaria began to receive substantial credits from the German Reich for the funding of an armaments program.

After Bulgaria had played an active mediatorial role between Germany and the Western powers in 1938 during the Sudeten crisis and at the Munich talks, Germany and Italy put the czar under massive pressure to come into the Axis. However, Czar Boris wanted to pursue a policy of neutrality and also to pressure the Axis powers to recognize Bulgarian revisionist aims—especially as on 9 February 1934 the neighboring states of Yugoslavia, Greece, Romania, and Turkey had concluded the “Balkan Pact” for the rejection of Bulgarian demands. Bulgaria was careful to be actively involved in the Hitler-Stalin Pact of August 1939, not wishing to be squeezed between those two powerful regimes.

After the outbreak of World War II, it became increasingly difficult for Bulgaria to stick to her original policy of neutrality. In February 1940 the czar made the weak philo-German scholar Bogdan Filov (1883–1945) president. In return for German mediation of the Treaty of Craiova (7 September 1940), in which Romania ceded Süddobrukscha according to the 1913 borders to Bulgaria, she agreed to mold her domestic policy to German wishes. On 23 January 1941,

Czar Boris brought in the Law for the Protection of the Nation, which was a copy of the Nuremberg race laws against the Jews, who constituted only about 1 percent of the population (that is, 50,000 persons). As a result of that law, around 20,000 Jews were “moved” from Sofia to the provinces up to July 1943, but the deportation to the death camps that the Germans were demanding was resisted by the czar and by all circles of the population. After massive pressure from the Axis Powers, Bulgaria came into the Three Power Pact with Germany, Italy, and Japan on 1 March 1941. The German invasion of the Soviet Union on 1 June 1941 was, however, so unpopular in Bulgaria that the Germans did not dare to put Bulgarian divisions into the battle against Russia. Sympathy for Germany among the populace rapidly decreased, and the government avoided breaking off diplomatic contact with the Soviet Union. However, German troops needed Bulgaria as an operational base against the USSR; in return for her “loyalty to the alliance,” Bulgaria received Macedonia and Thrace from the Germans in 1941. Her hopes of occupying the territory of Salonika were, however, blocked by Italy.

Pro-Russian opinion in the populace led to a growth in the illegal Communist Party and to Partisan activity. German military officials demanded a stronger intervention by the Filov regime, which thereupon set up a “state gendarmerie” for fighting the partisans in January 1943. Czar Boris III died on 28 August 1943; his son Simeon II was still a child, so a three-man regency council ruled in his place, including Bogdan Filov and Prince Kyrill (1895–1945), brother to Czar Boris and friendly to the Germans. He had taken part in a failed coup in 1936 with the Cankovists. But now the trend of the war was clearly in favor of the Soviet Union. Under pressure both from the German military and the communist partisans, Filov realized that (as a consequence of the Prohibition of Parties in 1934) he lacked mass support. With the aid of fascist legionaries and Germanophile forces he created the Bulgarian National Association in the summer of 1943.

Ivan Bagrjanov, made president in June 1944, sought to distance himself prudently from Germany and to avoid an open breach with the USSR. As Romania changed sides, seeing the way the wind of war was blowing, Bulgaria declared her neutrality on 23 August 1944 and announced that she was withdrawing from the war. In spite of that, on 8 September 1944, Soviet troops entered Bulgaria; Bulgaria now declared war on

Germany. Bogdan Filov and Prince Kyrill were condemned to death by a “people’s court” and executed in February 1945.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GERMANY; GOERING, HERMANN; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MONARCHY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; ROMANIA; SOVIET UNION, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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BURNING OF THE BOOKS, THE:
See **BOOKS, BURNING OF THE BUSINESS:** See **BANKS; ECONOMICS; INDUSTRY; U.S. CORPORATIONS**

BUTLER, RICHARD GIRNT (1918–2004)

Known as “Pastor” or “Reverend” Butler, for nearly thirty years one of the best-known representatives of the U.S. white supremacist, anti-Semitic far Right. Born in Colorado in 1918, he studied aeronautical engineering before doing war service with the U.S. Armed Forces. He became acquainted with other white supremacists while working for Lockheed in southern California. After serving as national director of the Christian Defense League for ten years, Butler moved to Idaho with his congregation, which became Aryan Nations with the aim of forming a “national racial state.” Breakaways left Butler isolated, but at his death he retained a strong profile on the far Right.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM

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CABLE STREET, THE BATTLE OF

This set-piece confrontation between fascists, antifascists, and the Metropolitan Police took place in London on 4 October 1936, just as the Civil War was breaking out in Spain. Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists (BUF) had recently recovered from a previous setback, the clashes at Olympia in 1934. The BUF recruited a number of working-class racists in London's East End. Following the BUF's decision to hold a march through the area, antifascists responded by blocking the route. The police attempted to force a way through but were repulsed. Cable Street was later used, in the 1940s and 1970s, as a mobilizing symbol of successful antifascist protest.

David Renton

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; BRITISH FASCISTS/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; GREAT BRITAIN; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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CAESARISM

Term employed by Gramsci, Thalheimer, and others to identify contemporary fascisms in Germany and Italy as modernized versions of Bonapartism (the authoritarian political ideology associated with Napoleon Bonaparte and the Emperor Napoleon III—dictatorship appealing to mass support). Mussolini claimed to have introduced a “Third Italian Civilization” after the Roman Empire and the Renaissance. The militaristic and expansionistic spirit of the Romans was evidently close to the self-image of the Italian Fascists themselves. Three days before the March on Rome, Mussolini lectured his supporters on the role played by war in giving birth to the Roman spirit. In art and literature, the supporters of the fascist regime repeatedly compared Mussolini's court to the glories of Rome. Similar models were found in Germany, where Oswald Spengler argued that the only alternative to the decline of the West was national rebirth, directed by new “legions of Caesar.”

The parallels between modern and ancient Rome also influenced the theories of fascism's opponents. One of the first sustained critics to write about fascism was the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci. He drew on the writings of Karl Marx and in particular on

Marx's concept of "Bonapartism." Gramsci employed the synonym "Caesarism" to distinguish fascism as an Italian version of Bonapartism. Karl Marx's analysis had appeared in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852). That pamphlet showed how a small minority movement could take power. Napoleon's nephew began his career as an adventurer with the support of just a few intellectuals and members of the urban poor. He was able to defeat his rivals in a coup and declare himself emperor, taking the title Napoleon III. Marx blamed Bonaparte's victory on the malaise of two grander forces in French society, the working class and the bourgeoisie. Forced into open conflict in 1848, neither had overwhelmed the other. Instead, their mutual exhaustion had opened the way for Bonapartism. It was a form of class society in which the previous ruling class continued to dominate the economy, but its preferred representatives did not administer the state.

Seventy-five years later, Antonio Gramsci sought to explain the victory of Fascism in Italy from detention in a Fascist jail. He suggested that Mussolini's support had drawn on social layers similar to those who had followed Bonaparte, the "famished" urban poor, supplemented by a "subversive" class of rural peasants who were willing to back any revolution, left or right. Fascism was an independent party that ruled in the interests of capital. It was also a system of personal rule. Caesarism was a "situation" in which "the forces of conflict balance each other in a catastrophic manner." The same notions of equilibrium that Marx had detected in 1852, Gramsci found in early 1920s Italy. The advance of the workers' movement during the revolutionary years of 1919–1921 had been enough to weaken the previous rulers, but not to topple them.

Antonio Gramsci's theories were similar to those of a German Marxist, August Thalheimer, also writing around 1930. Thalheimer compared fascism to Bonapartism. There were additional points he made, however, that help to fill out Gramsci's analysis. The first was his observation that fascism appeared eighty years after Napoleon III. In other words, it depended in part on the sclerosis of the system, the replacement of free trade by a system of trusts and monopolies. A second point he made was that Louis Napoleon had modeled his secret society on those of his rivals on the small French insurrectionary Left. By contrast, Mussolini's and Hitler's model was the totalitarian Soviet Communist Party. The fascist conception of the power of the state was much grander and more dangerous than Bonaparte's.

David Renton

See Also: BOULANGISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; ROME; WAR

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CALENDAR, THE FASCIST

As a movement deeply bound up with the attempt to overcome national or racial decadence and create a "new man," fascism has always tended to generate a powerful longing for the renewal of historical time in its most fervent supporters, particularly in the interwar period, when a profound structural crisis affected the entire world of Western modernity. Once installed in power, Italian Fascism devoted considerable energy to the development of an elaborate "political religion," to induce in Italians the subjective sense of living through a temporal revolution. For example, it has been calculated that between 1922 and 1944 the citizens of Verona could have participated in 727 "events" (or, on average, one every ten days), including celebrations, symposia, commemorations, demonstrations, and inaugurations designed to lift them out of the decadence of pre-Fascist time and weld them into the regenerated "national community." As a result, the private time of committed Fascists became regularly transcended by the suprapersonal time of the reborn Italy.

An essential part of this process was played by the institution of a new calendar, which was intercalated with the Christian religious year of major feasts, holy days, and saint days and which overlaid the secular calendar introduced as part of the civic religion of liberal Italy. Thus 23 March, Youth Day, commemorated the founding of the Fasci; 21 April, Labor Day, the founding of Rome; 24 May, Empire Day, the entry of Italy into World War I; 20 September, Italian Unity, the incorporation of Rome into the Kingdom of Italy; 28

October, the Fascist Revolution, the March on Rome. In 1931 the regime even introduced a “Fascist Epiphany,” which in Milan included a “Christmas Day’s” distribution of gifts in the name of Mussolini to be known as the “Duce’s Christmas.” When Saturday became a holiday for most workers, it was promptly dubbed the “Fascist Saturday.” The outstanding example of this attempt to turn calendar time into an instrument of fascistization, however, was the superimposition over the Gregorian time-scheme of a specifically Fascist one. The year 1922, that of the March on Rome, became year I of the Fascist era, and all official publications were dated in terms both of Anno Domini and of the years that had passed since the first stage in Mussolini’s “conquest of the state.” In this way Italians were encouraged to feel that it had betokened not just a change of administration but also the inauguration of a new era in the history of an “eternal” Italian civilization.

In its fundamental conception of historical time Fascism was deeply akin to Hitler’s regime, which, after seizing power in 1933, also instituted an elaborate political religion as part of its bid to found a “thousand-year Reich” (a millennial concept that points to a deep metaphysical urge to transcend “ordinary” historical time). Events such as the yearly Nuremberg rallies and the Berlin Olympics were transformed into huge liturgical celebrations of the phoenixlike resurrection of Germany from the ashes of the Weimar Republic and the fulfillment of her “Aryan” destiny. The Nazi calendar involved the “makeover” of the 1 May feast of the coming of spring, already appropriated by Marxism to mark International Labor Day, so that it celebrated German Labor Day instead. Hitler’s birthday and the date of his accession to the chancellorship became major holy days in the sacralization of the state. Inevitably the regime also poured considerable energy into commemorating the failed putsch of November 1923. Its centerpiece was an elaborate choreographed ritual, part operatic pageant, part religious ceremony, that turned the steps of the Feldherrnhalle in Munich’s Odeonplatz—built as a memorial to the martyrs of the *Kampfzeit* (“time of struggle”—that is, before Nazism came to power)—into an “altar” and transformed the hall itself into a temple to the new Reich. Within National Socialist myth, 9 November 1923 thus became a turning point at which the old era of decadence and “Jewish” hegemony was overthrown and a new glorious chapter in the story of Germany’s destiny inaugurated.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ARYANISM; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; CHRISTIANITY; DECADENCE; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NEW MAN, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SYMBOLS; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITIONALISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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CALVO SOTELO, JOSÉ (1893–1936)

Spanish finance minister under the Miguel Primo de Rivera dictatorship (1923–1930) and a determined, violent opponent of the Second Republic (1931–1936). Editor of the intellectual, authoritarian right-wing journal *Acción Española* and leader of the elitist monarchist cause of the exiled Alfonso XIII, he became increasingly influenced by fascism—a tag that he happily embraced on occasion. During the spring of 1936, Calvo Sotelo’s public attacks on the republic grew ever more virulent. His assassination by socialist assault

guards on 13 July 1936 finally clinched the involvement in the military revolt of a number of prevaricating officers, including Francisco Franco.

Sid Lowe

See Also: FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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CAMBODIA: See KAMPUCHEA

CANADA

Fascism in Canada is complex. There have been hundreds of overlapping organizations, many short-lived, with leading fascists moving between organizations, and Canadian fascism has had its own unique character, with special regional variations. Canadian fascists have been world leaders in such areas as Holocaust denial. Canadian fascism began in the 1920s with the Ku Klux Klan particularly prominent. Klans emphasized different scapegoats in different provinces, with the French most targeted in Saskatchewan, for example, and Asians most targeted in British Columbia. The Klan was especially popular in the western province of Saskatchewan. In the 1920s, Klan membership in Saskatchewan was between 20,000 and 40,000, and many elected officials were Klansmen.

In 1920s Quebec, other fascist organizations were more prominent; fascism was pronouncedly anti-Semitic, and it was linked to Quebec separatism. The earliest influential Quebec figure was the father of Quebec separatism, Father Lionel Groulx. Groulx called for the birth of a new Quebec tied to land, religion (Roman Catholic), and language (French). Correspondingly, he blamed Jews for current problems and organized a boycott of Jewish merchants and goods, the *achat chez nous* (“buy from our own”) movement. A leading figure in that movement was journalist Adrian Arcand—father of Canadian Fascism. The most prominent fascist leader of the time, Arcand gave

Canadian Fascism its distinctly Nazi orientation. Arcand was not a separatist but a Canadian nationalist who spearheaded a Nazi movement that extended into English Canada. He broadcast his messages via three newspapers that he edited, and he founded the National Socialist Christian Party. Allied federally with the Tories, the National Socialist Christian Party helped to elect the federal Tories and received funding from them. Another significant fascist party in the 1930s was the Canadian Nationalist Party, led by William Whittaker and dedicated to creating a corporatist state. On 5 June 1934 approximately a hundred of Whittaker’s Brownshirts appeared heavily armed in the streets of Winnipeg.

Anti-Semitism and Nazism were an accepted part of Canadian society before World War II. Mainstream newspapers frequently carried anti-Semitic articles. Signs in Toronto restaurants prohibited Jews and dogs from entering. In Toronto as well as other Ontario cities, there was a proliferation of Nazi gangs known as “swastika clubs.” On 16 August 1933, members of one such gang unfurled a huge swastika flag, thereby sparking the Christie Pits Riot, the largest riot in Toronto history. Anti-Semitism and openness to Nazism is reflected in government policy of the time. In 1937, Liberal Prime Minister McKenzie King developed a trade deal with Hitler. Correspondingly, Britain looked to Canada to host the second international conference on refugees precisely because Canada could be counted on to take a tough line on Jewish refugees. Come World War II, leading fascists were imprisoned. Nonetheless, after the war, Canada was second only to Argentina in the number of fleeing Nazis that it admitted. Throughout the decades, many were employed as anticommunist spies. Correspondingly, until 1948, Jews remained the European refugees least favored by Canadian immigration.

Fascism was at a very low ebb in the 1950s. In the mid-1960s and 1970s, a limited revival began, largely centered in Toronto. Significant in that regard are the Canadian Nazi Party, headed by John Beattie, and the Western Guard, led by Don Andrews and John Ross Taylor. During the late 1970s, the government set up federal and provincial human rights commissions. Since then, the human rights apparatus has frequently been used successfully to curb fascist activity. The first of the fascists to be curtailed by it, Western Guard leader John Ross Taylor, was jailed in 1979 for failure to comply with a tribunal order to desist from broadcasting hate messages on the Guard’s hateline (a phone number which, when called, allows the user access to a propagandist message). A far more substantial fascist



German-Canadian Ernst Zundel, a central figure in the modern Holocaust Denial movement. (AP Photo/Thomas Kienzle)

upsurge began in the 1980s and continued into the late 1990s. Important organizations during that period include the Aryan Nations, the Church of the Creator, the Nationalist Party, the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and the Northern Hammerskins. Of particular note is the Heritage Front, founded in 1989 and initially led by Wolfgang Droege. An umbrella group that unites the radical Right, the front networks with fascist groups of all persuasions. During its heyday in the early 1990s the front patrolled specific streets, promoted white power concerts, and marched on Parliament Hill, declaring parliamentarians traitors. Organizations centered around white power music also thrived in that era, with George Burdi, for example, founding Resistance Records, the largest white power music business in North America.

Throughout this period, Canadian and international fascism has been particularly affected by one fig-

ure living in Toronto—Ernst Zundel, a landed immigrant from Germany. A disciple of Arcand, Zundel set up Samisdat Publishing in Toronto in the 1960s. Samisdat Publishing is dedicated to the dissemination of Holocaust denial material. Zundel was jailed after being convicted of spreading false news but was released when the Supreme Court struck down the false news statute. The Zundel trials brought together leading Holocaust deniers from around the world. They also gave birth to the *Leuchter Report* (a forensic analysis of gas chamber remnants). Despite fundamental flaws, this report has become a fascist classic and is quoted throughout the Internet. Zundel remains at the hub of international Holocaust denial. The enormity of his influence became clear in 1991 when the West German authorities identified Zundel as one of the six major exporters of Holocaust denial material to Germany. With the turn of the century, there was a

minor upsurge in fascism, with Heritage Front again more active. Zundel's status, on the other hand, became more fraught. In 2002 the Canadian Human Rights Commission ruled that material on the Zundel site (webpage) violates the Canadian Human Rights Act. Correspondingly, in 2003 the minister of immigration issued a security certificate declaring Zundel a national security risk.

Bonnie Burstow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROCK MUSIC; SWASTIKA, THE; WHITE NOISE; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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CANARIS, ADMIRAL WILHELM (1887–1945)

One of the most prominent military men to be executed in connection with the July Plot against Hitler, even though he did not support it. Canaris joined the Imperial Navy in 1905 and started working for the secret service during World War I. He took part in the antidemocratic Kapp putsch; his anticommunism and his rejection of the Weimar Republic and the Versailles Treaty made him join forces with the Nazis. Having entered the fleet command in 1920, he participated in the illegal arming of the German armed forces. Holding the rank of an admiral, he became head of the German secret service in 1935. His office played a part in the faked attack on the Gleiwitz station that was used by the Nazi leadership to justify propagandistically the invasion of Poland. On account of shortcomings in performing his duty (especially massive exposure of secret agents), Canaris was deprived of power in February 1944. His attitude toward the political opposition is still a topic of debate. He had contacts with top representatives of the opposition inside the military as early as 1938 and rejected some of Hitler's measures, but his

reservations did not stop him from doing his work; he did not approve the July plot. Nevertheless he was arrested as a supporter and shot on 9 April 1945 in the concentration camp in Flossenbürg.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: GERMANY; JULY PLOT, THE; KAPP PUTSCH, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; NAZISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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CAPITALISM

Fascists rarely spoke of capitalism as a system. To do so would have been to risk accepting the political outlook of the Left. Yet fascists frequently denounced injustices that others typically blamed on capital. Mussolini complained of the tendency that capitalism exhibited to become impersonal. The famous Twenty-Five Points adopted as a party program by the German National Socialists in February 1920 included references to the state's obligation to provide work for its citizens, the abolition of incomes unearned by work, the reduction of interest rates, the nationalization of trusts, profit-sharing in large industrial enterprises, the dismantling of large department stores and their leasing to small traders, and the abolition of ground rent and of speculation in land.

Insofar as fascist spokesmen recognized capitalism as a system and called for its reform, their most consistent point was a rejection of trading and banking—which they dubbed “finance”—and a preference for industry. Some of this argument was taken over from varieties of parliamentary socialism. Thus the British fascist Oswald Mosley was able to move seamlessly from a period before 1930 as a left-wing Labor advocate of full employment to a later period when he preached a right-wing fascist critique of “finance,” now blamed loosely on the Jews. Other economic influences on Mosley's supporters included the parallel theories of social credit and the Italian model of the corporate state. Meanwhile French fascists fulminated against the *laissez-faire* spirit of the Liberal state; the

corollary of war economies was a general increase in state spending.

Many of the adversaries of interwar fascism argued that this barbaric movement had been able to emerge only as a result of certain flaws inherent in the capitalist system itself. One antifascist, Max Horkheimer, wrote: “Whoever does not want to speak of capitalism should be equally silent on fascism” (Renton 1999, 101). It was argued that fascism had based itself on certain features of life that recurred under capitalism, such as the division of the world into nation-states, the tendency of the economic order to go into crisis, and the hostility of large employers to working-class organization. Yet in recent years a number of writers, including some Marxists, have argued that fascism was not merely or even primarily a reflection of market economic conditions. This debate has been most polarized in the consideration of the causes of the Holocaust.

We can list briefly some of the background factors that were said to have linked fascism to capitalism. One of the most important pillars of fascist ideology was extreme nationalism, but xenophobia made no sense in a precapitalist world. The rise of a global system of nation-states was linked to the emergence of the world market. By doing away with the previous patchworks of overlapping fiefdoms, the emergence of the state made the spread of industry possible. Without capitalism there would have been neither nations nor nationalism. Capitalism was also said to have provided the economic background to fascism. The rise of this movement depended on collective feelings of injustice and anger. So long as millions continued to go hungry, while a few rich men prospered, the potential for social crisis would continue. In the actual history of the 1920s and 1930s, two economic processes had been of still more direct importance. One was the global deflation of the mid-1920s, most acute in Germany. The other was the catastrophic recession following the 1929 Wall Street Crash. Fascism thrived on the subsequent mood of despair. Capitalists were also blamed for having financed the far Right. Fascism was linked to the antiproletarian instincts of the owners of the greatest industries. Such magnates as Thyssen, Hugenberg, or the U.S. car boss Henry Ford—who also funded Hitler—believed that their whole world was under attack from militant unions. They gave generous donations to the various fascist parties. They also agitated within the capitalist class for more fascistic solutions to the economic crisis.

Two further points were developed by interwar antifascists. One was the argument that the capitalist system had gone through different periods of growth. In the nineteenth century, for example, when the system

was thriving and the economy growing rapidly in almost every country, the most characteristic face of politics was liberalism. In the slump of the 1930s, by contrast, politics came to be dominated by fascism and war. Another insight was that all around Europe, both fascist and nonfascist states responded to the Depression by employing similar economic schemes. Projects of forced labor were introduced to set the unemployed back at work. Tariffs were employed, in France and Britain as well as Italy and Germany. The relationship between private capital and the state shifted in favor of the state.

David Renton

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTARKY; BANKS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; EMPLOYMENT; FINANCE; FORD, HENRY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUGENBERG, ALFRED VON; INDUSTRY; LIBERALISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; STATE, THE; THYSSEN, FRITZ; TRADES UNIONS; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORK; XENOPHOBIA

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CAPORETTO

Catastrophic World War I Italian military defeat at the hands of the Austro-Hungarian forces in the autumn of 1917, frequently exploited by Mussolini in his propaganda as a symbol of failure and treachery that exposed the shamefulness of the Italian political and military establishment. This defeat inflicted deep wounds on the national psyche and has been described as “Italy’s Golgotha.”

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PAPACY, THE; SECULARIZATION; WORLD WAR I

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CARLYLE, THOMAS (1795–1881)

Scottish historian and essayist whose belief in the power of heroic individuals to transform history, penetrating critique of British society, and admiration for the Germanic spirit proved highly congenial to Nazi ideologues. Carlyle was in fact one of the most significant and radical conservative thinkers of the nineteenth century. Born in a remote rural locality, he studied in Edinburgh and went on to work as a teacher until his success enabled him to live by his writing and he settled in London. In 1865 he became lord rector of the University of Edinburgh. Carlyle was marked both by radical Scottish Puritanism and by German Idealism (Kant, Fichte, Schiller, and Goethe), and he steeped himself in German literature from his early years. From the start he constructed a polarity between the “sacrificial seriousness” of the Germans and the “superficial, pleasure-seeking” English. In his *Signs of the Times* (1829, initially published anonymously), he lamented the gulf between the astounding material achievements of the machine age and the characterless and weak-willed mediocrity of modern man.

The public influence of Carlyle as political theorist began with his essay on Chartism. He called for strong government intervention, as against the prevailing spirit of laissez-faire that abandoned the poor to their fate and neglected the social question, and he spoke of the “right of the common man” to leadership by a far-seeing statesman as “the most unquestionable and most natural” of all human rights. Carlyle criticized the emerging mass democracy, claiming that the crowd always needed decisive leadership, but he also criticized the aristocracy for having given itself up to comfortable living and for clinging to its privileges. He attacked the liberal middle class for their boundless faith in progress, their capitalistic and utilitarian striving for profit, and their egoism, which were so completely opposed to the truly heroic spirit. For all his conservatism, Carlyle had

strong and undisguised sympathies with social revolutionary solutions.

In *Past and Present* (1843), Carlyle’s language took on a threatening and prophetic tone when he contrasted medieval life in the cloister with a present marked by “decadence.” In *Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question* (1849), his thought also acquired a racist tinge when he spoke of the unfitness of the blacks to rule themselves and argued for a modern form of slavery and imperialism.

Particularly influential on Mussolini and Hitler were Carlyle’s theories on history, which he expounded in *The French Revolution* (3 vols., 1837), *On Heroes and Hero Worship* (1841), and his *History of Frederick the Great* (6 vols., 1858–1865). He saw all historical development as deriving from towering individuals—heroes and geniuses; he claimed that the mass of men need a hero and leader figure to tell them how to live and to provide them with a role model. For Carlyle (as later for Hitler) all history was a work of “Providence” that rewarded the worthy and capable, even when they had to subjugate the world by fire and sword.

Markus Hattstein (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; CAPITALISM; CONSERVATISM; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; GERMANNES; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LEADER CULT, THE; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PROGRESS; RACISM; REVOLUTION; UTILITARIANISM; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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CARREL, ALEXIS (1873–1944)

French-born U.S. doctor and researcher, Nobel Prize winner, and admirer of Hitler whose best-seller *Man, the Unknown* (1935) brought him worldwide fame for his frank advocacy of eugenics and concern for race hygiene. Carrel was a researcher for many years at the Rockefeller Institute for medical research in New York. When he reached the statutory retirement age of sixty-five he asked for an exemption, but it was re-

fused, whereupon he accused the institute's Jewish members of forcing him out; in fact, there were no Jews on the board of scientific directors. Carrel was a close friend of Hitler admirer and anti-Semite Charles Lindbergh. In 1941, Carrel went to Paris on the advice of Lindbergh and obtained financial backing from the Vichy leader Marshal Pétain to set up a Foundation for the Study of Human Problems that was to advance the implementation of his eugenic principles. After the Liberation he was accused of collaboration with the Nazis but died of a heart attack before he could be tried.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; EUGENICS; FRANCE; HITLER, ADOLF; LINDBERGH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS; NAZISM; PÉTAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; VICHY

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CARTO, WILLIS (born 1926)

Founder in 1955 of Liberty Lobby, considered by some to be the most influential right-wing extremist propaganda organization currently in existence in the United States. He receives little publicity, as he avoids the spotlight. He has a history of association with anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi periodicals and publishing. An offshoot of Liberty Lobby is the Institute for Historical Review, which Carto founded in 1979 to disseminate Holocaust denial. In 2001, Carto relinquished control of Liberty Lobby.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM

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CATHOLIC ACTION: See CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM

CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE

Any examination of the relationship between the Catholic Church and fascism necessarily consists of three strands: (1) those fascist movements that were themselves Catholic in inspiration or in tendency; (2) the attitudes of the general Catholic public in the Western democracies toward international fascism; and (3) the activities of the Vatican and of the Catholic hierarchy in individual countries during the fascist era. These strands naturally interweave at times. But what emerges is that there *was* such a thing as "Catholic fascism," which evidenced itself in a number of national movements. Great sections of the general Catholic public in such countries as Britain and France showed considerable enthusiasm for what has been termed "Mediterranean fascism," with many of them nevertheless baulking at what they saw as "pagan" Nazism. Certain Catholic bishops and archbishops, in various countries before and during World War II, did acquiesce in fascist brutalities (while others distinguished themselves by their protests); the Vatican, starting from its usual foreign policy standpoint of negotiating concordats to safeguard Catholic interests, reached a high point of opposition to Nazism in the late 1930s under Pius XI with the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*, after which, under Pius XII, its actions (or inaction) have led to considerable controversy.

Among the movements in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century that have been seen as "protofascist," there were a number that had a considerable Catholic following. This is particularly true of the French "radical Right" movement Action Française, founded in 1898, which has at times been described as "better placed within the reactionary right-wing tradition," even though it had "affinities with fascism" (Eatwell 1995, 19); another view, however, holds that Action Française was closely related to what was to become fascism, and that in the interwar period, after the emergence of Italian Fascism, it was itself aware of that relationship. Be that as it may, the Catholic strain has been a constant in the French radical Right.

When Italian Fascism came into existence immediately after World War I, it was essentially a secular movement, one of its main characteristics being strong hostility toward the Catholic Church. Increasingly, however, after Mussolini's advent to power in 1922, he began to see that open conflict with Catholicism would be damaging and could lose him too much support. His eventual ideal seems to have been "peaceful coexistence"; that was helped by the pro-Fascist attitudes of a number of churchmen, while even those who were not necessarily enthusiastic took a similar view of the need to compromise. These attitudes on both sides led to the Lateran Pacts of 1929, which were vitally important both for the Catholic Church and for Fascism. They resolved church-state relations, which had remained in abeyance ever since the occupation of Rome in 1870, the main elements being (1) a treaty recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the Holy See and creating the State of the Vatican City; (2) a concordat defining the civil relations between the government and the Church within Italy ("free Church in free State"); and (3) financial compensation to the Holy See for its losses in 1870. These pacts brought great benefits to the Church, in that it became the established church in Italy and also achieved political status as an independent state. But they were even more important for Mussolini, in that they gave his regime formal recognition and greater support within a significant section of the Italian population, while ensuring that the clergy were forbidden to take part in politics and that bishops swore allegiance to the Italian state. At the same time, they presented Italian Fascism to international opinion as a responsible and respectable regime.

One incidental by-product was the impetus that was given to support for Fascist Italy among the Catholic populations of the Western democracies, who seemed to believe that what was essentially a pragmatic piece of political maneuvering was in fact a proof of the essentially "Catholic" nature of the Italian regime. What many such observers failed to note were the increasingly tense relations between Fascism and the Church in Italy in the immediate aftermath of the Lateran Pacts, culminating in Pius XI's 1931 encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno*, which retaliated to the Fascist Party's attacks on the youth movement Catholic Action and condemned "a regime based on an ideology which clearly resolves itself into a pagan worship of the State."

With the rise of antidemocratic forces and the spread of dictatorial regimes in Europe in the 1930s, and with the new conviction that these were all part of a new "international Fascism," a number of movements in various countries presented a close combination of

Catholicism and fascism. This was, of course, true mainly of predominantly Catholic countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, or countries such as Belgium with a strong Catholic community. The Rexist movement in Belgium, for example, was headed by Léon Degrelle, a product of the Catholic University of Louvain and former editor of the *Cahiers de la Jeunesse Catholique* (*Journal of Catholic Youth*). This movement, stemming from the journal *Rex* (a name based on Christ's title *Christus Rex*, Christ the King), was Catholic, anticapitalist, and anticommunist. Sympathetic observers in other countries saw Degrelle as a charismatic figurehead for a new Fascist surge.

Even in a country like Ireland, where the fascist "Blueshirts" movement was comparatively small and ineffective, the same syndrome was to be found. As early as the late 1920s, Professor Walter Starkie had been seeing fascism as the opportunity for a "spiritual awakening" of Ireland that would avoid the "selfish individualism and agnosticism" that underlay most modern political theory. Eoin O'Duffy, the leader of the Blueshirts, went further. He saw the Blueshirts' mission as that of leading Ireland out of its difficulties by setting up "the only Christian system of government which will work successfully in the modern world"—that is, corporatism. Their main work would be to "inspire our people with a consciousness of the great destiny of Ireland as a Christian state," and to rekindle the spirit of the old Irish missionaries who had saved Christianity in the Dark Ages, by holding themselves ready to stem the tide of communism and materialism that was engulfing modern Europe (Griffin 1995, 182–184).

In Portugal, Salazar's *Estado Novo* ("New State") has sometimes been described as conservative rather than fascist, but there are more similarities than differences between it and the more extreme fascist movement, the National Syndicalists (which has often been contrasted with Salazar's government). The policies of both of them stem directly from the prewar Integralist movement, a prime example of "pre-fascism" of the Action Française type. Indeed, it has been pointed out that those most disposed to learn from and emulate Italian and Nazi models in Portugal had all "been grounded in the teachings and intellectual style of *Integralismo*" (H. Martins in Woolf 1968). One of the moving forces behind Integralism and also behind Salazar's doctrines was Catholicism, and the *Estado Novo* was established on traditional Catholic principles, the process culminating with the Concordat of 1940.

As for Franco's Spain, one of the major planks in Nationalist propaganda during the Civil War had been the idea of a "crusade" against those who would destroy

the Church. Franco too has often been seen as a “conservative reactionary” rather than a fascist. But there is no doubt that contemporary observers saw his regime as a natural ally of the Italian and German regimes, and he seems to have considered himself and his followers as belonging to the same international movement as Italian Fascism and German Nazism, while showing, as did those movements, specific national characteristics. The Spanish Church (apart from the priests in the Basque province, who showed that it was possible for Catholics to rally to the Republican side) strongly supported Franco’s cause in the Civil War; that, and the accounts of Republican atrocities against priests, nuns, and churches, led many Catholics in other countries to believe implicitly in the “crusade” propaganda, and to mobilize help for the Franco side. This view was reinforced by the Spanish hierarchy’s letter “to the bishops of the whole world,” which claimed that the insurrection and the resultant civil war were theologically just in that they aimed to save the principles of religion, that the National movement was a vast family in which the citizen could attain his total development, and that the Basque priests were to be reprovved for not having listened to the voice of the Church.

One must not, of course, make exclusive generalizations about Catholic attitudes to the Spanish Civil War. In France, alongside the many who shared the poet Paul Claudel’s view, as expressed in his poem “To the Spanish Martyrs,” that what was at stake was the very future of the Church in a country that had been one of the bastions of the faith, there were also writers such as Georges Bernanos, Jacques Maritain, François Mauriac, and the group associated with the journal *Sept*, who deplored such Catholic commitment to what they believed to be an unworthy cause. It remains true, nevertheless, that there was a large majority of French Catholics who saw Franco’s cause as a worthy one.

In Britain, support for Franco extended from the aristocratic Catholicism of recusant society to the working-class Catholicism of the inner cities. Many prominent Catholics joined The Friends of National Spain, which held many public meetings throughout the United Kingdom. An FNS meeting in Perth, for example, expressed “heartfelt sympathy with fellow Christians in Spain who are suffering such prolonged martyrdom” and declared a conviction that “there will be no peace in Spain or the Western Mediterranean until the forces of anarchy, tyranny and Communism are crushed.” The Archbishop of Westminster formed a Spanish committee to consider measures of humanitarian help to the Nationalist side. It consisted of such prominent figures as Lord Fitzalan of Derwent and

Lord Howard of Penrith. Evelyn Waugh’s future sister-in-law, Gabriel Herbert, was typical of the young Catholics who supported its aims; she became an ambulance driver for Franco’s troops. The kind of rhetoric that underlay such commitment can be found in the unpublished diary of one aristocratic British enthusiast: “Got the glorious news about 2 p.m. that the Carlists had occupied Barcelona! *Viva Requetes!* And so God in his infinite goodness has caused his Son to triumph again in Spain to the confusion and ruin of Red Anti-Christ. *Viva Franco! Arriba Espana!*”

There was also ample evidence of support for Franco’s cause in British working-class Catholicism. This was so strong and widespread that “the Labour Party, aware that many Catholic workers actively opposed the Spanish Republic, feared it might lose the Catholic vote if it appeared too vigorously pro-Republican” (Srebrnik 1995). In the East End of London, the tepidity of the strong Irish Catholic element within the local Labor Party in relation to antifascism was what made so many Jews join the Communist Party.

Apart from the question of the Spanish Civil War, there was also a strong element of support for “Mediterranean fascism” in general among French and British Catholics, who indiscriminately placed Mussolini, Salazar, and Franco in the same category. That could in some cases even extend to other “Catholic fascist” movements such as Rexism; the Catholic leader of the Welsh Nationalist movement, Saunders Lewis, for example, could almost in the same breath praise Salazar, “one of the two or three greatest statesmen of Europe to-day,” and Degrelle, seen as spokesman of large numbers of his fellow countrymen (*The Welsh Nationalist*, September and October 1936).

Nazism, however, presented a completely different problem. Admirers of Mussolini such as Douglas Jerrold, and Sir Charles Petrie recoiled at the “barbarism” both of Nazi methods and Nazi beliefs. Mussolini, after all, had seemed, not only to his enthusiastic supporters but also to the public at large, a respectable member of the European family of nations. Jerrold attacked Nazi anti-Semitism while continuing in his support for Mussolini. Petrie saw Italian-style Fascism as standing “for the family, for religion, and for discipline,” whereas Nazism, “the old Prussianism in a new form,” applied eugenic tests to the relations of the sexes, was trying to make religion a department of state, and preferred emotionalism to self-control (*Saturday Review*, 20 May 1933). Similarly, in France, Henri Massis, a fervent Catholic admirer of Mussolini, Franco, and Salazar, felt that Hitler was wrongly associated with Italian Fascism, whose “noble, elevated virtues” were the contrary of

Nazism's "doctrines of force, of violence" (Massis 1939). Much of the French Catholic press, which had been so favorable to Mussolini and Franco, denounced the "false gods" of Nazism, particularly after the papal encyclical of 1937, *Mit brennender Sorge*.

Meanwhile, what were the Vatican's attitudes to these matters? As far as Spain was concerned, in 1937 the Vatican formally recognized Franco's side in the Civil War as the official government of Spain. This meant that any Catholic who took the Republican side was a rebel against the pope. On the question of Germany, however, the Vatican's policies were much more hesitant. Throughout the interwar period, one of the Vatican's great concerns had been to regularize the Church's position in individual countries by a series of concordats. The Lateran Treaties with Italy had fitted into that context, based on the traditional aims of Vatican diplomacy, which were to live with regimes, even those most contrary to the principles of the Church, rather than to oppose them. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, therefore, it was hardly surprising that the Vatican should have set about negotiating a concordat to safeguard the position of the Church within Germany. What its negotiators failed to see, at this stage, was that the subsequent actions of the Nazi regime were to change completely the context in which such agreements had been negotiated in the past. The concordat was negotiated on behalf of Pope Pius XI by his secretary of state, Cardinal Pacelli, the future Pius XII, and signed on 20 July 1933. Pacelli, as papal nuncio to Germany for thirteen years from 1917, had throughout the 1920s been renegotiating with the German states their individual concordats, which had until then accorded German Catholics considerable autonomy from the Vatican. He hoped thereby to solidify papal power. He also hoped eventually to negotiate a concordat with the whole German nation. It was ironic that the opportunity for this should finally have occurred when the new, despotic regime had taken power—but, as with the Lateran Treaties, it was seen as a move providing advantages to both sides. The Church was able thereby to solidify its power among German Catholics, but at the same time hoped it could safeguard the German Catholic minority against persecution or encroachments on its freedom of conscience. The Nazis ensured thereby that the Church in Germany, which up to then had taken some part in opposing the rise of Nazism, would no longer have any significant opposition role, as bishops had to pronounce an oath of loyalty to the state, and clergy were prohibited from belonging to, or working for, political parties.

In any event, it was Hitler who gained all the advantages. On the one hand he used the concordat, and on the other he ignored its provisions. By the mid-1930s he had instituted show trials of clergy and a concerted drive to convert Catholics to the new Nazi faith. The Church was concerned not to present too stark a choice for German Catholics, for fear that, in the fervently nationalistic mood of the time, they might choose the secular faith. This meant that the Church played a far less oppositional role in the Third Reich than the Protestant Confessing Church. On the other hand, the Catholic public was far less inclined to support Nazism. Although support from the Nazis came from all social groups, "they achieved their best support in Protestant areas. . . . [T]he industrial workers were under-represented among their supporters and members, as were Catholics" (Cheles, Ferguson, and Vaughan 1995). Meanwhile, the Nazis were putting even more pressure on the Catholics. A drive against religious separateness in the school system and the exertion of pressure on parents to transfer their children to interdenominational schools was the last straw for the Vatican authorities. Pius XI produced a powerful encyclical in 1937 entitled *Mit brennender Sorge* (*With Burning Concern*). Written in German, it was addressed directly to German Catholics. In it the pope denounced the Nazi attitude toward the concordat. They had "sowed the seed of distrust, unrest, hatred, defamation, of a determined hostility overt or veiled, against Christ and his Church." Infidelity to Christ was seen by the Nazi leaders as "a signal and meritorious act of loyalty to the modern State." The Church wished sincerely for a true peace between Church and State in Germany, but would defend its rights and its freedom if necessary. It has been pointed out that this encyclical, while being a powerful indictment of Nazism, was so on the basis purely of Nazism's attitudes to the Catholic Church, rather than that of the regime's other activities. It has been claimed, however, that Pius XI was planning to produce another encyclical about racism and anti-Semitism, entitled *The Unity of Human Races*, that the text had actually been prepared, and that only his death in February 1939 had prevented its publication.

The former cardinal Pacelli succeeded Pius XI as Pius XII. Pacelli had in fact been the main compiler of *Mit brennender Sorge* for Pius XI, so much might have been hoped of him as an opponent of the Nazi regime. It soon became clear, however, that he was, as a former Vatican diplomat, committed to the traditional methods of the Vatican secretariat: caution, and a preference for negotiation rather than confrontation. Coupled with that, he was an even more violent opponent of

communism than his predecessor and cautious about anything that might tip the balance of forces in Europe toward the Left. Pius XII's record, both before and during World War II, has been a subject of considerable debate. On the one hand, his silence in the face of the Nazi treatment of the Jews has been condemned; on the other, much has been made of behind-the-scenes activities on his part that showed a concern to wield influence to the best of his ability, within the limits that he had set himself.

During World War II, the record of the Catholic Church in the various occupied territories, and those allied to the Reich, was a varied one. At one extreme there were the vicious activities of the Ustasha under Ante Pavelić in Croatia, which was installed by the Germans as an independent state in 1941. The Ustasha was a Catholic nationalistic movement violently opposed to the Orthodox Serbs with whom they had been part of prewar Yugoslavia. Under their rule about 600,000 Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies were massacred, and thousands of Serbs were forcibly converted to Catholicism. A number of Catholic priests took a leading part in such Ustasha activities. Throughout the war the Vatican was in full diplomatic relations with Croatia and had a papal nuncio in the capital, Zagreb. Although full details of the Ustasha activities were known, they were never condemned by the Church.

Monsignor Tiso's regime in Slovakia, which was declared independent under German protection in March 1939, was a different matter. Although the Slovak Popular Party, of which Tiso was leader, was a Catholic party, Tiso's Catholicism was subordinate in importance to his Slovak nationalism. Tiso's party's activities can in no way be compared to those of the government of Croatia, but, like most governments of puppet states, it has come under considerable criticism for acquiescence in the deportation of Jews as the war proceeded. Tiso's own role in this has always been seen as an ambiguous one. He had, however, definitely prepared anti-Semitic legislation as early as late 1938, and laws excluding Jews from the professions and the university were in force by August 1939. But he voiced public criticism of the deportations, which were stopped despite heavy German opposition, from October 1942 to October 1944.

Vichy France is a good example of a puppet state in which the reactions of the local hierarchy were extremely varied. A majority of bishops and clergy welcomed the advent of the Pétain government immediately after the German invasion of 1940, seeing it as the first Christian government in France since 1870 and an opportunity to revive Christian values in a society that

had been ruled for too long by the godless Third Republic. Support for Vichy did not, however, necessarily imply acceptance of the German occupier, and many French Catholics began by late 1940 to feel considerable unease at the anti-Semitic policies of Vichy, unease that turned to alarm when the German authorities commenced the deportations of 1942. The attitudes of the cardinals and archbishops ranged from the strongly pro-Nazi Cardinal Baudrillart, who blessed the Frenchmen who went to fight for Germany on the Eastern Front as "the crusaders of the twentieth century," to Cardinal Gerlier of Lyon and Archbishop Saliège of Toulouse, who protested in 1942 against the Jewish deportations and called on Catholics to shelter and hide Jews. The refugee networks set up as a result, mainly by the religious orders, saved thousands of Jewish children, while many Catholic families sheltered individual Jews. The activities of individual Catholics in all the occupied countries were similarly varied.

The war itself changed the perceptions of most Catholics, and in the succeeding years the Vatican has completely revised its attitudes. In those places where "neofascist" movements have gradually emerged, Catholic support or participation has been no greater, and usually less, than that of other sections of society. While the political pronouncements of the "break-away" traditionalist Archbishop Lefèvre were naively reminiscent of the rhetoric of Action Française, the party that appeared most to resemble that prewar movement, Le Pen's Front National, seems to have attracted mainly nonpracticing Catholics to its cause. And despite its nostalgic evocation of the "Catholic Right" of the prewar era, it is interesting to note that its electoral propaganda by now appears to contain almost no religious content. The same is true of extreme-right movements within other Catholic countries, such as Austria.

Richard Griffiths

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; BELGIUM; CENTER PARTY, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; CROATIA; DEGRELLE, LEON; *ESTADO NOVO*; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; IRELAND; ITALY; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NAZISM; O'DUFFY, EOIN; PAPACY, THE; PAVELIĆ, DR. ANTE; PÉTAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PORTUGAL; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM; PROTO-FASCISM; RELIGION; REXISM; ROMA AND SINTI,

THE; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SALGADO, PLÍNIO; SCHMITT, CARL; SERBS, THE; SLOVAKIA; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPANN, OTHMAR; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THEOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TISO, MGR. JOSEF; USTASHA; VICHY; YUGOSLAVIA

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CELINE, LOUIS FERDINAND (1894–1961)

Pseudonym of French doctor and right-wing interwar novelist Louis-Ferdinand Destouches. Céline was a prominent anti-Semite and supporter of fascism. His literary breakthrough came with the novel *Voyage au bout de la nuit* (*Journey to the End of the Night*) in 1932, which was followed by a number of novels marked by a profound anti-Semitism: *Mort à crédit* (1936), *Bagatelles pour un massacre* (1937), *L'École des cadavres* (1938), and *Les beaux draps* (1941). Carroll argues that Céline's work picks up the threads of anti-Semitism from "where Drumont left off, giving a new language and style to anti-Semitism" (Carroll 1995, 180). He played little

active part in politics during the collaboration, but he did contribute numerous pieces for the ultracollaborationist press and was friends with a number of ultracollaborationists. Céline fled France following the Liberation, first to Germany then to Denmark, where he was arrested and imprisoned for a year until February 1947. He returned to France in 1951, following an amnesty.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE; FRANCE

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CENSORSHIP: See BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; FRICK, WILHELM; PRESS, THE; RADIO; THEATER

CENTER PARTY, THE

At the end of World War I, the Catholic Center Party (Zentrumspartei; originally founded in 1870 by the Catholics of Germany to defend the rights of the Church) held the balance of power in the German Reich. It advocated recognition of the Weimar constitution, fulfillment of the Treaty of Versailles, better education, and closer relations with the Vatican. The party continued to advance the Church's interests in Germany until Hitler's rise, but by early 1933 he had largely stripped it of power. To the great embarrassment of the Holy See, the party supported the Enabling Act, which gave Hitler essentially unlimited powers, and it briefly considered forming a coalition with the Nazis, just for survival.

In 1933 the Nazis killed several activists in the party, and it was almost eliminated in March of that year. For the next three months the Nazis brutalized the remaining members of the Center Party, as well as other Catholics. On 5 July 1933, two weeks before the concordat between Germany and the Holy See was signed, the membership dissolved in the hope that this would stop the persecution. Pius XI, like all popes since at least Pius X (1903–1914), agreed with removing clergy

from direct political involvement. Pius thought that the Church could be more effectively defended with the lay organization Catholic Action than by parliamentary action. Therefore, when the concordat was signed, he agreed to a term barring German priests and bishops from involvement in party politics. Since the only political party left in Germany at this time was the Nazi Party, that provision actually ended up being an asset to the Church. The relevant provision of the concordat said: “[T]he Holy See will prescribe regulations which will prohibit clergymen and members of religious institutes from membership in political parties and from working on their behalf.” The supplemental protocol said: “The conduct enjoined upon the pastors and members of religious institutes in Germany does not entail any limitation of the prescribed preaching and interpretation of the dogmatic and moral teachings and principles of the Church.”

Despite the removal of Catholic clergy from direct participation in the political process, they were not restricted from making statements that dealt with basic human rights. Moreover, Catholic laypersons were in no way restricted from political activity. The agreement with Germany was very similar in this respect to the Lateran Treaty signed with Italy in 1929 and to instructions given to the French clergy in the mid-1920s. The Church did not agree to restrictions on its right to involve itself in politics whenever “the fundamental rights of man or the salvation of souls requires it.” The Catholic clergy were in fact very far from being silenced, and many of them spoke out against the Nazis.

Ronald Rychlak

See Also: BRÜNING, HEINRICH; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; ENABLING ACT, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LAT-ERAN PACTS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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CERCLE PROUDHON, THE

Group of French far-right intellectuals who began meeting in December 1911 to promote nationalist an-

tidemocratic thinking. Among the moving spirits behind it were Georges Valois and Charles Maurras. They founded a journal, the *Cahiers du cercle Proudhon*, in January 1912.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; FRANCE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; VALOIS, GEORGES

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CHAMBER OF CORPORATIONS, THE:
See TRADE UNIONS

CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART (1855–1927)

Son of an English admiral and one of the most important proponents of *völkisch* ideology in general and *völkisch* anti-Semitism in particular. Often described as a spiritual forefather of the Third Reich. From 1888 onward he became increasingly influential within the Bayreuth circle that was centered around the composer Richard Wagner's widow, Cosima, and that constituted one of the key *völkisch* milieux in pre-World War I days. His main work is *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899; English translation: *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, with introduction by Lord Redesdale).

Chamberlain was born in England in 1855 but suffered from poor health and spent most of his life on the Continent. After marrying the German-born Anna Horst in 1878, he settled in Geneva to take up university studies and graduated in 1881. He immediately started working on his doctoral dissertation, but because of poor health and financial difficulties, the dissertation did not appear until 1896. Initially it had been a study of the mechanics of sap movements in plants, but it developed into an attempt at proving the existence of a vitalist life force. Influenced by Kant, Schopenhauer, and ancient Indian texts, Chamberlain became increasingly convinced that the only plausible

explanation for the existence of sap movements was indeed the existence of a vitalist life force. Another consequence of Chamberlain's scientific development was a growing antipositivist conviction that science could not be separated from philosophy, religion, and art but had to be perceived as part of a vitalist whole. This view on science was not uncommon in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but it became increasingly outdated as the century drew to its close.

Chamberlain first came into contact with philosophical Wagnerism in the late 1870s, and before settling in Vienna in 1889 he spent four years in Dresden, during which not only his dedication to the neo-Romantic and *völkisch* Bayreuth spirit became more manifest, but also his anti-Semitism. From the 1890s onward, Chamberlain became an extremely productive writer, authoring numerous books, pamphlets, and articles in favor of the Bayreuth spirit. In Vienna, Chamberlain wrote *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, which was meant as the first of three works determining the role of the Aryan race in the past, present, and future, but only the first part of this trilogy was ever finished. In it, he describes world history as a dialectical struggle between the pure Aryan and Jewish races; the rise of world civilizations was seen as the accomplishment of the Aryan race. To Chamberlain, race was not only a biological entity but also a metaphysical force in history, and the Aryan race carried the mark of spirituality and advancement through history. In contrast, the Jews were pictured as materialistic and greedy, and the aim of the Jewish race was, according to Chamberlain, to use conspiratorial methods to destroy the Aryan race and enslave the world under Jewish rule.

Because the Aryan race was perceived as the only race with a religious and spiritual capacity, race and religion became closely intertwined in Chamberlain's thinking, and the creation of a pure "Aryan Christianity" became perhaps the most important vehicle for Aryan resurrection. In his attempt to cleanse Christianity of Jewish and other un-Aryan influences, Chamberlain launched violent attacks not only against Jews and Judaism but also against Catholicism. Chamberlain was also one of the ardent advocates of the myth of the "Aryan Christ," claiming that Jesus must have been Aryan by descent. In this calling for a renewal of the Christian faith, Chamberlain was one of the anticipators of the religious thought of Alfred Rosenberg. In 1908, Chamberlain married Richard Wagner's youngest daughter, Eva, and moved to Bayreuth. During World War I he became a German citizen. From 1916 to his death, in 1927, he was more or less con-

finied to bed, but his reputation as one of Germany's most prominent *völkisch* thinkers and a personal friend of the kaiser brought floods of visitors to his home. Adolf Hitler visited Chamberlain in 1923, and in Hitler Chamberlain saw a messianic figure for the re-birth of the Aryan spirit.

Lena Berggren

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; ARYANISM; BAYREUTH; CHRISTIANITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CULTURE (GERMANY); GERMANIC RELIGION, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM (THEOLOGY); MATERIALISM; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; POSITIVISM; PROTOFASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; THEOLOGY; VITALISM; VOLK, VÖLKISCH; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD

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CHAMBERLAIN, NEVILLE: See APPEASEMENT

CHESTERTON, ARTHUR KENNETH (1896–1973)

Journalist and Shakespearean drama critic of considerable note who had served with distinction during World War I before joining the British Union of Fascists in 1933. Chesterton (second cousin to the celebrated novelist and Catholic polemicist G. K. Chesterton) rose to become Oswald Mosley's director of propaganda, editing both *Action* and *Blackshirt* as well as writing a hagiography of Mosley, *Portrait of a Leader*. He resigned from the BUF in 1937, escaped internment on the outbreak of World War II, and joined the British army. This conferred a measure of respectability upon him, enabling him to emerge in 1954 as chairman of the League of Empire Loyalists, which protested against "colored" immigration and the decline of the British Empire. Through his newsletter *Candour* and his book *The New Unhappy Lords* (1965), Chesterton became a pivotal source of conspiratorial anti-Semitism for the far Right on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1967 the LEL merged with

several other organizations to become the National Front. Chesterton was its first chairman, but he died estranged from it.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BRITISH FASCISTS/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; GREAT BRITAIN; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (UK); WORLD WAR I

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CHILDREN: See EDUCATION; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FAMILY, THE; HEALTH; LEISURE; WOMEN; YOUTH

CHILE

The Movimiento Nacional Socialista (National Socialist Movement; Nacis, or MNS) was the first fascist organization in Chile and the most important one during the 1930s. Founded by three Chileans—Francisco Javier Díaz Valderrama, Carlos Keller, and Jorge González von Marées (known as *el jefe*, “the boss”)—it drew inspiration from the Nazi program, which Díaz translated into Spanish. Ardently nationalist, the MNS called for the expulsion of communists and foreigners and supported strong governmental values such as order, hierarchy, and social justice. Anti-Jewish sentiment existed within the MNS but did not consistently dominate its discourse as it did that of German Nazis. During the 1930s, the Nacis engaged in attacks on the Left, which responded in kind. Although much of the leadership was upper class, and some of them had German ancestry, most of the supporters were neither of German background nor wealthy. Women joined the male-dominated MNS, which upheld conservative ideas about gender and defined women’s role based on their biological destiny to be wives and mothers. Estimates of membership range from 20,000 to 30,000. In 1935 the Nacis and right-wing military officers planned the overthrow of the elected government. The plot failed, and sixty-three Nacis died in the aftermath, a blow that contributed to the defeat of the group.

For the next thirty years fascism as an organized force languished in Chile. Many small extreme-right parties formed, but they were short lived and had few members. In the 1960s, the political situation in Chile moved to the left. In 1966 the small extreme right National Action Party joined the Conservative and Liberal parties, two parties of the right, to form the National Party. Although the party was not fascist, it contained fascist elements within it. In 1970, when Salvador Allende and the leftist Popular Unity coalition won the presidential election, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, a former member of the Nazi youth organization, emerged as leader of the National Party.

Patria y Libertad (Fatherland and Liberty), a neofascist organization led by attorney Pablo Rodríguez, formed in 1970 to oppose the Allende government. To that end it blew up electrical towers, engaged in street battles with supporters of the Allende government, took over radio stations, and even raised funds for striking mineworkers. It took its inspiration from Spaniard José Antonio Primo de Rivera but lacked the mass following of the Spanish Falange. A woman’s branch formed and participated in public demonstrations, neighborhood organizing, and other antigovernment activities. Considered the armed wing of the National Party, in June 1973 members of Patria y Libertad supported a coup against Allende. When the commander-in-chief of the Chilean military, who was loyal to the elected government, put down the uprising, leaders of the neofascist organization fled the country. A U.S. citizen, Michael Townley, worked with Patria y Libertad. After the military overthrew Allende in 1973, Townley and other members of Patria y Libertad worked with the DINA, the Chilean secret police. Townley and the DINA murdered Chilean Orlando Letelier and North American Ronni Moffit in Washington, DC, in 1976. Members of Patria y Libertad and other groups on the extreme Right welcomed the coup that brought the Pinochet military dictatorship to power. However, as fervent nationalists, they opposed the neoliberal economic policies introduced by the Pinochet dictatorship and distanced themselves from it. Although he was authoritarian and ruled dictatorially, Pinochet’s support of neoliberal economic policies and his unwillingness to support national business and industry distinguished him from classic fascists.

Margaret Power

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; DICTATORSHIP; ECONOMICS; KELLER, CARLOS; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PINOCHET UGARTE, GENERAL AUGUSTO; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; SOCIALISM

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CHINA

In the 1930s, an allegedly fascist movement flourished for a time within the then-ruling political party, the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT, or Guomindang). It was known as the Blue Shirts Society (Lanyi she), but the movement identified itself as the Chinese Renaissance Society (Zhonghua fuxing she) and should for various reasons be classed as “fascistic” rather than “fascist.” What precipitated the founding of the society was Japan’s invasion of China’s northeastern provinces of Manchuria. Convinced that the very survival of China was imperiled, twenty young men—all KMT members and graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy—founded the society on 1 March 1932 in Nanjing in order to “save the nation.” The movement was organized as a series of concentric circles. Within the innermost ring was the 300-member “Three People’s Principles Earnest Action Society,” charged with policy-making. Mass organizations constituted the outermost ring, the largest of which was the Chinese Renaissance Society, with a membership of about 100,000.

The Renaissance movement was animated by a resolve to modernize China through the realization of the ideological program (the Three People’s Principles) of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the KMT. The movement believed that only through an aggressive program of economic and political development could China be saved and revitalized. Economic development would begin with land reform, which included the equalization of land rights, the reallocation of land to the tillers, and collective farms. Rapid industrialization would be promoted through a mixed economy that combined state capital with private initiative. The economic program required a fundamental political restructuring that would begin with the installation of a strong central government that could wield effective authority over the national territory without being compromised by foreign imperialists or domestic rivals—communists and warlords. At the same time, a sense of nationalism

would be inculcated among the people, whom Sun had long lamented as resembling “a tray of loose sand.” That strong central government would be undertaken by a single party led by a charismatic leader. Authoritarian rule was believed to be necessary because of Japan’s invasion. However, single-party rule was conceived to be an emergency and transitional measure, the necessary means toward the ends of national defense, rapid industrialization, and eventual self-government—all of which were consistent with Sun’s Three Principles. The Renaissance movement believed that the KMT would be that single party—but only if it reformed itself with a renewal of commitment to Sun’s ideology, the purification of corrupt and elitist practices, and the cultivation of grassroots support among the Chinese masses.

In effect, the Chinese Renaissance Society was an effort to reform the KMT by returning the party to Sun’s ideology of developmental nationalism. As such, the society was one of many movements and ideologies of delayed industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, among which were Meiji Japan, Fascist Italy, and countries that embraced Marxism-Leninism, Kemalism, Gandhism, and Nasserism. Unlike Italian Fascism, however, the one-party authoritarian rule advocated by both Sun and the Renaissance Society was to be strictly transitional—as the necessary means toward the abiding end of democratic government. Although short-lived, the Renaissance movement counted among its achievements four mass campaigns in the 1930s: the New Life Movement, the National Voluntary Labor Movement, the National Economic Reconstruction Movement, and the National Military Education Movement. In March 1938, in an effort at party unity, the Renaissance Society was dissolved by an Extraordinary National Conference of the KMT and merged with two other intraparty factions to form the Three People’s Principles Youth Corps.

If fascism is to be found in China, a better candidate might actually be the post-Maoist People’s Republic of China (PRC). Beginning in 1979, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping undertook significant capitalist reform of the economy, which catapulted China into the rank of a world power. At the same time, though nominally still Marxist, China’s ideology became that of developmental irredentist nationalism. The transformation of the PRC into a quasi-fascist state was cemented in July 2001 when the party chief and head of state, Jiang Zemin, proposed that capitalists be admitted into the ranks of the Communist Party.

Maria Chang

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; INDUSTRY; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LEADER CULT, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; REVOLUTION; TECHNOLOGY

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CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

Small racialized hybrid of Protestantism developed in the United States. There is no central organization or clerical hierarchy, and followers create autonomous local churches or meet in homes. The most virulent groups promote white supremacy and anti-Semitism in an amalgam of authoritarian, totalitarian, and fascist ideas that a few critics claim comes very close to neo-Nazism. Some Identity groups celebrate Hitler as a prophet. Christian Identity evolved from British Israelism or Anglo-Israelism, which emerged as a movement in the late 1800s with the claim that Protestants in England could trace their bloodline to the twelve tribes of Israel, thus making Anglo-Saxons the inheritors of a special covenant with God. In the United States, this is extended to claim that the real “identity” of Protestants is God’s Chosen People, and the United States is thus the Promised Land of biblical prophecy.

Barkun stresses the role of apocalyptic belief and millennial expectation in Christian Identity, and follows the theology through influential ideologues including Wesley Swift, William Potter Gale, Sheldon Emry, Richard Butler, and Pete Peters. This branch of Identity blossomed in the late 1930s and was nurtured by Swift from the late 1940s through the 1960s. Gale developed the belief in a “Manichaeic struggle between white, divine, Anglo-Saxon Christians, and Satanic Jews” (Levitas 2002, 81). Rejecting federal officials as corrupted by this evil Jewish conspiracy, Identity writers have denounced the authorities in Washington, D.C., as the Zionist Occupation Government.

While anti-Judaism has periodically played a pernicious role in Christianity for two millennia, Identity has crafted a particularly vicious theory in which the people who call themselves Jews not only are Satanic but also represent a separate genetic seedline from Aryans, who claim direct descent from the loins of the biblical Adam. Kaplan explains that there are various interpretations of how the two seedlines started, with factions claiming that the evil Jews sprang from “the unholy union of Satan with Eve or from the conversion of the barbaric Khazar tribe to Judaism,” or some combination of both. Blacks and other people of color are sometimes called pre-Adamic or Mud People to signify their status as not quite the finished human product of God’s plan. Jews are portrayed as manipulating Mud People to subvert the cosmic destiny of the Aryan race. Like most millenarian movements, Identity sees an approaching major transformation of society, but Identity envisions it as an apocalyptic race war. Several Identity followers have used this viewpoint to justify attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions, as well as government agents and agencies. Some incidents have culminated in shootouts and murders. An underground antigovernment survivalist movement known as the Posse Comitatus helped spread the message of Christian Identity across the United States in the 1970s and 1980s. Identity pastor Richard Butler founded the Aryan Nations compound in the rural state of Idaho. In the 1980s, Butler attracted hundreds of Identity adherents and organizers to national conferences and campouts. Butler faded as a national leader in Identity, but a new crop of Identity pastors continues to spread the message and vie for visibility and influence.

Chip Berlet

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS; ARYANISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BUTLER, RICHARD GIRNT; CHRISTIANITY; HITLER, ADOLF; NEO-NAZISM; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SURVIVALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

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CHRISTIANITY

Unlike their treatment of the Bolsheviks and Marxist ideologues in general, both Mussolini and Hitler were careful in their public utterances to avoid making provocative statements about the traditional religion of their fellow countrymen. Indeed, it is arguable that this was one of the reasons for their success in achieving power. They presented themselves as defenders of their national traditions against atheistic Bolshevism, the implication being that the Christian religion would be included among those traditions, and this helped to ingratiate them with churchgoers among their constituency, many of whom were understandably terrified by the sight of the murderous Bolshevik crusade against religion and the churches in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, both Mussolini and Hitler made it clear that they intended religion to be restricted to the “religious sphere,” and that any attempt by Christians to influence state policy or to resist fascism would be regarded as criminal. Both dictators made concordats with the Catholic Church but did so for the sake of obtaining the kudos of apparent approval from the papacy, which they knew would help to obtain Catholic support for their regimes. Alongside this propagandist maneuvering, which was enough to placate many who wanted to believe in these regimes as bulwarks against communism, went a more or less overt contempt for Christianity. That is clear both in Mussolini’s autobiography and in Hitler’s *Table Talk*: Hitler despised Protestantism and Catholicism alike. But the fascist dictators were bent on creating a new political religion of their own and would brook no competition from the churches. What distinguished them from the Bolsheviks was that they professed to believe in a spiritual dimension and in ideas like that of the soul and rejected Marxist monism. They detested materialism and did not reject religion out of hand as “the opium of the people” but desired to create—or revive from ancient times, as some Nazis saw it—a national religion such as was anticipated in the eighteenth century by Rousseau. One of the most powerful embodiments of this was their attempt to superimpose new calendars of fascist special memorial days on the existing Christian-based calendar.

Both Hitler and Mussolini disliked the egalitarian and internationalist aspects of Christian doctrine, according to which all are equal in the eyes of God and all persons of whatever nation or color are brothers and

sisters. They were deeply influenced by the Social Darwinist ideas of life as a permanent and ineluctable state of struggle, with only the fittest surviving. In the Nazi version of fascism, this was complemented and reinforced by a particular set of assumptions about race based on ideas, widespread in the nineteenth century, about a great and noble Aryan race whose Germanic descendants had fallen into a state of decadence. This idea that civilization had fallen into decay was also a commonplace of the era in the writings of publicists like Spengler, with his famous title *The Decline of the West*, much admired by Mussolini as well as in Germany. Both Italian Fascism and Nazism saw themselves as messianic agents of redemption from decay, sent to save their fellow countryman and the world from the forces of corruption—chiefly meaning materialism in both its Bolshevik and capitalist varieties. For Mussolini that meant the exaltation above traditional Christian virtues of the warrior values of courage, pride, resolve, steeliness, physical prowess, and a readiness to sacrifice oneself for the nation. For the Nazis it meant all that but also something more. For they regarded the chief agents of materialism in the world as the Jews, and they paradoxically saw Jews behind both capitalism and Bolshevism.

The Nazis tapped into a very particular Protestant Germanic view of the past that was embodied in the writings of many publicists from the second half of the nineteenth century into the first half of the twentieth. They took up a traditional Protestant polemic against Catholicism which sprang from the Protestant Reformation idea that they were purifying the Church from centuries of “accretion”—that there was an authentic Gospel in the early days of the Church that needed to be recovered from under centuries of accumulated sediment. In particular, they accused the Catholics of having built up a whole sacramental system that provided believers with salvation cheaply and mechanically; it seemed that all the believer had to do according to this system was to carry out his outward sacramental obligations according to Church rules, and he could expect to go to heaven. The sixteenth-century reformers had believed that they were instead promoting a return to the true “inwardness” of the Gospel, according to which it was the attitude of the believer’s heart toward God that was paramount. So they took an ax to the traditional rituals and ceremonies of the Church and cut them back to a basic core that they regarded as the necessary minimum, calling on believers to focus on the state of their souls instead. The sacramental system of medieval Catholicism was condemned by the Reformers not just as a religion of “materialism” and purely outward con-

formity but also because they believed it to be a revival of “Judaism” in the Church. This was because they believed that the great breakthrough brought about by Christ was precisely the move forward from a Jewish religion of ritual and ceremony—purification rites, the wearing of special garments, verbal repetition of the law, and so forth—in favor of an inward spiritual religion of the heart. On this view, materialism was in fact the main feature of Catholicism and Judaism alike, and the Catholic Church represented the reintrusion into the Church of the Judaism that Jesus had transcended. (The Catholic Church, by contrast, actually taught that both inward disposition and outward ritual performance were necessary and complementary, the gestures of the body expressing—ideally at least—the hoped-for disposition of the heart.) The “turn inward” of the Protestants was intensified by the difficulty that faced them when their movement began to fragment into a variety of sects; they could not claim to be “One Church” as the Catholics clearly could. The Catholic Church remained one outwardly, and the Protestants resorted therefore to the belief in an inward spiritual body of believers who were in fact united in spirit even if at odds in appearance.

Precisely this Protestant theory that identified Catholic and Jewish “materialism” as coming from the same stable appeared in the arguments of protofascist ideologues like Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Alfred Rosenberg. Only now they turned it against the Protestants as well. For these ideologues the whole outward structure of Christianity—including the Protestant church bodies and the liturgies and ceremonies they had retained—was still materialistic, and Luther had not gone far enough. Fatally, he had retained the Old Testament, which was of course a completely Jewish and therefore “materialistic” document. Instead he should have realized that the “inwardness” that Christ was really preaching about was a complete release from the prison of Jewish “materialism.” It was an “inwardness” that had no need of ceremonies that recalled Jewish origins. Indeed, Jesus, on this argument, was not even a Jew at all, his Galilean roots betraying the fact that he was really of Aryan stock. These themes were not invented by fascist ideologues; they were commonplace in German liberal theology. So it was that an “Aryanized” version of Christianity was promoted which believed that Jesus had come to preach a Gospel of racial purity and inwardness completely detached from Jewish “materialism.” Stripped of its racial convictions it would perhaps resemble something like the UK extreme-radical “Sea of Faith” movement in theology. However, the racial component was crucial to Nazism.

The “internationalist” dimension of Christianity was offensive to fascists as hypernationalists. Again, the Nazis saw it as a reflection of Christianity’s continuing bondage to Judaism. Jews were international because of their tribal blood relationships; Christians claimed to belong to an international family of faith united on the ground of a common adherence to Christ, holding that what believers across the globe had in common transcended their allegiance to their nation. That at least was the theory, though it often remained unobserved in practice. For both Italian Fascists and German Nazis the idea that a global belief system could trump national values was anathema. And for the Nazis there was a particular resonance of the idea of an “international” community; once again, they saw in this element of Christianity a reflection of its fondness for Judaism. The logic of all this was that in attacking Jews they knew themselves also to be attacking Christianity, and indeed it is clear from Hitler’s *Table Talk* that he planned to deal with the churches after he had dealt with the Jews, when the war was over. In other words, the Holocaust of Jews was but a prelude to the destruction of Christianity, which had sprung from Judaism. In place of Christianity the fascists proposed the religion of consecration to the nation. In Nazism there were also some—including Himmler—who aspired to create a new “Germanic” religion.

Despite the clearly universalist teachings of Christ, which make it difficult to understand how they could be combined with hypernationalism, many attempts have been made to synthesize fascism with Christianity. In the interwar years many Catholics were attracted to the Mussolinian regime by its principles of order, authority, and discipline, and by its emphasis on solidarity. The phenomenon of clerico-fascism was a reflection of this. In most cases it was a matter of the imitation of outward trappings, although certain doctrines particularly identified with Italian Fascism such as corporatism seemed perfectly compatible with Catholicism. With Nazism, Catholicism could have little truck officially or in theory, although there is no doubt that many Catholics had absorbed the traditional hostility to the Jews endemic in European society as a consequence of difficulties regarding the Jews’ rejection of the messiahship of Christ. Protestantism had less difficulty with hypernationalism, since it often existed in practice in the form of a state church or within a single-nation frame. Many Protestants too had absorbed traditional anti-Judaism and could not readily distinguish this from the Nazi racial anti-Semitism. (Protestants were not a significant presence in Italy, but in Germany their attitude was of course crucial.) Hence their ability to

synthesize Christianity with hypernationalism, as in the German Christian Movement.

In the United States, many fundamentalist movements have drawn on Nazi themes such as Aryanism, anti-Semitism, and racism. The powerful nationalistic element that undergirds U.S. identity has predisposed them to ally the Bible with hypernationalism to create a potent force against a variety of enemies—but especially against blacks and Jews—and they are naturally receptive to conspiracy theories of all kinds. They are often perfectly aware of the continuity of their views with German Nazism. The lines between the vast number of “mainline” Christian groupings that represent “normal” forms of Protestantism and such heretical sects can become blurred. There has also been a small but persistent lobby of extreme Protestants for whom the Vatican was the controlling influence behind interwar fascism in Europe. At the same time there are also American Christian Zionists who fervently support the establishment and consolidation of the state of Israel, seeing it as a fulfillment of biblical prophecy and a necessary step toward the end times.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BOLSHEVISM; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; COSTAMAGNA, CARLO; DINTER, ARTUR; ELITE THEORY; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE; LUTHER, MARTIN; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SECULARIZATION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOUL; SOVIET UNION, THE; THEOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER (1874–1965)

Legendary British statesman famed for his spirited leadership of his country in the face of the threat from Nazi Germany. He was born into a family with a highly distinguished pedigree (descendants of the eighteenth-century Duke of Marlborough, one of Britain's most successful generals) and at one of the country's most majestic residences, Blenheim Palace (named after one of the duke's finest victories). His father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was a notable politician and (briefly) Conservative cabinet minister. His mother was Jeanette Jerome, daughter of a New York businessman, and that may have contributed to the establishment of

his lasting reputation in the United States and to his close relationship with U.S. President Roosevelt. Churchill's realistic but resolute oratory at the height of World War II was an inspiration not just for the British but also for others across the Commonwealth and indeed in North America. His speeches continue to be quoted as epitomizing the heroic resistance of the British people to the campaign of the German bombers. One sentence is particularly cherished, from a speech, after the end of the Battle of Britain, commenting on the courage and tenacity of the RAF fighter pilots who had to take on the might of the Luftwaffe: "Never in the history of human conflict has so much been owed by so many to so few." He was blunt and uncompromising in his manner of addressing the British people, openly declaring that they could defeat Hitler only with hard work and unstinting self-sacrifice. Churchill was British prime minister from 1940 to 1945 and again from 1951 to 1955.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BATTLE OF BRITAIN, THE; COLD WAR, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LUFTWAFFE, THE; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; WORLD WAR II

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CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO (1903–1944)

Journalist who became Mussolini's foreign minister for seven years from June 1936; husband of Edda Mussolini, the Duce's eldest daughter, whom he married in 1930; and one of the personalities involved with Italian Fascism best known outside Italy. That is in part because his published diary of his years as foreign minister have been both a best-seller internationally and a crucial source for historians of the period. He was the son of Italian World War I naval hero Admiral Constanzo Ciano (1876–1939), an early adherent to Fascism who was minister of posts and communications for ten years from 1924, before being elected president of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations. Before becoming



Count Galeazzo Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and for a time his foreign minister, is one of the best-known figures of the Fascist regime outside Italy as a result of the publication of his Diaries. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

foreign minister, Galeazzo Ciano had been head of Mussolini's press office (1933) and later minister for press and propaganda (1935). As foreign minister he collaborated in the creation of the Axis between Italy and the Third Reich, but he nonetheless wanted Mussolini to break off the alliance with Germany after the invasion of Poland. He encouraged Mussolini to develop a Balkan policy with the aim of setting boundaries to German power, and in response to the German annexation of Czechoslovakia in 1939 he promoted the invasion of Albania on Good Friday 1939. Fully aware of Italian military weaknesses, he encouraged Mussolini to stay out of the war in September 1939. By early 1940, Ciano's position had weakened because of a widespread conviction that Germany was going to win the war and that therefore Italy needed to be part of it, so as to enjoy some of the spoils. He himself was not uninfluenced by that current of opinion. But after war was declared by Italy, Ciano's influence dwindled, and

in February 1943 he was appointed ambassador to the Holy See. He voted in favor of the deposition of Mussolini on 25 July 1943, during the session of the Grand Council of Fascism. Arrested by the Germans, he was tried in Verona and condemned to death for high treason. His wife's efforts to save his life were unavailing.

Alessandro Campi and Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ALBANIA; AXIS, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PAPACY, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WORLD WAR II

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CINEMA, THE: See FILM

CIORAN, EMIL (1911–1995)

Romanian philosopher and essayist, nationalist, and sympathizer with the Iron Guard in the interwar years. Cioran was born the son of a Romanian Orthodox priest in Rasinari, Transylvania (today Romania), during the latter days of Hungarian rule. In 1928 he enrolled in the philosophy department of the University of Bucharest, where he absorbed the Romanian form of *Lebensphilosophie* ("philosophy of life"; Romanian: *trairism*) articulated by the mentor of the interwar generation, Professor Nae Ionescu. This intellectual climate laid the basis for Cioran's later thought. In 1934, Cioran published some of his early philosophical reflections under the title *On the Heights of Despair*. Cioran's reading of Schopenhauer, and the chronic state of illness in which he spent his student years, led to a profoundly pessimistic view of mankind and society. Freedom, while a blessing for many, to Cioran seemed "a curse": it put human beings in a situation of forced choice between good and evil, an unbearable burden that could be cast off only through dictatorship.

In 1931, Cioran graduated as a licentiate with a dissertation on Bergson, spending the rest of his life as a freelance student. From 1933 to 1935 he studied at the

University of Berlin under Nicolai Hartmann and Ludwig Klages. His observations on the rise of Nazism were the subject of a number of articles published in the press at home. Cioran admired the way in which the Germans were breaking through the fixed "forms" (*Forme*) of their culture. In Hitler he saw the embodiment of German culture fulfilling its own "destiny" (*Schicksal*). Germany was a reminder that only a radical change could awaken the young Romanian nation from the lethargy in which the majority of its citizens, mostly peasants, were still living. Cioran elaborated on this vision for a new Romania in his famous book of 1936, *The Transfiguration of Romania*. Romania's problem, Cioran argued, was that it was still largely a geographical rather than a political entity.

Cioran rejected the commonly held belief that the course of history could make no sudden leaps. He called upon the Romanians to abandon their habit of passively bearing history and to imagine themselves as the beginning of a new history: "Every person willing or called to play a prophetic role in the life of Romania has to convince himself that every gesture, every act, every attitude in this country is an absolute beginning." *The Transfiguration of Romania* combined this typically Russian messianic nationalism with Spengler's cultural theory into a manifesto of a "national revolution." In 1937, Cioran proposed to C. Z. Codreanu the adoption of his book as the program for the guard's future state, an offer that Codreanu declined. In November 1937, Cioran left with a scholarship for Paris, where he spent most of the rest of his life. He later distanced himself from nationalist positions and expressed regret for his connections with the Iron Guard. After the war he became widely known as a philosopher in a pessimistic and frequently aphoristic mode.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; DECADENCE; ELIADE, MIRCEA; HITLER, ADOLF; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; ROMANIA; RUSSIA; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SPENGLER, OSWALD

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CIVILIZATION

For many Nazi propagandists, this word represented an alien, anti-German “Western” concept. French writers like Jacques Bainville spoke before World War I of a conflict between superior French *civilisation* and barbaric German *Kultur*. In Germany the word *Zivilisation* was used predominantly as a synonym for the more popular *Kultur* up until the 1880s. Primarily as a result of the negative effects of industrialization, there was a devaluation of the idea of *civilization* through its neglect in general linguistic usage in proportion to that of *culture*, contributed to by philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche and Ferdinand Tönnies and philosophizing writers such as Houston Stuart Chamberlain. With World War I and the beginning of Allied propaganda, German criticism of “civilization” was nationalistically charged up to the antithesis of *Kultur* versus *Zivilisation*. “Civilization” was considered in almost all camps as something foreign and plainly anti-German. Although a nationalist, Oswald Spengler was an exception, formally contradicting German war propaganda with his influential definition in which he universalized “civilization” and described it as the inevitable final stage of every culture, and therefore also of German culture. Official National Socialist terminology prescribed by Alfred Rosenberg attempted to revalue the concept of “civilization” in order to counteract the debasement of science and technology, which were subsumed under “civilization.” These efforts were not widely accepted, and thus there was a coexistence during the Third Reich of official attempts at revaluation on the one hand and vituperative attacks on “Western” civilization by lesser party members and writers on the other.

The Italian term *civiltà* as the highest material and spiritual expression of social cohabitation is in no way inferior to the French *civilisation* as regards emotionality and messianic fervor. During World War I, *civiltà* became a nationalistic propaganda slogan directed against the German-Austrian enemy’s rallying cry of *Kultur*. The Fascists rededicated the traditional *civiltà* as *nuova civiltà*, which they in turn associated with the “total state.” *Civiltà* became an instrument for the justification of their expansionist demands, which led to the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935/1936.

Susanne Poci

See Also: CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; COLONIALISM; CULTURE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; ETHIOPIA; GERMANNESS; IMPERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PROGRESS; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCIENCE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE

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CLASS

Mussolini frequently claimed to advocate a kind of “socialism of the trenches,” in which the final victors would be the workers, peasants, or veterans (depending on his audience). But just as important to fascism was its claim that a corporate state could transcend the narrow divisions of economic interest and unite everyone in the service of the nation. Hitler, for example, claimed to have studied propaganda by watching the marches of the revolutionary Left, and the early programs of the NSDAP spoke of the abolition of incomes “unearned by work.” Yet in the face of the possibility of winning a middle-class electorate, any hints of working-class politics were soon dropped. In the early postwar years, when many European countries possessed mass communist parties and when trade unions were generally more confident, attempts were made to define a working-class fascist tradition. Dubbed “Strasserism” after Gregor and Otto Strasser, two of Hitler’s NSDAP rivals, this movement maintained that true national socialism was the authentic working-class tradition. Strasserism was always a minority current within the postwar Right, for it based itself in a social terrain that was largely hostile. It also exhibited an unusual contempt for the interwar fascist leaders. Strasserism was finally dispatched by the success

of different postwar fascist strategies, which have been deliberately agnostic on the question of interwar continuity, but which have copied the cross-class appeal of the 1930s fascist parties.

Faced with the rise of fascism, its enemies claimed that the movement recruited from only narrow classes of people. For Marxists, the most important point was that fascism had failed to win working-class support. Similar ideas then entered academia after 1945. Socialist historians have continued to argue that the proletariat remained largely immune from fascist contagion. Meanwhile, a number of political sociologists developed similar arguments as part of a different project of categorizing radical movements by their social content. More recent historians have suggested that class patterns of political support were quite complex. Among interwar leftists, Giovanni Zibordi linked fascism specifically to small traders and shopkeepers, while Karl Radek described fascism as the “socialism of the petty bourgeoisie.” According to Leon Trotsky, “The main army of fascism still consists of the petty bourgeoisie and the new middle classes; the small artisans and shopkeepers of the cities, the petty officials, the employees, the technical personnel, the intelligentsia, the impoverished peasantry” (Sparks 1978, 43).

In the 1950s, the claim that fascism represented a form of middle-class revolt became something of an orthodoxy among political scientists. Renzo de Felice insisted that the petty bourgeoisie had given fascism the fullest support, while Seymour Lipset went even further, arguing that fascism was decisively shaped by that support. In a period of growth the middle class would normally turn to liberalism for its politics, but in a period of decline it would turn instead to fascism. For Lipset, fascism represented the “authoritarian centre,” an authentic response to the crisis of middle-class life. In recent years, the trend has been away from class theories of fascism. The “new consensus” understands fascism as an intellectual tradition, characterized by a synthesis of different ideas, including racism and elitism, nationalism and socialism. Roger Griffin argues that “[t]here is nothing in principle which precludes an employed or an unemployed member of the working classes or an aristocrat . . . from being susceptible to fascist myth” (Griffin 1995, 7). A number of more traditional historians have also argued that fascism received wide support, distributed broadly among different social classes. In particular, Conan Fischer has suggested that the German Nazi Party, and especially its paramilitary wings, recruited large numbers of unemployed workers.

David Renton

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CORPORATISM; ELITE THEORY; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; TRADES UNIONS; TROTSKY, LEON

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CLAUSEN, FRITS (1893–1947)

Country doctor from southern Jutland, between 1933 and 1944 leader of the Danish National Socialist Workers Party (DNSAP). Clausen never overcame the contradiction inherent in being a Danish fascist and nationalist who imitated the German Nazis when in fact they were the greatest threat to Denmark’s national independence. Welcoming the German occupation in 1940, he expected, like Quisling in Norway, to be entrusted with the Nazification of Danish society and Denmark’s absorption into a Greater Germanic empire. He was regarded as a traitor by most Danes and as an incompetent by the Germans, who preferred until 1943 to cooperate with the existing Danish government. Discredited in both Danish and German eyes by the DNSAP’s miserable showing in the 1943 elections, Clausen was removed as party leader, interned by the Danish government, and died of a heart attack before his trial for treason.

Philip Morgan

See Also: DENMARK; EXPANSIONISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORWAY; PANGERMANISM; QUISLING, VIDKUN; WORLD WAR II

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CLERCQ, GUSTAVE (“STAF”) DE (1884–1942)

Leader of the Flemish National League (Vlaams Nationaal Verbond; VNV) during World War II, an important pro-German movement in the Flemish part of Belgium. Elected to the Belgian parliament in 1919, he agitated for an independent Flanders and the dismantling of Belgium. In 1933 he took the lead of the VNV (founded by himself), a party hostile to the continuance of the Belgian state, which managed to get 15 percent of the votes in the Flemish Belgian election contest of 1939. The VNV was a political party of the authoritarian Right with a fascist faction. De Clercq had connections with Nazi Germany (such as the *Abwehr*). He involved his party in a political and military collaboration with Germany and accepted National Socialism as the party ideology. After his death he was succeeded as VNV leader by Hendrik Elias.

Bruno de Wever

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; BELGIUM; DEGRELLE, LEON; GERMANY; HOORNAERT, PAUL; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; REXISM

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Pius XI in 1929 and helped save several Catholic-controlled banks. Outside of Italy, the term has been used rather loosely to describe such regimes as the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg “Christian, corporative, and German” state in Austria between 1933 and 1938; Salazar’s *Estado Novo* in Portugal; Franco’s Spain; and even the Republic of Slovakia, a client state of Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1945. While there were strong Catholic, clerical, and some corporatist elements in all of these regimes, it is doubtful whether they can seriously be described as “fascist,” inasmuch as they were not the product of the coming to power of a mass organization with a radical revolutionary ideology based on palingenetic populist ultranationalism.

John Pollard

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUSTRIA; BELGIUM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; CROATIA; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; *ESTADO NOVO*; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PORTUGAL; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT; SLOVAKIA; SPAIN; USTASHA

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CLERICO-FASCISM

A term that has different meanings in two different contexts. In the context of Italian history the term was coined by party leader Fr. Luigi Sturzo to describe those politicians who went over from his Catholic Partito Popolare Italiano and supported Mussolini and the Fascists. Fourteen clerico-fascist candidates stood in Mussolini’s “big list” in the 1924 general elections, and later formed the Centro Nazionale Italiano as a permanent focus of Catholic political support for Fascism. By the time the CNI had disbanded, it had helped prepare the ground for the agreement between Mussolini and Pope

CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA (1899–1938)

Founder and first leader of the Romanian Legion of the Archangel Michael (often known as the Iron Guard). Codreanu studied law at the university of Iasi (in northwestern Romania, near the Russian border), where he first became involved in anti-Semitic and anticommunist activities. In 1923, Codreanu conspired to murder a number of Jewish bankers and politicians but was arrested before the plan could be carried out. He killed the police prefect of Iasi, a murder for which he was acquitted, and which became the prototype of many more political assassinations by the legion. He

was arrested in the night of 16–17 April 1938 and executed on 29–30 November 1938.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; ROMANIA

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COLD WAR, THE

Period of international confrontation or stand-off between the nations of the West, generally embodying in some degree the philosophy of capitalism and largely under the leadership of the United States, and the communist world, under the leadership of the USSR and China. It lasted from 1945 until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. British statesman Winston Churchill famously set the tone for the era in his reference to the “iron curtain” that had come down between (communist) Eastern and (liberal) Western Europe after the war, and this rhetorical image became reality with the construction of physical walls to stem emigration from Eastern Europe to the West after 1961. This was the international context for the evolution of postwar fascist movements, which identified completely with the U.S. anticommunist crusade of the era, though not with U.S. liberal capitalism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CAPITALISM; CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; ECONOMICS; POSTWAR FASCISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR)

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COLLINS, SEWARD (1899–1952)

U.S. journalist and propagator of fascistic ideas in the interwar years. Born in Syracuse, New York, Collins graduated from the Hill School and Princeton Univer-

sity. Owner of the literary monthly *The Bookman* from 1927 and its editor from 1929, Collins devoted the journal to New Humanism, a philosophy focused on neoclassicism, aristocracy, and Burkean conservatism. In 1933 he converted *The Bookman* into the *American Review*, which was far more eclectic. *The American Review* featured New Humanists like Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More, Southern Agrarians like Allen Tate and Robert Penn Warren, Roman Catholic and Anglican neoscholastics like architect Ralph Adams Cram and historian Christopher Dawson, and advocates of the British political philosophy called Distributism like Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton. He opposed competition, individualism, industrialism, parliamentary government, and, in the words of contributor T. S. Eliot, “free-thinking Jews.” Many of the more distinguished contributors dropped off as Collins began to espouse a curious brand of “Park Avenue” fascism, one that had as its essence “the revival of monarchy, property, the guilds, the security of the family and the peasantry, and the ancient ways of European life.” He found Mussolini “the most constructive statesman of our age,” then endorsed Francisco Franco as the journal ended in 1937. In 1941, Collins served briefly on the editorial board of the militantly anti-interventionist *Scribner’s Commentator*.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONSERVATISM; DISTRIBUTISM; EGALITARIANISM; FAMILY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; INDIVIDUALISM; INTERVENTIONISM; MONARCHISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARLIAMENTARISM; RURALISM; TRADITIONALISM; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945)

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COLONIALISM

It is difficult to generalize about fascism’s attitude to colonialism, given the mosaic of disparate responses to the question by the various movements in interwar Europe. Fascist Italy did subscribe to a colonial

agenda, first through the “pacification” of Libya and Somalia (a pacification that involved persecution and mass murder of the indigenous populations), and in 1935 through a colonial war against Ethiopia, whose capital, Addis Ababa, was occupied in May 1936. By contrast, Adolf Hitler, while paying lip service to the demand for the return of German colonies in the context of his revisionist discourse (the Versailles Treaty, with its “Colonial Guilt” clause, had deprived the Reich of its previous colonial possessions), made clear that his territorial priorities lay in a *Lebensraum*-oriented expansion within Europe at the expense of the Soviet Union. In a country with an already extensive colonial network, Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists, propagated the need to maintain (rather than expand) and defend the British Empire against disintegration. In the Iberian peninsula, fascist and parafascist ideologies—the Spanish Falange and Francoism in Spain, *salazarismo* in Portugal—glorified their countries’ imperial past as a mobilizing myth of historic national “superiority,” but that invocation was firmly rooted in the past, with no political implications for present action.

Even in the case of Fascist Italy—whose championing of colonial expansion was discordant with the bulk of interwar fascist movements and regimes—colonialism was adopted through an intellectually circuitous route. Mussolini presented the need to consolidate and expand the Italian colonial empire through a combination of political, economic, and demographic arguments. His regime’s emphasis on the rebirth of modern Italy, his focus on the myth of the “third Rome”—which carried obvious imperial implications—and his determination to elevate the country to the status of a genuine Great Power identified colonial expansion in Africa as an excellent political opportunity without (he mistakenly believed) any direct complications for the stability of the European system. Furthermore, the acquisition of colonial territory would also function as an alternative destination for immigration, thus ensuring that the then constant stream of Italians leaving the country for the United States would be absorbed within the (expanded) national territory and thus remain part of the national economy. Finally, Mussolini’s obsession with demographic theories of population growth as evidence of national rebirth (for example, his “strength in numbers” slogan) identified colonies as an area for both resettling excess population and for absorbing the future expected increase in the national population, ensuring at the same time a parallel increase in agricultural resources for the nation.

Thus, it is evident that fascism displayed an inconsistent attitude toward colonialism, with its diverse responses constituting more a reflection of national traditions and ambitions than a normative ideological stance. The fact that fascism emerged as an intellectual and political force in a European context with an already developed (and by then largely questioned) colonial discourse meant that it inherited tendencies already embedded in indigenous nationalism. In those cases where the overriding goal of national rebirth could be served through the invocation of colonialism (politically or simply as a matter of prestige) or economic goals could be fulfilled through expansion overseas, fascist movements or regimes displayed various degrees of colonial enthusiasm. But nothing in fascist ideology prescribed colonialism as a direct priority, and indeed colonialism remained a peripheral element in the fascist experience, even (eventually) in the case of Fascist Italy.

During the difficult transition period of the 1950s, some radical right-wing forces (for example, Poujadists in France) waged a last-ditch battle to defend the colonial past and the status of their countries. The almost total retreat of the European states from the colonial field and into the Continent by the 1960s realigned the attention of fascist movements with fundamentally different notions of national rebirth. A nostalgic colonial imagery continued to be part of the populist regime discourse in Francoist Spain and Salazarist Portugal until the 1970s, but (unlike the interwar period) with little ideological substance and political relevance to wider contemporary political debates.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ETHIOPIA; EXPANSIONISM; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; *LEBENSRAUM*; LIBYA; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PORTUGAL; POSTWAR FASCISM; POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND; ROME; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR II

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COMBAT 18

Fascist paramilitary organization that emerged from the British National Party in 1992. Led by Paul “Charlie” Sargent, Combat 18 (C18) takes its name from the numerical position in the alphabet of Adolf Hitler’s initials. During the 1990s, C18 acquired a fearsome reputation for violence against ethnic minorities, political opponents, and rival fascists, forging close links with various football “firms” and also with Loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland. While it remains active, the group has greatly diminished following Sargent’s incarceration for murder, the culmination of an internal feud regarding the future direction of C18 and profits from the lucrative “white noise” scene.

Graham Macklin

See Also: FOOTBALL/SOCCER; GREAT BRITAIN; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; WHITE NOISE

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COMINTERN, THE

Established in 1919 following the Bolshevik revolution in the USSR, the Communist International, or Comintern, was the assembly of the world’s communist parties: leading Comintern figures recognized earlier than anyone else fascism’s potential to become an international force. Indeed, several important Marxist theories of fascism were generated under the aegis of the Comintern. These include a famous 1923 speech by the German socialist Clara Zetkin that characterized Mussolini’s party as representing more than terror and violence. Fascism was both a form of antisocialist reaction, she argued, and also an independent agent, a mass movement with deep social roots. By 1929, the

Comintern was associated with the narrow and self-defeating strategy of the German Communists and their argument that the German Socialists were to be feared equally with Hitler’s party. Later, Marxist theories of fascism tended to emerge outside or in criticism of the Comintern. The rise of a bureaucracy within Russia, the association of Stalin with “Socialism in One Country,” and the increasing use of violence by the Russian state against the people, all served to reduce the interest of the leading Russian communists in the international movement. The Comintern was formally shut down in 1943.

David Renton

See Also: ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTIFASCISM; HITLER, ADOLF; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; NAZISM; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH

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COMMUNISM: See BOLSHEVISM; COMINTERN, THE; MARXISM; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH

COMMUNITY

Fascism can be seen as a form of revolutionary nationalism that in all its many permutations seeks to combat the forces of decadence, which it sees as causing the degeneration and breakdown of society. Its ultimate goal as movement and regime is to induce the rebirth of the nation’s entire political culture, a project that embraces regenerating not just its power as a state and military force but also its social, moral, and artistic achievements and other signs of society’s cohesion and vitality. The aspiration to create a healthy community can thus be seen as a definitional feature of generic fascism, and the fascist utopia constitutes an organic entity to which each individual is bound through the suprapersonal ties of ancestry, culture, and “blood.”

Unlike ultraconservatives, however, fascists do not want to restore a lost age but to create a new type of community, fully adapted to the modern age yet firmly rooted “spiritually” in the past and steeped in the allegedly healthy values of the nation or people that prevailed before its decline. It was this vision that Italian Fascism attempted to realize, largely unsuccessfully, through a variety of policies designed to create the new “Fascist Man,” and that placed the creation of the morally and genetically healthy *Volksgemeinschaft* at the center of Nazi domestic policies. Both the Italian Fascist and the German Nazi regimes, though for different historical reasons, identified the parliamentary system and the liberal society it purported to serve with everything that fascism abhorred: egotistic individualism, soulless materialism, life-sapping rationalism, identity-eroding cosmopolitanism, class division and factionalism, loss of national solidarity and purpose, and a marginalized role within the arena of international politics. In the Third Reich, the anti-Semitism so central to Nazism’s diagnosis of the crisis in Germany generated a pervasive conspiracy theory according to which the nation’s very being was threatened by (Jewish) finance capitalism and (Jewish) Bolshevism, operating both internationally and from within. The solution to the national community’s weakness in both countries was to establish a single-party state ruled by a leader whose charismatic authority was underpinned by an elaborate program of social engineering designed to mobilize popular enthusiasm for the new order at all levels of society (another point of contrast with conservatism). That involved not just totalitarianism in the negative sense—namely, propaganda, censorship, coercion, and, in the case of the Third Reich, an extensive apparatus of state terror—but also “positively” restructuring the educational system, organizing the economy (in the case of Italy) or culture (in the case of Germany) on corporatist principles, and seeking to harness work, youth, and leisure to the cause of the nation through the creation of mass organizations. Both states introduced social and demographic measures for increasing the population and improving its physical fitness.

Despite the rhetoric of a “new Rome” however, Fascist society retained large elements of pre-Fascist Italy and considerable pockets of diversity and nonconformism. This was partly due to inefficiency and to the intrinsic limits of the state’s interference in civil society and existing institutions, but also to the regime’s need to co-opt as many currents of spontaneous Italian creativity and productivity as possible (a policy that scholars have termed “hegemonic pluralism”). In the Third Reich the attempt was made to enforce greater harmo-

nization (*Gleichschaltung*) on all spheres of life with the new state, though the new Germany remained far more heterogeneous and “polycentric” in reality than official propaganda claimed. It also set out, with a systematic ruthlessness and “efficiency” unthinkable under Mussolini, to purge the national community of all the alleged enemies of its moral cohesion and racial purity. This is to be attributed to the fact that what set Nazism apart from other fascisms was not its anti-Semitism but its understanding of the bonds of community as the product not just of social and cultural history but also of racial history. German history was reimagined as the history of an “Aryan” people whose purity and inner strength were constantly under threat from inner and outer enemies.

Under Hitler, self-appointed “racial experts” construed “Aryanness,” an essentially mythic concept, in scientific and pseudo-scientific (“scientistic”) terms, drawing on currents of Social Darwinism and eugenics that were common to all Europeanized societies at the time. The result was an elaborate program of “racial hygiene” involving mass sterilization and “elimination” that became an integral part of the Third Reich’s measures to regenerate the “national community.” The human consequences were horrific for those considered officially *gemeinschaftsunfähig*—literally, “incapable of forming part of the community.” In practice this led to the persecution or extermination of such out-groups as Jews, communists, Roma and Sinti gypsies, homosexuals, the physically and mentally handicapped, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and those branded as irremediably “asocial,” a loose category that could embrace any form of social behavior deemed to betray lack of commitment to Hitler’s “new order.”

Fascist Italy and the Third Reich were the only regimes to result from the successful conquest of state power by a fascist movement, and in which it is therefore possible for historians to study what the fascist vision of community meant when put into practice. Despite the genuine fervor generated by the leader cult and the high degree of public consensus that both regimes won as long as their domestic and foreign policies seemed successful, the rapid defascistization of both societies after 1945 suggests that the “new Rome” and *Volksgemeinschaft* remained a chimera, more the product of propaganda and wishful thinking than a realizable goal. Mussolini managed to “nationalize” the mass of Italians to an unprecedented degree as long as the prospect of a European war seemed remote, but not to fascistize them, so that the popular consensus on which he depended had, by the time he was deposed in July 1943, long since melted away. The Nazi-

fication of Germany penetrated much further into the fabric and mentality of “ordinary” Germans, but, despite the power of the Fuehrer myth at the height of the Third Reich’s power and its persistence to the bitter end, the battle of Stalingrad in the winter of 1942–1943 cruelly exposed the twin myths of Hitler’s infallibility and of the inherent superiority of the new German hero who willingly lived and died for his nation whatever the cost.

The theories of several pioneers of modern sociology can shed light on the utopia that the interwar fascists were trying to achieve. In terms of the theories of Ferdinand Tönnies (1855–1936), interwar fascism was an attempt to wipe away the evils of a society based on *Gesellschaft* (“association”), the type of contractual and inherently pluralistic civil society with which the Weimar Republic became so widely identified, and replace it with the values and structures of an organic *Gemeinschaft* (community). If Émile Durkheim’s (1858–1917) theory of social cohesion is applied, the domestic policies of the two fascist regimes can be seen as attempts to re-create the bonds of “mechanical solidarity” that he claims existed before they were gradually dissolved by modernization to be replaced by those based on work, personal values, and class (which he somewhat idiosyncratically called the basis of “organic solidarity”). It was the inadequacy of organic solidarity to provide a shared cosmology and collective sense of transcendence that he claimed engendered the experience of profound isolation, meaninglessness, and despair he termed anomie. Fascism can thus be seen as an attempt to put an end to anomie through creating a powerful mythic sense of roots, belonging, homeland, and higher fate enacted within a historical rather than a divine sphere of transcendence. In the context of Max Weber’s (1864–1920) interpretation of modernity as the product of rationalization and disenchantment, the driving force of fascism in both Italy and Germany was the goal of regenerating a society debilitated by the decay of “traditional” politics and the ineffectiveness of “legal rational” politics through the power of “charismatic” politics. Simultaneously, it sought to “re-enchanted” national life through deliberately exploiting the power of myth, political religion, and aesthetic politics to unite a nation in a common sense of strength and purpose. The intended result was a charismatic community, or what the Nazis called a “community of destiny” (*Schicksalsgemeinschaft*), capable of ushering in a new era of civilization purged of both liberalism and communism, thereby granting a secular immortality to all its members by playing an integral part in a heroic period of the nation’s “sacred” history.

One of the features common to the many fascist movements that arose between 1918 and 1945, not just in Europe but also in South Africa, Brazil, and Chile, was that, as in Italy and Germany, the community or nation that it strove to rescue from decadence was broadly identified with the nation-state, even if the project of regeneration sometimes involved irredentist territorial claims, and hence expanding the borders to include all ethnic members of the nation within them. This led some forms of fascism to look back to a Golden Age of the nation’s history when the health of the organic community was allegedly manifested in a harmonious relationship between the cultural, artistic, and the political spheres. Thus Italian Fascism instituted a cult of Rome (*Romanità*), the British Union of Fascists idealized England’s Elizabethan Age, and the Falange glorified Spain’s sixteenth century, the *siglo de oro*.

Since 1945 a number of new varieties of fascism have arisen that no longer identify the reborn community with the existing nation-state. A number of varieties of contemporary fascism—notably the European New Right and Third Positionism—see historical ethnic groups (“ethnies”), such as the reawakened Welsh or Bretons, finding their natural place within a reawakened, “imperial” or “organic” Europe, a vision known as “the Europe of nations” or “the Europe of a hundred flags.” This paradoxical concept of community is expressed in the name adopted by one of the more recent extreme right-wing formations, which calls itself the National European Communitarian Party, and which in its ideology blends both fascist and socialist critiques of the new global order. Meanwhile, Universal Nazis all over the world present Hitler’s struggle as having been fought against the decadence of communism, materialism, and racial mixing, not just for Germany but also the whole Aryan race, which is now imagined as constituting a global diasporic community of superior beings with battle-fronts against degeneracy in each nation. Some U.S. Nazis, as well as the Afrikaner Werstandsbeveging (AWB) in South Africa, see the only solution to the evils of multiracialism currently being “imposed” by the state government in the creation of separatist homelands for whites only, carved out from the existing nation-state.

Paradoxically, the only “real” fascist community that can exist since the defeat of the Axis powers is the virtual one created by the Worldwide Web of sites devoted to fantasies of racial and cultural regeneration that continue to proliferate. This community is strictly metapolitical and as such is impotent to have any impact on real politics at a systemic level. However, it may continue to provide the ideological fuel for “lone wolves” such as Timothy McVeigh and David Copeland, the

Oklahoma and London bombers, respectively, who operate outside any meaningful community in the sense of healthy interpersonal human relations and a high degree of socialization. Indeed, they may be partly driven to their desperate acts of terrorism precisely by its absence in their lives.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; AXIS, THE; BLOOD AND SOIL; BOLSHEVISM; BRAZIL; CAPITALISM; CHILE; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURE; CYBERFASCISM; DECADENCE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ECONOMIC; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM; EXPANSIONISM; FALANGE; GERMANY; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; GLOBALIZATION; GREAT BRITAIN; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOMOSEXUALITY; INDIVIDUALISM; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; LONDON NAIL BOMBINGS, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MCVEIGH, TIMOTHY; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; OKLAHOMA BOMBING, THE; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; ROME; ROOTLESSNESS; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIOLOGY; SOUTH AFRICA; SPAIN; STALINGRAD; THIRD POSITIONISM; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITION; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; YOUTH

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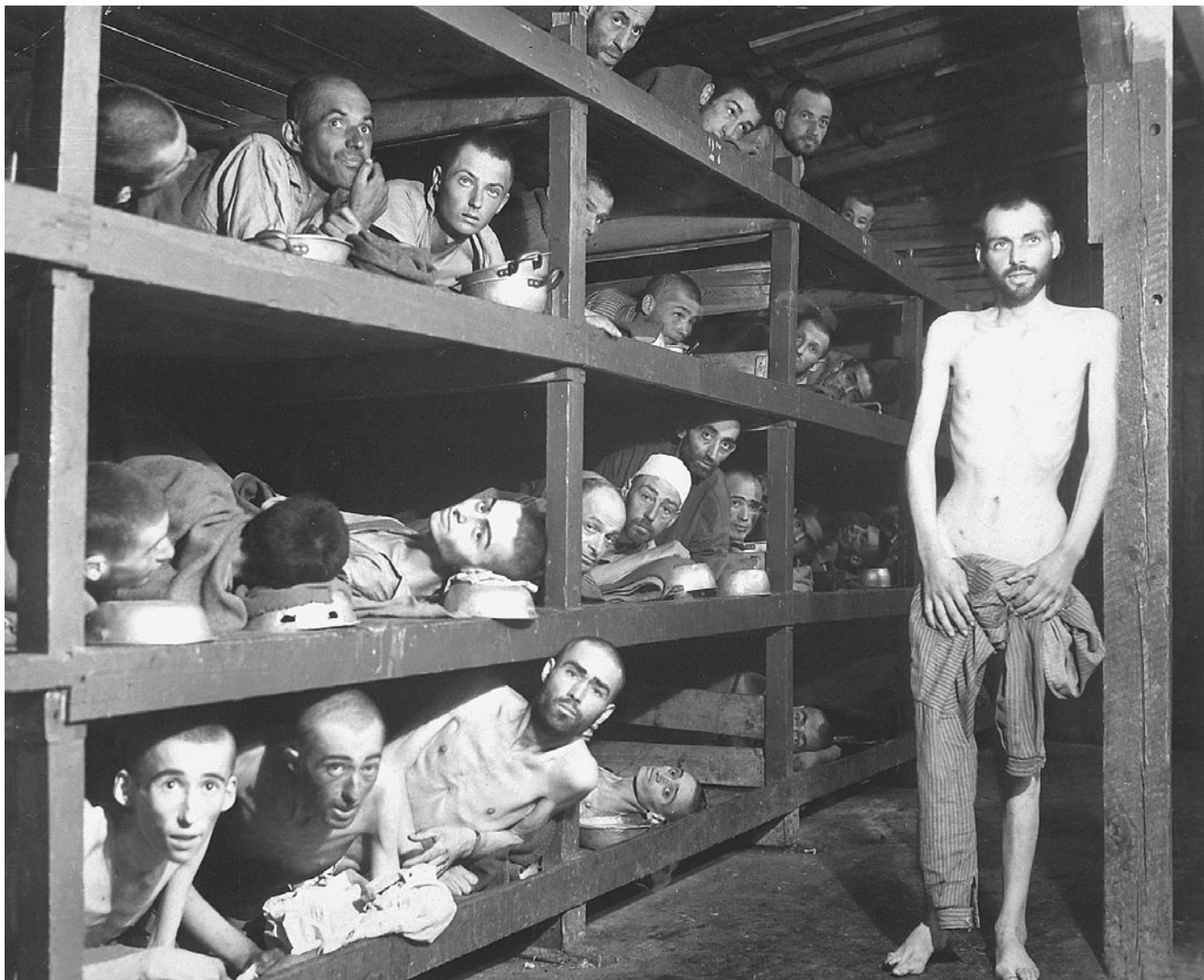
CONCENTRATION CAMPS

Although they were to be found at various times and in various places—Joseph Goebbels’s propaganda noted Britain’s policy of repressive internment during the

Boer War, for example, and they were also found in the Soviet Union—concentration camps are most frequently associated with the Third Reich in Germany between 1933 and 1945. Under the direction of Nazism, and in particular the SS, during this dozen years an estimated 1.9 million Europeans of virtually all nationalities and demographic groups died in concentration camps; this figure excludes those systematically murdered in extermination centers (like Auschwitz-Birkenau) more squarely associated with events of the Holocaust. Concentration camps and their hundreds of auxiliary satellites were employed for various reasons; suppression of dissent, slave labor, racial (or religious, political, or medical) persecution, and, of course, punishment and death. Indeed, camps played an integral role in campaigns of mass murder undertaken by the Nazis and their allies: nearly half of those incarcerated died through state-directed violence, deprivation, malnutrition, and disease. By the end of World War II, some 10,000 internment locations in Europe held more than 700,000 captive workers, prisoners, and victims; a vast network incorporating varying types of custody (in terms of severity, length of sentence, and category of offense); and opportunities for resistance, escape, and prospects for survival. Inmates’ nationalities changed substantially during this period: in 1939 an overwhelming majority of them were German, whereas that group constituted less than 10 percent of the total concentration camp population by 1945.

Emergency decrees published in the wake of the Reichstag fire in late February 1933—less than a month after Hitler had been appointed chancellor of Germany—explicitly authorized “preventative” police actions against political dissidents, especially communists and socialists. Widespread arrests and the subsequent overcrowding of prisons was an important reason behind Heinrich Himmler’s announcement of 20 March 1933 that established the former gunpowder factory outside Munich, called Dachau, as the first concentration camp in National Socialist Germany. Camps were soon established across Germany, and by 31 July 1933 camps such as Oranienburg, Sonnenburg, and Osnabrück held 26,789 prisoners in “protective custody.” By September 1939, victims were suffering even worse treatment in the camps, which held not only political dissidents but also Jews and “asocials”—notably homosexuals, Roma and Sinti travelers, and Jehovah’s Witnesses; they had now come under the supervision of a complex system of control by the SS.

At the height of the Nazi domination of Europe, camps stretched from Natzweiler/Struthof in France to Jasenovac in Croatia, guarded by up to 40,000 special



Inmates of Buchenwald concentration camp a few days after its liberation by American troops. These camps were the embodiment of Nazi theories about the regeneration of the German people through the elimination of “alien” elements. (National Archives)

SS guards or nationalist collaborators. The range of victims extended especially to Polish and Russian nationals during the war, and from 1941 systematic killing operations—ranging from shooting and the application of the so-called Euthanasia Campaign to mass murder by work or gassing—were additionally intended to annihilate European Jewry in concentration camps. Importantly, over 1941 and 1942 concentration camps took on this additional role as facilities intended for the efficient murder and disposal of millions of victims at institutions like Chelmno, Majdanek, and elsewhere; more than 3 million people, the vast majority Jews, died in these locations of industrial murder.

At the same time the camps continued to serve different, although interrelated, functions: as holding camps (Westerbork, Bergen-Belsen, Theresienstadt), extermination camps (Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka), and increasingly, forced labor camps (Mauthausen, Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen). The latter operated largely in support of the German war effort, in partnership with an array of private firms like IG Farben, Krupp, BMW, and Messerschmitt. Profit was nevertheless eclipsed by exploitation, as a severely malnourished and overworked labor force was literally worked to death for wartime German industry. As the tide of war progressively turned against the Axis Powers, camps multiplied all these functions. Conditions deteriorated

sharply and numbers of inmates expanded rapidly; for example, the overall total of prisoners rose by some 300,000 (from 224,000) during the year August 1943 to August 1944. Early in 1945 all the camps were closed ahead of advancing Allied armies, and a “death march” of prisoners took place toward central Germany. Although this final action caused the death of another quarter of a million victims, hundreds of thousands nevertheless lived and many survived to testify to the varied functions of Nazi concentration camps, frequently summarized as inflicting upon inmates the experience of hell.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; AUSCHWITZ(-BIRKENAU); AXIS, THE; EUTHANASIA; FORCED LABOR; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; IG FARBEN; INDUSTRY; JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES, THE; KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED; MARXISM; MEDICINE; MENGELE, JOSEF; NAZISM; PARAGUAY; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REICHSTAG FIRE, THE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; USTASHA; WORLD WAR II

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CONDOR LEGION, THE: See LUFT-WAFFE, THE

CONFESSING (or CONFESSIONAL) CHURCH, THE

Between 1933 and 1945, the movement within German Protestantism that opposed the pro-Nazi “German Christians” and their attempts to create a Reich

church. Around one-third of all German Protestant clergy belonged to the Confessing Church at its height in 1934. Confessing parishes were established throughout the country, but the church was strongest in Berlin-Brandenburg and the Prussian regional churches. Founded primarily to oppose the “German Christians” and their attempt to apply Nazi racial legislation to church laws governing membership and the ordination of clergy, the Confessing Church was formally established in May 1934 at the Barmen synod, a national church meeting attended by representatives of all the German regional Protestant churches. Its founding document, the Barmen declaration of faith, was written by the Swiss theologian Karl Barth. It called for a church based upon the Christian confessions that would retain its independence from all worldly ideology. The fifth thesis of the Barmen declaration directly opposed totalitarian control by the state over all aspects of human life, and declared the church to be a counterforce to such control.

The Barmen declaration was unanimously approved by all the church delegates present, who viewed it as a response to attempts by the “German Christians” to control German Protestantism ideologically. This unanimity soon dissolved. Despite their opposition to “German Christian” ideology, most Protestant leaders in 1934 still viewed the National Socialist government positively; for them, the Barmen document was a declaration of church independence from the state and its ideological allies, not a statement of opposition to a totalitarian state. The declaration’s radical antitotalitarian potential was embraced by only a few. At the Dahlem synod in October 1934, a radical faction sought to declare the Confessing Church the only true church, a move that could have created a breakaway church. This brought resistance from more moderate church leaders; thereafter, the numbers of active Confessing Christians diminished. Like the “German Christians,” the Confessing Church and its members never formally left the German Protestant Church.

Outside Nazi Germany, the Confessing Church attracted support from some Christian leaders who drew parallels between the ideological demands of Nazism on the German churches and the experience of the Russian churches under communism. The issue of church independence from Nazi ideology and state control was indeed the primary concern of the Confessing Church, but its ranks also included some radical members who sought a broader, more outspoken opposition to the Nazi regime, to its dismantling of civil liberties, and to its persecution of the Jews. A few of its members, such as the theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer,

eventually joined the political resistance to overthrow the regime. As the Nazi regime tightened its hold on German society and intensified its persecution of opponents, the radical sectors of the Confessing Church were compelled to go further underground. Many Confessing pastors were arrested, and the church's youth work was the target of particular observation and harassment. In 1937 a decree by Heinrich Himmler banned the Confessing Church's seminaries, forcing seminary training of its pastors to be conducted secretly and illegally. Nonetheless, where Nazi policies did not affect the church directly, there were few instances of active resistance or public protest, and with few exceptions the Confessing Church was silent about the Nazi persecution of the Jews. One exception was the Berlin office of Pastor Heinrich Grüber, which helped some 2,000 Jews (many of them converts to Christianity) to emigrate until the Gestapo closed the office in 1941; all the staff members of the office, including Grüber, were sent to concentration camps.

With the beginning of war in September 1939, the church's situation changed. Most Protestant clergy, including the illegally trained Confessing Church clergy, became soldiers in the *Wehrmacht*. Church criticism of Nazi policies became even more muted, and most Protestant leaders made a point of professing their patriotism. With the defeat of Nazism, the Confessing Church was viewed as one of the few German institutions to have opposed Nazism, and its leaders portrayed their struggle under Nazism as a religious battle against fascist ideology. Nonetheless, most of them sought a quick re-establishment of social peace in postwar Germany, and that led them to oppose the Allied denazification program and similar measures. By the late 1950s, the Confessing Church as a distinct movement had ceased to exist.

Early depictions of the Confessing Church portrayed it as far more heroic than it had actually been. Only with a more critical and detailed examination of the church's record, including the nationalism and anti-Semitism of many of its leaders, did a different portrait come to light. The Confessing Church emerged primarily in opposition to the extremist "German Christian" movement. It remained torn between traditional Protestant nationalism and its desire for church independence from ideological co-option and state control. It opposed the Nazi regime on issues of church independence and on a few moral issues, notably the euthanasia program. Many clergy and lay members helped individual Jews, but the official church chose to remain silent on the issue of the Holocaust. Only in isolated cases did Confessing Christians offer systemic

critiques of the National Socialist system and challenge the legitimacy of the regime; one such exception was Dietrich Bonhoeffer's 1933 essay "The Church Faces the Jewish Question," which raised the issue of potential church resistance against the illegitimate exercise of state authority.

Victoria Barnett

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH; CHRISTIANITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DENAZIFICATION; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOLOCAUST, THE; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; THEOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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CONFESSIONAL CHURCH, THE: See
 CONFESSING CHURCH, THE
 CONSERVATIVE REVOLUTION: See
 HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; MOHLER,
 ARMIN; NIHILISM

CONSERVATISM

Many observers have labeled fascism a variant of conservatism, and there are four main reasons for that. First, fascists have invariably shown massive hostility to the Left. Running battles between supporters of Mussolini and Hitler and adherents of the Left were a feature of the early years of fascism, both in Italy and in Germany. The symbolic murder of the socialist parlia-

mentary Matteotti marked a watershed in the development of Mussolini's regime, while in Germany the National Socialists came to power on the back of a powerfully anticommunist program and in an atmosphere of widespread fear of a Bolshevik revolution at home. Second, a fundamental core ingredient of the fascist worldview is hypernationalism, a creed consciously and aggressively developed as a reaction to the internationalism of the Left. This was indeed the essential reason for the hatred that fascists displayed toward the Left: they felt that there was something innately treacherous and weak about internationalism. Mussolini returned from the war to an Italy that he considered to be adrift and rudderless because of the influence of internationalists and pacifists. Both he and Hitler reflected the deep feelings of betrayal felt by the war veterans who came home to a sense that their sacrifices had been a waste of time. They who had fought bravely and suffered atrociously in the trenches had no say in the destiny of their countries, which were guided by politicians who had not fought—and worse, by profiteers who had actually made huge profits out of the war. At a time when their countries were being inwardly divided and crippled by left-wing agitators, there were no strong leaders ready to defend the national interest at all costs. So then, given the traditional spectrum of political thinking in which socialist and communist stood at the opposite pole from conservative, observers naturally located these fascist enemies of the Left with the conservatives. Of course, the rhetoric of the Left itself also viewed matters in that light—the fascists were “conservatives” not least because they had no intention of bringing down the forces of international capitalism nor of liberating the workers of the world from their chains. Not only so, but evidently there was great advantage for the Left in branding conservatives generally as “fascist,” a label that if it stuck would blacken them not simply in the eyes of the Left but also in the eyes of centrists or left conservatives.

The third reason why fascism became associated with conservatism was the degree of support that fascists did actually receive from conservative elements. Conservatives of a traditional stamp were naturally delighted to welcome a new force that was pledged to roll back the Bolshevik menace. It was music to their ears. Conservatives were prepared to swallow aspects of fascist ideology that they did not particularly like in order to side with this powerful new ally. The pill was sweetened to the extent that fascism did actually contain some ideological priorities that held an attraction in conservative circles. Their nationalist propaganda, with its pride in the heroic past of Italy and Germany,

seemed to mesh naturally with traditional conservatism. Did not the very root of the term “fascist” refer to the *fasci*, or bundles, that were carried by the lictors of Ancient Rome? And what did the term “Third Reich” mean if not to stress the continuity of German history with the First Reich of the Holy Roman Emperors and the Second Wilhelmine Reich? Likewise their stress on such values as order, the martial virtues, and the preservation of private property. There was so much that seemed to chime with traditional conservative values. There was also a great emphasis in fascist propaganda on the virtues of order, discipline, and hierarchy, which held an obvious appeal to the conservative mind.

A fourth reason why fascism became associated with conservatism is this: historically, some essentially conservative regimes—such as Vichy France, Franco's Spain, Salazar's Portugal, Hungary under Horthy, and Romania under King Carol and General Antonescu—did find it expedient at certain points to take advantage of fascism's dynamism and populist appeal to increase their own popularity by adopting some external trappings of fascism. This has resulted in such regimes frequently being referred to as “fascist.” However, it is also true to say that whenever such regimes felt threatened by signs of fascism's growing mass appeal, they moved to emasculate it, as in the case of Spain and Vichy, or crush it, as in the case of Brazil, Chile, Portugal, Hungary, and Romania. But that has not prevented such regimes from having misleadingly acquired the enduring label of “fascist.” By contrast, socialist or left-wing leaders have never seen any advantage in openly flirting with fascism, even though their regimes may in reality have shared more or less of fascism's totalitarian features. This is to say that while in certain circumstances conservative politicians or movements have felt able to “look” fascist, the same has never been true for left-wing regimes. Moreover, histories of socialism do not accept “National Socialism” as a variant of socialism, not even bothering to explain why not or to comment on the exclusion.

Superficially, then, it looks as though the assumption on the Left that fascism was just a superheated variety of conservatism might seem to hold water. But the truth is that fascism no more fitted into the traditional category of the Right than it did into that of the Left. Fascism disrupted the comfortable left/right polarity and proposed something entirely new that was in essence a kind of hybrid of right and left. “Revolutionary Conservatism” was the term used by Moeller Van der Bruck; “National Socialism” was the term preferred by Hitler. By the time that the traditional conservatives had finally grasped that neither Hitler nor Mussolini

was “one of them,” it was already too late. This is illustrated by the July Plot against Hitler’s life in 1944, which was planned and executed not by left-wingers or by liberals but by conservatives who felt that Hitler was destroying “their” Germany.

According to the definition of fascism given by Griffin in the Introduction, fascism is a form of revolutionary hypernationalism that assumes an existing state of decadence needing to be remedied. There are two elements here that are incompatible with conservatism as traditionally understood. First, the term *revolutionary*. No traditional conservative approach to politics can assimilate the term *revolution* in the way that fascists understood it: that is, a violent revolution achieved by force. Conservatism has always been essentially hostile to that kind of revolution, although there were currents (protofascist and others) in the decades before the appearance of Nazism that did attempt to propose a rapprochement of the two concepts; in the United Kingdom, the term *Thatcherite revolution* has become common currency. But these are benign understandings of the concept that assume a democratic or at least consensual change, not a violent one. Second, there is the question of the remedy for the decadence. Whereas the traditional conservative thinks in terms of restoring the best of the past, the “new man” of fascism is an unprecedented phenomenon, a new creature of a new world, a utopian figure that neatly parallels the utopian new man envisaged by communist propagandists. There is no way of bending the mind-set of an Edmund Burke, a Disraeli, a Joseph de Maistre, a Russell Kirk, a Ronald Reagan, or a George Bush so that it can fit into that particular box.

The term *National Socialist* tells us all we need to know. Fascism was nationalistic, and therefore it did not belong to the Left. But it was also “socialist,” or, in Italy, corporatist, which is equally anti-individualist, so that it could not be bracketed with the Right. In other words, fascism was something new and unprecedented; it straddled the old political divide, and perhaps that was one reason why it caught so much of Europe off guard between the wars. One of the most unexpected and confusing aspects of fascism to the onlooker was its appeal to the masses, whom it managed in Germany and Italy at least to wean away from the Left, who had previously looked upon the masses as their own dedicated fiefdom. This was an unprecedented phenomenon to which the Left did not know how to respond.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTIFASCISM; ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION; ART; BRAZIL; CHILE; CORPORATISM; COS-

MOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; INDIVIDUALISM; INTERNATIONALISM; ITALY; JULY PLOT, THE; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; PARAFASCISM; PORTUGAL; PROTOFASCISM; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; ROME; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SOCIALISM; SPAIN; THIRD REICH, THE; THIRD WAY, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITIONALISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VICHY; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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CONSPIRACY THEORIES

A belief in conspiracy theories is an important feature of a large variety of extreme-right movements (though it is by no means limited to them). The most notorious example is undoubtedly the belief of the Nazis in a Jewish world conspiracy, and the combination of conspiracy theories with anti-Semitism has often featured in the discourse of extreme-right parties. The conspiracy theories of extreme-right movements include, however, a much vaster panoply of would-be conspirators. Organizations accused of conspiracies may include the United Nations (in the case of the Militiamen in the United States), Freemasonry, the Catholic Church (an object of particular suspicion on the part of Protestant fundamentalist groups), or the Trilateral Commission (an international organization of private citizens whose avowed aim is to discuss the common challenges and leadership responsibilities of the democratic industrialized areas of the world).

Extreme-right conspiracy theories have their origins in counter-revolutionary explanations of the French Revolution, and in particular in the book written by the abbé Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du jacobinisme*, first published in 1797. According to Barruel, the French Revolution was the outcome of a conspiracy of philosophers against religion, of Freemasons against the French monarchy, and of the Illuminati

(a German group related to Freemasonry, forbidden in 1785, mainly because of its secretive nature and its allegedly nefarious political activities in Bavaria) against the social order. The obsession of many extreme-right movements with Freemasonry—a combination of hostility mixed with fascination—derives from this book. The long-gone Illuminati still play a role in contemporary conspiracy theories, especially for U.S. fundamentalist Christian groups. (They have sprung to prominence again in recent times as a result of featuring prominently in the best-selling book and accompanying film, *The Da Vinci Code*.) Barruel set out what has often been the basic characteristic of extreme-right conspiracy theories: a narrative of how secret elites conspire to subvert the social order. They thus combine populism with a defense of the social order as threatened by specific groups. Anti-Semitism could easily be integrated in such a perspective, and Jews—not present in Barruel's volume—soon appeared in nineteenth-century counter-revolutionary conspiracy theories. With the Russian Revolution of 1917, communists became an additional partner in these alleged worldwide conspiracies.

Conspiracy theories inspired by a conservative and counter-revolutionary background seem to have undergone an additional evolution during the nineteenth century. Reflecting the competitive Social Darwinist dynamics of international relations that came to the foreground in the late nineteenth century, they became outspokenly nationalist. The groups accused of conspiracies were more and more described as cosmopolitan elites allied to foreign powers. Such theories of the betrayal of the nation abounded in the period following World War I and formed a basic feature of extreme-right discourse in Germany. Versions of such conspiracy theories were, however, articulated in many European countries. Because of their international contacts, Jews and Freemasons have always been particularly prone to become the scapegoats of such theories, and Jews and Freemasons were in fact accused by both camps of having betrayed their nation during World War I. However, extreme-right conspiracy theories have tended to display an outspoken and exclusivist nationalism rarely found in conspiracy theories from other ideological backgrounds.

Contemporary versions of conspiracy theories as proposed by extreme-right movements are less concerned with the revolutionary subversion of the social order. The demise of communism after 1989 is reflected in a decline of its role in these theories. They nevertheless are very much concerned with the threat to the social order posed by outsiders. This may take

the form of updated versions of classic themes of conspiracy theories: for example, the role of Freemasons as seen by some extreme-right movements in Russia, who brand them “enemies of the nation.” Freemasons and Jews now tend, however, to play a less prominent role in such theories than in the past. Contemporary conspiracy theories may focus instead on denouncing organizations symbolizing the threat of “cosmopolitanism,” such as the United Nations. Such theories can integrate other groups perceived to be enemies of the nation. Discreet international groupings of economic and political elites, such as the Trilateral Commission or the Bilderberg Group (an international annual meeting of European and North American leaders whose discussions are conducted behind closed doors—though their meeting locations, lists of participants, and agendas are public knowledge), are particularly apt candidates for this role. Contemporary versions of extreme-right conspiracy theories at the same time display a continuity with traditional themes and introduce new elements. Reflecting the centrality of the issue of immigration in extreme-right propaganda, European extreme-right movements phrase their conspiracy theories in the language of a clash of civilizations. Profiting from the post-9/11 political climate, they denounce Islamic conspiracies. They may combine that focus with more traditional features of conspiracy theories. The Lega Nord in Italy, for example, explains immigration as the result of a conspiracy of the United States and Islam against Europe (and European cultural particularities), with the complicity of the Italian Left and Catholic organizations that allegedly favor immigration.

Conspiracy theories enjoy a particular popularity within the panoply of groups on the extreme-right fringes of the political scene of the United States. The worldview of Militiamen, white supremacists, Identity Christians, or conservative groups like the John Birch Society is strongly marked by a belief in conspiracy theories against the American people and its Constitution. These generally decentralized groups have produced a huge variety of such theories, but they have in common the denunciation of international groups and organizations (which may include the United Nations and the Trilateral Commission, or the Jews) that are accused of dominating the federal government for the purpose of subverting the U.S. Constitution and of enslaving the American people. Such theories are frequently based on an eschatological vision of history with its roots in fundamentalist Christianity.

Michel Huysseune

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; COUNTER-REVOLUTION; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; IMMIGRATION; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RUSSIA; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; TRADITIONALISM; UNITED NATIONS, THE; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WEBSTER, NESTA; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

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CONSUMERISM: See **ECOLOGY; ECONOMICS; GLOBALIZATION**

CONTRACEPTION: See **DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; FAMILY, THE; HEALTH; SEXUALITY; WOMEN**

CORFU

A Greek island with considerable strategic importance, the object of Mussolini's first act of foreign aggression, in August 1923. Four Italians who were part of an international commission to delimit Albania's frontiers were murdered on Greek territory near the border. Mussolini demanded reparations from the Greek government, which refused. Mussolini occupied the island after first bombarding the island's fortress from the sea, but there were refugees sheltering in it of whom sixteen were killed; worldwide anger was such that Greece referred the matter to the League of Nations. However, it was the Conference of Ambassadors that resolved the matter, persuading the Greeks to offer an indemnity to Italy in return for the evacuation of Corfu, which duly took place at the end of the following month.

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See Also: ALBANIA; GREECE; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA

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CORPORATISM

In theory, corporatism (often called “corporativism”) is a system of organizing the economy in such a way that representatives of capital and labor, together with representatives of the state, work together in sectoral “corporations” to promote harmonious labor relations and to maximize production in the national interest. Italian Fascism laid particular claim to having developed the theory and practice of corporatism, and it is often seen as being the most characteristic of its policies. The “corporate state” is thus the putative realization of that theory, but it should be said that in the Italian case the concept of the “corporate state” is sometimes used to describe Fascist economic policies more broadly.

The origins of corporatism lie in the writings of pre-World War I Italian nationalists like Enrico Corradini, Alfredo Rocco, and Luigi Federzoni. They sought to create institutions that would make it possible for Italy to escape the chronic industrial unrest and class conflict of the early 1900s and mobilize the nation's efforts against external enemies in wars of expansion. Another ideological source was the prewar revolutionary syndicalism of later Fascists like Edmondo Rossoni. The experience of World War I, in which the war effort was essentially sustained by collaboration between industrialists, the military, and the state, with trade union activity placed under strict controls, was arguably another inspiration for the corporatist institutions that were developed in the mid-1920s. By 1916, *Il Popolo D'Italia*, Mussolini's daily newspaper, was calling itself the “organ of soldiers and producers,” a reflection of the conversion of Rossoni and others from revolutionary to “national syndicalism.”

The beginnings of the Fascist corporate state may be traced back to the Palazzo Vidoni Pact of October 1925, in which Olivetti, on behalf of Confindustria, the main Italian employers' organization, and Rossoni, on behalf of the Fascist trade unions, recognized each other as the sole representatives of Italy's industrial employers and employees, respectively, thus effectively spelling the doom of the non-Fascist trade unions, Socialist and Catholic alike.

A year later, Rocco as minister of justice had the opportunity to translate his prewar ideas into practice by means of the Labor and Anti-Strike Law, which formalized the Palazzo Vidoni Pact arrangements, made both strikes and lock-outs illegal, and set up labor tribunals to deal with employer-employee disputes. The non-Fascist unions had been dissolved by the end of 1926, but they were not the only victims of Rocco's legislation; so too was Rossoni's vision of strong and free trade Fascist unionism inside the Fascist state. The year 1927 saw the promulgation of a Charter of Labor, setting out workers' rights and duties and implementing the labor tribunals. In 1924 a Ministry of Corporations was set up, and through the 1930s the whole of the economy and the professions were progressively organized into twenty-two corporations according to sector, culminating in the transformation of the National Council of Corporations and lower house of the Italian Parliament into a "Chamber of Fasces and Corporations," which represented Italy's economic forces and the Fascist movement rather than constituting the political representation of the population.

Despite the rather elaborate facade, the "corporate state" was largely a sham. The representatives of employees in a given sector were rarely employees themselves, just party nominees; as Tannenbaum has pointed out, "Fascist Italy had complete control over the labor force but very little control of the nation's economic structure" (Tannenbaum 1973, 100). By the time of the war, even some Fascist leaders themselves had become extremely critical of an economic system in which corruption and confusion were rife, and which had signally failed to meet the needs of war. Nevertheless, corporatism had its benefits for Fascism: one of the few safety valves for criticism of the regime was provided by an ongoing debate about the nature of the corporate state led by Ugo Ogetti, a proponent of left-wing corporatism. Mussolini constantly trumpeted the benefits of Italy's "third way" between capitalism in crisis and the horrors of "socialism in one country"—the Soviet Union. At first sight, Fascist corporatism bore a strong resemblance to those visions of corporatism that, in the spirit of the medieval guild organization of masters and workers, bulked large in the Catholic Social Teaching enunciated in the papal encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* of 1891 and, more pertinently, *Quadragesimo Anno* forty years later. In the latter, Pius XI was critical of the Fascist version of corporatism, but that did not prevent authoritarian Catholics in Austria, Portugal, and Spain from seeking to emulate it—at least in some labor and social organizations.

Yet the other major fascist regime, Nazi Germany, never took corporatism seriously. The obvious reason

was the absence of a corporatist strand of thought in either National Socialism or its precursors. The only economic institution that the Nazi *Gleichschaltung* created that was corporatist in nature was the Reichsnährstand (literally, the "Reich Nutrition Estate"), a vertical organization of the agricultural and food-processing industries that owed its existence to the Nazis' concern not to repeat the experience of World War I, when the Allied blockade and resulting food shortages had undermined the German war effort. No other truly corporatist institutions were established by Hitler, who was content with the destruction of free trade unions and the regimentation of the workers in the DAF, the German Labor Front. The creation of the DAF entailed the destruction of one of the most powerful labor movements in Europe and satisfied the employers, who were now bosses in their own workplaces. The Nazi dictatorship's relations with the employers, most especially the industrialists, had its ups and downs, but the Nazis had no difficulty working with them as long as they accepted increasing economic regulation and planning by the state in return for the survival of private capitalism.

Corporatist ideas appeared in the programs of most interwar fascist movements, including Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, but never really survived the collapse of Italian Fascism and the fact that in Mussolini's restored Fascist regime—the Salò Republic—the official program largely abandoned corporatist institutions in favor of an Italian form of "National Socialism" that was a sign of a self-conscious attempt to revert to the policies of early Fascism.

John Pollard

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUSTRIA; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORRADINI, ENRICO; ECONOMICS; EMPLOYMENT; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEDERZONI, LUIGI; FRANCOISM; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; INDUSTRY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LAW; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; PERONISM; PIUS XI, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PORTUGAL; ROCCO, ALFREDO; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPAIN; SPANN, OTHMAR; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THIRD WAY, THE; TRADE UNIONS; WORLD WAR I

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CORRADINI, ENRICO (1865–1931)

Author, journalist, and propagandist for imperialist expansion. With Giuseppe Prezzolini and Giovanni Papini he edited the nationalist periodical *Il Regno* from 1903 until 1906; in 1910 he founded the Italian Nationalist Association. Corradini made two important contributions to Fascist theory. He argued that Italy as a poor proletarian nation had a right to colonial expansion, and that she could not afford to disperse her energies in domestic class struggle. During World War I he again called for the suppression of class struggle and parliamentary wrangling, in favor of the solidarity of productive Italy. Corradini supported the merger of the Italian Nationalist Association with the Fascist Party in 1923 and was appointed to the Italian Senate.

Alex de Grand

See Also: CLASS; COLONIALISM; CORPORATISM; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; PARLIAMENTARISM; PRODUCTIVISM

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COSMOPOLITANISM

Term of abuse in the vocabulary of fascist ideologues both of German Nazi and Italian Fascist inspiration, for whom it represented the obverse of the hypernationalism to which they were devoted. In their thinking, “cosmopolitanist” creeds were those that stressed international connections and belongingness to a global community transcending national borders; to a nationalist, the “cosmopolitan” could not be trusted because his loyalty was to something wider than his own nation. Similar terms of abuse in the vocabulary of fascist rhetoric were “universalism” or “internationalism.” The modern origins of contempt for “cosmopolitanism” can be traced back to the rise of Protestantism at the Reformation, which coincided with the rise of the idea of nationhood. Martin Luther not only pio-

neered a breakaway from Rome; in so doing he also fostered incipient nationalism, giving a huge impetus to the use of the vernacular German as opposed to the universal Latin of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church was a supremely “cosmopolitan” body in the sense that it was a global movement that promoted the same creed in all countries while subjecting local churches to an international head, the papacy.

In practice, the term *cosmopolitan* was applied by interwar fascists chiefly to Marxists, Freemasons, and Jews. In Nazi thinking, Marxism and Freemasonry were themselves part of an international Jewish conspiracy, so that “cosmopolitan” often meant “Jewish.” For Mussolini and his followers, the Italian Fascist creed did not include the anti-Semitic strain that was so central to Nazism (though it was incorporated late on, partly under pressure from Germany). The term *cosmopolitan* also carried an overtone of decadence in fascist thinking, and it was sometimes allied with the term *metropolitan* as suggesting the seductions of the big cities with their night clubs, American jazz music, and generally looser morals. In Italy deliberate (unsuccessful) attempts were made in the interwar years to discourage migration from rural areas to the cities for this reason.

In postwar fascism in Europe, there has been something of a turn away from hostility to internationalism in revulsion against the excesses of interwar nationalism, and attempts have been made to construct an internationalist fascism that will embody the best of European values; the “enemy” now has become the immigrant, in particular the black or Asiatic member of the community in question. On the other hand, some extreme-right movements in the United States in particular see the hand of conspiracy in international organizations like the United Nations.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; AMERICANIZATION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DECADENCE; DREYFUS CASE, THE; DRUMONT, EDOUARD; EGALITARIANISM; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; JESUITS, THE; LUTHER, MARTIN; NATIONALISM; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; POSTWAR FASCISM; RATIONALISM; ROOTLESSNESS; RURALISM; SOCIALISM; TRADITIONALISM

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COSTAMAGNA, CARLO (1881–1965)

Italian Fascist ideologue and anti-Semite who retained a commitment to Roman Catholicism. Born near Savona, Costamagna became a judge, and, after the March on Rome, he was asked by Mussolini to work on a Fascist remodeling of the Italian constitution. Later he was involved in the drafting of corporatist legislation and became professor of corporative law at the University of Ferrara, as well as editor of *Lo Stato* (*The State*). His view of the Fascist trade unions and corporations was quite narrowly defined, arguing that they were chiefly to be regarded as instruments of state control, opposing the claim of other Fascist ideologues that the unions should have a crucial role in the reorganization of society. He rejected the actualism promoted by Gentile and argued that Italian Fascism was indebted to the traditions of Italian civilization and also to Roman Catholicism. He attacked the Jews as a threat to the “spiritual integrity” of Europe.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTUALISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CORPORATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; LAW; MARCH ON ROME, THE; ROME; STATE, THE; TRADES UNIONS; TRADITIONALISM

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COUGHLIN, Fr. CHARLES EDWARD (1891–1979)

Canadian Catholic priest and radio broadcaster favorable to the Nazis and from the late 1930s overtly anti-Semitic. Born and educated in Ontario, Father Coughlin first became famous because of his radio broadcasts from his parish in Royal Oak, Michigan, a suburb of Detroit. Although he initially endorsed the New Deal, by mid-1935 he had split with Franklin Roosevelt. His National Union for Social Justice, founded the previous year, combined such concrete proposals as the abolition of a Federal Reserve Board with such vague ones as “a

just, living, annual wage” for all citizens. In 1936 he was the mainstay behind the abortive Union Party, whose program stressed inflation, generous old-age pensions, and income redistribution. By 1938 he exhibited an overt anti-Semitism, which first appeared in his weekly *Social Justice* and gradually in his radio sermons as well. That year he published an edition of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, defended various Nazi actions, and accused the Jews of financing the Bolshevik Revolution. In 1939 he fostered a small paramilitary organization, the Christian Front, which engaged in violent acts against Jews. Once World War II broke out, Coughlin blamed the conflict on “Jewish International bankers,” who “own or control the world.” In 1942, on the orders of his ecclesiastical superiors, he ended all political activity, restricting himself thenceforth strictly to parish work.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; PARAMILITARISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RADIO; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945)

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COUNTER-REVOLUTION

One of the most characteristic claims of the fascist tradition has been that theirs is an authentically revolutionary movement. Once in power, fascism would transcend the miseries of day-to-day life. Poverty and alienation are blamed on “the old parties.” Where it took control of the state, fascism claimed to have liberated the nation. Mussolini’s March on Rome and the violent scenes witnessed in Germany in the spring of 1933 were accorded the status of “national revolutions.” Mussolini spoke of “the profound transformation which Fascism has brought about, not only in the material lives of the Italian people, but in their spirit.” Fascism had achieved “the transition from one type of civilization to another” (Griffin 1995, 72–73). According to Goebbels, “[T]he revolution we have carried out is a total one. It has embraced all areas of public life and

transformed them from below. It has completely changed and recast the relationship of people to each other, to the State, and to life itself." Its main victory, he went on to argue, had been to rescue the threatened German people (*ibid.*, 134).

Yet while fascism often adverted to its revolutionary heritage, a number of fascist spokesmen also made the claim that fascism was a form of counter-revolution. That idea took two forms. In its "soft" variety, fascists argued only that theirs was the true revolution, while the rival movements of the Left only played games. One smear that Hitler employed to denigrate the communists of post-World War I Germany was that, faced with the opportunity to seize power in 1918–1919, they had not dared to confront the state. On the big demonstrations, the revolutionaries would not even walk on the grass. A second, "harder" argument was that fascism was opposed not merely to the self-deceived revolutionists of 1918 but also to the very process of revolution itself, going back to France in 1789. Asvero Gravelli of the Italian Fascist journal *Antieuropa* maintained that, whereas the French Revolution had stood for liberalism and democracy, fascism stood for "the concept of hierarchy, the participation of the whole people in the life of the State, social justice through the equitable distribution of rights and duties, the injection of morality into public life, the prestige of the family, the moral interpretation of the ideas of order, authority and freedom" (*ibid.*, 67). Similar ideas were taken up in France by the royalist supporters of Charles Maurras and Action Française, and even by self-declared republicans, including François de la Rocque of the Croix de Feu. For both Maurras and La Rocque, the French Revolution was synonymous with democracy and "decadence." La Rocque argued that the crowd, abandoned to itself, became an uncontrollable and chaotic force. What was needed was government by an enlightened aristocracy.

Would it be more accurate to lay the stress on the revolutionary or on the counter-revolutionary aspects of fascism? Various historians have taken their lead from different aspects of the fascist self-image. David Schoenbaum argues that German fascism did result in a transformation of status structures. The fascist state was aware of its own unwillingness to deliver profound economic or social change. It responded to this gap by attempting a revolution in expectation. Fascist art exalted muscular workers. At least in aesthetic terms, such subaltern groups could feel that "their" culture had captured the state. Yet Schoenbaum's ideas have proved controversial. As Donny Gluckstein has argued, fascism was experienced in terms of increased hours and inten-

sity of work, static pay, and food shortages. The mundane reality of most people's lives remained similar to what it had been before, or even worse: social inequalities remained entrenched, and the exploitation of the poor continued. In this bleak context, it seems strange to speak of a fascist "social revolution." Fascism may have projected some alternative future, but that was never conceived of as a more generous society. Far from being a utopia, it was in fact a more hierarchical society than before. The fascists defended their ideal among themselves with the boast that at least their enemies would suffer.

Fascism was certainly "counter-revolutionary" in the limited sense that fascist parties emerged in response to a period of mass protest when communist revolution seemed possible. In Italy, many of the gangs that joined Mussolini's Fascio had begun as strike-breakers. In Germany, the cadres of fascism were recruited from the Freikorps, a milieu of officers and middle-class youth mobilized by the state to prevent insurrection.

David Renton

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; COMMUNISM; CONSERVATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; FAMILY, THE; FREIKORPS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; LA ROCQUE DE SEVERAC, FRANÇOIS COMTE DE; LIBERALISM; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; TRADITIONALISM

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COVENTRY

English Midlands city that was subjected to a devastating air-raid by the Luftwaffe involving nearly 450 bombers on 15 November 1940. At the heart of this great manufacturing center was a celebrated medieval

cathedral which was destroyed (along with about 70,000 homes) in the raid. German propaganda afterward threatened that the Luftwaffe would *coventrieren* (“treat the same as Coventry”) other British cities. The massively destructive Allied bombing raid on the beautiful and historic German city of Dresden in February 1945, leading to a firestorm and huge loss of civilian lives, has been regarded by some as motivated at least in part by a desire for revenge. Dresden was undefended and was full of refugees at that point in the war. After the war Coventry Cathedral was rebuilt and made the focus of reconciliation, initially between Britain and Germany, later in relation to international conflicts in general. In 2005 the dedication of the rebuilt Frauenkirche in Dresden set the seal on the postwar strategy of reconciliation.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: LUFTWAFFE, THE; WORLD WAR II

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CROATIA

Croatian nationalist extremism is personified in the aspiration for a Greater Croatian state, the idealization of peasant and patriarchal values, a rejection of so-called Easternness, and a hatred of Serbs. Croatian right-wing extremism has evolved through three historical phases: extreme Croatian nationalism as espoused by the nineteenth-century politician Josip Frank; the fascism of the Ustasha movement, and the contemporary right-wing extremism of the Tudjman regime. Modern Croatian nationalism started with Ante Starcevic, founder of the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP), who is often called the father of Croatian nationalism. Originally a believer in South Slav unity, he became disillusioned with that idea and embraced nationalist ideals. Starcevic believed in an independent Greater Croatian state that would include Bosnia-Herzegovina; he declared Muslims to be the purest of Croats. By contrast, he denied the existence of Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia completely, declaring that many “Serbian” historical figures had, in fact, been Croatian. He refused to accept the

term “Serb” or any expressions of “Serbianness”—for example, the Cyrillic alphabet—in Croatia. He believed that the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia were Orthodox Croats, and his political ally Eugen Kvaternik proposed the creation of a Croatian Orthodox Church to separate Serbs from their “false” identity. When Serbs insisted on a separate identity, Starcevic labeled them “Slavoserbs,” a term that implied they were people of a slave origin and “impure” blood. In 1895 a more radical rival to the HSP, the Pure Party of Rights, was established by Josip Frank. Although it was loyal to the Habsburg Empire and did not agitate for independence, its hatred of Serbs was far more extreme and its newspapers called openly for their destruction. Its supporters (called Frankists) regularly participated in violent anti-Serb activities, instigating anti-Serb pogroms in 1902 and in 1908 raising a legionary force to persecute rebellious Bosnian Serbs. Its members also committed atrocities against Bosnian Serbs as part of Austrian military units during World War I. Five days after the declaration of the Yugoslav state in 1918, Frankist army officers launched a counter-revolution in Zagreb. After its defeat, many Frankists moved abroad, and a unit of “Croatian legionaries” was formed.

In interwar Croatia, Frankist influence was strongest at Zagreb University and middle-class areas of Zagreb, but otherwise the new party representing the Frankists, the Croatian Party of Rights, did not have much support. After the assassination of Croatian peasant leader Stjepan Radic in 1929, the Frankists turned to terrorism with the creation of the Ustasha movement. During the 1930s, as the political situation in Yugoslavia worsened, the ideology of extreme nationalism became more attractive to ordinary Croats; in addition to having activists abroad, the Ustasha movement also had the support of some of the Croatian population. During the 1930s, many Croatian educational and cultural institutions were infiltrated and taken over by Frankists. Parts of the Catholic Church and the Croatian Peasant party also became strongly nationalistic. The creation of a semi-independent Croatian state in 1939 did little to alter nationalist feeling, and many Croats welcomed with jubilation the creation of an independent Croatia.

With the collapse of the Yugoslav state in 1991, Croatia became an independent state again. However, with independence came right-wing extremism. The new president of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, advocated ultra-nationalist policies. He proposed that veteran Ustasha officials in exile abroad be given government positions and that squares in Zagreb and other cities be renamed after pro-Ustasha writers. At his instiga-

tion, new nationalist histories sought to downplay the Ustasha genocide; simultaneously, a demonization campaign was begun against native Serbs, who were portrayed as a separatist menace and a Trojan horse for a Greater Serbia. The Croatian authorities also made ominous noises about the “over-representation” of Serbs in public life. After the outbreak of hostilities between the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army and the Croatian government, intercommunal violence erupted. However, some political leaders waiting in the wings were even more extreme than Tadjman and his Croatian Democratic Union. Dobroslav Paraga’s Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) was the largest of a number of ultra-nationalist parties that emerged in the 1990s. It articulated the view that Serbs in Croatia did not exist, that Bosnia was a part of Croatia, and that Muslims were ethnically Croats; it proposed the establishment of a Croatian Orthodox Church. It also created its own paramilitary wing, the Croatian Defence Force, which was implicated in the ethnic cleansing and persecution of Croatian Serbs. The rising popularity of Paraga and his party led to his arrest and eventual replacement as head of his party. Paraga ultimately reconsidered his ultra-nationalist views, and his new party, HSP—1861, articulated a moderate form of Croatian nationalism that opposed the persecution of Serbs and other non-Croatians in Croatia and even sought an alliance with the main Serb political party. However, the extremism of the ruling party did not moderate, and in 1994–1995 hundreds of thousands of Serbs were murdered or expelled from Croatia.

Following the death of Tadjman in 2000, his HDZ was defeated and replaced by a reformist coalition. Despite coming to power vowing to move Croatia away from its nationalist past, it disappointed many Croats. Its cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal was deeply unpopular and, in any case, piecemeal. Moreover, little progress was made toward the return of Serb refugees. Faced with a deteriorating economy and continuing problems with the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, in 2003 the electorate returned the HDZ to power in coalition with a party that had made its electoral breakthrough in those elections: the nationalist Croatian Party of Rights.

Rory Yeomans

See Also: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; NATIONALISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PARAMILITARISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SERBS, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); USTASHA, WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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CROCE, BENEDETTO (1866–1952)

Italian philosopher, historian, literary critic, and senator, Croce came to symbolize a liberal and cultural antifascism that won him many admirers. He consistently offered moral and financial support to other antifascists, actions that were closely and continuously scrutinized by the authorities who, nevertheless, tolerated his presence.

Croce emerged as a major public figure in Italy in the early twentieth century with a humanist philosophy excoriating the transcendental categories of religion and positivist science. His widely influential philosophy of “immanence” highlighted the freely creative role of individuals in history. With this broadly liberal-inspired outlook he aimed to reconcile humanity’s “spiritual” need for meaning and purpose—or “faith”—with the practical contingencies of everyday life. In addition to the volumes of his *Filosofia dello spirito*, he publicized his ideas in his review *La Critica*, coedited with Giovanni Gentile.

Croce’s philosophy originally separated politics from ethics, largely accepting the instrumental character of political life, from which he tended to remain aloof. He was deeply skeptical of democratic politics and suspicious of political movements that attributed an ethical role for the state. He remained neutral regarding Italy’s role in World War I but was briefly education minister in its aftermath. Like other moderately conservative liberals, Croce initially welcomed Fascism as a return to order. Although he disliked its aggressive style, rather naively he saw it as having value in restoring the authority of liberal institutions. Following Matteotti’s murder in 1924, however, he



Benedetto Croce was Italy's most celebrated intellectual of the interwar era; his public opposition to the Fascist regime, (for example in his "Manifesto of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals") was tolerated by Mussolini. (Library of Congress)

became a persistent critic of the regime and permanently broke off his friendship with Gentile (by then a member of the Fascist Party). He responded to Gentile's "Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals" by writing the "Manifesto of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals." He also altered his philosophy to highlight his support for the liberal ideals of the Risorgimento and their benign effect on political life, implying a closer relation between politics and ethics than suggested earlier; before all party opposition was banned, he formally joined the Liberal Party. Never an active member of the resistance or proponent of physical violence against the regime—being elderly and, in any case, believing such activities unlikely to be successful—Croce resided in Italy throughout the Fascist period and continued to write, speak, edit *La Critica*, and defend the idea of liberalism as a kind of religion.

Croce understood Fascism to be a moral illness, a temporary retreat from Europe's liberal heritage into irrationalism. Unlike many of those active in the resistance, he did not conceive of it as a consequence of deeper structural problems in the Italian state. After the regime's collapse, he argued that Fascism had constituted merely a "parenthesis" in Italian history and advised, unsuccessfully as it turned out, a return to pre-Fascist liberal institutions.

James Martin

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; *RISORGIMENTO*, THE

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CULTS OF DEATH

At the Wewelsburg Castle headquarters of the SS, Himmler developed a complex set of rituals around the idea of reconnecting with German ancestors who would then become the vanguard in the nation's rebirth; the elite's distinctive death's head insignia, symbolizing both the desire to kill and a willingness to be killed, played with a deeper semiotic of death than mainstream Nazi propaganda. Further, the initiation rituals for the SS elites, such as having to dig a hole in the ground in eighty seconds to avoid being crushed by an oncoming tank, went beyond normal army training and were pursued to inculcate a heightened awareness of their own death in the recruits, in order to strengthen their fighting abilities by forcing them to accept the potential of their demise for the "higher" cause.

Among the interwar fascisms, it was, however, the Romanian Iron Guard that generated the most developed cult of death, with its notorious death squads. Central to its ideology were legionary songs, with lines that celebrated death and ran thus: "Death, only legionary death/Is a gladsome wedding for us/The legionary dies singing/The legionary sings dying," and "Legionaries do not fear/That you will die too young/For to die is to be reborn/And are born to die."



The scene on the USS Bunker Hill shortly after it was hit by two Japanese kamikaze (suicide bombers) attacks in May 1945. Although kamikaze was a native and not a European tradition, it had definite similarities to the interwar fascist cults of death. (National Archives)

Further, like Himmler's ideology, which incorporated aspects of Germanic religion to infuse the SS with a metaphysical dynamic, Codreanu did likewise by drawing on Romanian Orthodox Christianity to develop a language in which, to his radicalized audience, he convincingly argued that national rebirth could result from individual death. Significantly, followers of the Iron Guard took up these fantasies—such as Ion Moța, who fought in Spain with the intention of being killed to become a martyr to the cause, or the Guardists who descended upon Bucharest when the movement was suppressed by Antonescu in January 1941 and who, while carrying out a vicious pogrom in the Jewish quarter, walked into hails of bullets singing Orthodox hymns with bells ringing whenever one of their number fell—thereby crossing the line between a rhetorical use of the

language of self-sacrifice and entering into a genuine cult of death.

Spanish military figures such as General Milan Astray also developed military cults of death during the Spanish Civil War, and the grave of José Antonio Primo de Rivera became an object of cultist fascination among many Spanish fascists. Japan likewise developed a cult of death in the form of its famous Kamikaze pilots. The emperor cult of wartime Japan was clearly powerful enough to activate a genuine sense of “higher” purpose that allowed individuals to rationalize their own deaths as part of a wider process of becoming of the Japanese Empire on the world stage. One pilot recorded in a letter that his sacrifice was in order to “let this beautiful Japan keep growing.” Another letter, written by a pilot called Isao, recorded: “We are sixteen warriors manning

the bombers. May our death be as sudden and clean as the shattering of crystal: Isao soaring into the sky of the southern seas. It is our glorious mission to die as the shields of His Majesty. Cherry blossoms glisten as they open and fall" (Griffin 2003).

Paul Jackson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; GERMANIC RELIGION; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; JAPAN; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; MOȚA, ION I.; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; SECULARIZATION; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SS, THE

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CULTURE (Germany)

A key term in the vocabulary of interwar fascist propagandists. Particularly from the late nineteenth century, the substance of the German concept of culture developed frequently in conflict with the concept of "civilization." In general linguistic usage, "civilization" was often associated with the material: it was considered to be superficial, soulless, utilitarian, and leveling. In contrast to this, the emotional and moral was adjudged to the consistently positively connotated *Kultur* of the intellectual-artistic element in society. In the transition from the nineteenth to the twentieth century in Germany, the culture-civilization antithesis was taken up first and foremost by conservatives. In an indirect reference to Nietzsche, Leopold Ziegler proposed a view of *Kultur* that made it highly elitist and opposed to any type of equality and democracy. Ziegler diagnosed his epoch as having a maximum of "civilization" but a minimum of "culture."

German philosophy had a formative impact on the deepening of the culture-civilization antithesis. Almost

thirty years before Spengler, Ferdinand Tönnies described civilization as the depraved successor to a culture destroyed by the class struggle, in *Gesellschaft und Gemeinschaft (Community and Society)* in 1887. For Friedrich Nietzsche it was in the nature of culture to be both more full of life and decidedly apolitical. His definition of *Kultur* strongly inspired German literature (Thomas Mann) and philosophy (Oswald Spengler) and made a lasting impression across borders reaching as far as Russian symbolism. Houston Stewart Chamberlain claimed, in *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (1899), that only certain races are capable of culture—that is, of art, religion, and ethics. Chamberlain's *national* interpretation of culture and his devaluation of civilization as mere convenience were to be portentous for the decades to come.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, *Kultur* was increasingly instrumentalized for national purposes. At the founding convention of the German Association of German Scholars in 1912, Johann G. Sprengel argued that a "higher" culture was constituted solely through "blood." With the outbreak of World War I the writer Thomas Mann, the political economist Werner Sombart, and philosophers such as Ernst Troeltsch and Paul Natorp were protagonists of the campaign against "Western" *Zivilisation* in the name of *Kultur*. Mann hypostatized the antithesis of civilization and culture as the contrast between intellect and nature, politics and morality; for him the Germans were per se an apolitical, unrevolutionary race, whose culture had an inherent dislike of democracy and parliamentarism. Sombart's perception of German culture was closely related to his anticapitalist, fundamentally anti-Semitic instincts, which found an outlet in his 1915 anti-English war propaganda *Händler und Helden*. Sombart's psychology of peoples denounced the English as acquisitive materialists, whose colonial spirit served only to disguise their intellectual poverty. German *Kultur*, on the other hand, Sombart associated with "heroism" and antiutilitarian selflessness. In *Der Geist der deutschen Kultur* (1915), Troeltsch associates German *Kultur* with the tradition of romantic irrationalism, which is deeply contradictory to the assumed rationalist character of French civilization.

Deeply impressed by Nietzsche's vitalism, Oswald Spengler understood *Kultur* in *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* (1918/1922) as an organism that passes through an inventive phase of childhood and youth, before the creative powers slowly ebb in manhood. While he regarded this creative, vital phase as *Kultur*, Spengler refers to the aging, death-marked stage of de-

cay as *Zivilisation*, the irrevocable destiny of every culture in his eyes. Spengler was clearly strongly influenced by the ethnologist Leo Frobenius's organicist culture theory: Frobenius held the view two decades before Spengler that the cultural process is not subject to the human will.

Kultur was interpreted as *national* in the prescribed National Socialist terminology—as opposed to internationalistic, metropolitan *Zivilisation*. Adolf Hitler always preferred *Kultur* to *Zivilisation* in the various editions of *Mein Kampf*. The prerequisite for all real culture was for Hitler the attitude that set common interest before personal interest. The Jews, in contrast, had only a pseudo-culture, made up of commodities originally belonging to other races that had already corrupted in their hands. But Hitler used the terms *culture* and *civilization* synonymously from the 1930s.

Susanne Pocaï

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; CAPITALISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CIVILIZATION; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; ELITISM; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; MATERIALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NIHILISM; ORGANICISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; ROOTLESSNESS; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOUL; SPENGLER, OSWALD; UTILITARIANISM; VITALISM

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CULTURE (Italy)

Fascism aimed to remake Italy and used culture—in the form of ritual, symbols, and spectacle (an "aestheticized politics")—in the service of this project of regen-

eration. On the one hand, intellectuals like Giovanni Gentile sought to renew elite or "high" culture by fusing Italy's artistic and cultural patrimony with the principles of Fascist ideology. On the other, the regime tried to reform or change "low" culture—that is, popular culture—through means such as the Fascist Institutes of Culture, created in 1924. Working through the *dopolavoro*, or Fascist after-work leisure organizations, the Fascist Institutes of Culture and the National Committee for Popular Traditions tended to identify popular culture with folk customs. These groups organized and sometimes revived popular celebrations, such as local patron saints' days and agricultural work festivals. The regime thus paradoxically encouraged forms of local or regional cultural identification (the so-called *piccole patrie*) in the service of a larger national identity. In the 1930s, Fascist Party Secretary Achille Starace promoted rural customs and traditions, locating the national character of *il popolo* ("the people") in the countryside. Starace's 1938 "reform of custom" sought to eliminate decadent bourgeois culture. Proponents of the rural or *Strapaese* movement in literature favorably contrasted the countryside to the city, now seen as the site of sterility, degeneration, and decay. This privileging of the countryside went against a long-standing valorization in the Italian peninsula of the *urbs* as the site of *civiltà* (civilization and civility).

During the Fascist period, the idea of Italian civilization—which in its medieval origins had denoted a broad, inclusive understanding of Italianate culture—became wed to an ideology of nationalism and imperial expansion. Folklorists and ethnographers thus served the regime by searching in territories like Dalmatia and Libya for "survivals" of Roman/Latin culture, whose existence then justified the "return" of those areas to Italy.

Pamela Balling

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ART; CIVILIZATION; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; ELITISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; LEISURE; NATIONALISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; ROME; RURALISM/RURALIZATION (ITALY); STARACE, ACHILLE

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CYBERFASCISM

The Internet offers a wealth of opportunities for the far Right. Thousands of extremist websites now proliferate because of the affordability of web authoring packages. These have enabled even the most isolated and impoverished extremist to jettison samizdat publishing and limited distribution networks, replacing them with professional, multimedia technology that can globally project a sophisticated and “respectable” image, crucial for those seeking electoral success. Such a medium also offers the advantage of easy manipulation according to the target audience, particularly the youthful and disaffected, though paradoxically the evidence suggests that this is the socioeconomic group least likely to have access to the Internet. Extremists use the Internet as a means of disseminating ideological tracts and virulently racist material, downloadable flyers, Internet radio programs, details of demonstrations, publications, contact addresses, e-group discussion forums, mailing lists (often with tens of thousands of adherents), and even Aryan dating pages as a means of both recruiting and fostering communal cohesion among often disparate activists.

The potential for on-line recruitment (and commercial gain) is considerably enhanced by groups like Resistance Records, owned by the National Alliance, which offers free downloadable sound files and MP3s of merchandise unlikely to be found in mainstream shops, particularly the “white noise” music CDs. Thus virtual immersion in the “white noise” scene serves as a prelude to actual immersion and thereafter membership in fascist parties themselves. However, the growing availability of music-sharing technology could render this previously lucrative venture increasingly redundant. The Internet is also utilized to incite violence. Websites such as Red Watch list the names, addresses, and photographs of political opponents, setting them up for intimidation and worse by “lone wolf” activists who, like the London nail bomber, can easily download bomb-making instructions from elsewhere on the web. This virtual activism compensates for the numerical weakness of the far Right by fostering among geographically isolated activists an inflated sense of belonging to a global and vigorous “cyber-community,” a virtual cocoon shielded from antifascist opposition in the “real world,” though this also has the potential disadvantage of removing activism into the ethereal realm and thereby neutering its actual effect. However, one

particularly distinct advantage of the Internet, especially for activists in Germany, where Holocaust denial is illegal, is its ability to bypass national laws by simply hosting websites on Internet service providers (ISP) outside their national borders, where similarly strict laws do not apply. E-mail technology also provides an effective, and—with the aid of encryption technology—relatively secure means of communication that protects activists from surveillance and prosecution.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ARYANISM; COMMUNITY; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; LONDON NAIL BOMBINGS, THE; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; WHITE NOISE

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Czechoslovakia was created out of historically Czech lands (Bohemia, Moravia, part of Silesia), Slovakia, and Carpatho-Ukraine in 1918, after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Up to 1938, Czechoslovakia was a multinational political democracy. Parts of major non-Czech minorities (especially German) rejected the existence of Czechoslovakia as a nation-state. Their nationalism led to the foundation of ethnic movements with authoritarian, fascist, and Nazi orientations. However, there were also right-wing tendencies within existing Czech parties. Some of the Czech right-wing democratic parties had small factions that tended toward fascism. This was typical of the National Democratic Party, Agrarian Party, and Czechoslovak People’s Party. There were also smaller rightist authoritarian parties (sometimes with associated paramilitary organizations). Some of them established (together with the National Democrats) the National Unification Party in the mid-1930s. In elections in 1935, they won 5.6 percent of the votes.

Czech fascist movements had emerged at the beginning of the 1920s, inspired by Italian Fascism. Their program and ideology included anticommunism, anti-

Semitism, anti-pangermanism, panslavism, and corporatism. Part of the movement was also Catholic-oriented. Some fascist groups in Moravia supported Moravian regionalism. In 1926 the National Community of Fascists (NOF) was created from these groups under the leadership of General Radola Gajda. An attempted coup in 1933 (the capture of barracks in Brno-Židenice) was a failure. The paramilitary organizations of the NOF were called Junák and Obrana. Electoral results for Czech fascists were not significant.

Sudeten German irredentism constituted a more dangerous security threat for Czechoslovak democracy (the Sudetenland was an area in the west of the country with a largely German-speaking population). Inside the Sudeten German movement there were streams loyal to Czechoslovakia, but as early as 1930 some Sudeten Germans demanded the unification of Sudetenland with neighboring Germany. The political representative of those demands was the Sudeten German Party (with 15.2 percent of the votes in 1935 elections) under the leadership of Konrad Henlein, massively supported by Nazi Germany. This party also had a paramilitary organization, *Freiwilliger Schutzdienst*. Almost all the members of this organization revolted against Czechoslovakia in September 1938, but Czech troops restored order, and many of the FS members emigrated. In Germany they set up the *Sudetendeutsches Freikorps*. There were also problems with fascism inside other nationalist movements in interwar Czechoslovakia. Many Slovaks rejected the idea of a unified Czechoslovak nation and wanted an autonomous Slovakia. The political representative of that attitude was Hlinka's Slovak People's Party, inspired by Mussolini's Fascism (for example, the paramilitary organization *Rodobrana*). Fascist and right-authoritarian orientation also became significant for the Hungarian irredentist movement in Slovakia, Polish irredentists in Silesia, and Carpatho-Ukrainian nationalists. In Czechoslovakia there were also fascist organizations of Russian and Ukrainian immigrants.

German pressure on Czechoslovakia to permit the secession of Sudetenland to Germany culminated in 1938, when, as a result of the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was forced to cede this part of its territory to Germany. The Sudeten German Party ended its activity, and its members mostly joined the NSDAP. Slovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine became autonomous, while parts of Czechoslovakia were occupied by Hungary and Poland. Slovakia began building an authoritarian regime, and militant Slovak nationalists founded a paramilitary organization called the Hlinka Guard. In the Czech lands a right-wing authoritarian system was established with two parties—the governmental Party

of National Unity and the opposition National Party of Labor. Rudolf Beran became prime minister. Paradoxically, there was fascist opposition to this regime, an organization known as *Vlajka* (Flag), which among other things carried out terrorist attacks against Jews.

Slovakia declared its independence on 14 March 1939. German troops occupied the rest of the Czech lands on 14 and 15 March 1939. Carpatho-Ukraine was occupied by Hungary, and Hitler's Germany established the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. An attempt by some Moravian nationalists to annex the south of Moravia to Slovakia in March 1939, or to establish an Independent Moravia as part of the Reich, was not successful. The Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was formally autonomous and had its state organs (president, government, a small governmental army), but real power was in the hands of the *Reichsprotektor*, and from 1943 of the German state minister of Bohemia and Moravia (Karl Hermann Frank).

During the years 1939 to 1941 some Czech Protectorate politicians (including Prime Minister Alois Eliáš) tried to resist the German occupation, but the Nazi occupying forces liquidated those people and only collaborationists loyal to Germany were appointed state officials (the symbol of Czech collaboration was Minister Emanuel Moravec). Traditional Czech fascists protested against the official representation of the protectorate, demanding more influence. That attitude was typical of *Vlajka*. Up until 1945 the Germans rejected the requests made by Czech and Moravian collaborationists to establish a Czech SS-Division to fight against the Allies (SS-Division *Böhmen und Mähren* consisted exclusively of Sudeten Germans). A small military unit inside the structures of the *Waffen-SS* called *Svatováclavská dobrovolnická rota* (St. Wenceslas's Volunteer Column) was founded only in March 1945. Czech antifascist patriots destroyed this unit totally during the uprising in May 1945.

Slovakia became a satellite of Nazi Germany in 1939. Some scholars have called this right-wing authoritarian regime clerico-fascism, because many Catholic clerics held prominent state posts. Catholic priest Jozef Tiso became president of Slovakia. Slovak troops fought together with German troops against Poland and the Soviet Union. On 29 August 1944 antifascist Slovaks rose up against the Germans and the collaborationist regime, but the uprising was defeated. Some Slovak fascists fought brutally against partisans and civilians up to the end of the war.

After the war, Czechoslovakia was reunified. Carpatho-Ukraine was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and Sudeten Germans were trans-

ferred to Germany and Austria. The communists had monopolized political power in 1948. There existed only small illegal fascist or Nazi groups after the war. Some Slovak and Czech fascists immigrated to Western countries. In the 1980s militant youth groups inspired by Nazism (Totenkopf, Werwolf) appeared in Czech areas. After the fall of communism in 1989, some Slovak separatists tried to use the heritage of the Slovak fascist state in their political propaganda. In the Czech lands, some right-wing extremists accepted the ideology of interwar fascism and protectorate collaboration. One stream of skinhead subculture became pan-Aryan Nazi in orientation, the other stream became anti-German Czech nationalist. Czechoslovakia ended its existence on 31 December 1992.

Miroslav Mares

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BERAN, RUDOLF; CLERICO-FASCISM; FRANK, KARL HERMANN; GAJDA, GENERAL RADOLA; HENLEIN, KONRAD; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HUNGARY; IRREDENTISM; MUNICH PACT, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SLOVAKIA; SUDETENLAND, THE; TISO, MGR. JOSEF

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D-DAY LANDINGS, THE

Massed invasion of France by Allied forces commencing on 6 June 1944 (D-Day), also known as the “Normandy Landings.” D-Day marked the beginning of the end for the Nazi occupation of Continental Europe. Fifty-nine naval convoys of British and U.S. naval vessels comprising more than 2,000 transports and 700 warships launched the invasion forces onto the Normandy coast, supported by airborne units. At the end of the first day more than 150,000 soldiers had been landed.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; WORLD WAR II

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DALMATIA

Area in the northwest of the Balkan peninsula, formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with a

racially and linguistically mixed population; source of interethnic conflict and subject of irredentist claims by Italian nationalists and their Fascist successors.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; FIUME; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY)

D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE (1863–1938)

Celebrated Italian poet, writer, and dramatist, but also soldier, aviator, political activist, and man of action, whose ideas anticipated Mussolinian Fascism in many respects. He was born in Pescara, where, in 1879, he published his first collection of poems, entitled *Primo vere*. Influenced by the late Romantic aesthetic of “decadentism” and by Nietzsche’s doctrine of the Superman, he moved to Rome, where he began an intense period of artistic and social activity. It was during this period in Rome that some of his most famous novels came out: *Il piacere* (1889), *L’Innocente* (1892), *Il trionfo della morte* (1894), *La vergine delle rocce* (1899), *Il fuoco* (1900).

Politically, D'Annunzio espoused generically nationalist and conservative positions at the start of his career. In the summer of 1897 he won a parliamentary seat on the ticket of a party of the Left. During the electoral campaign he made a celebrated campaign speech in which he criticized socialism and adopted Darwinian tones in defense of private property, lauding a heroic-aristocratic vision of the social order. On account of his aesthetic interests and his eccentric posing, he became known as the "Member for Beauty." Very soon, however, he distanced himself from the liberal and reactionary Right, to move to radical revolutionary positions that were to a large extent those of Italian Fascism. His literary work was imbued with a political vision that was very critical of parliamentary democracy but was also hostile to social conservatism and the privileges of the economic oligarchy, which, in his judgment, ruled Italy. In the novel *Le vergini delle rocce*, for example, he attacked the great families of the Roman aristocracy, who he believed had betrayed the aesthetic and political duties of their rank and had followed the cult of money, business, and financial speculation. In the work *Il fuoco*, however, the protagonist, Stelio Effrena, was presented as a skillful orator, a "national prophet" who aspires to dominate the masses by the power of his charisma. In the theatrical drama *La Nave* the imperialistic policies of Venice are exalted in politico-mythological terms as a model of political power for united Italy.

In reality D'Annunzio was a dandy, an aesthete uneasy among professional politicians, a restless figure destined to waver between right and left, between reaction and revolution. To the compromises of parliamentary life he much preferred action and the "grand gesture." World War I was his great opportunity; it enabled him finally to adopt the image of the "soldier poet," the "armed aesthete." At the outbreak of the conflict he volunteered to serve even though he was already in his fifties, and he distinguished himself by some courageous propagandistic enterprises that had a profound impact on Italian public opinion, such as his 700-mile round-trip flight with nine planes to drop propaganda leaflets on Vienna.

Once the war was over, D'Annunzio took troops to occupy the city of Fiume and prevent the Allies from ceding it to Yugoslavia; he claimed it as Italian. It is to D'Annunzio in Fiume that should be attributed the birth of the parareligious ritual type of politics that would be a feature of Fascist politics-as-spectacle a few years later: the Roman salute, the dialogue from the

balcony with the crowd, the cult of the dead, the war cry *eia eia alalà*. But with the Fiume episode he also sealed his role as anticipator of the Fascist revolution from the ideological point of view, as is demonstrated in particular by the constitution he launched in Fiume on 30 August 1920, whose syndicalist and corporatist proposals would be taken over almost lock, stock, and barrel by early Fascism.

In the two years that preceded the March on Rome and the victory of Fascism, the popularity of d'Annunzio in Italy was greater than that of almost any other political leader, Mussolini included. But his lack of pragmatic spirit and political realism prevented him from capitalizing politically on the broad consensus of support that he enjoyed in the country, especially among the young and among former servicemen. In 1924, with Fascism now firmly in power, D'Annunzio withdrew to private life in Gardone Riviera, in a sumptuous residence called the Vittoriale degli Italiani. It was a kind of museum for the celebration of war and victory. For the rest of his life he lived in a splendid isolation, always officially lauded by Mussolini, who never missed any opportunity to recall how much Fascism owed to D'Annunzio. A typical example of this was the decision to establish at public expense in 1926 the National Institute for the publication of the complete works of the poet and "commandant"—the only figure who in his day could really have blocked Mussolini and become the head of Fascism and of Italy in the Duce's stead.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; COUNTER-REVOLUTION; DEMOCRACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; ITALY; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROTOFASCISM; REVOLUTION; SALUTES; SOCIAL DARWINISM; STYLE; SYNDICALISM; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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DANZIG/GDANSK: See POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY

DAP: See DREXLER, ANTON; NAZISM

DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER (1895–1953)

Minister of agriculture in the Third Reich, leader of the SS Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt (1931–1938) and of the Reich Farmers Movement, and coiner of the term *Blut und Boden*, Darré was born in Argentina and trained in agriculture and breeding. His first visit to Germany was in 1905. In 1914 he volunteered for the German army and was awarded the Iron Cross. A member of the Freikorps in 1918, he joined the *Stahlhelm* in 1922. In 1926–1927 he published fourteen articles on breeding. He became a member of the NSDAP in 1930. In books like *Neuadel aus Blut und Boden* (1930) he called for the recognition of a new German nobility, drawn from among the farmers. He was dismissed from his post in 1942 and charged with corruption.

Göran Dahl

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; BLOOD AND SOIL; FARMERS; FREIKORPS, THE; RURALISM; STAHLHELM

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DAWES PLAN, THE: See REPARATIONS

DEAT, MARCEL (1894–1955)

French journalist and political activist who collaborated with the Nazis, Déat was a much-decorated soldier from World War I who operated within the reformist faction of the French Socialist Party up until 1933, when he was ejected from it. The Parti Socialiste de France–Union Jean Jaurès (PSdF), which he subsequently formed, propagated a third way *planiste* political program. In the years before World War II, Déat increasingly organized his political actions around the theme of avoiding a war with Germany, and he was elected MP for Angoulême in 1939 on a pacifist

agenda. Supporting full powers for Pétain in June 1940 and collaboration with Germany, Déat unsuccessfully agitated for a one-party state at Vichy. Failure led him to leave Vichy for Paris, where he became chief editor of the newspaper *L'Oeuvre*, which vigorously attacked Vichy for its lack of commitment to collaborationism. In February 1941, Déat co-founded the ultracollaborationist Rassemblement National Populaire with Eugène Deloncle, former leader of the Cagoulaards (“Hooded Men”), a fanatically anticommunist far-right group responsible for a failed coup attempt against the French government in 1937. Déat was appointed minister of work and national solidarity on 17 March 1944. He fled Paris during the Liberation, eventually taking refuge in a convent in Turin under the name Leroux and converting to Catholicism.

Steve Bastow

See Also: FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; NAZISM; PACIFISM; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; VICHY

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DEATH, CULTS OF: See CULTS OF DEATH
DEATH CAMPS: See CONCENTRATION
CAMPS; USTASHA

DECADENCE

A belief in the degenerate state of contemporary society (and often of the modern world in general) is an essential premise for fascism's utopia of national regeneration and rebirth, which experts in comparative fascist studies increasingly see as the ultimate rationale for the radicalness of its revolutionary assault on the status quo. The decline and fall from seemingly unassailable political, economic, and cultural power of Egypt, Greece, Rome, and Byzantium haunted the imaginations of broad sec-

tions of the European intelligentsia in the late nineteenth century; many were convinced that the enormous scientific, industrial, and material progress of the Western world had occurred at the cost of the spiritual values and visionary grasp of the ultimate purpose or mystery of existence, without which all civilizations eventually collapse. The obsession with decadence could take two contrasting forms. In the first, the decline was perceived as inexorable, the West's spiritual resources shrivelling to the point at which a more vital race of barbarians might put it out of its misery of growing dissolution and anarchy, a diagnosis that induced terminal "cultural pessimism." In the second, the current crisis presaged a new phase of civilization based on a revitalizing vision of reality that would enable morality and the social order to be regenerated, a presentiment that induced the paradoxical mood of "palingenetic" cultural pessimism—that is, pessimism about the viability of the present combined with an unshakable belief in an imminent transformation and rebirth. This second response to decadence has an affinity with the many pre-modern cosmological myths that conceive historical time to be not linear but cyclic, passing from a golden age to an age of depravity and back to a new creation, often after a major cataclysm has wiped out a world become dissolute. The Hindu cyclic scheme of creation and destruction according to which the whole of humanity is now ensnared in the *kali yuga*, or black age, is an outstanding product of this epic narrative of decay and rebirth being projected onto the historical process, and it is one that directly influenced the elaborate philosophy of Julius Evola, one of the most influential ideologues of postwar fascism.

Despite profound differences in the content of their work, Richard Wagner, Émile Zola, William Morris, Friedrich Nietzsche, Fëdor Dostoevsky, and Leo Tolstoy are all emblematic of the rejection by many creative thinkers of the official cult of progress based on technological and material advance, and engaged in the quest for a total cultural revolution based on a renewed metaphysical vision. This drive for palingenesis, the sense that the breakdown of contemporary reality may be ushering in a new one, is arguably central to all modernism and is clearly expressed in the architectural utopianism of such figures as Walter Gropius and Charles Le Corbusier. An important permutation of this pattern is the "political modernism" that arises when thinkers focus on the need for a new political order to enable the nation, or "the West," to save itself from the decadent process that is now engulfing it. In France, Georges Sorel, and in Germany, Julius Langbehn, Arthur Moeller van den Bruck, and the many

völkisch writers who aspired to bring about a "new Germany" are examples of figures who saw the cultural crisis of the day as the birth pangs of a new sociopolitical reality appropriate to the modern age.

Considered against that background, fascism emerges clearly as a form of political modernism, based not on a pessimistic sense of decadence but on a palingenetic diagnosis of the state of the nation and the West as a whole. While historians have naturally tended to focus on the social and political expression of fascism's struggle to regenerate society, a deeper insight into its ideological and psychological dynamics is afforded by the study of a number of figures who, at least for a time, were attracted to, or even drawn into active support of, fascist movements by their concern to put an end to the decadence of the age: W. B. Yeats, Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Drieu la Rochelle, A. K. Chesterton, Giovanni Papini, Filippo Marinetti, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Julius Evola, Oswald Spengler, Ernst Jünger, Gottfried Benn, and Martin Heidegger are among the better known examples of this pattern. Perhaps the most significant exemplar, however, is the Romanian writer Emil Cioran, who in the aftermath of World War II wrote a stream of essays in impeccable French forensically exploring the decadence of the modern world and the dissolution at the very heart of human existence. However, this arch-pessimism is to be seen in dialectical relation to the fact that before the war he had been a staunch supporter of the Romanian Iron Guard and had devoted his considerable poetic gift to celebrating its bid to put an end to the process of decay that was allegedly destroying his country. It was only after events had dashed his hopes in the new Romania and Europe announced by its leader Corneliu Codreanu that his optimism turned to terminal "cultural pessimism."

The theme of national and societal decadence and its imminent or ultimate reversal under fascism arguably provides the key to the inner coherence and continuity of fascist ideology, despite the bewildering range of component ideas that constitute its ideology in any one instance. In the interwar period the threats to the nation identified by fascists could include the growth of communism; the weakness of liberalism; the proliferation of materialism, cosmopolitanism, and aesthetic modernism; the blurring of "natural" gender roles; miscegenation; and symptoms of racial degeneracy. Since 1945 further signs for fascists of the encroaching decadence are the rise of multiculturalism, globalization, consumerism, the Americanization of society, and the looming ecological crisis. However, it would be a fallacy to assume that there is unity among

fascists, either about the causes of decadence or their cure. Fascism has espoused antiurbanism as well as a belief in a powerful, urbanized technocracy, and incorporated mainstream secular and scientific currents of thought as well as ones drawing on occultism, paganism, or Christian beliefs tailored to the cause of national rebirth. Its nationalism has ranged from cultural and historical varieties to ones imbued with eugenic and Social Darwinian ideas of race, its concepts of revolution from versions celebrating violence and war to others stressing the need for achieving “cultural hegemony” as the premise to political change.

In the cultural sphere fascism has adopted a wide range of aesthetics, and should not be equated with antimodernism as such. It should also be noted that the Nazi campaign to expunge modernism from art was for the fascist mind-set not a manifestation of decadence but a ritual act of purging intended to make way for the appearance of a new art reflecting the healthy values of the regenerated national community. Even if fascism has often been portrayed in films as the product of moral decay, fascists have always seen themselves as defending the West against its onslaught.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; ART; BENN, GOTTFRIED; CÉLINE, LOUIS-FERDINAND; CHESTERTON, A K; CIORAN, EMIL; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; COSMOPOLITANISM; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; DECADENCE; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; ECOLOGY; EUGENICS; EVOLA, JULIUS; GLOBALIZATION; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; JÜNGER, ERNST; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; LIBERALISM; MARINETTI, FILIPPO; MODERNISM; MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR; MODERNITY; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NIHILISM; OCCULTISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPINI, GIOVANNI; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; ROME; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOREL, GEORGES; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TECHNOLOGY; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER

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DEGENERACY

A common term in the vocabulary of the global interwar eugenics movement and a key term in Nazi racial doctrine. The chief jurist of Nazism, Hans Frank, defined it as the condition of being excluded from “the normal ‘genus’ of the decent nation.” He claimed that it resulted from racial mixing, as when a “decent representative of his race” has children by a person of inferior racial stock. The Nazis believed that this theory had been scientifically proven. They rated in the category of “inferior stock” not simply members of certain races—above all the Jews and the Slavs, Sinti and Roma—but also persons whose criminal or simply unconventional behavior branded them as “aliens” in the body of the German people and therefore as incapable of contributing to the health of society: for example, “asocials” and homosexuals. The Nazis considered it not just desirable but also a definite duty for the sake of the health of the German people to eliminate the damaging sexual congress that produced the “degenerates,” and to enslave or to destroy the individuals who resulted from that congress. They attempted to eliminate the racial mixing through legislation and through punishment of those guilty, and they set out to deal with the degenerate results of such congress through imprisonment, enslavement, or simple annihilation.

Among the forms of behavior that the Nazis believed harmful to the health and well-being of the German people were all those that did not conform to the Nazi viewpoint on morality. This applied moreover not simply to ordinary moral conduct but also to artistic creations. Degeneracy, in other words, could be manifested in a book or a picture. The famous “burning of the books” at the instigation of Goebbels gave a dramatic illustration not simply to Germans but also to the whole world of the strength of Nazi contempt for “degenerate” books and their authors. The concept was also applied to the world of music, and concert programs were “cleansed” of degenerate scores. At the same time, the notorious Exhibition of Degenerate Art displayed to the world Nazi disgust at various forms of “degenerate” artistic modernism. In this they were of course echoing the classic pretension of totalitarian regimes to pass judgment on the whole of culture, which was also a feature of Soviet communism, which preached contempt for “bourgeois” art and promoted a particular artistic style as appropriate for a socialist regime. But this aspect of Nazism set it apart on the

other hand from Mussolini's Italy, where the Futurists were enthusiastic supporters of the Fascist movement (at least in its earlier days). The "degeneracy" theory is one of a number of areas in which Nazism differed substantially from Italian Fascism on account of the biological racial doctrine, which did not form part of the fundamental Italian Fascist outlook.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; ASOCIALS; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FRANK, HANS; FUTURISM; GOEBBELS, PAUL JOSEPH; HEALTH; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; ITALY; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MEDICINE; MUSIC (GERMANY); MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; TOTALITARIANISM

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pro-Nazism by January 1941. He subsequently volunteered for the Légion Wallonie, joining the fighting on the Eastern Front and seeking to use the LW as the vehicle for the National Socialist revolution in Wallonia. Condemned to death after the Liberation, Degrelle escaped to Spain, where he was granted Spanish citizenship and continued his political activities

Steve Bastow

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; BELGIUM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; REXISM; WORLD WAR II

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DEMOCRACY

DEGENERATE ART: See ART

DEGRELLE, LEON (1906–1994)

Leader of the Belgian Rex movement, which collaborated with the Nazis during World War II. Degrelle's early career was closely tied to the world of Catholicism. In 1929, Degrelle became editor of the publication of the largest Belgian Catholic youth organization, L'Action Catholique de la Jeunesse Belge (ACJB). The following year he became director of its publishing house, Christus Rex. Degrelle used Rex to try to radicalize the Catholic Party. His failure to achieve this led him to put Rex forward as an independent force in the May 1936 general elections, in which they won twenty-one seats on a program of authoritarian political reform. Rexism became increasingly influenced by fascism as the 1930s went on, a transformation paralleled by declining electoral appeal. After the German invasion in 1940, Degrelle advocated a peace settlement with Nazism, moving to a position of explicit

"Fascism denies that the majority, through the mere fact of being a majority, can rule human societies" (*Enciclopedia italiana*, entry "Fascism"). This denial, penned under the name of Mussolini, was related to the rejection of egalitarianism common to Italian Fascism and Nazism, which, by contrast, affirmed "the irremediable, fruitful and beneficent inequality of men, who cannot be levelled by such a mechanical and extrinsic fact as universal suffrage" (*ibid.*). However, the same article suggests that there is a way that the term "democracy" can be understood which is compatible with Fascism—namely, when it is understood as "organized, centralized, authoritarian democracy." Fascists deny that they are against "democracy" as such, only the liberal, individualist version of it that has become the touchstone or criterion for judging the others. In this respect they resemble the Bolsheviks, who claimed to be building a "true" democracy through "workers' councils" rather than through the representative parliamentary systems favored in the classic democratic regimes of Europe and the United States. Hitler and Mussolini both excoriated democracy as understood in the liberal parliamentary tradition as being one of the elements of contemporary decadence. For Mussolini it was the parliamentary system, with its party squabbles and endless talking, that sapped the energies and pur-

pose of the Italian nation; for Hitler it was the democratic Weimar Republic that symbolized a failed social and political order that was tainted by the treachery which had brought to an end a war that Germany had not lost militarily.

What the fascists did was to substitute populism for democracy, setting out to win mass support and to endear the regime to the masses through their involvement in huge public political rituals and spectacles. The Nuremberg Rallies were clearly planned to bond the masses emotionally to the regime through theatrical staging that encouraged a sense of solidarity and elicited a sense of wonder at the power of a renascent Germany. This strategy aimed at winning over the hearts and imaginations of the masses, rather than at offering them any opportunity for deliberative participation in policy or engaging their intelligence in the political process. Particularly in the case of the Nazis (and to a lesser extent with the Italian Fascists), this process was further intensified by the deliberate inculcation of personal devotion to the Leader through propaganda and visual imagery. His image was professionally and powerfully “promoted” (especially to children and to the young), as the advertising world would say today. The truth is that emotional identification with “their” leader (through the universal imposition of the *Heil Hitler!* greeting, for example) proved a more successful means of consolidating Hitler’s power than any ballot box could have done. Mussolini too promoted a leader cult, but that was not solely a fascist phenomenon; it was exploited with equal effect in communist regimes.

A key role in the enlistment of popular sympathies was played by the enrollment of different sectors of society in mass movements—especially the youth, but also women. These gave opportunities for sporting and outdoor activities and the development of friendships and socialization. What was different from liberal democracies here was, of course, the element of coercion—these were not volunteer movements but enforced expressions of national solidarity. Essentially, Germany under the Nazis and Italy under Mussolini were set up on a kind of military model where priority was given to the virtues of discipline and solidarity, with citizens knowing their place and trained to serve the purposes of a militant nationalist crusade. Hitler expressed great respect for men of the people, saying that he would much rather have a good street brawler on his side than half a dozen fine talkers or intellectuals. So successful was he at winning over the hearts of the German people that they fought to the last gasp for him, and the only serious threat to his supremacy came

with the July Plot in 1944, a conspiracy promoted by conservative elite elements who felt that he was destroying “their” Germany.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ARENDT, HANNAH; BOLSHIEVISM; DECADENCE; EGALITARIANISM; ELITISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; JULY PLOT, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBER-BRECHER, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; TOTALITARIANISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; YOUTH

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DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

Interwar fascism had a great interest in the physical fitness and fertility of the population. A buoyant birthrate was deemed an index of national vitality and power. Although these concerns date from the turn of the century, the fascist state saw demographic programs as part of the aims of modernization and rejuvenation. Nazi demographers assisted by census techniques collected medical, health, and welfare data. Data on diseases and crime were analyzed, and states organized central registries. Hamburg had a Central Health Passport Archive, and Thuringia had an Office for Racial Welfare to centralize and analyze the statistics. They used the new technology of Hollerith punch cards. These techniques assisted them in their concerns regarding the racial makeup of the Reich, enabling them to calculate the numbers of Jews in the population, how many had emigrated, and the location of those that remained. They also calculated how many full, half-, and quarter-Jews still lived in the Reich. The SS demographer Richard Korherr’s statistical conclusions about numbers of Jews in the occupied territories assisted Adolf Eichmann with the implementation of the Final Solution. In 1943, Korherr calculated for Himmler and Hitler how

many Jews had been killed, country by country. Similar techniques were applied to identify social deviants and for the genocidal measures against the Roma. In the occupied territories, notably The Netherlands, census techniques were used in the deportation of Jews to the concentration and death camps of the East.

Both Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy pursued contradictory policies toward women as workers and as child producers. Neither state resolved these contradictions as women took an increasing role in the war economy. The demographer Corrado Gini devised a cyclical theory of population and took a leading role in Italian Fascist demography. He devised a system of fiscal incentives to raise the birth rate. These included bachelor taxes. An extensive system of maternal and infant welfare provisions underpinned Fascist demography. Gini had direct access to Mussolini, who studied demographic bulletins, and demographic growth was regarded as vital to sustaining Italy's status as a Great Power. Model communities were founded as part of rural settlement programs, such as Fertilia in Sardinia.

Paul Weindling

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EICHMANN, ADOLF; EUGENICS; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HEALTH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; MEDICINE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI; RURALISM; SEXUALITY; SS, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN

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Union—decided that all members of the Nazi Party in Germany should be removed from public office to facilitate the development of a democratic Germany. In the following months, about 95,000 implicated persons were interned in the U.S. zone of occupation, 67,000 in the Soviet zone, and 64,000 in the British zone. France, although not represented at Yalta and Potsdam, interned about 19,000 persons in her zone. The Nuremberg Trials dealt with the most senior National Socialists. It soon became clear, however, that the four Allies were operating on very different criteria in their denazification policy. U.S. policy followed a line between re-educating the German population and the need for punitive action based on the assumption that Germans had a collective guilt for the crimes committed in their name. Britain was more pragmatic in her approach, since her zone included the heavily industrialized—and thus severely destroyed—Ruhr Valley. Denazification often came second to reconstruction. France was very lax in her denazification attempt, even employing individuals from other zones who had lost their positions. The Soviet Union soon became more interested in the nationalization of industry and the collectivization of her zone, thus allowing former Nazi Party members to retain office if they joined the re-established Communist Party.

In October 1946, the Allies decided to coordinate the denazification policy more closely. A questionnaire was drawn up for all Germans to fill in, to assess their involvement with National Socialism. Since it was up to the individuals to prove their innocence, the questionnaire soon became a symbol of arbitrariness. In the spring of 1947, the Allies decided to leave the execution of the denazification program to the Germans. With the onset of the Cold War, denazification began to lose its significance. The Soviet Union unilaterally ended denazification in her zone in March 1948. In the three Western zones, re-education and rebuilding soon became a priority. Between 1950 and 1954, West German legislators passed a number of laws that effectively concluded denazification in the three Western zones, which had become the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in 1949. Under the Occupation Statute, the three Western Allies had retained certain powers of intervention in the affairs of the Federal Republic. In 1953, Britain arrested a number of former Nazis, including Werner Naumann, a former state secretary under Joseph Goebbels. The group was accused of trying to infiltrate the Liberal Party (FDP) in North Rhine-Westphalia. The "Naumann Affair" was the final act of the Allies' denazification policy.

Christoph H. Müller

DENAZIFICATION

At the conferences of Yalta in February 1945 and Potsdam in July and August of that same year, the three main Allies—Britain, the United States, and the Soviet

See Also: COLD WAR, THE; FRANCE; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GREAT BRITAIN; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; WORLD WAR II

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DENMARK

Fascism in the Italian mold inspired a few groups in Denmark that openly sported the symbol of the fasces in the early 1920s and proclaimed Benito Mussolini to be the model of a modern politician. However, they soon petered out, as did many of the small antiparliamentary leagues formed by dissatisfied members of the national-conservative and liberal-rural parties. Leaving aside a number of established right-wing intellectuals among leading novelists, academics, and journalists, who attempted to discredit the legitimacy of democracy and parliamentarism, the political system in Denmark was characterized by a high degree of consensus. A series of Nazi parties did, however, appear during the 1930s. The first party, the biggest and the most influential, not least in the first year of the German occupation of Denmark (1940–1945), was Danmarks National Socialistiske Arbejderparti (Danish National Socialist Worker's Party), formed in 1930. The party, usually abbreviated to DNSAP, was in its very name and ideology strongly influenced by the German National Socialist Worker's Party (NSDAP) under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. Apart from a heavy leaning on Danish prehistoric myths and a strong display of nationalism, the first program drafted by DNSAP was an almost literal translation of the twenty-five points listed in the German NSDAP's program, and the Danish Nazis also acquired their symbols and militaristic activities from their German role-model. But unlike its German counterpart, Danish Nazism was unable to command the support of more than a fraction of the electorate. At its best DNSAP gained 1.8 percent of the total vote at the 1939 national election, which translated into three mandates at the



Copenhagen headquarters of the Danish National Socialist Workers' Party. Much influenced by the German NSDAP, it was never able to have the same popular impact. (Library of Congress)

National Assembly. At that time DNSAP counted approximately 5,000 members, a number that steadily progressed during the war, reaching 20,000 at its peak in 1943. The party recruited its core membership from rural districts as well as the urban lower middle class, but with the advent of the war the membership base grew broader, with the working class being the largest social grouping in the party. In Danish politics the DNSAP was mostly isolated, although toward the late 1930s the party flirted briefly with the Agricultural Party, which was also represented in the national parliament. Like their fellow Nazis in other European countries, Danish Nazis regarded liberalism and communism as a synonym for all the "evils" that had disrupted the highly acclaimed unity between race, state, and nation. Only a direct overthrow—preferably by referendum—would put an end to what the Nazis perceived as the damage of democratic equality, Bolshevism, capitalism with its exploitative nature, modernism in the arts with its extreme stylistic experiments, and U.S. popular culture. Other Nazi parties, often overtly critical of the

DNSAP, which they denounced for being too soft on racial issues, tried to compete with the bigger party, but they were unable to exercise any role. Denmark was a country with many Nazi parties—a number of which did not last long, often consisting of activists who knew each other beforehand—but only a limited number of Nazis.

During the occupation, the DNSAP sought influence with the German occupiers, but, notwithstanding lofty promises from Berlin during the first months of the occupation to install the DNSAP as the new Danish government, the Danish Nazis did not acquire the power they hoped for; they were soon treated as an inconvenience rather than a useful aide. Apart from mobilizing a squadron of volunteers to fight along the Waffen SS on the Eastern Front, the Danish Nazis remained insignificant during the war. After the liberation of Denmark in May 1945, the Nazi parties were not—unlike in several other formerly occupied countries—made illegal, nor was it prohibited to be a member of a Nazi party. Today there is only one small Nazi party, Dansk National Socialistisk Bevægelse (Danish National Socialist Movement), which has made several unsuccessful runs at local elections without winning any seats.

Adam Holm

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; BOLSHEVISM; CLAUSEN, FRITS; DEMOCRACY; EGALITARIANISM; FASCIO, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MODERNISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SYMBOLS; WAFFEN SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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DENNIS, LAWRENCE (1893–1977)

U.S. advocate of fascist-style reforms in the interwar years. Born in Atlanta, Dennis received his formal education at Phillips Exeter academy and Harvard Univer-

sity. In 1930 he began attacking the overseas activities of U.S. investment banking in the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, and the question put by the title of his book, *Is Capitalism Doomed?* (1932), was answered with a resounding "yes." By 1934, as editor of a right-wing tabloid, *The Awakener*, he was attacking the "halfway" measures of the New Deal.

His "fascist" reputation, however, came with *The Coming American Fascism* (1936), in which he declared that capitalist expansion had ended with the frontier and that the U.S. government had little to offer but war and welfare spending. His ideology was similar to fascism in that it combined a one-party state with strident nationalism, continental autarky, and centralized economic controls that molded private ownership to public will—in short, a truly corporatist and organic society transcending localized interests. His politics, which lacked any racist dimension, centered on the twin poles of economic corporatism and rigid isolationism.

In February 1939, Dennis became coeditor of a mimeographed bulletin, the *Weekly Foreign Letter*, and in mid-March 1940 he became the sole author. Receiving \$1,200 from the German embassy, the newsletter was far more strident than most other non-interventionist journals. Although circulation remained at only a few hundred, it reached certain leading anti-interventionists, many of whom were far more in the political mainstream than Dennis himself. His book *The Dynamics of War and Revolution* (1940) claimed that wars of conquest were inevitable, and envisioned a world divided into power zones dominated, respectively, by the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union, Germany, and Great Britain. In 1944 he was tried for sedition, an event covered in his book *A Trial on Trial: The Great Sedition Trial of 1944* (with Maximilian St. George, 1944), but within two years all charges were dropped. One of his celebrated contemporaries whom he attempted to influence was the world-famous aviator Charles Lindbergh, who was also well known for his sympathetic attitude toward Hitler.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: AUTARKY; CAPITALISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; HITLER, ADOLF; INTERVENTIONISM; LINDBERGH, CHARLES; ORGANICISM; RACISM; ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT FRANKLIN DELANO; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WAR

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DEPRESSION, THE GREAT: See WALL STREET CRASH, THE
DEUTSCHHEIT: See GERMANNES

DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE! **("GERMANY AWAKE!")**

Nazi slogan much favored by Hitler, used as the title of a popular song. It sometimes occurred in combination with the slogan *Juda verrecke!* ("Perish Judah!"), and its thrust was that Germany needed to awake to the "Jewish menace" that was destroying it from within.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ECKART, JOHANN DIETRICH; GERMANNES; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM

DICTATORSHIP

Often treated as synonymous with fascism, and in this respect it is similar to the word *authoritarianism*. But theorists of totalitarianism like Arendt recognized early on that this feature of fascist practice was far from unique. Dictatorships can exist in the context of many different creeds, and the interwar fascist dictatorships of Mussolini and Hitler were in a sense but the mirror image of that of Stalin. Many other communist leaders, most spectacularly Chairman Mao of China, have ruled dictatorially, and a number of South American countries have had a rich experience of this kind of government. The truly distinctive marks of fascism do not lie in the undoubtedly dictatorial nature of the regimes of

Hitler and Mussolini, nor in fascism's cult of the leader—also common in nonfascist dictatorships—but in its hypernationalist revolutionary zeal for a total renewal of societies believed to be mired in decadence. In the sphere of theory, a writer like Carl Schmitt could defend the idea that the preservation of social order requires that "dictatorial" powers be entrusted to a strong leader without accepting these core ideas of fascism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARENDT, HANNAH; AUTHORITARIANISM; HITLER, ADOLF; LEADER CULT, THE; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; SCHMITT, CARL; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; TOTALITARIANISM

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DIEDERICHS, EUGEN **(1867–1930)**

German publisher, promoter of the Youth Movement, and reformer whose organicist notions of community made him receptive to right-conservative, prefascist influences. The cultural pessimism of Diederich's critique was directed against the driving forces of modern civil society: against rationalism and political liberalism—admittedly without his deriving an authoritarian theory of the state from it. Hence the authors promoted by the publishing house he founded in 1896 and the newspaper *Die Tat*, which he took over in 1912, included social democrats and socialists.

Susanne Poci

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; COMMUNITY; CONSERVATISM; LIBERALISM; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PROTO-FASCISM; RATIONALISM; STATE, THE

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DIKSMUIDE

Small Belgian town in which annual gatherings of Flemish nationalists have taken place for many years, for a time in the 1980s and 1990s boosted by attendance of neo-Nazis from other European countries. The so-called Yzerbedevaart was initially organized (1927) in commemoration of the Flemish soldiers who had been killed on the Yzer front during World War I. In the course of time it has become a gathering of several Flemish nationalist and far-right parties and organizations, including the Vlaams Blok. Along with the rally around the huge stone memorial, Yzertoren, that attracted up to 50,000 people in its golden age, there are marches by uniformed columns through the town, political meetings, and stalls selling nationalist paraphernalia.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: BELGIUM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; VLAAMS BLOK; WORLD WAR I

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DINTER, ARTUR (1876–1948)

Völkisch religious writer who exercised an influence on Hitler. After completing studies in philosophy and science he became a schoolmaster (1905–1908), then a stage manager at different German theaters. In 1914 he did military service, and in 1916 he was badly wounded; in 1917 he published his *völkisch* work *Die Sunde wider das Blut* (*The Sin against Blood*). In 1919 he was one of the founders of the Völkisch Schutz- und Trutzbund, and after the banning of the NSDAP in 1924 he founded the Grossdeutschen Volksgemeinschaft in Thuringia. In April 1925 he became a member of the NSDAP (member no. 5) and Gauleiter of Thuringia (until 30 September 1927). In 1928 he became a member of the Reichsleitung of the NSDAP. Dinter was a very radical representative of *völkisch* religion and strove for the “restoration of the pure teach-

ing of the Savior” through the proclamation of a “properly” Germanic Christian creed, which was to free Christian teaching from “Jewishness.” In 1927 he founded the Geistchristliche Religionsgemeinschaft and launched bitter attacks on the churches. That brought him into increasing conflict with Hitler, with whom he engaged in a power struggle that he lost; on 11 October 1928 he was thrown out of the NSDAP. His requests for readmission were rejected in 1933 and 1937, and in 1939 he was also ejected from the Reichsschrifttumskammer.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; NAZISM; VOLK, VÖLKISCH; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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**DISABILITY: See EUGENICS;
EUTHANASIA; HEALTH**

DISTRIBUTISM

Distributism (also known as distributionism or distributivism) is a political and economic theory offering a “third way” between the twin “materialistic” poles of capitalism and communism through the institution of a decentralized, pastoral economic system. Based on the medieval guild system, distributism eschewed socialist collectivism and industrial trade unionism in favor of traditional family values, individualism, self-sufficiency, ruralism, and private property, all within a microeconomic framework. Such an idyllic system of localized, craft-based communities is thus often seen by many as a panacea for the degeneration of Western civilization supposedly wrought by the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism. Such ideas, though not of course inherently fascist, have, however, exerted a strong influence on those fascist ideologues seeking to exploit concerns about globalization and immigration. One of its more infamous proponents has been Nick Griffin, current leader of the Brit-

ish National Party. In the 1980s, Griffin was a leading activist in the National Front during its period of “revolutionary” ideological ferment. Grouped around the ideological fountainhead of *Nationalism Today*, Griffin and his cohorts invoked a plethora of marginal thinkers and traditions in an attempt to divine a radical “English” nationalism. In this context distributism served as the inspiration for wistful musings on the possibility of self-sufficient, “racially pure” settlements that Griffin, as a member of the International Third Position (ITP), actually attempted to put into practice in a rural enclave in France during the early 1990s.

The origins of distributism can be traced back to the Greek philosophers, though its most famous modern exponents were the Edwardian Catholic literary figures G. K. Chesterton (1874–1936) and Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953). Their ideas on the subject of the distribution of wealth and the sanctity of property found their fullest exposition in Belloc’s *The Servile State* (1912) and *The Restoration of Property* (1930), and G. K. Chesterton’s *The Outline of Sanity* (1926), as well as in the pages of *G. K.’s Weekly*. Both Chesterton and Belloc were voluble anti-Semites, and their hostility and ergo that of distributism toward the financial institutions of capitalism and “usury” have often prefaced the drift of its adherents toward crude anti-Semitic stereotypes born of the conspiratorial belief that Judaism and capitalism are synonymous. The distributist beliefs of the Chesterton-Belloc circle survived after World War II through newsletters, several of which dovetailed into the National Front, founded in 1967 by A. K. Chesterton, the second cousin of G. K. Chesterton, though distributism remained essentially dormant until revived in the 1980s. Its present-day advocates do, however, include Catholics and other supporters who have nothing to do with fascist doctrines.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CAPITALISM; CHESTERTON, ARTHUR KENNETH; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DECADENCE; ECONOMICS; FAMILY, THE; GLOBALIZATION; GREAT BRITAIN; GRIFFIN, NICHOLAS; IMMIGRATION; INDIVIDUALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; NATIONAL FRONT (UK); NATIONALISM; RURALISM; SOCIALISM; THIRD POSITIONISM

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 English Nationalist Movement. 1995. *Distributism: A Summary of Revolutionary Nationalist Economics*. London: Rising.

DIVORCE: See FAMILY, THE; SEXUALITY

DMOWSKI, ROMAN (1864–1939)

Chief ideologue and leader of the Polish nationalist movement known as Endecja (National Democracy), which emerged in the late nineteenth century. Endecja subscribed to an increasingly exclusivist ethnic definition of Polish identity, marked by a strong degree of anti-Semitism. Dmowski tried to emulate Italian Fascism by setting up the extraparliamentary Greater Poland Camp (Oboz Wielkiej Polski; OWP) in 1926. The OWP was banned by the authorities between 1932 and 1933.

Rafal Pankowski

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PIASECKI, BOLESLAW; PILSUDSKI, MARSHAL JOZEF; POLAND

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DOCTORS: See HEALTH; MEDICINE

DOENITZ, ADMIRAL KARL (1891–1980)

Named by Hitler as his successor in the last days of World War II, he held the position of Fuehrer of the Reich for twenty-three days in May 1945. Born in Grünau bei Berlin, Doenitz served in the submarine fleet in the navy during World War I, from 1916 to 1918. He stood out among high officers in the navy for his enthusiastic adherence to National Socialism and in

1939 was appointed by Hitler to head the U-boat service. He developed the tactics used by U-boats in the war on Allied shipping and in 1943 became supreme commander of the navy. After Hitler named him as his successor, Doenitz set up a government in Schleswig-Holstein but was captured by the British on 23 May 1945. At the Nuremberg Trials he was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment and was released in 1956.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

Reference

Padfield, P. 1984. *Doenitz: The Last Fuehrer*. London: Gollancz.

DOLCHSTOSS, THE: See NOVEMBER CRIMINALS, THE

DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT (1892–1934)

Chancellor of Austria from 1932 to 1934. A Christian Social Party member, Dollfuss earned a reputation as a rural reformer in the Peasants' League and Lower Austrian Chamber of Agriculture, and as minister of agriculture and forestry. As chancellor he allied with Benito Mussolini and the fascist Heimwehr in Austria, attempting to steer the country on a course between Nazism and socialism under the aegis of an authoritarian one-party state under the Fatherland Front. That precarious balancing act ended with his assassination in a failed putsch carried out by the Austrian Nazi Party on 25 July 1934.

Laura Gellott

See Also: AUSTRIA; CLERICO-FASCISM; HEIMWEHR, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON

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DONALDSON, IAN STUART: See SKINHEAD FASCISM; SKREWDRIVER DOPOLAVORO: See LEISURE

DORGERES, HENRY (1897–1985)

French peasant activist and journalist, for a time in the 1930s (1933–1934) avowedly fascist. As editor of farmers' weeklies in Brittany, Dorgères (born Henri D'Halluin) gained a following by opposing social security (1929). His *Défense paysanne* movement mobilized depression-stricken farmers, mostly in northwestern France. Its *Chemises vertes* ("Greenshirts") took action against farm foreclosures and striking farm workers. Dorgères proclaimed a nationalist, corporatist, ruralist, antiparliamentarian, and anti-Semitic worldview. For serving as propagandist for Vichy's Peasant Corporation, Dorgères lost his civic rights (1946), a sentence commuted for purported resistance activities. Elected to parliament as a Poujadist (1956–1958), he later campaigned for a French Algeria.

Robert O. Paxton

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CORPORATISM; FARMERS; FRANCE; NATIONALISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND; RURALISM; VICHY

Reference

Paxton, Robert O. 1997. *French Peasant Fascism*. New York: Oxford.

DORIOT, JACQUES (1898–1945)

Interwar leader of the "left-wing fascist" Parti Populaire Français (PPF) and a former high-ranking member of the French Communist Party (PCF), who had been seen by some as the next PCF leader. That prospect was brought to an end by his agitation for a united front against fascism, which saw him expelled from the party. In 1936, Doriot formed the PPF, which called for reform of the republic, notably through a strengthening

of executive power and the introduction of some form of corporatism. The predominant ideological element, however, was anticommunism. The party was the largest extreme-right mass party of the interwar period (it claimed to have 300,000 members in 1938, though at least one scholar has doubted that it ever exceeded 50,000 to 60,000 members, with around 15,000 active militants). Initially supportive of Pétain during the war and appointed to the National Council in Vichy, Doriot soon became a partisan of ultracollaboration. Doriot was the first leader to propose the Légion des Volontaires Français (LVF), and he went himself to fight on the Eastern Front during the war.

Steve Bastow

See Also: CORPORATISM; FARMERS; FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; MARXISM; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; SOCIALISM; VICHY

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- Verdès-Leroux, Jeannine. 2000. "The Intellectual Extreme Right in the 1930s." Pp. 119–132 in *The Development of the Radical Right in France*, edited by E. Arnold. London: Macmillan.

that cry for a master"; since the Slavs "were not destined to a life of their own," they must be "Germanized." In the context of his "European territorial ordering," the brutal achievement of which he entrusted to Himmler and the SS in 1942, Hitler planned the settlement of 100 million persons of German origin in the East. According to the plans made by Hitler and Himmler, the "persons of German origin" settling in Russia were to "organize" the native Slav populace into an army of slaves and servants.

Markus Hattstein

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; *MEIN KAMPF*; NAZISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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DRANG NACH OSTEN ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE

Hitler's expression for the Reich policy of conquering Slav territories to the East of Germany in order to satisfy Germany's supposed need for more *Lebensraum*—"living space." In *Mein Kampf*, whose fourteenth chapter is dedicated to "Eastward orientation," Hitler argued that an increase in her living space was essential if Germany were to rise to the status of world power; the only place where "new territories" could be found was in Russia, so *Ostpolitik* ("Eastern policy") actually meant "the acquisition of the necessary soil for the German people." This acquisition of territory in the East, which Hitler saw as his "historic mission," along with the annihilation of the Jews, formed a favorite theme of his speeches and monologues. He associated a racist ideology of the "inferiority" of the Slavs with the economic concept of a ruthless exploitation of the resources of Eastern Europe. The peoples of the East must be set to work: "Slavdom is a born mass of slaves

DRESDEN: See COVENTRY

DREXLER, ANTON (1884–1942)

Founder of a nationalist German workers' party (1918) known as the Committee of Independent Workmen, which he merged with a larger one called the Political Workers' Circle in 1919 to form the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (German Workers' Party; DAP); Adolf Hitler became member no. 7 of this party in 1919. Drexler was a locksmith and toolmaker from Munich; he regarded himself as a champion of the workers but was hostile to the Marxism of the trade unions. Drexler was a believer in conspiracy theories that scapegoated Jews, capitalists, and Freemasons as the enemies of simple German working folk. Hitler soon became chairman of the DAP, which he merged into the NSDAP, with the uninspiring and gentle Drexler sidelined as honorary chairman. Drexler was sent to prison after the Munich Beerhall putsch. He left the NSDAP in 1923 and was elected to the Bavar-

ian Parliament the following year. He took no interest in Nazism and distanced himself from Hitler from then on.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CAPITALISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; MARXISM; MUNICH PUTSCH, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROTO-FASCISM

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DREYFUS CASE, THE

A seminal event in the history of modern European anti-Semitism and of the modern Right in France. A (false) accusation of treachery made against a Jewish officer in the French army focused the hostility of defenders of a traditional image of Catholic, monarchical France on a perceived trend toward a Jewish “takeover” of the nation. Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859–1935) was accused of high treason in October 1894; shortly afterward he was condemned to life imprisonment on the basis of forged evidence and deported to Devil’s Island in French Guyana. He was accused of having betrayed military secrets to Germany. Doubts about the guilt of Dreyfus and about the fairness of the procedure against him, and debates about a reopening of the case, split French society down the middle into pro- and contra-Dreyfus parties. The pro-Dreyfus faction consisted of the defenders of the republic founded on the rule of law, while the anti-Dreyfusards represented monarchist and anti-Semitic positions. In actual fact, the guilty party was the French major Charles Ferdinand Walsin-Esterhazy, who was spying for the Germans for financial reasons, but he was protected by the French general staff, who were convinced of Dreyfus’s guilt; Walsin-Esterhazy was acquitted before a court-martial at the beginning of 1898 on the basis of an expert graphological report. In reaction to this acquittal, the writer Emile Zola published his famous open letter to the French president entitled *J’accuse*, in which he attacked the court-martial, the War Ministry, and the general staff.

Even though it was known that the evidence against Dreyfus was fabricated, an appeal in 1899 led to a sec-

ond conviction, to ten years’ imprisonment. Shortly afterward, however, Dreyfus was pardoned by the French president, though without being completely rehabilitated. His rehabilitation and his return to military service did not take place until the quashing of the appeal verdict in 1906. The years of the Dreyfus case featured numerous dramatic revelations and surprising turns of events, regime crises, resignations of ministers, and putsch attempts that kept the French public agog. Demonstrations and duels were the order of the day. The Dreyfus Affair led indirectly to a reform of the French army and the eventual separation of church and state in that country. At the height of the drama of the court case, French anti-Semites formed into various groupings, such as the French Anti-Semitic League, and denunciation of the Jews as aliens and “a race destructive of the nation” were often combined with a critique of the democratic system in France. There were repeated anti-Jewish acts of violence and anti-Semitic demonstrations, both in Paris and in the provinces.

The Dreyfus Affair also impacted on the development of Zionism. Theodor Herzl was the Paris correspondent of the Vienna newspaper *Neue Freie Presse* at the time of the trial in December 1894. The sight of the open displays of hatred against the Jews at this time fueled his conviction that the ‘Jewish question’ could only be resolved by the creation of a Jewish state. Two years later he published his *Der Judenstaat. Versuch einer modernen Lösung der Judenfrage*, which was the founding manifesto of the Zionist movement.

Michael Schäbitz (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; DEMOCRACY; DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE; FRANCE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; PROTO-FASCISM; ZIONISM

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Chapman, G. 1972. *The Dreyfus Trials*. London: Batsford.
Snyder, L. L. 1972. *The Dreyfus Case: A Documentary History*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE (1893–1945)

French novelist and political essayist who became a key figure in French literary fascism. His concern with the need to overcome the decadence of modern life under-

pinned his adoption of a variety of doctrinal views, but from 1934 on, he declared himself a fascist and published his *Socialisme fasciste*. He was an active member of Doriot's PPF from 1936 to 1938, contributing to the party newspaper, *L'Emancipation Nationale*. During that period he also contributed to *Je Suis Partout*. He left the PPF in November 1938 over its support for the Munich Agreement, but he remained a fascist. In 1942 he rejoined the PPF, and in 1943–1944 he edited Lucien Combelle's *La Révolution Nationale*. He committed suicide on 15 March 1945.

Steve Bastow

See Also: DECADENCE; DORIOT, JACQUES; EUROFASCISM; EUROPE; FRANCE; MUNICH PACT, THE; SOCIALISM

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- Carroll, D. 1995. *French Literary Fascism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 Soucy, Robert. 1979. *Fascist Intellectual: Drieu La Rochelle*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE (1844–1917)

Leading figure of nineteenth-century French anti-Semitism, who wrote a range of books and pamphlets, the most notable of which was the raging success *La France juive* (1886), which was reprinted more than two hundred times. Drumont drew on both religious anti-Semitism and the anti-Semitism propagated in socialist circles to produce a new nationalistic and populist anti-Semitic synthesis going beyond a purely religious dimension. Following in the footsteps of Alphonse Toussenel and his *Les Juifs rois de l'époque: Histoire de la féodalité financière*, first published in 1840, Drumont tied the Jews in to the activities of big capital, which rode roughshod over small business interests, and propounded a racial nationalism that excluded Jewishness from the characteristics of Frenchness. In the stock language of polemicists against financial speculators, as already employed by Toussenel, he claimed that Jewish fortunes were not an embodiment of the results of hard work but the symbols of the power of a dominant race. Carroll argues that the book, “provided an enormous literary storehouse of figures and stories for others to refer to, col-

lecting and embellishing on the ‘historical evidence’ linking the Jew to . . . the material destruction and spiritual decadence of France” (Carroll 1995, 174) in all aspects of French social, economic, political, and religious life. “Everything comes from the Jew,” argued Drumont, and “everything returns to the Jew” (Drumont, *La France juive*, cited in Girardet 1983, 143). The Jew was presented as a parasite—because he was in essence, by nature, irremediably non-French and not assimilable to Frenchness—that was invading the healthy body that was France. The key to the revival of French grandeur was the elimination of the Jew, who must be dealt with just like any other parasitical micro-organism. Such ideas were reproduced in other works by Drumont, such as *Le testament d'un anti-sémite* (1891) and *La fin d'un monde*, and in the daily paper he produced from April 1892, *La libre parole*, for which Girardet claims print runs of 200,000 within months of first publication. Drumont's publications and political activities formed, claims Sternhell, the conceptual framework of French anti-Semitism, running from the formation of the Ligue nationale antisémitique française of 1889 (co-founded by Drumont with the slogan “France for the French”) through to World War I, and exerted a decisive influence upon the work of such figures as Barrès and Maurras.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; BARRES, MAURICE; DECADENCE; DREYFUS CASE, THE; FRANCE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; NATIONALISM; PROTO-FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE

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 Winock, Michel. *Nationalism, Anti-semitism, and Fascism in France*. Trans. Jane Marie Todd. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

DUCE, THE: See MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA AMILCARE

DUGIN, ALEKSANDR GEL'EVICH (born 1962)

Russia's most prolific propagator of "neo-Eurasianism." Inspired by, among others, the "Conservative Revolution" and the New Right, neo-Eurasians believe in an age-old conflict between individualistic Atlanticist sea powers and traditionalistic Eurasian land powers. A widely read adept of mysticism, Dugin was also a co-founder of the National Bolshevik Party in 1994 and the Eurasia Party in March 2002. However, his primary role has been that of a political theorist and head of the productive publishing house Arktogeya (Northern Land).

Andreas Umland

See Also: EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; MYSTICISM; NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM; NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RUSSIA

Reference

Ingram, Alan. 2001. "Alexander Dugin: Geopolitics and Neo-Fascism in Post-Soviet Russia." *Political Geography* 20, no. 8: 1029–1051.

DÜHRING, (KARL) EUGEN (1833–1921)

Well-known representative of positivism in Wilhelmine, Germany and prophet of anti-Semitism. From 1864 to 1877 Dühring was lecturer in philosophy and national economy at Berlin University. His ideas were the object of a celebrated critique by Friedrich Engels. In his *Die Judenfrage als Racen-, Sitten- und Culturfrage* of November 1880, he preached a radical racial anti-Semitism, accusing the Jews of exploiting and damaging the peoples among whom they lived, and tracing this back to an unalterable "race character." Dühring called for the revocation of the emancipation of the Jews. He also discussed social isolation, internment, and even deportation as possible "solutions" for the "Jewish question," which he claimed was a "life-or-death matter for modern peoples."

*Michael Schäbitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)*

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PROTO-FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE

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Engels, Friedrich. 1984. *Anti-Dühring: Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science*. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr.

DUKE, DAVID (born 1950)

Well-known U.S. white supremacist and anti-Semitic and racial nationalist. He spread his ideas with the help of a smooth photogenic public image and coded rhetoric that stressed "White Rights." Beginning in high school, Duke moved through various Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi, and racist organizations, eventually becoming a Louisiana Ku Klux Klan leader, or "Grand Wizard." Duke later attempted to sanitize his views, and in 1979 he established the National Association for the Advancement of White People. In 1989 he was elected as a Republican to the Louisiana House of Representatives. Duke lost a 1991 governor's race, but garnered 55 percent of the white votes.

Chip Berlet

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; KU KLUX KLAN; NEO-NAZISM; RACISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM

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Zatarain, Michael. 1990. *David Duke: Evolution of a Klansman*. Gretna, LA: Pelican.

DUNKIRK

Port in northern France from which nearly 340,000 members of the British Expeditionary Force, forced back to the Atlantic Coast by the advance of a German force 750,000 strong, were dramatically rescued—

against all expectations—by a huge combined flotilla of British naval vessels and private craft of every description between 31 May and 4 June 1940. The evacuation of the troops from the beaches took place under aerial assault from the Luftwaffe and the event gave rise to the expression “the Dunkirk spirit,” to denote courageous resolve in the teeth of enormous odds—particularly as shown by volunteers working together. It has become

part of the mythology of resistance to fascism in the English-speaking world.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; BLITZKRIEG; LUFTWAFFE, THE;
WORLD WAR II

Reference

Lord, Walter. 1998. *The Miracle of Dunkirk*. Ware: Wordsworth.



ECKART, JOHANN DIETRICH (1868–1923)

German nationalist, anti-Semitic theorist, influential mentor of Adolf Hitler, financier, and editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. From 1918, Eckart published *Auf Gut Deutsch*, a journal fostering radical nationalism. From 1919, he brought the fledgling Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (German Workers' Party; DAP) funding and high-level introductions for Hitler. Eckart and Hitler devised the first DAP program, combining nationalist, anticapitalist, and anti-Semitic appeals. From 1920, Eckart financed and then later edited the *Völkischer Beobachter*, promoting the Fuehrer cult. His poem "Feuerjo!" (1921), ending with "*Deutschland, erwache!*", became the famous Nazi Party *Sturmlied*; the slogan adorning the marching banners at the Nuremberg rallies. Eckart's anti-Semitism was rooted in a gnostic, Manichaeic type of mysticism. He and Hitler spent hours discussing art, philosophy, and the role of the Jews in world history, as recorded in Eckart's *Der Bolschewismus von Moses bis Lenin* (1924). In a unique tribute, Hitler openly acknowledged Eckart's influence in his dedication of *Mein Kampf* and other memorials in the Nazi Party headquarters in Munich. Eckart has been called "the spiritual father of National Socialism."

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; CAPITALISM; *DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE!*; DREXLER, ANTON; HITLER, ADOLF; LEADER CULT, THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; LEADER CULT, THE; PRESS, THE

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ECKHART, "MEISTER" JOHANN (1260–1327)

One of the most celebrated mystical writers of the later Middle Ages, promoted by some Nazi ideologues as a medieval pioneer of a uniquely German spiritual way. Eckhart, who joined the Dominican Order at a young age, studied in Paris and Cologne and later taught in Paris. His attempts to put mystical experience into words gave to some an impression of heterodoxy, and he was under investigation by the ecclesiastical authorities when he died. After his death, the pope condemned twenty-eight of his propositions. Alfred Rosenberg exploited Eckhart for *völkisch*-racist thought, blithely ripping quotations from the thinker out of context and

transforming him into “a “Germanic freedom-fighter” and “theoretician of blood.” He claimed that Eckhart’s “little spark of the soul” (in Eckhart, the “uncreated in the soul”) was equivalent to “the concept of Nordic honor and freedom.” Eckhart, “the greatest apostle of the Nordic west,” was thus the “born-again Germanic man”; by proclaiming the “equivalence of the soul to God,” he became the forerunner of a Germanic will to freedom against enslavement to the Roman Church. According to Rosenberg, Eckhart emphasized “greatness of soul” against “the Jewish idea of man as the servant of God” and the “enslavement of man’s soul” inherent in the doctrine of the ecclesial means of grace: “Thus Eckhart showed himself to be the creator of a new religion which had freed itself from Jewish-oriental and Roman influence.” Against the “Roman-Jesuit tradition,” Eckhart stressed the “godlikeness of the human soul” and thus propagated “the Nordic thought of self-realization.” By picking and choosing quotations from Eckhart’s sermons, Rosenberg managed to turn him into a pioneer campaigner for racial purity and race consciousness; in Eckhart was found “the myth and religion of the blood.” “[In] Meister Eckhart the Nordic soul came fully to consciousness of itself for the first time.” This blatant attempt to promote a celebrated Catholic mystic as a forefather of Nazism provoked polemical replies from both Protestant and Catholic theologians. Chief among those who sought to give a more balanced view of Eckhart were Alois Dempf (1934), Käte Oltmann (1935), Heinrich Bornkamm (1936), and Heinrich Ebeling (1941), who put his thought back into the context of late medieval mysticism.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); JESUITS, THE; LUTHER, MARTIN; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; THEOLOGY; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*

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- Clark, J. M. 1949. *The Great German Mystics: Eckhart, Tauler and Suso*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Whisker, James B. 1990. *The Philosophy of Alfred Rosenberg*. Newport Beach, CA: Noonside.
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ECOLOGY

Although usually associated with newer forms of left-wing politics and social movements, ecological thought also has a distinctive right-wing variant that intersects with fascism and neofascism. Like many of their left-wing counterparts, political ecologists of the extreme Right suggest that global capitalism and a culture of consumerism have led to an environmental crisis characterized by massive destruction of the natural world. Similarly, too, both argue that the roots of this environmental crisis are to be found in the ways in which modern humans (especially those in the West) conceptualize their place in nature and carry out practices based on such understandings. Finally, both draw upon concepts and models of modern ecological science to frame their political-ecological worldview and to argue for particular solutions. Yet the left- and right-wing varieties of ecological thought part ways dramatically over the theoretical conclusions that can be drawn from these assumptions, as well as the practical solutions needed to halt the crisis.

According to what can be called “right-wing ecology,” different human cultures are shaped by unique geographic and environmental features. If we take seriously the claim—one offered by most political ecologists—that human beings should not be considered “above” nature but rather embedded within it (humans being “plain members of the biotic community” in the U.S. environmentalist Aldo Leopold’s famous phrase), then a true ecological politics, according to the radical right-wing view, must strive to protect natural diversity in all its dimensions, both the natural diversity of the nonhuman world and the natural diversity of human cultures. Proponents of right-wing ecology therefore argue that, just as a consistent environmentalism defends the unique integrity of a particular ecosystem by excluding non-native and foreign species, so too should it protect cultural diversity by keeping each culture pure through the exclusion of the alien or the foreign. A true and “deep” political ecology must safeguard the plants, animals, and human cultures distinctive to a particular ecosystem or region from the forces of global capitalism, cultural homogenization, and social and physical eradication.

Although proponents of a right-wing ecology can be found in many movements and parties of the extreme Right today, its most prominent supporters and articulate spokesmen are German; its roots can be found in

ECOFASCISM: See **ECOLOGY**

the development of a “New Right” in the late 1970s. Inspired by the French Nouvelle Droite, the German New Right sought to chart a new organizational and ideological course after declining political fortunes led to its fragmentation by the early 1970s. Arguing along Gramscian grounds that its task was to achieve “cultural hegemony,” Green representatives of the New Right sought to marry a rediscovered concern for nature to the traditional ultranationalism and racism of the extreme Right. Among their theoretical innovations was the notion of “ethno-pluralism,” the doctrine that although no ethnic group or nation can be considered superior to another, differences between cultures, traditions, or ways of life are intractable and should be “respected.”

In the late 1970s activists of the New Right joined the environmental and antinuclear movements and even took over some local Green Party organizations—exercising some influence both on more traditional conservatives within the environmental movements and on new organizations of the extreme Right—before they were expelled or left voluntarily. To the former belonged such figures as the German environmental activist, former conservative MP, and best-selling author Herbert Gruhl, who founded two organizations after he left the Greens in 1981 (the Ecological-Democratic Party and The Independent Ecologists of Germany) that soon came to articulate right-wing ecological ideas. To the latter belonged the Republikaner, a new party of the extreme Right that performed well in a series of European and state elections in the 1990s before disappearing into electoral obscurity.

Of course, in many ways modern right-wing ecology simply reflects an updated and reconstituted right-wing nature discourse that first emerged in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany and that found institutional representation in the conservative wing of the Heimat (“homeland protection”) movement. Inspired by the blending of environmental protection policies with right-wing politics characteristic of the founder of the science of ecology, Ernst Haeckel, successive chairmen of the German Federation for the Protection of the Homeland (DBH), the main Heimat organization—that is, Ernst Rudorff, Paul Schultze-Naumburg, and Werner Lindner—all argued that human “rootedness” in a particular landscape and cultural-national tradition is part and parcel of a consistent *Umweltschutz* (“protection of the environment”). Therefore, environmental protection should seek to protect not only ecosystems in all their particularity from alien species and botanical homogeneity but also cultures, nations, and “peoples” from

cross-cultural pollution. The extreme nationalist and *völkisch* ideology of the mainstream of the Heimat movement also found expression among the Nazis—for example, with Nazi agricultural minister Richard Walther Darré and with the director of Prussia’s state conservation agency, Walter Schoenichen. Schoenichen is particularly interesting in that, like many contemporary Greens, he suggested that simply tinkering with the industrial system—a moderate “environmentalism,” in other words—is an insufficient response to environmental challenges. Instead, he argued that what was needed was no less than a new environmental theory and practice that would be informed by the idea that nature should be preserved in all of its *Eigenart* (“individuality”)—including, of course, individual cultures and “peoples”—from a homogenizing “one-world” culture. Laws limiting industrial development, protecting wetlands, promoting reforestation, outlawing cruelty to animals and hunting, and creating nature reserves—all of which were passed under the Nazi regime—seemed to Schoenichen to herald a new age of living in accord with “nature,” rather than against it.

Jonathan Olsen

See Also: ANIMALS; CAPITALISM; CULTURE; DARRÉ, RICHARD WALTHER; ECONOMICS; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROOTLESSNESS; SOCIAL DARWINISM; VOLK, VÖLKISCH

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ECONOMICS

Confronted with the bourgeois “brandishing his contracts and his statistics, 2 + 2 makes . . . NOUGHT, the fascist barbarian replies, smashing his face in” (Sternhell 1979, 357). As these words of Georges Valois, leader of Le Faisceau (French fascist movement of

the 1920s), make clear, interwar fascism had little time or respect for “economics.” Fascists denied that what happened in the economy was the motor of historical and social change; they wanted their “revolution” to be understood not as a fundamental change in socioeconomic relations but rather as a “spiritual” revolution, a transformation of consciousness, a moral regeneration of individuals in a collective, national context. Their antibourgeois rhetoric was directed primarily not at middle-class wealth or the middle class as a socioeconomic category but at the “bourgeois” mentality that was the outcome of people devoting their energies exclusively to the acquisition and enjoyment of material wealth—an outlook, presumably, to be found in all levels of society. They wanted to blow away what they condemned as the rational, calculating, materialistic, cautious, sedentary, and selfishly individualistic values of “bourgeois” society and create in their place a new “civilization” of the “new fascist man”—vital, virile, self-sacrificing, living heroically and dangerously. Fascism’s ideological asceticism and contempt for the easy life is so out of tune with the spread of consumerism and material prosperity based on rapid economic growth and development in post-World War II Europe that it may provide one of the reasons for the relative marginalization of fascist movements and ideas since 1945.

But if fascist ideology gave no space conceptually to “economics,” interwar fascist movements and regimes had a clear sense of the place and function of the economy, which they derived from their core political ideas, hypernationalism, and the “totalitarian” state as the embodiment and instrument of the nation and national power. Put simply, the job of the economy and of economic policy in a fascist polity was to provide the economic resources and muscle for a strong nation. The fascist view of the “primacy of politics” over economics, of the state driving the economy, not the economy the state, was exemplified by Hitler in his memorandum launching the so-called Four Year Plan for the economy in 1936. He first observed that politics in Germany meant only one thing, “the securing of all the spiritual and other prerequisites for the self-assertion of our nation,” and then went on to state that “finance and the economy, economic leaders and theories, . . . all owe unqualified service in this struggle for the self-assertion of our nation” (Noakes and Pridham 2000, 89).

Fascism’s economic goals were, then, defined by its nationalism, and the ultimate aim was autarky or national economic self-sufficiency. Achieving autarky was bound to involve economic protectionism and an arti-

ficial distortion of the normal patterns of international trade and of capitalist economies, requiring, in turn, that essential lever of fascist “economics,” state control and regulation of the national economy. The target of autarky assumed that international relations were perpetually conflictual and competitive, and that the nation needed to be economically independent if it were to survive and progress in a hostile international environment. Both the Italian Fascist and the German Nazi regimes made autarky official policy and saw its realization as an essential preparation for expansionist wars. Autarky was, and is, probably unrealizable for any country—even for interwar Germany, and certainly for interwar Italy, which did not have sufficient indigenous sources of essential energy supplies and raw materials to provide the economic capacity for Great Power politics. As a result, autarky became an end as well as a means for both fascist regimes, a justification for and the intended outcome of wars of imperialist expansion.

Autarky, and the economic protectionism that makes it possible, remained the economic goal of post-1945 neofascist movements, though the goal was framed in a way adapted to wartime and postwar global realities and circumstances. Neofascism’s anti-immigration stance is, in part, projected as the defense of the jobs and livelihood of “national” workers. Although some European neofascist movements initially opposed the European Union on autarkic economic grounds, many now couch autarky in European rather than national terms, rephrasing the rhetoric and justifications of the wartime Nazi New Order in conquered and occupied Europe, which envisaged a continental European autarkic zone set against other rival continental blocs. Today’s post-Cold War European neofascists oppose globalization and the global economic and cultural hegemony of the United States in the name of a “multiethnic” world and a European “nation,” much as their predecessors of the Cold War period saw “Europe” as a “Third Force” in a bipolar world dominated by the U.S. and Soviet “empires.”

This fascist “Third Force” stance in international politics was premised on an analogous “Third Way” ideological alignment of domestic politics. Interwar, wartime, and post-1945 fascist movements rejected (on the grounds of their “corrosive materialism”) the capitalist and communist ideologies and political and economic systems embodied in the United States and the USSR. They saw themselves as neither capitalist nor communist, claiming instead to offer a solution to the problems of managing modern “mass” societies that lay between capitalism and communism. The domestic “Third Way” was usually “corporatist” or “national syn-

dicalist,” or propounded of some related form of economic regulation. Corporatism was, and is, a body of ideas that envisages a socioeconomic and political system based on the representation of people according to their economic and productive function in society, in sectoral organizations (corporations) that harmonize the interests of workers, managers, and the state. A corporately organized economy, based as it is on collaboration between classes and the various groups involved in the productive process, would put an end to counterproductive class conflict and help to maximize national economic production. The high degree of state control of the corporations, which were really seen as a means of state control of the economy rather than as self-administering alliances of “producers,” was what distinguished fascist corporatism from its democratic and Catholic versions. Corporatism, or its equivalent, was one of the main planks in the programs of fascist movements in both the interwar and post-1945 periods, and it is one of the clearest lines of continuity between prewar and postwar fascism. From the 1970s, however, neofascists have taken up environmentalism with far more emphasis than did interwar fascists, as a contemporary expression of fascism’s hostility to international capitalism and the consumeristic and materialistic mentality that it has generated throughout the world. The call of many contemporary neofascist movements for policies likely to encourage rural repopulation by small family farms brings together fascism’s demographic, autarkic, and ecological concerns. And since the countryside is viewed primarily as a “quality of life” issue, this confirms the long-standing fascist contempt for “economics,” or, rather, the idea that modern man can live by “economics” alone.

There are still differing opinions as to whether interwar fascism was intrinsically anticapitalist. Its visceral antisocialism certainly serves and defends capitalist interests; both historical fascist regimes were founded on the permanent suppression of independent working-class organizations; and the thrusting, risk-taking, dynamic capitalist entrepreneur was close to embodying the fascist ethos of will, initiative, and action, and often glorified by fascists as a result. Again, fascism, in the words of the Italian Fascist 1927 Charter of Labor, “regards private initiative in the field of production as the most useful and efficient instrument for furthering the interests of the nation” (Delzell 1970, 120); as the Spanish Falange program of 1937 said, it recognizes “private property as a legitimate means for achieving individual, family and social goals” (ibid.). But fascists were, and are, hostile to “finance capital,” “plutocracy,” and “the power of money,” preferring the industrial en-

trepreneur to the money-dealing banker and financier. They made the distinction because the industrialist was “productive” and manufactured things that enhanced national power, while the financier made nothing, except money gained by speculating on the production of others, and was “international” rather than “national,” servicing and being serviced by international money markets. Jews have been uniformly portrayed by fascists as anonymous, stateless, and parasitical financiers and speculators. In that characteristically fascist way of combining all the nation’s “international” enemies in a sole agency, fascists invented the “plutocratic-Bolshevik” conspiracy whereby both the “gold” and “red” internationalisms were orchestrated against the nation and the national interest by Jews.

Fascist economic policies certainly anticipated the state takeover and even nationalization of key economic sectors, including the banking system, energy, and transport; private capitalists did feel threatened by corporatism, and by any whiff of economic “planning,” because they feared that they would have to transfer to the state decisions on what and how they produced. The point was that fascists wanted to ensure that the economy served the national purpose, as defined by them, and were prepared to intervene in the running and management of the national economy in pursuit of that goal. The experience and practice of the two historical fascist regimes, in Italy and Germany, showed that private business survived and prospered where and when it met or synchronized with the fascist goals for the economy; where and when it did not, or could not, the state intervened and became the entrepreneur in place of private capital.

The Italian Fascist regime’s main economic agency in the 1930s was the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI), a giant state firm or holding company. Initially set up as a kind of hospital for ailing industries during the Great Depression, with the state using public money to buy the shares of failing private industries, IRI was made a permanent body in 1937, having the power to take over private firms seen as vital to autarky and war production and to run the now largely publicly owned heavy industrial sector. IRI’s subsidiary companies were, however, still structured and managed as private firms. The agencies of the Nazi Four Year Plan Office, with the same goal of directing the economy toward autarky and rearmament, had the same private and public mix, recruiting personnel indiscriminately among Nazi party men, civil servants, armed forces officers, private industrialists, and managers to the vast cartels responsible for price controls and the allocation of labor, materials, and currency in key economic sec-

tors. In a classic demonstration of the fascist primacy of politics over economics, the Four Year Plan Office's response to the German steel industry's reluctance to use lower quality and uneconomic German ore in place of imported ore was to bypass private industry altogether, constructing their own giant steel factory, which used German raw materials and to which was directed as a priority state investment, orders, and scarce supplies of labor.

Philip Morgan

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTARKY; BANKS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; CLASS; COLD WAR, THE; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ECOLOGY; EUROPE; FALANGE; FINANCE; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; IMMIGRATION; INDUSTRY; ITALY; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; NATIONALISM; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PLUTOCRACY; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRODUCTIVISM; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; SPAIN; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THIRD WAY, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADE; VALOIS, GEORGES; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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ECUADOR

A derivative of fascism in Ecuador was the concept *Hispanidad* or *Hispanismo*, promulgated in the 1930s by the Ecuadorian intellectual César Arroyo. Arroyo's ideas were used and expanded upon by Jorge Luna Yepes,

who became the leader of Acción Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana (ARNE), the highly nationalistic quasi-falangist party formed in 1942 after Ecuador's disastrous war with Peru. One purpose of ARNE was to promote *Hispanidad*, the idea that the Spanish cultural heritage represented the best values for the future of Ecuador and had to be defended against the forces of communism and socialism. ARNE also rejected *indigenismo*, the philosophy that Ecuador had been part of a great Indian civilization, the revival of which was essential for a prosperous and glorious future. Therefore, the Ecuadorian proponents of *Hispanidad* argued that Indians must adopt Western ways to the complete exclusion of their past traditions. That included speaking Spanish, wearing European dress, and the assumption of other aspects of a Hispanic identity. Ecuador could not advance as a modern society until this acculturation process was complete and the entire population had accepted Hispanic values. Not surprisingly, ARNE's strong emphasis on *Hispanidad* meant that it was very sympathetic to Francisco Franco's regime in Spain. While it was originally a small, clandestine party, ARNE achieved a measure of influence in Ecuadorian politics in the 1950s. It supported the candidacy of Ecuador's famous populist caudillo José María Velasco Ibarra, who won the presidency in 1952. Velasco used the *arnistas* and provided them a measure of temporary respect, but the party soon parted ways with the erratic politician. In 1968, ARNE ran Jorge Crespo Toral as its presidential candidate. Despite an energetic campaign and the candidate's personal flair, Crespo Toral and ARNE received a mere 4 percent of the total vote. By the late 1980s, ARNE was no longer an active party in Ecuador.

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See Also: FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; SOCIALISM; SPAIN

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EDELWEISS PIRATES, THE

Groups of German (mainly working-class) teenagers opposed to Nazism and to the Hitler Youth. Twelve of them were hanged in Cologne in November 1944.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; WHITE ROSE; YOUTH

EDUCATION

For the interwar fascists, the goal of education was not the development of free, inquiring, rational minds, nor the opportunity for individuals' fulfillment and advancement, but rather the shaping of a people in their primary duties to nation and state. They were concerned to "educate" the "whole" man and to determine how people behaved in all facets of their lives. Fascism's "totalitarian" idea of education meant reaching and "educating" people not just in schools but also outside the school and university system. The Italian Fascist 1939 School Charter spoke of the periods for scholastic and "political" education coinciding, the schools and the Fascist youth and student university organizations together forming "a single instrument of Fascist education." The "scholastic service" of Italians was meant to start at the age of four and was jointly provided by schools and the youth organizations both in and out of school time until the age of fourteen. But it lasted until the age of twenty-one, way beyond the compulsory schooling age, with the later years being spent wholly in the orbit of the Fascist youth organizations, from where the young person would be expected to graduate into the regime's adult organizations, including the Fascist Party itself. The fascist "totalitarian" view of education was bound to bring fascism into conflict with other providers of education, understood in its broadest sense—that is, the organized religions and the family.

One of the first measures of Mussolini's government in Italy was the educational reform of 1923, introduced by the new minister of education, Giovanni Gentile. The reform was not distinctively Fascist, but it contained much to please the Catholic Church with its reintroduction of religious education in state secondary schools; it was equally pleasing for already established middle-class professional elites, with its restriction of access to a traditional classics and philosophy secondary school curriculum, which, in turn, guarded entry to the universities. Fascist educational reform came with the formal erection of the first-ever "totalitarian" state in the mid to late 1920s. During the 1930s, both the Italian Fascist and German Nazi regimes moved on broadly similar trajectories to change the educational system. Under both regimes there were attempts to "fascistize" the curriculum, teaching methods, and teaching staff in the elementary and secondary state schools and, to a lesser extent, in the universities. New

official textbooks appeared in the late 1930s, the most significant "nationalizing" curriculum changes occurring in history, language, economics, and political science; in Nazi Germany, the teaching of biology was orientated to the regime's racial and demographic policies and intentions. University courses were influenced to a lesser degree, though new content was given to some political science programs in Fascist Italy, with a focus on corporatism; the Nazi German regime introduced new courses in race and genetics, and racked up the race and eugenics content in medicine.

In both regimes, sport and athletic activity were given more time and emphasis in the school curriculum, which became a wedge for further fascist encroachment on the normal school routine, since sport in schools was often taken by instructors from the youth organizations. In Nazi Germany, "doing" sport was a requirement for moving up the school and moving from elementary to secondary education. The enhanced status of sport in the schools reflected the fascist elevation of physical activity and well-being over intellectual activity and achievement. It also signaled the "fascist values" that the regimes intended to inculcate in young people, which were those of the soldier and warrior. So the "values" to be instilled were discipline, obedience, physical strength, and the will to use it, a sense of selfless service to the community, and "national" comradeship combined with ruthlessness and initiative—a "getting things done" mentality. Since this education of the "new fascist man" involved making him feel part of the "national community" and willing to serve it, greater emphasis was placed on learning by "experience" and by "doing," rather than by "thinking" and the transfer of knowledge. This was one reason why the Italian Fascist 1939 School Charter wanted to give schooling a more practical and vocational bent by planning new technical, rural, and craft schools, and intending to introduce manual labor into school programs at all levels. More important, this was also why fascists thought that a "fascist" education was best imparted by membership and participation in the activities of party and youth organizations, many of which took place away from home and school and their influences. Both regimes set up elite colleges with the specific purpose of forming the future fascist leadership cadres, and these, significantly, were contracted out to the Fascist and Nazi parties and youth organizations.

The political reliability of the teaching profession was secured by various means. Teachers had to join the party-run monopoly professional association, which was meant to monitor and indoctrinate its members; candidates for appointment and promotion were vetted

for their “political” credentials; male elementary school teachers were expected to double up as youth organization leaders and instructors; and the curricula of teacher training colleges were “fascistized” and recruitment to them controlled.

Philip Morgan

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; ITALY; LEISURE; MEDICINE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; SPORT; TOTALITARIANISM; UNIVERSITIES; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YOUTH

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EGALITARIANISM

A term of abuse in the vocabulary of interwar and postwar fascism. Both Italian Fascism and German Nazism adhered to the Aristotelian conviction, amplified by the modern elite theorists, that the human race is divided by nature into sheep and shepherds. They built on the postrevolutionary traditionalist attack on the egalitarian extremes practiced in the French Revolution to advocate an unashamed embrace of hierarchy, which was an important term in their vocabulary. It was not for nothing that when Mussolini chose to found a review (together with Margherita Sarfatti) that was to be a vehicle for the Fascist message in Italy, he called it *Gerarchia* (*Hierarchy*). Like many youth organizations that grew up in the Victorian era in Britain—the Scouts and Guides, the Boys and Girls Brigades, the Salvation Army—the interwar fascist regimes in Italy and Germany adopted a military model, aiming to construct a utopia in which there was a hierarchy of leadership from the Duce or Fuehrer downward. This was facilitated to some extent by their early connections with paramilitarism. Mus-

solini’s chiefs were called *gerarchi*—that is, “hierarchs.” At the same time they enthusiastically adopted the Social Darwinian thesis of survival of the fittest, which left very little room for egalitarianism. Leadership in society was for those who could outfight and outwit the others. The elite were the fittest, the strongest, the most heroic, the most productive, and, even more than that, those most fervently possessed with the national idea. Fighting qualities were of service only if used in the service of the nation. Egalitarianism belonged in the trash can along with pacifism, Christian universalism, socialism, Bolshevism, and the rest.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ARISTOCRACY; COSMOPOLITANISM; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; LEADER CULT, THE; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PARAMILITARISM; PARETO, VILFREDO; PRODUCTIVISM; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SOCIAL DARWINISM; TRADITIONALISM; UNIVERSALISM; UTOPIA; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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EHRE (“HONOR”)

A primary concept in the vocabulary of Nazism. Alfred Rosenberg speaks of it as the “beginning and end of all our thinking and acting.” It was believed by many Nazi ideologues, following on the preaching of nineteenth-century race theorists, to be the characteristic quality of the Aryan or Nordic races, and indeed the origins of the term *Aryan* were tied up to the German word *Ehre*. In the vocabulary of anti-Semitism it was a quality emphatically denied to the Jews, who were considered to have no concept of honor whatever; they were, by contrast, motivated at all times by materialism, which may be considered the opposite quality to honor in much Nazi thinking. This materialism was by extension also

considered to be characteristic of the Catholic Church, which had assimilated the "materialism" of the Old Testament religion, an affair of rituals and outward displays. It was argued that the Jew St. Paul had effectively distorted the "spiritual" teachings of the Galilean non-Jew Jesus, so as to turn them into a mere continuation of Judaism, replete with a new set of outward rituals and ceremonies (the Mass and the sacraments and veneration of images and statues, and so forth). The alternative, it was held, might have been something completely new in history, a truly spiritual and inward doctrine focusing on noble, virile, manly, warrior virtues, as opposed to the "groveling" penitence and "subservience" supposedly inculcated by the Catholic Church. Pro-Nazi ideologues claimed that the first person to understand this properly was Martin Luther, although in the Middle Ages the mystic Meister Eckhart was said to have had some inkling of it. In this view, however, although Luther managed to break free of Rome, he never comprehended the need to break free of Jewish "materialism" as well, maintaining a modified sacramental system and remaining in thrall to the Jewish Scriptures. Hence, although by breaking from Rome he pioneered German nationalism and in that sense could be considered a precursor of the Nazis, it was not until the rise of race theory in the nineteenth century that the concept of honor as distinctively fundamental to the Aryans and hence to their German descendants could be understood and theorized.

Honor was believed by Nazi ideologues to distinguish the Germans not only from the Jews but also from the British and Americans, who were considered to have been corrupted by Jewish influence and by philosophies like utilitarianism into a crassly materialistic view of life (echoes of Napoleon's famous comment about the British, that they were "a nation of shopkeepers"). Such thinking was already to be found in the nineteenth century in the writings of Carlyle, a Scottish writer who saw the Germans as having a much nobler sense of life than his British compatriots. It was also to be found in the operas and the writings of composer Richard Wagner, whose works, music, and philosophy of life Hitler idolized. Hitler and many of his colleagues believed themselves to be obligated to rescue their fellow Germans from the same corrupting influences, which they considered a threat to the German soul, a threat that had been made all the more real by the catastrophe of World War I. It was in the name of this image of themselves as bearers of a noble tradition of honor going back millennia to their Aryan forebears that Hitler and many of his fellow Nazis conducted a merciless crusade of destruction against the Jews—the

bearers of the "virus" of materialism—and a campaign of persecution against the Catholic Church.

The notion of honor was often connected to that of *Treue* ("loyalty/faithfulness/reliability/integrity"), as symbolized in the slogan that Hitler gave to members of the SS—*SS-Mann, deine Ehre heisst Treue* ("SS member, your honor means loyalty/faithfulness/reliability"). It was embodied in the fascination of Himmler and others with ideas of reviving the Orders of the Teutonic Knights. But the medieval knightly goal of ("groveling") service to God, the Church, and the defenseless was to be replaced by a proud motivation of service to German honor. The concept of "honor" was inextricably bound up with the idea of blood for many Nazi ideologues, for the obvious reason that they believed in racial theories that ascribed qualities to particular races, and in particular superior qualities to the Aryan and therefore the German race. This connection was revived in neo-Nazism, for example in *Blood and Honour*, the title of the magazine and music cult associated with the British neo-Nazi Ian Stuart Donaldson.

Although there was not an identical cult of honor in Italian Fascism, there are strong parallels in the idea held by Mussolini and some of his followers that they were engaged on a crusade for manly, virile, warrior values against weak, effeminate, debilitating creeds like liberalism and pacifism. There was also a similar dislike for Christianity, insofar as it fostered conduct characterized by a spirit of humility, penitence, and meekness. It seems that both Italian Fascism and Nazism were penetrated by Nietzschean contempt for Christian morality.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; CARLYLE, THOMAS; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; DECADENCE; ECKHART, "MEISTER" JOHANN; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; LUTHER, MARTIN; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PACIFISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SKREWDRIVER; SS, THE; UTILITARIANISM; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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A key player in the implementation of the Holocaust, Adolf Eichmann became a focus of worldwide attention when put on trial by an Israeli court for his wartime actions in 1961. Hannah Arendt's published reflections on Eichmann and his crimes made her internationally known. (Library of Congress)

EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF (1906–1962)

The inspiration for Hannah Arendt's phrase "the banality of evil," Adolf Eichmann was both a nondescript bureaucrat and principal engineer of the Holocaust as the head of the Gestapo Jewish section. As Reinhard Heydrich's assistant, Eichmann coordinated the systematic deportation of European Jewry, drafted the minutes of the Wannsee Conference, and played an essential role in the logistics and implementation of the Holocaust. Despite having mounted a legal defense that he was only following orders, Eichmann was hanged on 31 May 1962 for crimes against the Jewish people and crimes against humanity, the only individual to have received a death sentence in an Israeli court.

Working as a traveling salesman during much of the Weimar Republic, Eichmann joined the Nazi Party in 1932, the SS in 1933, and moved to the newly created SD in 1934, where he remained undistinguished as a

Nazi bureaucrat prior to the *Anschluss* of Austria. After he was posted to Vienna in 1938 to assist in the forced emigration of Jews to Palestine, Eichmann's notorious efficiency and administrative skills were noticed by Heinrich Himmler's deputy, Reinhard Heydrich. Touted as an expert on the "Jewish Question," Eichmann worked through Heydrich's RSHA (Reich Security Main Office) and was responsible for the Department of Jewish Affairs. From that powerful position Eichmann devised forced migration plans for Jews, organized deportations, and ultimately advocated genocide through slave labor and extermination by gas in designated concentration camps.

Following World War II, Eichmann escaped from Germany to Argentina, where he lived in secrecy until discovered in 1960 and apprehended by Israeli intelligence agents. In the most significant war crimes trial since the Nuremberg Trials, Eichmann was arraigned in Israel, accused of four types of crime: Crimes against the Jewish Nation, Crimes against Humanity, War Crimes, and Membership in an Illegal Organization (especially the SS). The ensuing prosecution marshaled vast evidence on the machinery of the Holocaust, and the judgment emphasized Eichmann's enthusiasm and central role in the planning and execution of the "final solution," particularly in regard to the extermination of Hungarian Jewry in 1944. When the sentence was handed down in 1961, Eichmann affirmed Israeli charges in terms of both the Holocaust's existence and his participation in it: "I am prepared to hang myself in public in order that all the anti-Semites in the world should have the terrible character of these events emphasized to them. I know that I face the death sentence. I am not asking for mercy because I am not deserving of it" (War Papers, Part 86, p. 3).

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; ARENDT, HANNAH; AUSTRIA; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GESTAPO, THE; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PALESTINE; SD, THE; SS, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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EINSATZGRUPPEN, EINSATZKOMMANDOS: See HOLOCAUST, THE; SS, THE

EL ALAMEIN

Legendary confrontation between Allied troops in North Africa under General Bernard Montgomery and the German Afrika Korps under General Erwin Rommel, a turning point in World War II in the autumn of 1942. The German defeat led to the removal of Axis forces from North Africa and blocked any possibility of a relief from the south of the beleaguered German forces at Stalingrad.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBYA; STALINGRAD; WORLD WAR II

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ELIADE, MIRCEA (1907–1986)

Celebrated Romanian historian of religion, essayist, novelist, and onetime member of the Iron Guard. Eliade entered the University of Bucharest as a student in philosophy in 1925, a period of great intellectual and moral disorientation in Romania. He played an important role in the quest of young Romanians for a substitute for the old ideals of their parents. In 1927 the leading Bucharest daily, *The Word*, published a series of articles by Eliade entitled the “Spiritual Itinerary.” Those articles opened up the generation issue in Romania, and launched Eliade as the spokesman of the so-called new generation. From 1929 to 1931, Eliade studied Indian languages and religions in Calcutta. His articles on India, sent from there and published in the Romanian press, were widely read. Back in Romania, Eliade participated in the famous “Criterion” public talks. These talks were an attempt by the new generation to instill some cosmopolitanism into Romanian intellectual life. Talks were held on contemporary problems, but also on Mussolini and Lenin. The overwhelming success of the talks, and the—for Romania—unprecedentedly liberal spirit that characterized them, aroused suspicion among the authorities. The

Criterion group was forced to continue its activities in private, and eventually ceased to exist.

In December 1933, prime minister Duca ordered the complete elimination of Codreanu’s fascist Iron Guard. Hundreds of people suspected of links with the Iron Guard were arrested. The brutality with which these arrests took place deeply impressed the young Eliade. He felt attracted to the Iron Guard because he believed that the religious fervor of Codreanu’s followers proved that the Romanians—despite their highly ritualized form of Orthodox Christianity—were not as “unreligious” as some critics believed. The establishment of a royal dictatorship in 1938 was followed by another campaign against supporters of the Iron Guard. Eliade was arrested and sent to a concentration camp for guardists.

During World War II, Eliade served as the Romanian cultural attache, first in London, later in Lisbon. On 12 February 1941, Eliade’s adaptation of the classical play *Iphigeneia* was staged in Bucharest. In 1943, he published a long commentary on the Romanian folk legend of Master Manole. Both texts extolled death as a legitimate road to salvation, an idea that reflected the Iron Guard’s cult of death and violence. While it is certain that Eliade was a member of the Guardist Axa group in Bucharest, there is much disagreement over the exact nature of his involvement in the movement.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; CULTS OF DEATH; IRON GUARD, THE; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; ROMANIA

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ELITE THEORY

A trend in sociopolitical thinking (sometimes also known as “elitism”) that became influential toward the end of the nineteenth century and that had a particular impact on fascist thinking. The most celebrated names associated with this current of thought were Nietzsche, Michels, Mosca, Pareto, and Sorel. Partly in reaction to developing egalitarian movements and to the veneration of the proletariat in Marxism, these thinkers resorted to an earlier tradition of thought that can be

traced back through Machiavelli down to antiquity, according to which it is an iron law of life or nature that small groups will tend to gain control of the leadership of communities and societies. For some with positivist inclinations, such as Pareto, this theory formed part of a scientific approach to sociology and remained purely a question of acknowledged facts. But in interwar fascism the belief in the inevitable ascendancy of elites became an article of pride, and this ascendancy was considered to be wholly desirable.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; EGALITARIANISM; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; MARXISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOSCA, GAETANO; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PARETO, VILFREDO; POSITIVISM; SOCIOLOGY; SOREL, GEORGES

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ELITES: See ELITE THEORY

ELITISM: See ELITE THEORY

EMPLOYMENT

Austrian far-right politician Jörg Haider won international notoriety for praising Adolf Hitler's "orderly employment" policy. This employment policy was in fact an important part of Hitler's overall political strategy. An early Nazi manifesto declared: "We demand that the state be charged first with providing the opportunity for a livelihood and way of life for the citizens. If it is impossible to sustain the total population of the state, then the members of foreign nations (noncitizens) are to be expelled from the Reich. . . . The first obligation of every citizen must be to work both spiritually and physically." On the other hand, if working people were to become part of the Nazi project and support its aims, they had to be placated and won over.

Hitler understood that workers had simple, basic aspirations: they wanted to work and they wanted to have a reasonable standard of living. So he made promises, and the main promise he made to the working class was that employment levels would be high, while the dreaded dole queue would become a thing of the past.

The most important policy in this context was the construction of the autobahns. The number of workers thought to have been employed on that work by 1936 came to between 4 and 5 percent of the 6,000,000 people registered as unemployed in 1933. There is also a sense in which Hitler's public works programs were about restoring dignity and belief to the unemployed, and glorifying the concept of manual labor. That is why, in some contexts, shovels and spades replaced guns and rifles as symbols of Nazi rule. There has, however, been a tendency to exaggerate the scale of the motorway construction project. The statistics above suggest that it was a significant aspect of Nazi employment policy, but in no way did it alone solve the unemployment problem. It should also be noted that the workers who gained employment on the motorways were subjected to terrible conditions of work—their pay was poor, and their accommodation sometimes almost subhuman.

The corollary of the drive toward full (male) employment was a rather reactionary attitude toward women as workers. Nazi ideology had assigned to women the role of mothers—in effect, guardians of the future. This means that they were discouraged from taking up employment, sometimes coerced into not doing so. The Nazis introduced marriage loans that were conditional on prospective brides giving up employment, and those women who had four or more children were rewarded with the bestowal of the Honor Cross of the German Mother. In Italy, fascist propaganda also prioritized motherhood, and it was only the advent of the war that prevented the regime from reducing the number of women in many sectors of the economy to a mere 10 percent. On the other hand, Mussolini's movement initially called for women to be given the vote, and as late as 1925, Mussolini was addressing his followers on the need to recognize that women could no longer be excluded from work or political involvement. In Germany under the Nazis women remained a major part of the workforce, while before coming to power the Nazi Party was so worried about losing women's votes that in 1932 it even denied any intention of removing women from employment.

Groups that have been branded neofascist in the postwar era have also used the issues of employment and unemployment to bang the drum for policies of exclusion and xenophobia. In simplistic terms, many

far-right politicians have made a connection between immigration and unemployment. It has been a basic, unsophisticated tactic, but also an effective one in trying to garner popularity and support.

P. J. Davies

See Also: AUTOBAHNS, THE; FAMILY, THE; HAIDER, JÖRG; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LABOR SERVICE, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; SEXUALITY; STATE, THE; SS, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WOMEN; WORK; XENOPHOBIA

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ENABLING ACT (ERMÄCHTIGUNGSGESETZ), THE

The legal foundation of the dictatorial powers assumed by the Nazi regime from 1933, powers that enabled the Nazi leadership to impose their will on Germany. A series of articles transferred legislation from the Reichstag to the government, endowed the administration with complete freedom to introduce alterations to the constitution, stripped the president of the right to draft laws and handed it over to the chancellor, and opened the way for the government to have complete freedom of action in foreign affairs. From that point on the Reichstag was reduced to a sham, and between 1933 and 1939 it met on only a dozen occasions. The act was passed on 23 March 1933 by a majority of 441 to 84; the lack of opposition resulted from factors such as the exclusion of the communists, the deployment of SA men at the debate, and the reluctance of the Catholic Center Party to vote against. Monsignor Kaas, leader of the party, had been won over by Hitler, who had promised a concordat with the Vatican and a letter to the pope that would provide guarantees of civil liberties. Such a letter was never sent.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BRÜNING, HEINRICH; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; PIUS XI, POPE; SA, THE

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ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA, THE

Among the initiatives launched by the Italian Fascist regime in the cultural arena, the *Enciclopedia italiana*, edited and to a large extent inspired by the philosopher Giovanni Gentile—theoretician of actualism and the “ethical state”—was without doubt the most ambitious and the most important. The work was first planned in 1919 by a group of businessmen in the heat of the nationalist fervor that accompanied the victorious conclusion to World War I, a fervor that was later appropriated by Fascism after its rise to power. Italy was a country that had achieved political unity relatively late (though she possessed a long tradition of cultural unity), and the vision of the originators of this project was to endow her with a great national encyclopedia, a popular editorial instrument making possible the gathering together and presentation to the world of the whole range of diverse expressions of Italian culture. Thanks to this encyclopedic work, Italy would make up lost political and civil ground with respect to other European nations and recover her ancient cultural prestige.

Considerable financial investment and organizational effort were necessary to carry through such an extensive politico-cultural undertaking. After the failure of the original project, as proposed in 1922 by the publisher Angelo Fortunato Formiggini through the Fondazione Leonardo, an agreement was reached on 3 January 1925 between the publisher Calogero Tumminelli and the textile industrialist Giovanni Treccani to set up an establishment that would oversee the publication of the *Enciclopedia italiana di scienze, lettere e arti*. In the prospectus that announced its program and objectives, published on 26 June of that same year, there was an emphasis on its political independence and on the rigorously scholarly nature of the enterprise, which was slated to involve the collaboration of 1,410 contributors under the editorship of Giovanni Gentile. Conceived along the lines of the *Encyclopedia Britan-*

nica and published in thirty-six volumes between 1929 and 1937, with an initial print run of 25,000 for each volume, the *Enciclopedia italiana* actually drew on contributions from 3,272 collaborators, with a predominance of humanities topics over those of a technical-scientific nature. Financial difficulties resulting from the expansion of the scope of the work beyond its original projections ultimately made it necessary to set up a public consortium directly controlled and financed by the state, which thus became the proprietor and publisher of the work.

Gentile's plan was that the *Enciclopedia* should not be a work of political-ideological propaganda, but a great national project involving all the diverse components and expressions of Italian culture—even those hostile to Fascism, or remote from it. Hence his appeal to all Italian intellectuals and academics to offer their scholarly collaboration to the undertaking: an appeal that many welcomed, though it was at the same time vigorously rejected by certain individual public figures such as the liberal economist Luigi Einaudi and the idealist philosopher Benedetto Croce; along with a few other men of culture, they refused to let themselves be involved in a project that fell under the shadow of Mussolini and his regime. The truth is that, in spite of Gentile's desire to present it as a politically independent undertaking, many of the entries in the *Enciclopedia*—above all those of a historical-political and political-juridical nature—were strongly marked by a Fascist or broadly authoritarian-nationalist slant. Alongside the famous article on “Fascism” of 1932 (signed by Mussolini, but almost wholly composed by Giovanni Gentile), we need mention only entries such as “Corporation,” “Democracy,” “Dictatorship,” “Political Economy,” “Italy,” and “Nationalism,” and the contributions by key intellectuals of the regime, such as Felice Battaglia, Carlo Costamagna, Ugo Spirito, and Gioacchino Volpe, and its leading political apologists—Italo Balbo, Luigi Federzoni, and Arturo Marpicati. From this point of view it is fair to regard the *Enciclopedia italiana* as an instrument of cultural policy that helped to consolidate support from sympathetic intellectuals for Mussolinian politics and to root the regime in a context of Italian national history. However, unlike the other great editorial undertaking of the Fascist regime, the four volumes of the *Dizionario di politica* published in 1940, this one was not simply an expression of Fascist ideological totalitarianism, as has sometimes been maintained. Rather, it manifests a relative cultural pluralism—witness not just the substantial contributions provided by prestigious antifascist intellectuals (in some cases of Jewish origin) but above

all the influence exercised on the work in its totality by a culture of Catholic inspiration, well represented by the Jesuit Pietro Tacchi Venturi. Especially after the Concordat between the Italian state and the Holy See in 1929, the presence in the *Enciclopedia* of Catholic themes, principles, and authors became preponderant, and that is one explanation for the repeated complaints made to Gentile by more radical elements in Fascist culture who considered the *Enciclopedia* excessively ecumenical in its choice of authors and insufficiently loyal to the official positions of the regime, from the point of view of doctrinal content.

The *Enciclopedia italiana* was one of the most durable works of the regime. It continued to prosper even after the fall of the dictatorship. After the work was reprinted in 1949 without alteration, appendix volumes continued to be published at intervals. Even today the Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana retains a high profile on the Italian cultural scene. Despite the fact that so many of the entries in the *Enciclopedia* are still the ones written in the 1930s under Gentile's editorship, it continues to be considered a work of major intellectual and scientific importance. From the point of view of historical judgment, this enduring legacy raises a question: to what extent can the *Enciclopedia italiana* be considered overall a cultural product of Fascism, and as such unacceptable (at least in theory) in a historico-cultural context that is different from the one in which it was conceived and completed? One way of answering this question would be to say that, while it is true that the *Enciclopedia italiana* undoubtedly reflects the ideological influence of Fascism, it is also true that it was a great testbed for the entire Italian academic culture of the era and, more generally, for the whole of Italy. In the words of the historian Gabriele Turi, it was the “mirror of the nation,” in which Italy reflected all of her history: a history that in the first half of the twentieth century included the Mussolinian dictatorship but that did not coincide wholly with Fascism. This explains why the *Enciclopedia italiana* has been able to survive, with the necessary revisions, not just the death of its editor, Giovanni Gentile, but also the end of the Fascist regime that encouraged and supported it so enthusiastically.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; BALBO, ITALO; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; COSTAMAGNA, CARLO; CROCE, BENEDETTO; CULTURE; DEMOCRACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEDERZONI, LUIGI; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PAPACY, THE; SPIRITO, UGO; VOLPE, GIOACCHINO

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ENDRE, LÁSZLÓ (1895–1946)

Openly anti-Semitic Hungarian interwar politician. Endre came from a wealthy rural background and started his political career as an army officer, becoming a loyal supporter of Horthy in crushing the Council of the Republic in 1919. First he was a mayor in Gödöllo, then later was appointed to the chief governor position of Gödöllo district in 1923. He was an active member of the leaderships of MOVE, the Double Cross Blood Association, the Association of Awakening Hungarians, and the Etelköz Association. Endre's name appears among those of the military officers who served Prónay in 1921, an extremely bloody paramilitary group involved with the killing of communists and social democrats throughout the countryside. During the spring of 1937, Endre was influential in creating the Party for Socialist Racial Defense, which was fused with Szálasi's Party of National Will later that year. In September 1937, Endre was elevated to the prestigious position of lieutenant governor of Pest County, a move that forced him to quit his party. As a chief public officer, he enforced the implementation of anti-Jewish laws. His eccentric racialism, life style, and cruel ideas were attributed to his syphilitic condition and insanity. In April 1944 he was made state secretary for the Ministry of Internal Affairs. According to some sources, by that time he had considerable money secreted in Swiss bank accounts. He became a close confidant of Eichmann and was entrusted with the organizational matters of ghettoization and deportation of the Jews. Together with the chief of the gendarmerie, Baky, and the minister of internal affairs, Jaross, he achieved this task so rapidly that within two months more than 500,000 people—almost 90 percent of the entire Jewish population of the countryside—had disappeared. He was hanged early in 1946 for crimes against humanity.

László Kürti

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS, THE; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; GHETTOS; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; PARAMILITARISM; SZÁLASI, FERENC

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ENGDAHL, PER: See SWEDEN
ENGLAND: See GREAT BRITAIN

ENLIGHTENMENT, THE

Fascism is often characterized—and indeed, fascist propagandists have often presented themselves—as hostile to liberalism and the Enlightenment. Yet while rejecting many Enlightenment values, such as egalitarianism, internationalism, liberalism, and rationalism, fascists drew upon Enlightenment thought to create their own revolutionary doctrines. In doing so they used liberalism and other Enlightenment ideas to destroy the old order as a step toward the establishment of the fascist new order. The ambiguity that clouds fascist discussions of the Enlightenment is seen most clearly in the reaction of German National Socialists toward their own history. On the one hand they wanted to condemn the Enlightenment, and with it the French Revolution, as expressions of a capitalistic Jewish conspiracy linked to Freemasonry. On the other, they sought justification for their military adventurism in the campaigns of Frederick the Great. Yet Frederick was a Freemason and Enlightenment monarch who in many ways typified the Age of Reason.

Superficially similar to conservative critiques of the Enlightenment associated with such figures as the Irishman Edmund Burke (1729–1797), the Dutchman Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801–1876), the German Friedrich Julius Stahl (1802–1861), and the counter-revolutionary Traditionalists, the approach of interwar fascist propagandists was in fact fundamentally different. From the conservatives the fascists borrowed their critique of rationalist epistemological reductionism. But instead of asserting a more complex epistemology that recognizes rationality alongside other ways of knowing, fascists rejected all rationality in terms of various forms of intuitive knowledge. Similarly, while the conservatives wished to replace revolutionary justice and

views of law with a historically based constitutional model, fascists like the jurist Carl Schmitt developed new judicial forms based on situational law that look to a leader as the source of all wisdom.

The influential protofascist writer Houston Stewart Chamberlain had a huge impact on interwar fascist thinking, and he was implicitly hostile to the Enlightenment, even though he paid it little direct attention. His works were read in Italy, where he influenced popular writers like Julius Evola, although Benito Mussolini is on record as having said that he thought Chamberlain's influence in Italy would be limited. His works were also read in Romania. Chamberlain concentrates on attacking materialism and reshapes the works of Enlightenment philosophers like John Locke and Immanuel Kant, whom he respected, in terms of their roots in Teutonic thought, from which he believed they deviated. According to him, the world is divided between two great world systems—that of the Teutons and that of the Jews. The former produce all that is good, the latter all that furthers their own limited ends through the encouragement of egalitarianism, internationalism, liberalism, materialism, and, by implication, the Enlightenment. Chamberlain's hostility to Enlightenment thought is clearly laid out in his *Arische Weltanschauung* (1905), in which he attempts to find the roots of Western thought in Indian philosophies that predate the Greeks. Indian philosophy, he claims, is aristocratic and possible only when distinct racial conditions and the right form of education combine. As such it is the opposite of all forms of universalism. Therefore, rejecting universalism, Europeans must return to an Indo-European purity of thought that will embrace organic thinking and transcend concerns about logical contradictions. Logic, from Aristotle to John Stuart Mill, is a dead end that must be avoided to discover the truth of internal knowledge. All knowledge, all thinking, he claims, is based on faith; acknowledging this is the genius of the Aryan.

Chamberlain's disciple Alfred Rosenberg takes a similar approach in his *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Rather than concentrate his attack on the Enlightenment, however, Rosenberg attacks its manifestations, which allows him to praise “the political nobility of Frederick the Great,” Kant, and other Enlightenment thinkers as he fits them into his overarching scheme. For him it is not the abstract historical period of the Enlightenment that is evil but the manifestations of Semitic ideas expressed in egalitarianism, capitalism, liberalism, universalism, and the imperialism of Jewish-

Christianity. For Rosenberg, Enlightenment thinkers provide National Socialists with the tools they need to destroy Christianity and traditional Western philosophy. Liberalism and other Enlightenment ideas break up the settled order of traditional philosophy, with its reliance on logic. Therefore they can be used in the battle to create a new order that embraces a revolutionary worldview that is organic in character and particular in its racial manifestation.

For some southern Europeans the Enlightenment becomes an expression of Protestantism and of a hostility to tradition that they reject. While figures like Vilfredo Pareto, Giovanni Gentile, Gaetano Mosca, Benito Mussolini, and others embrace tradition, it is “tradition” in the abstract. It is a tradition created by their own mythological understanding, not a specific historical tradition that might limit their freedom of action. For fascist intellectuals the Enlightenment stands in opposition to the organic nature of a ‘true’ tradition. What they mean by this is a mythological, primal “tradition” that allows them to reject existing aristocracies in favor of their own new aristocracy. Existing ruling elites are to be destroyed through revolutionary action to make way for a new elite selected on the principle of the survival of the fittest. Paradoxically, we can see that this act of destruction actually draws upon Enlightenment values to destroy the old but then goes on to reject those values in favor of new ones based upon the ever-evolving new society in which the ‘new man’ of fascism will become the ruling elite.

Irving Hexham

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARYANISM; CAPITALISM; CHAMBERLAIN; HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; EVOLA, JULIUS; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); LAW; LIBERALISM; MATERIALISM; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; PARETO, VILFREDO; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHMITT, CARL; SOCIAL DARWINISM; TRADITIONALISM; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*/WORLD-VIEW

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**ENVIRONMENT, THE: See ECOLOGY;
ECONOMICS; GLOBALIZATION;
NATURE**

ESTADO NOVO (“NEW STATE”)

I. PORTUGAL

Name given to Portugal in 1933 to suggest that the ethos of the country under the Prime Minister/Dictator Salazar was a modernizing one along fascist lines (not to be confused with the same term used in Brazil, 1937–1945). The “new state” also provided itself with a paramilitary organization (the *Legião Portuguesa*) and a national youth organization (*Mocidade Portuguesa*), as well as a secret police force (*PIDE*) backed up by special tribunals. The adoption of other externals of Italian Fascism, such as state propaganda, censorship, political rituals, and a leader cult, could not conceal the real nature of Salazar’s philosophy, a blend of social Catholicism with integral nationalism à la Maurras. The dictator showed his true colors when he crushed the genuinely fascist-type coup of Rolão Preto in 1935.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MODERNITY; PARAMILITARISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PORTUGAL; ROLÃO PRETO, FRANCISCO; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; YOUTH

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II. Brazil: See BRAZIL

ESTONIA

A potential fascist threat emerged in Estonia in 1932, when the League of Veterans of the Estonian War of Independence (*Eesti Vabadussõjalaste Liit*), popularly known as the Vaps movement, became a popular political force. The leaders of the veterans were the lawyer Artur Sirk (1900–1937) and retired General Andres Larka (1879–1943). The global economic depression of the early 1930s increased political tensions and the frequency of cabinet changeovers. In such an atmosphere, the veterans’ calls to combat political corruption and establish a strong presidency found resonance. Center-right parties proposed amendments to the constitution creating a presidency in the hope that a strong executive would bring stability. After two successive amendment bills failed in national referenda, the veterans’ own proposal for a powerful presidency was approved in October 1933 by 73 percent of voters. In local elections in January 1934, the veterans won in all the major cities. However, on 12 March, before national elections could be held, Prime Minister Konstantin Päts, together with fellow presidential candidate General Johan Laidoner (1884–1953), proclaimed a state of emergency and arrested the leaders of the Veterans’ League. The league was declared a danger to public safety. Although claiming to save democracy from the threat of fascism, Päts then proceeded to erect his own authoritarian regime. In 1935, veterans’ leaders, with the help of Finnish sympathizers, plotted to overthrow the government, but the conspiracy was uncovered and the plotters incarcerated. Sirk died in Luxembourg in 1937, apparently a suicide. In 1937, Päts proclaimed a new constitution, under which he was elected the first president in 1938. Päts, the Estonian elite, and most of the leaders of the veterans were deported to, and died in, Soviet gulags after the annexation of the country by the USSR in 1940. Hjalmar Mäe, the former veterans’ propaganda chief, served as the head of the Estonian self-administration under the Nazi occupation, 1941–1944.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: FINLAND; NAZISM; PÄTS, KONSTANTIN; SOVIET UNION, THE; VAPS; WALL STREET CRASH, THE

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Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia from 1930, who escaped to England after the Italian invasion of his country and was restored to the throne in 1941 by the British. The failure of the League of Nations to deal with Italian aggression was one of many symptoms of its weakness. Mussolini was set on creating a new “Roman Empire.” (Library of Congress)

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ETHIOPIA

Following in the footsteps of the liberal Italian state, which had already acquired colonial possessions in neighboring Eritrea and (divided) Somaliland, Mussolini saw Ethiopia as a coveted prize for the country’s newfound imperial “destiny.” His colonial aspirations were reinforced by the fact that in an earlier invasion,

in 1896, Italian troops had been crushed by the Ethiopian forces in Adowa, which remained in the Italian memory as an instance of painful national humiliation. By orchestrating a full-scale invasion of Ethiopia (against the wishes of the Western European powers), Mussolini not only hoped to avenge this defeat but also wanted to consolidate Italy’s colonial empire in East Africa, turning the Mediterranean into a new *mare nostrum* by controlling access to Suez.

The invasion (which had been in preparation since the early 1930s) started on 3 October 1935 and caused an immediate international outcry. The emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, was able to rally his forces and—for a short period—raise serious questions as to the capacity of the Italian forces to conquer the country. At the same time, the League of Nations imposed an economic embargo on Italy that excluded, however,

the crucial commodity of oil—thereby wasting the only opportunity for forcing Fascist Italy to reconsider its aggressive foreign policy or to bring its campaign to its knees. Eventually, a renewed Italian operational command and a wave of reinforcements in the spring of 1936 sealed the fate of Ethiopia: vastly outnumbered and not helped by the ineffective international reaction, the country was officially declared part of the Italian *impero* on 10 May 1936, five days after Italian troops entered its capital, Addis Ababa. Emperor Selassie had fled the country a week earlier. His passionate plea to the assembly of the League of Nations in Geneva on 30 June generated a great deal of sympathy but little practical support. Italy had by then amalgamated its three bordering colonial possessions (Somaliland, Eritrea, and Ethiopia) into a single administrative unit (Italian East Africa) with a single new constitution. A little later, Britain and France cynically recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia as a fait accompli.

Although independent Ethiopia existed no more, Italian control over the whole of the country was precarious, or even partial. Local tribes continued to fight against the occupying forces, seriously disrupting Italian plans for the reorganization of the country. That, however, did not stop Mussolini from using Ethiopia as a testing ground for many of his subsequent ideological projects. One of them pertained to the introduction of a special set of racial/biological laws, aiming at an apartheid-like separation of the “white” from the indigenous population. As early as June 1936 the idea that “the Fascist empire must not be an empire of half-castes” was officially put forward in Italy. Less than a year later physical contact between the two groups was strictly prohibited and punished, in order to avoid the alleged biological danger of “racial” miscegenation, when a relevant royal decree was put into effect. “Half-castes” were subsequently deprived of full citizenship status. It is believed that the racial experiments in the Italian East Africa deepened Mussolini’s fondness for biological theories of “race” and prepared the ground for the introduction of the 1938 anti-Semitic legislation in mainland Italy. However, there is plainly a great difference between racial discrimination against blacks, which was practiced all over the white world and could hardly be said to be a marker of fascism, and the murderous biological anti-Semitism propounded by the Nazis and adopted wherever their creed was taken up or imitated.

Ethiopia remained under tentative Italian control until 1940–1941. Immediately upon Italy’s entry into World War II, Haile Selassie moved back to Africa and

attempted to coordinate the resistance of Ethiopian tribes against the colonial occupier, in close cooperation with Britain. As Italy’s fortunes in the war declined after 1941, so did its control over Italian East Africa, paving the way for Ethiopia’s liberation and renewed independence.

Aristotle Kallis

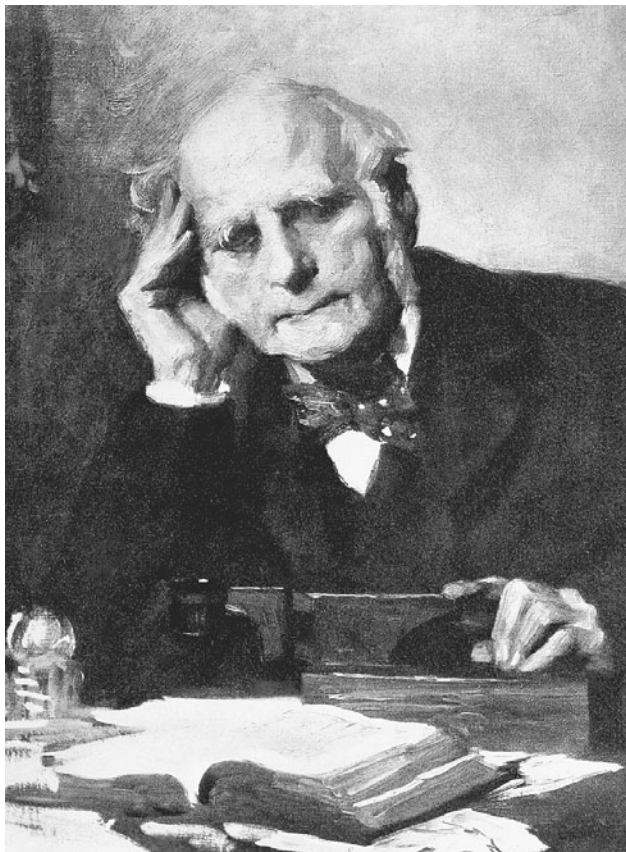
See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; COLONIALISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROME; WORLD WAR II

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EUGENICS (Germany and Europe other than Italy)

Eugenics played an important role in the policies of Nazism. The term was originally introduced by Victorian statistician and anthropologist Francis Galton in 1883 to denote the new science of improving the qualities of a race. An alternative term was *racial hygiene*, or *Rassenhygiene*, coined by a young German physician, Alfred Ploetz, in 1895. *Rassenhygiene* linked two rising sciences—anthropology and hygiene—with the idea that the germs of mental illness and deviant behavior could be cleansed and eradicated from the germplasm or hereditary substance. Ploetz founded a Society for Racial Hygiene in 1905. Ploetz’s idea was that the physician should be responsible to the race rather than to the sick individual. The racial hygiene strategy was predicated on the view that society was an organism and that the biological fitness of the nation was at stake. Eugenicists sought to restore the fitness of the population to its primal vigor: in this broadly organicist sense, it was Social Darwinist. In its early stages the eugenics movement attracted Jews and socialists as a program of biologically based reform. Aryan enthusiasts such as the members of the Gobineau Society in Germany converged with eugenics, but their myths and concern with blood purity meant that the rationales were distinct.



Victorian statistician and anthropologist Francis Galton, inventor of the term eugenics as the science of improving the qualities of a race; Nazi racial policies were an attempt to apply this science in practice. (Library of Congress)

During the 1920s the Nazis racialized eugenic plans to exclude the unfit and promote the birth of groups of high eugenic quality. Originally a utopian socialist, Plötz gravitated toward the political Right, eventually joining the Nazi Party in 1937. The right-wing publisher Julius Lehmann published numerous eugenic works, including (from 1920) the *Archiv für Rassen- und Gesellschaftsbiologie*, and the Nordic racial tracts of Hans Günther. While Hitler was imprisoned in Landsberg, Lehmann presented him with a copy of the textbook on human genetics and heredity by the botanist Erwin Baur, the anthropologist Eugen Fischer, and the human geneticist Fritz Lenz. The Weimar welfare state implemented a range of positive, welfare-oriented eugenic measures, and there were similar eugenic schemes in Austria. Hitler took up various themes, such as sterilization and the damage to the nation's hereditary stock through sexually transmitted disease. But he preferred the nationalist mythology of blood purity to the scien-

tific complexities of human genetics. Lenz held the first teaching post in racial hygiene in Munich from 1923. By 1929 he believed that the Nazis offered the best chance for realizing the racial hygiene program. As Nazism sought to broaden its appeal to the professional middle classes, eugenics became more prominent in its propaganda. There was a strong convergence between eugenics and Nazism, but at no time did Nazism achieve a monopoly and full control over scientific racism.

In 1933 the *Gleichschaltung* of the Racial Hygiene Society meant exclusion of Catholics, socialists, and Jews, and its membership rapidly grew to fifty-six local groups in 1936 with 3,700 members. The Nazis gave increased resources to racial hygiene, although not every university had an institute or full professor in the subject. The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology, founded in 1927, provided training courses for SS doctors. The Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology under Eugen Fischer and (from 1941) Otmar von Verschuer supported Nazi racial policy. Institute members adjudicated on questions of racial identity and sterilization. Verschuer had two assistants in Auschwitz, Liebau and Mengele. The anthropologist Wolfgang Abel was an SS officer. Although the biologist Hans Nachtsheim held no position in the NSDAP, he collaborated with the SS sanatorium Hohenlychen and conducted pressure chamber experiments on epileptic children. His research on convulsions in carefully bred strains of rabbits had direct applicability to neurology and sterilization policy. As the war went on animals were in short supply, but persons deemed racial subhumans—such as Jews and Roma, and especially children—were unscrupulously exploited for human experiments. Nazi social policy can be seen in eugenic terms, but there were contested areas, as when Lenz clashed with Himmler over the biological value of illegitimate children. Himmler supported the *Lebensborn* homes—an SS organization that provided maternity homes for unmarried mothers, with children forcibly seized from the occupied East to Germanize them. (The idea promoted in some quarters that the *Lebensborn* homes were human stud farms where SS officers could have polygamous relationships is a myth.)

The Munich psychiatrist Ernst Rüdin had campaigned for a sterilization law from the early 1900s. He played a key role in drafting the sterilization law that came into force in July 1933. It was profoundly influenced by psychiatric genetics. Sterilization was required for nine supposedly inherited diseases: hereditary feeble-mindedness, schizophrenia, manic depression, hereditary epilepsy, Huntington's chorea, hereditary

blindness and deafness, hereditary malformations, and severe alcoholism. Although according to the text of the law race was not in itself grounds for sterilization, in practice some of the sterilization courts proceeded harshly against Jews. Unlike euthanasia, the first phase of sterilizations were carried out under an enacted law (passed in July 1933), even though the sterilization courts did not always respect legal niceties in proceedings against Jews. In 1937 the Nazi Physicians League's leaders agitated in a covert and demonstrably illegal manner for vindictively sterilizing the half-caste Rhineland children (whose fathers were black French occupation troops following World War I). This action was supported by the veteran racial anthropologist Eugen Fischer, who became involved in racial propaganda for Rosenberg's Ostministerium and adjudicated on cases of racial ancestry. After 1945, Fischer escaped any war crimes prosecutions.

The implementation of sterilization was different in different regional contexts. In all there were approximately 450,000 victims of sterilization, excluding victims in annexed Austria. Additionally, children of mixed racial origins were targeted for sterilization. X-ray sterilization was used on a large-scale but still experimental basis in the concentration camps between 1941 and 1945, with thousands of victims.

Public health measures were placed on eugenic lines. Rüdin conducted widespread surveys on records of psychiatric institutions, criminality, and death registers to identify the hereditarily sick. The Rockefeller Foundation had committed itself to support racial surveys in Germany from 1930 to 1935, and German eugenicists established strong links with U.S. advocates of immigration controls and sterilization. Among the victims of the German sterilization campaign were an estimated 5,000 deaths from complications. Some categories of 'undesirables', such as the mixed-race Rhineland children, were illegally sterilized. X-ray sterilization was brutally applied to many thousands of racial victims during the war. The Nazis also incarcerated an estimated 15,000 homosexuals, and some 5,000 were killed. At least 10,000 "asocials" were murdered, although exactly how many is still not known. The number of Roma killed by the Nazis is thought to amount to 250,000.

Eugenicists saw the Nazi takeover as an opportunity to expand their power, and they felt angry when challenged by Nazi Party activists. Some racial hygienists, such as Eugen Fischer and Otmar von Verschuer, maintained their position by becoming increasingly compliant toward the Nazi Party apparatus. Party activists like Reich Medical Fuehrer Gerhard Wagner claimed that

the sterilization law was insufficiently racial, and pressure built up for killing the eugenically undesirable. Rüdin felt that he was brushed aside by the racial experts of the SS. The SS found support at certain universities, such as Jena and Strasbourg. The SS-Ahnenerbe combined studies of human prehistory with gruesome human experiments and exerted strong influence on universities. Medical researchers in Munich had links to the concentration camp in Dachau, in Berlin to Ravensbrück and Sachsenhausen, in Jena to Buchenwald, and in Hamburg to Neuengamme. Within the SS, divergent medical factions supporting "geomedicine" as opposed to racial anthropology clashed. Anthropologists such as Otto Reche and Heberer combined academic positions with being SS officers. Despite SS incursions into the universities and its influence in the new "Reich" universities of Strasburg and Posen, its power over academic life was never complete. Many nonparty and non-SS academics pursued racial research agendas, so that resisting the SS did not necessarily mean opposition to racial policy.

Nazi health propaganda encouraged people of good eugenic breeding stock to have at least three children. The idea was that health offices would register the birth of the unfit. Marriage certificates involved tests to make sure that no one who had a sexually transmitted disease or who was carrying a genetic disease, was allowed to marry. The Reich Health Office imposed severe measures against the Roma. Robert Ritter directed measures of registration and psychological evaluation of Roma. He was supported in this work by psychologists and racial anthropologists. Their observations were followed by incarceration of Roma in concentration camps, notably Auschwitz, where Mengele continued observations on Roma families.

Lenz supported the establishment of a racial office to monitor the health of the SS. Between 1933 and 1945, Lenz was director of the Institute for Racial Hygiene at the University of Berlin and departmental director at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute for Anthropology. The screening of SS marriage applications arose from the concerns of the Reich Peasant Fuehrer Walther Darré to have a hereditarily healthy population settled in the rural East. Poppendick's work as the senior physician in the office between 1941 and the autumn of 1944 was oriented to the hereditary health of the SS and of their intended marriage partners, and the encouragement of "child-rich" families. There were SS villages near to Berlin, and he claimed that his medical work ran parallel to genealogical and statistical studies. The SS schemes were paralleled by measures for the Romanian Iron Guard and Hungarian Arrow Cross.

Nazi race experts planned racial transfers to areas in Eastern Europe once they had been cleared of racial undesirables. This involved a vast program of screening and assessing groups for their racial value. In Poland and what had been Czechoslovakia, the *Volksdeutsche* (those of Germanic racial stock) were identified and given privileges. Some ethnic Germans were to be repatriated to rejuvenate their German roots, while other groups, such as those from the South Tyrol, were to be sent to populate new homesteads in the East. The SS envisaged a belt of warrior peasants who would defend the nation against Bolshevism. After the war there were only limited dismissals and arrests of the eugenicists. Mengele escaped Germany; other eugenicists, such as Lenz and Nachtsheim, were rapidly reappointed, and Verschuer endured only a few years' break in his career. Efforts to prosecute the perpetrators of sterilization failed. The Nuremberg Trials made a serious effort to confront the issues of eugenics and genocide—for example, the selection of the mentally ill for killing in the euthanasia centers and X-ray sterilization. There were numerous acquittals by conservative judges. Eugenics became the family policy of the Federal Republic. Compensation for victims of sterilization was resisted by the Federal Republic, and eventually only meager amounts were paid out when it was proved that sterilization was part of Nazi race policies. Compensation has remained limited for medical victims of National Socialism, and accurate figures on the number of victims of sterilization, euthanasia, and human experiments have yet to be attained.

There were noted eugenic movements in Hungary, Romania, and Vichy France. As in Germany, these initiatives drew on prior traditions of thought on race and heredity, and on positive eugenic ideas of “puericulture.” The stress was on measures to raise the birth rate, and the idealization of motherhood as a racial duty. The aim (as in Germany) was to revive primal racial vigor and to rejuvenate society. But the means were more moderate, and sterilization was limited to Nazi Germany, some Swiss cantons, and Scandinavia. The most ambitious scheme was an institute for the study of man under the physiologist Alexis Carrel in France under German occupation. The eugenic input into French demography remains controversial.

Paul Weindling

See Also: AHNENERBE; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS, THE; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; AUSCHWITZ; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BOLSHEVISM; CARREL, ALEXIS; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EUTHANASIA; FAMILY, THE; FRANCE; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; GÜN-

TER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL; HEALTH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; IMMIGRATION; IRON GUARD, THE; MEDICINE; MENGELE, JOSEF; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; POLAND; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; RURALISM; SCIENCE; SEXUALITY; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SS, THE; UNIVERSITIES; *UNTERMENSCHEN*; VICHY; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR II

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EUGENICS (Italy)

The Italian Fascists' eugenics program was, by contrast to Nazi Germany, limited and moderate. Their eugenic efforts concentrated on improving racial health and on increasing the population, rather than removing from the gene pool any individuals or groups considered inferior. Founded in 1913, the Italian Committee for the Study of Eugenics generally opposed the “negative” measures suggested by its foreign counterparts. Some Italian eugenicists supported such measures but did not believe that they could be achieved in Italy, because of the Catholic Church's influence and the population's general conservatism. Most eugenicists supported the new Fascist regime and were rewarded with political or academic appointments. For example, Corrado Gini became head of ISTAT, the central statistics institute, and played an important role in leading the demographic campaign.

Despite their concerns about hereditary disease and infirmity, the Fascists took no active steps to prevent so-called undesirables from marrying and reproducing. There were two key reasons for this. Firstly, the Vatican was implacably opposed to eugenics. Pope Pius XI's 1930 encyclical *Casti Connubii* utterly condemned contraception, abortion, forcible sterilization, and any state interference in an individual's freedom to marry and have children. Secondly, the demographic campaign—Mussolini's “battle for births”—very much emphasized quantity over quality. The Fascist desire for

empire and expansion required a much larger population base, and the regime did not wish to limit the breeding stock. The Italian Fascists were much less fixated than were the Nazis on creating perfect racial specimens. Nevertheless, Fascist propaganda contained an ongoing theme of racial hygiene. The term *bonifica* (“reclamation”) was used to signify the need to cleanse or purify the population. Signs of decay and degeneration identified in the national body included individualistic behavior such as family planning, and “social diseases” such as syphilis, tuberculosis, and alcoholism.

Social medicine journals of the Fascist period contain numerous articles regarding eugenics. Many of the authors advocated the introduction of a compulsory premarital medical examination. Despite this lobbying, such a measure was not implemented. By 1941, the sterilization of those with hereditary mental or physical conditions was being discussed in the regime’s journal *La Difesa della Razza*. However, it never became government policy.

Meredith Carew

See Also: CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; DEGENERACY; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EUTHANASIA; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HEALTH; ITALY; MEDICINE; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PIUS XI, POPE; PSYCHOLOGY; RACISM; SEXUALITY; SOCIAL DARWINISM; WOMEN

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EUGENICS (U.S.A.)

More than twenty U.S. states had enacted forced sterilization and segregation laws together with marriage restrictions before World War II, with California the heartland of the movement. The Carnegie Institution, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Harriman railroad fortune financed eugenics research in universities including Stanford, Yale, Harvard, and Princeton, where scientists followed race theory and sought data to prove it. Stanford president David Starr Jordan claimed in his 1902 work *Blood of a Nation* that human qualities and

talents are passed down through the blood. The Rockefeller Foundation helped found the German eugenics program, including the one that Mengele worked on before going to Auschwitz.

The leaders of the eugenics movement believed that only blonde, blue-eyed Nordic types were worthy of procreating, while those deemed weak and inferior should have their reproductive capacity destroyed. In a 1911 report sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation a number of practical means were proposed for “cutting off the defective germplasm in the human population,” including euthanasia. An applied eugenics textbook published in 1918 recommended the execution of those deemed racially unfit in a “lethal chamber,” or gas chamber. Various institutions for the insane practiced euthanasia techniques on their inmates. California sterilized nearly 10,000 individuals in the first ten years after introducing eugenics legislation.

In an infamous Supreme Court decision of 1927, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes declared in favor of preventing “those who are manifestly unfit from continuing their kind.” Holmes’s statement was quoted by Nuremberg Trial defendants in their defense. California eugenicists published booklets idealizing sterilization and circulated them to German officials and scientists. Carnegie Institution eugenic scientists had close links with Nazi eugenicists, and Hitler is known to have studied U.S. eugenics laws; in a letter to U.S. prophet of eugenics Madison Grant, he called Grant’s book *The Passing of the Great Race* his “bible.” In 1934, California eugenics leader C. M. Goethe visited Germany, where sterilizations had risen to more than 5,000 each month. He congratulated a U.S. colleague that his work had played a major part in shaping the opinions of those promoting the program. “Everywhere I sensed that their opinions have been tremendously stimulated by American thought.”

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSCHWITZ; BLOOD; DEGENERACY; EUTHANASIA; HITLER, ADOLF; MEDICINE; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; MENGELE, JOSEF; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945)

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EUROFASCISM

A postwar revisionist, fascist intellectual movement that emphasizes the vital importance of a pan-European alternative to fascism's discredited ultranationalist agenda. Although only informally structured as a branch of fascist ideology, Eurofascism established its position in the immediate postwar period, drawing together existing Europeanists and forming the basis for future ideological development within the radical right. The roots of this movement can, however, be traced to the thought of fascist Europeanists and internationalists in the interwar period. Although overwhelmed by the fervor of fascist ultranationalism at this time, the work of fascist intellectuals such as Julius Evola and Pierre Drieu la Rochelle provided a basis for later development toward Europeanism. In the immediate postwar period, fascists seeking an alternative to the disastrous divisiveness of ultranationalism returned to the idea of Europe—a Europe united to defend a common culture and civilization.

In essence, the themes of conspiracy, crisis, and cultural decadence so prevalent in Eurofascist ideology are derived directly from orthodox interwar fascism. Eurofascism is, however, distinct in its attempt to conceive a truly postnational form of European government. At an international fascist conference held in Malmö, Sweden, in 1951, the newly formed European Social Movement (ESM) proposed a radical agenda for pan-European organization, including supranational control of the economy and armed forces by a European fascist government. Eurofascist ideologues were divided, though, over the importance of the racial question in their reformulated program. For many, the vital concern was with maintaining European political, economic, and cultural integrity, rather than insisting upon a (spurious) definition of biological community. Others, however, adhered more closely to the ideological tradition of Nazism, which led to an almost immediate split within the ESM and the formation of the neo-Nazi *Nouvel Ordre Européen* (New European Order).

The increased acceptance and even popularity of Europeanist ideas within postwar fascist circles was very much a reflection of the perceived threat to European integrity posed by U.S. liberal materialism and Soviet communism. Following U.S. involvement in Europe through the implementation of the Marshall Plan and the effective Soviet annexation of parts of Eastern Europe, revisionist fascists keenly felt that the continent was in urgent need of self-protection. A highly defensive and protectionist geopolitical outlook is thus a fundamental feature of Eurofascist ideology. The shift toward postnational thinking by fascists, and the influential contributions of figures such as Evola and Mosley, closely mirrored the development of liberal Europeanism in the early 1950s, both movements having responded to the same geopolitical and economic stimuli. Eurofascism, though, remained deeply illiberal and antidemocratic in its outlook and supranational aspirations.

Stephen Goward

See Also: INTRODUCTION; BOLSHEVISM; CIVILIZATION; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; INTERNATIONAL FASCIST CONGRESSES, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE

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EUROPE

The appearance of a broader, European concept of community in fascist thought went hand in hand with the strategic alliance of fascist and right-wing authoritarian states throughout the 1930s. Over the course of a decade, Italy was joined by Germany, Austria, Spain, and Portugal in an increasingly significant, if loose, ideological community. The involvement of fighters from Germany and Italy alongside the rebels in the Spanish Civil War confirmed a form of international solidarity between European fascist and right-wing authoritarian

states, much as it did for international volunteers from the Left. In the interwar period, though, real fascist Europeanism (that is, truly attempting to detach itself from a national perspective) was relatively rare; the most notable exceptions were found in the work of the Europeanist fascist Pierre Drieu La Rochelle and the Italian thinker Julius Evola. Of those, the latter has been particularly influential in the development of a neofascist consensus on Europe. What sets these figures apart is that they discussed distinctly postnational forms of a fascist Europe; in Drieu's case it was a passionate plea for a fascist European alternative to the internationalism offered by liberalism and communism.

By contrast, most other discussions of Europe had a definitely national edge. During the interwar period, and more intensively so during the period of occupation, the concept of Europe became attached to a number of pan-regional projects. Each of these had a distinct view of some form of fascist Europe; while the views often overlapped, they tended to reflect expressly national origins. These pan-regional projects frequently referred in some way to the term *Europe*, but without any real commitment to a postnational system of European government. Nazi Germany, as the most powerful fascist nation in the late 1930s and throughout the early years of World War II, dominated with its vision of a Greater Germanic Empire. In turn, as they conquered, Nazi intellectuals began to talk more and more in terms of Europe's, as well as Germany's, future. Indeed, such was the strength of Nazi rhetoric that the salvation of Europe, led by a German vanguard, became the duty of all true Europeans. This had, of course, much to do with Germany's aims to stabilize its occupation and reduce local opposition. Whatever the true purpose, though, the result of the period of occupation was the intensification of visions of a Nazi Europe, which in turn attracted new adherents in the occupied territories. Local collaborators often sought to present their national defeat as part of a European Nazi liberation, increasingly identifying their own nation within the framework of a New European Order. That was particularly true of the Dutch Nazi Mussert and the Belgian Rexist leader Degrelle. However, the Nazi leadership was often not very interested in cooperating with these local nationalist leaders in the occupied territories.

Several senior figures within the Nazi hierarchy became involved in formulating policies for the Reich on Europe. Rosenberg, von Ribbentrop, Daitz, Goebbels, and Himmler wrote and spoke at length on the subject of a reconstituted Europe, with Germany as its firmly guiding power. Daitz described in detail the economic

reorganization of Europe in terms not unfamiliar to a protectionist interpretation of the modern European Union. Von Ribbentrop presented a diplomatic approach to Europe's future, in the evolving tradition of European international relations. Rosenberg's vision of Europe was described much more clearly in racial terms, drawing on a mythical construct of Aryanism. Himmler was similarly obsessed with European blood-community and saw the ranks of the SS and Waffen-SS as a higher caste of Nordic Europeans. Nazi visions of a united Europe spawned their own imitations. In Norway, Quisling imagined a pan-Nordic alliance of fascist states. In Hungary, Szálasi was inspired by German Nazism to describe a Magyar empire of the East. What is significant in each of these pro-Nazi visions is that the concept of Europe is different. While each pan-regionalist project made reference to Europe, there was much variation as to its substantive content and effective administration.

The Italian perspective on Europe at this time was problematic, not least because it offered a credible alternative to progressive "Germanization." Nazi discussions on Europe were divided over the position of Latin peoples: while Italy was an important ally, its people did not fit the superficial Aryan profile offered by Nazi ideologues. However, as self-professed heirs to the imperial legacy of Rome, Mussolini's Fascists felt that they could claim legitimacy for themselves as the originators of a European transformation. As fascism took hold and developed in Germany and elsewhere, Mussolini presented this as confirmation that Italy was leading a European revolution in the civilizing tradition of imperial Rome. At Montreux in 1934, Mussolini organized a conference to discuss the creation of a firmly international association of fascist states. Hitler, however, refused to be drawn into any such commitment.

The discussion of Europe in fascist ideology prior to 1945 was a mixture of sincerity and opportunism. Fundamentally, fascism was a deeply nationalist ideology, so that all thinking on an international level included important provisos. The forms of European thinking that did emerge during the late 1930s and early 1940s, apart from certain notable exceptions, were implicitly imperialistic, no matter how elaborately that was disguised by the rhetoric of a European historical community. When the war was over and fascism defeated, it became clear that real internationalism had been an illusion. Moreover, it was increasingly concluded by many regrouping ideologues and activists that fascism's principal failure had been its inability to create a solid postnational system on the continent. It was this process of evaluation that formed the basis for new con-

ceptual discussions of Europe and the reorientation of significant numbers of fascists away from the cult of the nation and toward a pan-European alternative. The historical context of neofascist Europeanism was significantly affected by geopolitical changes occurring within the first decade or so following the war. With the shift in Soviet influence westward to include much of Eastern Europe and the rapid escalation of Cold War tensions, Europe became ever more tightly caught between what was perceived as the threatening grip of the United States and that of the Soviet Union. At the same time, liberal European governments were engaged in creating a postnational structure that would evolve to become the modern European Union. At this stage many Europeanists, both fascist and liberal, concluded that the era of the nation-state was ending, and that a collective pan-European form of government was urgently required. This was the rationale of the architects of the liberal European project: Monnet, Schumann, and Spinelli. It was also the conclusion that led the disparate ranks of some sixteen national fascist movements to form the European Social Movement at Malmö in 1951, with a radically postnational agenda. The foundation of the ESM signified a shift in fascist ideology, reflecting the harsh experience of defeat and the realization that the geopolitical environment was dramatically altered.

By no means all surviving fascists and subsequent neofascists subscribed to the inter- or supranational dimension, but a significant number did, forming the basis for new types of radical-right thinking. Under the influence of Evola in particular, New Right and Eurofascist ideologues began to reconstruct their vision of the salvation of Europe from an explicitly postnational position. These new variations on the theme of fascist Europeanism are, in a sense, disembodied—that is, they are effectively contained within a metapolitical discussion, detached from any significant proactive structure. That is a consequence of the collapse of fascism as a strategic force and the need for revisionist forms of radical-right ideology to discover fresh intellectual territory, untainted by the horrific excesses of Nazi imperialism. The central theme of postwar radical-right Europeanism is resistance to cultural decay, and specifically to the incursion of the materialist ideologies of U.S. liberal-capitalism and (previously) Soviet communism (echoing the theme explored in Oswald Spengler's seminal 1920s text *The Decline of the West*). Movements such as GRECE, influenced by the French intellectual Alain de Benoist, or the *Scorpion* publication, edited by Michael Walker, provide a platform for this type of radical cultural politics.

Although the conditions that resulted in the emergence of postwar radical-right Europeanism are in many ways comparable to those that brought about the foundation of the liberal European Communities in the 1950s, the ideological thrust in each case is markedly different. One of the principal criticisms of the modern European Union made by ideologues of the Europeanist radical Right is that it is based upon material considerations, lacking a deeper spiritual or cultural attachment to the European “homeland” (what Heidegger described as a “rootedness” in historical space). The revised radical-right vision of a united Europe has tended to emphasize the interconnectedness and solidarity of European cultural nations, rather than the strategic connectivity of conventional nation-states. This emphasis brings to the fore ancient cultural identities, often neglected or suppressed within broader liberal national identities based upon civic constitutionalism (for example, the Basques, Bretons, Catalans, Welsh, and so forth). Ideologues of the Europeanist radical Right reject the perceived homogeneity of civic internationalism, and by extension the liberal supranationalism of the European Union, in defense of cultural diversity. One of the more perverse features of this ideological position has been the use made by illiberal Europeanist ideologues of the discourse of minority rights. Thus an implicitly chauvinistic set of ideas has claimed the language of cultural tolerance and diversity, defending the “Europe of a Hundred Flags” against the faceless uniformity of Western liberal-materialism.

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See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; BELGIUM; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; COLD WAR, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEGRELLE, LEON; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; EUROFASCISM; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; EXPANSIONISM; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GRECE; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HUNGARY; IMPERIALISM; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; INTERNATIONAL FASCIST CONGRESSES, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; NEW EUROPEAN ORDER, THE; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NORWAY; PANGERMANISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; QUISLING, VIDKUN; RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON; ROOTLESSNESS; ROME; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; SS, THE; SZÁLASI, FERENC; WAFFEN SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE

Born around the time of the May 1968 wave of political unrest sweeping industrialized countries, the European New Right (ENR), or Nouvelle Droite (ND), is composed of clusters of think tanks, cultural institutes, and journals formed initially in France and later throughout Europe. Its intellectuals are mainly editors, writers, liberal professionals, academics, and professors of various disciplines, such as politics, history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, sociobiology, literature, cinema, and art. Although with roots in the ultranationalist and neofascist political milieu, ENR intellectuals now claim to be one of the few remaining cultural or political forces (along with the Greens) that challenges liberal democracy and triumphalist global capitalism. Its contemporary theoreticians are heavily influenced by the ideals of the New Left and emulate the example of the 1968 revolutionaries who claimed that they would create a more humane and spiritualized postliberal social order. ENR intellectuals are currently scattered throughout most Western and numerous Central and East European nations. Furthermore, ENR intellectuals could even be found attempting to spread their ideas and cultural influence in the post-communist, post-Cold War confusion and chaos of Russia in the 1990s.

The ENR is a cultural and political “school of thought.” Contemporary ENR intellectuals such as Alain de Benoist and Charles Champetier of France, Michael Walker of England, Marco Tarchi of Italy, Pierre Krebs of Germany, and Robert Steuckers of Belgium generally share a long-term, right-wing metapolitical strategy akin to that of the Italian Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci. This right-wing Gramscianism is designed to awaken certain individuals—namely, intellectual, political, and economic elites—to new ways of seeing and being, to change hearts and minds,

and to gain support for alternative, counterhegemonic conceptions of the world. For Gramsci, like the ENR, the precondition for all successful revolutions in history has first been a revolt against both the dominant spirit and cultural apparatus of the age. This nonviolent, metapolitical stance is directed primarily at societal elites and intellectuals, rather than the masses, and has been a practical and tactical choice conditioned by the negative historical associations of the Right in the public mind since World War II—particularly the legacies of Italian Fascism and Nazism. In the case of the French New Right, the choice of focusing on the cultural, metapolitical realm was also influenced by the bitter debacle of the revolutionary Right’s ill-fated attempt to maintain *Algérie française* and the eventual decolonization of Algeria, which began in 1962. The ENR’s metapolitical orientation also differentiated it from ultranationalist political parties and violent, extra-parliamentary right-wing movements.

The ENR’s intense valorization of both anti-egalitarianism and the “right to difference” of all local cultures and regions around the globe (what Martin Lee has dubbed “cultural ethnopluralism”), is a set of themes frequently adverted to in ENR journals, books, articles, and conferences. Both anti-egalitarianism and the “right to difference” are seen by ENR thinkers as almost natural, God-given absolutes. For the ENR, the “right to difference” of individuals and communities must constantly be nourished and promoted in order to allow all world cultures to maintain their uniqueness and distinctiveness against what is viewed as the gray, drab, lifeless, and leveling materialism and egalitarianism of liberal and socialist doctrines. The latter two ideologies, seen as rooted in Judeo-Christian biblical monotheism, are viewed as “totalitarian” and “intolerant.” For the ENR, liberalism and socialism are full of missionarylike zeal because they allegedly originate from a culturally insensitive and universalistic belief in one God that respects neither Europe’s polytheistic, pagan past nor the differing values and cultural standards of other peoples around the world. In the postcommunist Europe of the 1990s, liberalism and the United States, viewed as the liberal nation of the world par excellence, have become the ENR’s dominant enemies. The ENR argues that both the United States and liberal ideology seek to accelerate an insidious, hypermaterialist, and “soft totalitarian” capitalist worldview and ignore the richness of the world’s cultural diversity and organic principles of community and solidarity. The ENR insists that the liberal capitalist worldview is egoistic and that it essentially views the entire planet as one large, vulgar supermarket in which all cultures and na-

tions fall under the homogenizing prey of the profit principle and the spell of ethnocentric, cultural Westernization.

The ENR is centered around its intellectual mentor, Alain de Benoist of France. De Benoist was one of the founders of Groupement de recherche et d'étude pour la civilisation européenne (GRECE; Group for Research and Studies on European Civilization). GRECE was founded in 1968 and is the leading Nouvelle Droite cultural institute and publishing house in continental Europe. If his 1978 prize from l'Académie française is an indication, de Benoist is undoubtedly the most sophisticated and lucid of the ENR intellectuals. A major figure who helped to boost de Benoist's status in France in its heyday in the late 1970s was the founder of the French daily *Le Figaro*, Louis Pauwels. Pauwels coined the term *New Right* in 1977, near the height of the ENR's mass media exposure in France. Pauwels sought to distinguish between Old and New Right, and to rid the Right of its "irrational" anti-Semitism. The ENR again came to public prominence in France in 1993, after the Left sought to resurrect the notion that the ENR was a type of sinister new fascism pretending to be a left-wing movement.

Undoubtedly, ENR intellectuals have influenced the style and discourse of extreme-right-wing and neofascist political parties, such as France's Front National, the German Republikaner, and the Italian Movimento Sociale Italiano-Alleanze Nazionali (MSI-AN), although many of its principal theorists have distanced themselves from what they view as the "vulgar," populist, extreme-right and neofascist political groupings. In the early 1980s, a number of prominent ENR theorists, including the former GRECE secretary-general Pierre Vial, joined Jean-Marie Le Pen's anti-immigrant National Front. Despite internal divisions between the ENR and extreme-right-wing political parties, most contemporary extreme-right-wing political or neofascist political parties have mirrored the ENR's metapolitical orientation, or focus on the cultural terrain of political contestation. The Right, the ENR believed, had to outflank the Left on the cultural terrain in order to gain political respectability and success. Like the ENR, the political parties on the far Right also deny any association with the extreme Right or fascist labels, but instead focus on the so-called novelty of the New Right. In addition, like ENR thinkers, the extreme-right and neofascist political groupings attempt to distance themselves from overt forms of anti-Semitism and affinity for the symbolism of the discredited fascist and Nazi past. Finally, the ENR's formulation of the ambiguous notion of the cultural

"right to difference" has been picked up by extreme-right and neofascist political parties in order to legitimize their ultranationalist, chauvinist, and anti-immigrant stances.

While ENR thinkers themselves have vehemently denied the association and label of fascism, they simultaneously continue to pay homage to a pantheon of "conservative revolutionary" authors such as Oswald Spengler and Ernst Jünger, as well as other writers, including revolutionary leftists and syndicalists, who provided inspiration for Italian Fascism or German Nazism. These include Vilfredo Pareto, Julius Evola, Georges Sorel, Gustave Le Bon, and Lenin. Many major contemporary ENR intellectuals, particularly Alain de Benoist, Michael Walker, and Marco Tarchi, began their careers as figures connected with right-wing extremism or neofascism. In France, de Benoist was involved in extreme nationalist and pan-European revolutionary-right student politics in the 1960s; Michael Walker was formerly a (British) National Front organizer for central London; and Marco Tarchi became disillusioned with the Italian neofascist political party named the MSI (the Italian Social Movement; renamed the Alleanza Nazionale, or National Alliance).

Aware of the Right's historical lessons from the experiences of fascism and decolonization, these ENR thinkers have attempted gradually to rehabilitate the cultural and political legacies of the non-Nazi revolutionary Right. In the mid-1970s and again in the early 1990s, the ENR gained some support among the European intelligentsia. A number of cultural and political trends tended to give ENR intellectuals more public exposure and credibility. In the first place, the star of the Left rose so high after World War II because Fascism and Nazism were thoroughly discredited and associated with the Right. However, the Left's Stalinistic excesses in Eastern Europe and the far Left's perceived intellectual and cultural hegemony and dogmatism in continental Europe (for example, the slavishly pro-Soviet, Stalinist historical record of the French Communist Party and many prominent European intellectuals) made the cultural and political revival of the Right almost inevitable. Second, the crumbling of the Communist states in Eastern Europe after 1989 left an ideological vacuum that ENR intellectuals could tap into. Finally, unlike the Anglo-American world, continental Europe has deep ideological and historical affinities for a particular brand of antiliberal, anticapitalist Right. The ENR is seriously indebted to that revolutionary right-wing intellectual tradition, whether it is the writings of the nineteenth-century French

counter-revolutionary Joseph de Maistre, the German jurist Carl Schmitt, or the “Marcuse” of the Italian postwar radical Right, Julius Evola.

In spite of new opportunities presented by the changing political landscape, there has been a persistent trend to marginalize ENR intellectuals in public life, especially in France. The prevailing journalistic view has been that ENR intellectuals were rehashing pernicious fascist and Nazi ideas from the past. Furthermore, the ENR’s own postmodern denunciation of many intellectual and political cliques and fads of the age made the cultural and intellectual elite very uncomfortable. Its appropriation of quasi-leftist ideas and anti-Western, anti-Christian pagan orientation tended to threaten liberal and socialist cultural and political elites, the ultranationalist Catholic Right, and the neoliberal Right. However, the ENR’s ideological synthesis of revolutionary right-wing and New Left ideas and traditions gave the ENR a sense of constant intellectual vigor and energy that could not be fully ignored by even its harshest critics.

ENR thinkers denied the “fascist” label applied to them by their opponents and flaunted an aura of intellectual, cultural, and political tolerance based on a supposedly eclectic, heterogeneous body of thought without a common platform or dogmatic interpretation of the world. ENR political thought has been influenced by radically different sources: from the “conservative revolution” to ecologism, from the New Left to federalism, and from paganism and feminism to scientism. These diverse influences and their “novel” positions—such as feminism, paganism, federalism, pro-Third World solidarity, anti-imperialism, antitotalitarianism, antiracism, and the valorization of “difference”—have been the product of several facelifts between the late 1960s and 1990s. The ENR’s “open” attitude toward issues once dominated by the Left and its use of authors concerned with deep existential and spiritual questions—including Friedrich Nietzsche, Julius Evola, Arthur Koestler, and J. R. R. Tolkien—even appealed to the subjective aspirations of a particular segment of European youth in the early 1980s and 1990s. In the world of today many of the ENR’s primary concerns now reflect those of the New Left, born in the wake of the U.S. anti-Vietnam War movement in the 1960s. This ENR intellectual overhaul and opening to the Left has led the most reputable scholar of the ENR phenomenon, Pierre-André Taguieff, to suggest that the French *Nouvelle Droite* journal *Krisis* now falls outside the orbit of right-wing extremism or neofascist taxonomic categories. In response to Taguieff, most experts on the subject suggest

that even *Krisis*, the ENR’s most avowedly leftist journal, is itself a mixture of revolutionary Right and New Left influences and themes. In reality, the entire ENR worldview is an ideological synthesis of the revolutionary Right and New Left positions.

The ENR’s harshest critics argue that its esoteric, aristocratic elitism and violent revolt against Enlightenment-driven reason and progress, positivism, materialism, capitalism, communism, egalitarianism, universalism, and liberal parliamentarism were all menacingly echoed in this century by many fascist ideologues. These critics also point out that the ENR’s attempt to transcend categories like left and right was also common to European fascist theoreticians of the past, whether George Valois in France, Giovanni Gentile in Italy, or Primo De Rivera in Spain. In the new millennium, ENR theorists still have cultural ties to the right-wing conservative revolutionary heritage of the past, as well as to a number of left-wing, syncretic, and postmodern influences, especially the dominant influence of the New Left. In ENR journals of the 1990s, the revolutionary-right themes of the past—namely, the aristocratic conception of life, the military ethic of honor and courage, the “internal empire of the spirit,” the search for primordial common cultural origins, and the powerful attachment to myths—mingle in uneasy coexistence with more recent New Left, federalist, ecological, and democratizing impulses. The ENR, then, is a right-wing movement that would not have been possible without a post-World War II reflection about the nature of historical fascism and the revolutionary Right, on the one hand, and the events of May 1968, the phenomenon of the New Left, and the influence of the Left in general, on the other.

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See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; CAPITALISM; CHRISTIANITY; COLD WAR, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; ECOLOGY; EGALITARIANISM; *EHRE* (HONOR); ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUROPE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEMINISM; FRANCE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GLOBALIZATION; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; GRECE; IMPERIALISM; JÜNGER, ERNST; LE BON, GUSTAVE; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MATERIALISM; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONAL FRONT, THE (UK); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PARETO, VILFREDO; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSITIVISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; PROGRESS; REVOLUTION; RUSSIA; SCHMITT, CARL; SOCIALISM; SOREL, GEORGES; SPAIN; SPENGLER, OSWALD; SYNDICALISM; THIRD WAY, THE; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; TRADITIONALISM; VALOIS, GEORGES; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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EUROPEANIST FASCISM/ RADICAL RIGHT, THE

An ideological current or variant of mainstream postwar fascist nationalism, seeking a form of cultural or racial community at a pan-European level. Europeanist fascists, perceiving threats to their common civilization (particularly in the form of U.S. liberal capitalism and, previously, Soviet communism, have sought to present fascist internationalism as an ideological alternative, and a fascistized European federation as a bulwark against the decadence of the West. The sense of impending cultural and political crisis across Europe in the early twentieth century spawned both nationalist visions of popular rebirth and more far-reaching, though less influential, pan-continental utopias. Explicitly Europeanist, postnational thought was relatively uncommon during the interwar period—unsurprisingly, given the intensity of nationalist rhetoric in the 1930s. Notable examples are found in the work of Pierre Drieu La Rochelle and Julius Evola, the latter having exerted a strong intellectual influence over the development of postwar Eurofascism and the New Right.

The real growth of fascist and radical-right Europeanism has occurred in the postwar period. Following what was regarded by many as the failure of national fascism during and after the war, alternative guises were sought for a cultural radicalism that would defend Europe against looming threats. At this time both Evola and the British fascist Mosley actively supported some form of fascist supranationalism. In the early 1950s, Europeanist Fascist and Nazi movements, such as the European Social Movement and the Nouvel Ordre Eu-

ropéen (1951), provided the revised radical right with a new orientation. This reflected a will toward international cooperation between neofascists and neo-Nazis echoed by the French fascist Maurice Bardèche in the early 1960s. Continuing and extending the development of postnational thinking on the radical Right, the Groupe de Recherche et d'Études pour la Civilisation Européenne (GRECE) was formed in 1968. The group brings together ideologues of Europeanist cultural radicalism and displays the intellectual influence of Evola and Heidegger. Thinkers from this New Right background have furthered their European ideas, in particular to adapt to the post-Cold War, post-immigration environment. New Right ideology offers itself as a defense against the "rootless" cosmopolitanism of multicultural Europe, and as a champion of indigenous European identities and ethnic groups. Ideologues such as Alain de Benoist use a form of ironic cultural differentiation as a basis for rejecting the "Other" from European society, and for constructing a mythic understanding of the unity of the indigenous European community.

Stephen Goward

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; BARDÈCHE, MAURICE; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; BOLSHEVISM; COLD WAR, THE; COMMUNITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; EUROFASCISM; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; GRECE; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; IMMIGRATION; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MULTICULTURALISM; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROOTLESSNESS; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM

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EUTHANASIA

Nazism transformed the meaning of *euthanasia*, which originally meant assisting a terminally ill individual with a painless death. But even before Nazism came to power, through the writings of authors like jurist Karl Binding and psychiatrist Alfred Hoche in the 1920s,

the term had begun to be applied to the proposed killing of “lives without value.” Alexis Carrel, the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research scion who returned to France to build up medical research in Vichy, combined the advocacy of euthanasia of this kind with that of sterilization in his best-selling *l'Homme cet inconnu*, while at the same time condemning democracy. In 1935, Hitler told Gerhard Wagner, the Reich physician, that he would implement euthanasia at the start of the war.

Hitler publicly called for the introduction of a policy of ending lives that were burdensome to society at a Nuremberg rally. Preparations for such killings began in the mid-1930s with surveys of patients held in psychiatric hospitals, and there is evidence of a debate in medical circles around Hitler. Hitler's personal physician, Karl Brandt, cited the petition of parents of a severely disabled child to the Fuehrer, requesting that their severely handicapped newborn baby be killed. This created the impression that, in their implementation of euthanasia, Nazi leaders were responding to a popular wish, and Brandt dated the incident to 1938. The medical historian Udo Benzenhöfer has established that child “K” was named Gerhard Herbert Kretzschmar and was born on 20 February 1939. In July of that year Hitler sent Brandt to visit the child, who was in the “care” of the Leipzig professor of pediatrics Werner Catel. Baby Kretzschmar died later that month. After the outbreak of war in 1939 the Fuehrer wrote that he had entrusted Karl Brandt and the administrator Philippe Bouhler with the implementation of euthanasia, and backdated the decree to the start of the war. Brandt supported the use of carbon monoxide gas chambers (causing a slow and painful death) but otherwise was not actively involved in reaching decisions on individual patients. The numbers killed in the initial phase, code named T-4 (after the administrative office at Tiergartenstrasse 4), came to 95,000. The killings were ordered on the basis of medical records sent to the clandestine panel of adjudicating psychiatrists in Berlin.

In 1941 came condemnation from the Roman Catholic bishop of Münster, Clemens von Galen, and some public opposition, particularly from distressed relatives. This resulted in an official halt to the implementation of the policy. Euthanasia personnel, including physicians and technicians, were transferred to the Aktion Reinhardt, which built and ran the extermination camps of Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. Euthanasia continued unabated in the concentration camps, where prisoners were selected for killing in so-called special children's wards and other clinical locations.

Physicians assisted by nurses killed by starvation, injection, and the administration of deadly drugs. The groups killed included newborn babies, children, the mentally disturbed, and the infirm. Some victims were killed merely for challenging the staff in institutions, although they were in good health, and others were not the so-called ‘incurables’ of Nazi theory. Some physicians killed because of the scientific interest of the “cases.” Identifying those killed shows that networks of referral meant that there was widespread complicity of physicians and nurses in euthanasia. At the same time, other physicians made efforts to keep potential victims out of the euthanasia apparatus. Doctor and author Hellmuth Unger prepared a film script to elicit public sympathy. Unger was a press officer for the Nazi Doctors League and author of a novel promoting euthanasia—*Sendung und Gewissen*. He glorified the medical researcher as empowered to take liberties with life.

Large numbers of patients were killed in Poland and the occupied Soviet Union. The deaths encompassed children's euthanasia between October 1939 and April 1945, with some 5,000 child deaths; the T-4 program of special killing centers between early 1940 and August 1941, when 70,273 adults and juveniles were killed; and the program code named 14-f-13 from April 1941 to 1944, with approximately 50,000 concentration camp prisoners killed. The killings of prisoners of war and forced workers from the East were identified as a distinct phase of euthanasia. The *Aktion Brandt* to clear hospital beds from August 1943 to the end of 1944 coincided with renewed intensification of euthanasia killings, which continued throughout the war.

A high excess wartime mortality has been identified in France, but whether the patient deaths in question came about through hunger and willful neglect and whether mistreatment increased is a matter of controversy. One estimate is of approximately 40,000 French victims. After the war a series of trials were conducted against the perpetrators of euthanasia in Austria and Poland. There were numerous acquittals and a concerted shielding of those responsible. The German Psychiatric Association claimed falsely in the 1950s that its members opposed euthanasia. The case against Karl Gross, a neuroanatomist in Austria who dissected the brains of many child victims of euthanasia in Vienna, was thwarted by his plea of mental incapacity.

Paul Weindling

See Also: AUSTRIA; CARREL, ALEXIS; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EUGENICS; FORCED LABOR; FRANCE; GALEN, CARDINAL CLEMENS AUGUST VON; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; MEDICINE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; POLAND; PSYCHIATRY; VICHY

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EVOLA, JULIUS (1898–1974)

Memorialized at the time of his death by Italian Social Movement leader Giorgio Almirante as "our Marcuse, only better," Evola was a major influence through his writings on Italy's most brutal and revolutionary neo-Fascists in the three decades following the end of World War II. Leaders of such violent neo-Fascist bands as the New Order, National Vanguard, and National Front found in his philosophy a rationale for seeking to topple Italy's "corrupt and bourgeois" democratic system. From an aristocratic Roman background, Evola was a relatively marginal figure during the years of Mussolini's dictatorship. He admired elements in Fascist doctrine but found that in practice it contained too much cheap populist demagoguery for his taste. Instead, Evola expressed admiration for the Romanian Iron Guard, especially its "legionnaire" spirit and *conducator* Corneliu Codreanu, while criticizing Italian Fascism from the Right.

A member of what Gertrude Stein referred to as a "lost generation" of young people who fought in and were deeply affected by World War I, Evola was initially attracted to the avant-garde Dada movement that emerged from that conflict. He composed poetry and recited it in cafes to the accompaniment of music by Bartok, Satie, and Schoenberg. He also painted in the Dadaist manner and displayed his works in galleries in Rome, Milan, Lausanne, and Berlin. However, in 1922, Evola abandoned the avant-garde and gave up poetry and painting for philosophy, a subject that would consume the rest of his life. An admirer of Nietzsche and the writers who came to be identified with the German *Konservative Revolution*, Evola embarked

on a study of Oriental ideas involving magic, mysticism, and the occult. He was taken especially by the ideas of the French Orientalist René Guénon. The chief result of these studies was Evola's major philosophical work, *La Rivolta contra il mondo moderno* (1934). In this profoundly pessimistic volume Evola stressed the decadent nature of the modern world resulting from the replacement of higher spiritual values by crass materialistic ones. Evola linked the rise of the latter to various other modern evils, such as egalitarianism, democracy, liberalism, and socialism. By contrast to these modern ideas and practices, Evola called attention to the pagan civilizations of Greece (Sparta especially) and early Rome, with their celebrations of the virile, manly values of the warrior. Modern decadence, he believed, was an outgrowth of the humanism associated with the Renaissance, the Reformation, and, above all, the French Revolution, which tore down tradition and natural human hierarchies. Communism and capitalism were the twin evils stemming from this replacement of the spiritual by the material.

During the 1930s, Evola became an editor for the Fascist journal *Regime Fascista*, a publication sponsored by Roberto Farinacci, one of the few figures in the Mussolini dictatorship attracted to Nazism. Evola's relationship with *Regime Fascista* lasted until the collapse of the dictatorship itself in 1943. In that period he wrote a number of works, one of which, the *Sintesi di dottrina della razza* (1941), expressed his views about the destructive role of Jews in the Western world. Jews, or "the Jewish spirit," represented virtually everything that Evola had come to despise about modernity: the worship of mammon, money, and commerce. Further, Jews by their nature were compelled to spread these values wherever they resided and, in consequence, accelerate the decline of their hosts. Unsurprisingly then, Evola had much kinder things to say about Hitler than Mussolini. In fact, except for brief periods, Evola spent the last years of the war in Berlin and Vienna (where he was injured during an Allied bombing raid) working for the Nazi regime. It was also during this period that he began to hold up the Waffen-SS as a basis for optimism for those who had come to despair about the modern world. Evola saw this elite Nazi military force as the revival of a pagan warrior elite that drew volunteers from a number of European countries who were willing to sacrifice themselves in behalf of an already lost cause.

Following the war Evola returned to Italy, a country whose liberation by British and U.S. forces he regarded as an unmitigated disaster. The liberation meant, he believed, that Italy would almost surely follow the deca-

dent path of Western liberal development. In fact, the two largest political parties to emerge in the country were the Christian Democrats and the Communists. To most observers the two forces appeared as bitter enemies, but not to Evola. He considered them to be two sides of the same coin. Christian Democrats and Communists represented alternative forms of the same decadent materialism, the former capitalist, the latter collectivist. He supported neither Coca-Cola nor Marx. The one political force in postwar Italy in which Evola saw some hope, at least for a while, was the neo-Fascist Italian Social Movement (MSI). Although he was never willing to join the MSI, he became, in effect, the movement's guru or, better, the oracle for its most radical and violent elements. At first these elements, largely young Fascist veterans of the Italian Social Republic's armed forces, formed a faction of *evoliani* within the MSI. They responded to his writings in the MSI journal *La Rivolta Ideale* and his 1950 pamphlet *Orientamenti*, which stressed the possibility of a new "European man" who would embrace aristocratic values and who could lead the continent away from its subordination to U.S. and Soviet interests.

When in 1956 control of the MSI passed into the hands of conservatives—those interested in participating in an anticommunist alliance with monarchists and right-wing Christian Democrats—most of Evola's followers left the movement and created their own, more explicitly antidemocratic groups. The New Order and the National Vanguard were the most prominent. The former, whose symbol, twin lightning bolts, and motto, "Duty Is Our Honor," were borrowed from the Nazi SS, and the latter, whose leader, Stefano Delle Chiaie, defined his group as possessing the "legionnaire spirit," played central roles in waging campaigns of antileftist violence in Rome, Milan, and other cities throughout the late 1960s and much of the 1970s. In addition, members of these and other neo-Fascist bands were accused of colluding with right-wing elements within Italy's police and national security establishments to covertly carry out a series of terrorist bombings in public places—for example, at the National Agricultural Bank in Piazza Fontana in Milan in December 1969, in the hope that the Italian public would hold the Left responsible and tolerate a coup d'état aimed at repressing it.

In two texts, *Men Standing among the Ruins* (1953) and *To Ride the Tiger* (1961), Evola offered guidance to idealistic young neo-Fascists who hoped to live a higher, more spiritual life and, at the same time, participate in the rebirth of their country. The state, Evola asserted, represented the dominating masculine principle

in human life. Control it and everything else would follow. Conventional party politicians were weak and cowardly, incapable of protecting the nation against communist subversion and the decay brought on by capitalist individualism. An elite of heroes or "differentiated men" was necessary to seize control of the state and do what was necessary. In abstract terms, Evola offered a rationale, many of his admirers believed, for a violent seizure of power in Italy. No such seizure occurred, but even after his death in 1974, Evola's views continued to influence still younger generations of neo-fascists in Italy and, more recently, France and beyond.

Leonard Weinberg

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ALMIRANTE, GIORGIO; AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; EGALITARIANISM; EUROFASCISM; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FARINACCI, ROBERTO; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GRECE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MODERNITY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; OCCULTISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; WAFFEN SS, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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EX-SERVICEMEN: See WAR VETERANS

EXPANSIONISM

One of the features common to many interwar fascist movements was the idea that their existing territory belonged to a (semimythical) larger racial entity that either had existed in the long-distant past or that had never existed at all, other than as a model of what "should" be in the minds of particular (mostly modern) ideologues. This led to aspirations to "re-create" the

entities in question by force, a policy of so-called expansionism. This type of policy was different from traditional colonialism, in which the project was to acquire new territories in other parts of the globe, and also from imperialism, which could be applied to any kind of planned acquisition of additional territories—although in common parlance the term *expansionism* would be applied to both colonialism and imperialism. Expansionist thinking was not peculiar to fascists but was propounded in various versions in different countries in the century before the appearance of fascism by the so-called pan movements—for example, Pan-Arabism and Pan-Slavism. The most influential type as far as Nazism was concerned was Pangermanism, a movement long predating the foundation of the Nazi Party in Germany. Pangermanists believed in the creation of some kind of Germanic national entity bringing together German speakers or those of German racial stock under one national roof. Hitler promoted the Pangermanist agenda as a central plank of his foreign policy. Once in power, Italian Fascism took as its model the Roman Empire and vigorously promoted the notion of *Romanità* (“Romanness”). A book published in England had the title *Mussolini’s Roman Empire*. In this case the expansionism was not about bringing together ethnic Italians or Italian-speakers (although that sometimes played a role, as with territories to the east of Trieste), but about recreating a past era of Italian greatness. The same idea was found in Albania, with the fascist advocacy of “a greater Albania,” and similarly in Croatia, Finland, and Hungary, where it was called “Hungarism.” In truth this kind of expansionism was a form of ultranationalism that focused on the idea of a common race or language as the bond of a nation, rather than on that of shared civil and political rights, which had dominated nationalism in its liberal form since the French Revolution. In retrospect we can see that the Pangermanist ideal was indeed nothing more than a continuation and extension of the movement that had led to a “united” Germany in the nineteenth century. Failure to grasp this properly has led some historians not to recognize the core of hypernationalism common to different interwar fascisms.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ALBANIA; ARYANISM; COLONIALISM; CROATIA; FINLAND; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE;

HUNGARY; IMPERIALISM; IRREDENTISM; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; PANGERMANISM; ROME

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**EXTERMINATION CAMPS: See
CONCENTRATION CAMPS**

EYSENCK, HANS JÜRGEN (1916–1997)

Controversial and well-known British psychologist who discussed the psychology of fascism and who suggested that there were racial differences in intelligence. Eysenck claimed that fascists and communists possessed similarly “tough-minded” personalities, although other psychologists contested his analysis of the relevant data. In the 1970s, Eysenck received widespread publicity when, on the basis of results from IQ tests, he argued that blacks were on average genetically less intelligent than whites. Critics disputed his conclusions and claimed that Eysenck was giving support to racist ideas. Certainly fascist groups at the time asserted that Eysenck’s work supported their beliefs. During this period, Eysenck was interviewed—and recruited as editorial advisor—by some racist publications.

Michael Billig

See Also: PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM

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**FAISCEAU, LE: See FRANCE; FRENCH
REVOLUTION, THE; VALOIS, GEORGES**

FALANGE

Allegedly fascist but in reality authoritarian conservative movement in Spain, first founded in 1933. In March 1931, Ramiro Ledesma Ramos established the weekly *La Conquista del Estado*, in which he expounded his national-sindicalist theory, synthesized in the unification of economic forces and the elimination of class war. In June 1931, Onésimo Redondo created the Juntas Castellanas de Actuación Hispánica, which in October fused with the group that had gathered around Ledesma; thus there arose a new grouping called Juntas Ofensivas Nacional Sindicalistas (JONS) whose symbology would later pass in its totality into Falange—namely, the yoke, the arrows, and the cries of *España, una, grande y libre!* (“Spain, Unified, Great and Free!”) and *Arriba España!* (“Long Live Spain!”).

On 29 October 1933, José Antonio Primo de Rivera y Sáenz de Heredia founded Falange Española in the Comedy Theatre in Madrid. Present at the foundational act were Ruiz de Alda and García Valdecasas, who had formed the Agrupación al Servicio de la

República. Ideologically it proclaimed itself antiliberal, anti-Marxist, nationalist, and totalitarian, and it picked up on the heritage of earlier violent youth movements such as the Juventudes Mauristas or the Legionarios de Albiñana. It called for the elimination of the political parties and their replacement by an organic political representation of “family, municipality and union.” With the intention of widening the bases of the grouping, José Antonio set up conversations with Ledesma that concluded with an agreement made in February 1934, by which the Falange fused with JONS to create Falange Española de las JONS, at the head of it being José Antonio, Ruiz de Alda, and Ledesma Ramos.

FE de la JONS became the shock force of the Right, and the monarchical party Renovación Española gave it financial backing for a few months until the refusal of FE to integrate unconditionally into the groups on the Right. In October 1934, following a proposal by Ledesma, Primo de Rivera became the sole supreme head of Falange. One month later the twenty-seven points of FE de las JONS were published, whose redaction was to a great extent the work of Ledesma. In these we find allusions to the nationalization of the banks and to the noninterference of the Church in affairs of state, which contributed to the abandonment of Falange by the marquis de la Eliseda, the main supplier of funds; his departure gave rise to a serious financial problem which resulted in a further and deeper crisis that ended with the expulsion of Ledesma in January 1935.

The discomfiture of Falange at the elections of February 1936 was brutal, to the point that Primo de Rivera lost his seat. From that moment members of the youth wings of the monarchical party Renovación Española and the Juventudes de Acción Popular, disenchanted with Gil Robles, began to find their way into FE. At the same time the violent attitude of its militias increased, and on 11 March 1936 there was an assault on the socialist professor Jiménez de Asúa; three days later Falange was outlawed, and José Antonio, without a seat and therefore without parliamentary immunity, was incarcerated in the Model Prison in Madrid until he was moved in June to Alicante Prison. There is no doubt about the involvement and complicity of Falange in Franco's military uprising of July 1936.

In April 1937, with José Antonio executed, Franco decreed the dissolution of the political parties. Immediately afterward the Falange Español Tradicionalista y de las JONS was formed on Franco's initiative by representatives of very different ideologies united only by their proclaimed and resolute antiliberalism and anti-Marxism. The idea was to create a single party comprising all those who had supported Franco's uprising. At this period Falange was politically very active under the leadership of Manuel Hedilla Larrey, who had temporarily taken it over after the execution of José Antonio; Hedilla wanted to seize the reins of power, and with the help of his supporters he managed to get himself designated national chief. After a bloody battle between the antagonistic groups within Falange, Franco signed the decree of unification on 19 April 1937. Franco made himself head of the armed forces, of the state, and of the single party. The sole authorized political party (for the ensuing thirty-eight years) was now Falange Español Tradicionalista de las JONS, later transformed into Movimiento Nacional.

However, between 1939 and 1941 Falangist-type conspiracies did not cease, as a protest against the line that the dictatorship of Franco was adopting—a line that conflicted with the initial policies that had motivated the support of Falange for the uprising. On the other hand, many Falangists were perfectly integrated into the structure of the administration and had created solid interests for themselves that they wanted to protect; the only group to remain active was the one led by Ezquer, Ofensiva de Recobro Nacional Sindicalista, which did not manage to provoke anything more than minor skirmishes. But serious confrontations between Carlists and Falangists in Begoña in August 1942 resulted in a rapid and definitive military reaction on the

part of the government to take total control of the remains of Falange.

The law of 17 July 1942 created a parliamentary body for the Francoist state; up to that moment the role had been fulfilled by the National Council of the Falange Español Tradicionalista de las JONS, a corporative organ of deliberative character that assembled to listen to the caudillo or to the secretary general of the Movimiento. Until the promulgation of the principles of the Movimiento in 1958, the official doctrine was the twenty-six points of Falange, whose statutes had acquired force of law after the decree signed in August 1937. This recommended indoctrination of children and young people (in schools, youth organizations, and union organizations), together with programs of social action. Where women were concerned, the Female Section (with Pilar Primo de Rivera at its head) opted to reduce the ideological content, venerating motherhood and conventional roles and reinforcing the traditional national-Spanish heritage through women.

Falange lived on, but it lacked internal unity. Already before the death of Franco there were three different tendencies: "rightist" (Raimundo Fernández Cuesta), "centrist" (Márquez and Jato, allied to the Círculos Doctrinales José Antonio), and "leftist" (authentic Falange with the followers of Hedilla). Other groups on the extreme Right (Fuerza Nueva, Círculos Doctrinales Ruiz de Alda, Asociación Juvenil Octubre) considered themselves to be depositories of the intellectual heritage of the original Falange. Falange was dissolved in 1977, and after that there was a proliferation of neo-Falangist groupuscules, at odds with each other and having barely any more impact than the 20 November gatherings to commemorate the anniversary of the deaths of Franco and José Antonio.

Marta Ruiz Jiménez (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; CLASS; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; FAMILY, THE; FERNÁNDEZ CUESTA, RAIMUNDO; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; ORGANICISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SYNDICALISM; TRADE UNIONS; WOMEN; YOUTH

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FALANGE (2): See PHALANGE

FAMILY, THE

Past and contemporary fascists invariably link the question of the family to wider demographic concerns involving the very survival and standing of the nation. An expanding population, dependent on family formation and the performance of its reproductive and child-nurturing responsibilities, was and is regarded by fascists as both an indicator and a source of national power and security in an unstable and competitive international scene. In the same vein, the defense of the family is often also connected to the defense of the race and racial purity. National decline was and is perceived as a matter of the nonwhite races breeding uncontrollably, while the birth rates of the white races stagnate and fall, and of the miscegenation likely to arise in white race countries containing significant racially “alien” minorities, whether Jews or black and Asian immigrants. These fears of mixed-race relationships reflect assumptions about the role of women as—literally—reproducers of the race, a role best performed and preserved in the family.

Whereas both conservative and liberal conceptions of the family view it as a “natural” and private institution that exists outside state jurisdiction, fascists continue to regard it as primarily a social and national institution, to be controlled by and for the state acting in the nation’s interest. Sexual relations and conduct are not seen as a matter of private morality and choice, or of personal and individual fulfillment, but as a matter for state intervention and state policy. In producing and raising more children of good racial quality and “nationalist” outlook, women do their “national” duty in service of state and race. So, for fascists, abortion remains what it was for the Italian Fascist regime in the 1930s, a “crime against the state,” condemned not so much in prolife terms of taking an innocent individual life as for debilitating the nation and distorting women’s “natural” female and family role.

In practice, then, it is important to locate the family policies of the two historical fascist regimes in Italy and Germany in those regimes’ wider “totalitarian” as-

pirations and claims to be creating a new “fascitized” society, in which the boundaries between state and society and private and public morality and conduct characteristic of a liberal polity were no longer respected. Certainly, both regimes paid a great deal of attention to the family, which consistently informed and, indeed, drove their social and economic policies throughout the 1930s. The Italian Fascist and German Nazi regimes aimed to stem and reverse falling birth rates, by then a general phenomenon in the “developed” world, which, in their view, diluted national power and inhibited the realization of plans for imperialist conquest and expansion. Any number of more or less coordinated pro-natalist measures were taken to encourage early marriage and large families, from improved provision of mother and child welfare to several kinds of fiscal benefits and incentives, including marriage loans for which repayment fell as the number of children in the family rose, family allowances, and tax breaks for husbands who had large families. Preference in appointment to, and promotion in, public employment was given to married as opposed to unmarried men. There were deliberate attempts to limit paid female employment and to return women exclusively to the home, a policy that had another rationale in the Great Depression but that was later undermined by the regimes’ expansion of industries geared to autarky and war production. Abortion was made illegal, as were the promotion of and access to other forms of birth control. The Nazi regime, true to its central racial ideology, also introduced negative natalist measures that aimed at racial selection and improvement, including compulsory sterilization and a ban on the marriage of the “congenitally unfit.”

Because fertility decline was particularly associated with urban employment and urban living, both fascist regimes glorified and promoted the life and way of life of the fertile, hard-working peasant family, the repository of “national” values and the guarantee of the nation’s future. They took significant, if usually ineffective, measures both to prevent the drift of people from countryside to town and to enhance the attractiveness of staying on the land; in Nazi Germany, that was by attempting to provide security of tenure for small farmers, in Fascist Italy by ambitious projects of land reclamation for internal agricultural resettlement. These positive and negative natalist measures did not, and probably could not, generate the intended lasting improvement in birth rates. Also, intended or not, the regimes’ own “totalitarian” organizing drive tended to undermine their own idealized family and gender

roles, and might well have contributed to the dissolution of the nuclear and patriarchal family structure. By attempting to involve young people and mold them as “fascists” in their “totalitarian” youth organizations, the fascist regimes effectively interposed themselves between children and their parents and took on for themselves the educative and formative functions of the family. Quite literally, family harmony, parental authority, and even any kind of dialogue within the family were likely to have been damaged not only by “normal” teenage rebelliousness and generational conflict but also by the time spent away from the family of both fathers and children on activities sponsored and controlled by the regimes’ organizations. That was especially the case when the youth camps aimed to inculcate a “fascist” ruthlessness, will to action, and loyalty to a wider community than the family: the nation.

Although, in line with their martial and virile “values,” both fascist regimes devoted less energy to organizing women than men, women were included in the general totalitarian mobilization of society. The very fact of being organized at all outside the home opened up access to a range of new opportunities and activities for many women. Even if those new horizons were only at the level of selling the produce of “autarkic” kitchen “farms” on the market, or visiting the nearest big town as a member of the local women’s fascist organization, the totalitarian mobilization of women would have worked against rather than for the creation of the passive, dutiful, housebound wife and mother. Fascism’s totalitarian pretensions were, and are, bound to transform the traditional forms of family life and gendering of roles.

Philip Morgan

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTARKY; DECADENCE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ECONOMICS; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; EMPLOYMENT; FARMERS; GERMANY; HEALTH; HOMOSEXUALITY; IMMIGRATION; ITALY; MEDICINE; NATIONALISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RURALISM; SEXUALITY; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN; YOUTH

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FARINACCI, ROBERTO (1892–1945)

Exponent of *squadristo* and of the most intransigent style of Fascism in interwar Italy. After an early period of militancy in the socialist camp, Farinacci joined with the nationalists in arguing for Italian intervention in World War I. In 1919 he gave his support to the Fasci di combattimento and distinguished himself by his activism and his organizational capacities. His extreme ideological radicalism led him into frequent clashes with Mussolini. Secretary general of the Fascist Party from 1925 to 1926, director of the daily *Il Regime fascista*, toward the end of the 1930s he became a fanatical supporter of the racial laws and the alliance with Nazi Germany. He was, in fact, the only major Italian Fascist ideologue at the heart of Mussolini’s administration who was attracted to Nazism. He took part in the life of the Salò Republic but without holding any political or administrative position. Captured by the “partisans,” he was shot on 28 April 1945.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; *SQUADRISMO*

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FARMERS

An essential ingredient in fascist success was the support of small property owners. Where fascist parties failed in their efforts to mobilize small property owners, they never built a national and mass-based following. While all fascist parties tried to win over the small property owners, many failed because they were unable to develop and disseminate a coherent program addressing the material interests of that group, or found the path to mobilizing them blocked by other political parties perceived to be the defenders of their interests. Interestingly, the political Left played a crucial role in

determining the outcome of fascist mobilization efforts. Where the Left took up the defense of small property, new parties could not establish a foothold.

ITALY

Italian Fascism could not have succeeded as it did without first securing a foothold in the farming regions of north-central Italy. The Fascists did not come to power as the result of an electoral victory—they received only one-tenth of the national vote in 1921. However, the party's political impact was quite dramatic, given that it was a political newcomer. It gained nearly one-fourth of the popular votes in several provinces. The provinces in which Fascism had the greatest electoral success were all primarily agricultural. By 1921, Italian sharecroppers and laborers wanted to climb the social ladder toward land ownership, and they began to search for a political party that would allow them to achieve that long-range goal. The Italian Fascist Party had made clear its opposition to agrarian socialism and land collectivization. The Fascist Party first offered an agrarian program in early 1921. During the first half of 1921, articles appeared in the Fascist press proclaiming “land to the peasants,” “to every peasant the entire fruit of his sacred labor,” and “we want the land to belong not to the state but to the cultivator.” The Fascist Party proposed to transform agricultural laborers into sharecroppers, sharecroppers into tenant farmers, and eventually all three into landowners. To accomplish these transformations, the Fascists promised to reopen the land market. They would convince large landowners to transfer land to the Fascist land office, which would then allocate or sell the land to interested cultivators, who would have a specified time period in which to pay off their debts. Unlike the socialists, the Italian Fascists addressed the aspirations of those who wanted land, as well as those of landowners who wanted more.

The Fascists' major hurdle was to convince large landowners to place their land on the market, or agree to lease it. The Fascists won over many large landholders by defending the economic importance of large commercial farming, and by convincing the owners of large farms that a larger and stronger class of sharecroppers, tenants, and small owners would provide a buffer between the large landowners and the socialist labor unions; also, it would greatly reduce the socialist threat of class revolution. However, the Fascists did not treat all landlords alike. They defended large-scale commercial farms whose owners directly supervised their estates

but vigorously opposed the system of latifundia characterized by absentee landlords, which the Fascists considered contrary to farming's social purpose of direct involvement of the cultivator, economic profitability, and strengthening the national community.

GERMANY

The Nazi Party's initial electoral breakthrough occurred in the German countryside, which may have contributed substantially to the party's ultimate electoral successes in 1932. The NSDAP's ability to establish a foothold among German farmers was greatly enhanced by the Left's ideological dogmatism. The German Left forfeited the potential backing of many farmers who could never feel comfortable in a party that, in attacking private property, rejected the farmer's dream of social advancement. The SPD (Social Democratic Party) had many strikes against it as a prospective choice of Germany's rural community. Not least among the albatrosses that hung around the party's neck were its Marxist legacy of antagonism toward private property, its favoritism toward the industrial working class, and its consistent attacks on protective tariffs for agriculture. Several scholars have referred to rural Germany as the fountainhead of Nazism. The literature on the Nazi Party's rural program highlights a disjuncture between the pre-1928 period and the post-1928 period, leaving the impression that the Nazis, to take advantage of the agrarian crisis, did not discover the rural community until 1928. This literature, I believe, has overstressed the degree to which 1928 signals a turnabout in the NSDAP's rural program. Rather, I argue that farming issues preoccupied the NSDAP from the party's inception in 1920, and that the party's post-1928 pronouncements on these matters were generally consistent with the party's earlier positions. The NSDAP's long-standing attention to the concerns of the rural community—the redistribution of vacant land, idle estates, and state-owned land to the landless, support of productive (profit from one's own labor) capitalism, and protection against unproductive or loan capitalism—gradually and successfully allowed it to stake out its space between the parties of the Left, Center, and Right.

The 1930 NSDAP Agrarian Program stands as the party's major pronouncement on agricultural matters before 1933. The Agrarian Program appeared in the *Völkischer Beobachter* on 6 March 1930. The program embodied both specific proposals to improve the agri-

cultural situation in Germany and an ideological statement praising the virtues of the Nordic or Aryan race. Many of the proposals contained in the Agrarian Program were not new; the NSDAP, the DNVP, and various agricultural regional groups had voiced them earlier. However, the NSDAP displayed innovation in the manner in which these proposals were combined into a single coherent program and were linked to the party's general economic and social strategy. Furthermore, the program contained some novel and politically shrewd suggestions on inheritance and resettlement. In Germany's predominantly Catholic Rhineland and southwest, partible inheritance (division of the land among the heirs) had progressed further than elsewhere in Germany. The Nazis argued that this made the farmer susceptible to the threat of the world market and capitalistic speculation. The NSDAP proposed a Law of Hereditary Entailment, allowing only the eldest child to inherit land. This legislation was designed to prevent the fragmentation of the farm, to ensure that Germany's farmland remained in the hands of pure Germans, to guarantee that farms specified as hereditary-entailed continued in the same family in perpetuity, and to limit the bank foreclosures that had driven thousands of farmers from their hearths.

Closely linked to the NSDAP's inheritance proposals were the party's pronouncements on resettlement. Realizing that the elimination of partible inheritance would produce a sea of disinherited heirs, the party sought to entice them with new land in the East. The NSDAP resettlement policy called for the establishment of large-scale settlements along the Eastern frontier, comprising primarily disinherited farmers' sons and aspiring landowners. Here the Nazis claimed that the state had the obligation to seize land that large estate owners failed to farm themselves, and that the recipients of these farms would receive hereditary leaseholds. Arguing that the creation of farms alone was insufficient for economic viability, the Nazis called for the establishment of rural cities alongside the new farms to provide farmers with local markets for their produce, as well as easy access to required nonagricultural commodities.

The 1930 Agrarian Program held out a consistent promise of a better economic future. The program discussed the need to improve the lot of agricultural laborers by raising them to the status of farmer. That would become possible through the resettlement program, whose objective was also to stem the flight of these laborers from the land and to reduce the demand for imported agricultural labor. Additionally, the resettlement program offered the hope of a brighter future to the

noninheriting sons of farmers. In many of the economically depressed farming regions, older farmers did not have enough cash to pay off their younger, noninheriting sons, which was the tradition in Germany's impartible inheritance regions. By promising to set aside land in eastern Germany for the disinherited, the Nazi program offered both parents and children an appealing exit from their dilemma. Farmers in Catholic farming communities, whose interests were consistent with the NSDAP's positions on private property, tariffs, credit, foreclosure, and governmental subsidies, nevertheless objected to the party's inheritance proposals, which would force them to abandon the practice of partible inheritance. Moreover, farmers residing in Catholic communities had a viable alternative to the Nazi Party. The agricultural positions of the Catholic Center Party and its ally, the Bavarian People's Party, mirrored the NSDAP's positions; what is more, the Center Party promoted the interests of the Catholic Church in Germany, making it a better choice than the Nazi Party for many Catholic Germans.

BELGIUM AND FRANCE

In the 1936 Belgian legislative elections, fascists—Rexists and Flemish nationalists—stunned the Belgian electorate by winning 37 of 202 parliamentary seats. This feat was remarkable, since the newly founded Rexist movement (which won 31 parliamentary seats) had no party organization or prior legislative experience. At the heart of the Rexist program was a call for a corporate state modeled on Fascist Italy. According to Léon Degrelle, corporatism was the best means to overcome the chaos of class struggle. The Rexist corporate state would be authoritarian and fully imbued with Christian values. The Rexists were opposed to big business; they blamed the major financial institutions for the worldwide economic depression and the impoverishment of small- and medium-scale family-run businesses. But they were not opposed to private property or to capitalism, and they demanded that the state aid small- and medium-size businesses and farms. In particular, they called for more accessible agricultural credit and restrictions on large agrobusinesses. Among the competing political parties, the Rexists most strongly favored the family-owned farm.

Many of France's interwar fascist movements tried to mobilize France's farming community but ran into the formidable presence of the French Left. Henry Dorgères called for a dictatorship with the peasantry on

top. His program was limited to attacks on government bureaucrats, communism, fiscal controls on small indebted tenant farmers and the promotion of strong family values, and fascist corporatism. By Hazo's account, the movement found its greatest backing in the areas of Chateaubriant, Redon, and Presqu'île Guérandaise (parts of the departments of Loire-Inférieure and Ile-et-Vilaine). These areas are, not surprisingly, strongholds of medium-scale tenant farming. Founded in 1928, the Croix de Feu had the largest popular following during the interwar period. In autumn 1935 the movement launched a campaign to penetrate France's rural constituencies, promising to restore to the land the spiritual value that had been corrupted by international capital, parasitical political committees, and revolutionaries. In spite of these efforts the movement's leader, Colonel La Rocque, was well aware of his movement's difficulty in attracting rural adherents. Doriot's PPF (Parti Populaire Français) attempted to attract French farming support in 1937 and 1938. Doriot stressed a rebirth of a strong peasantry, denounced the decline in French fertility levels and excessive urbanization, and called for a return to the provinces. Doriot appealed to the landowning peasantry for support by attacking agricultural laborers' claims for higher wages and by promising that the PPF favored the creation of new credit facilities for smallholders and assistance to smallholders to enable them to specialize in products of quality and to expand their markets in France's colonies.

It appears that fascist parties in Belgium, Italy, and Germany succeeded in establishing substantial popular support from smallholding farmers. In France, by contrast, the socialist Left was perceived, interestingly, as the major defender of the right of small private property. Where fascist parties and movements gained a solid foothold in the countryside, they typically attracted adherents by advocating the direct involvement of the cultivator in the farming enterprise, the redistribution of idle lands and vacant estates, the social mobility of smallholders, the strengthening of the national community, and defense of the rights of small property ownership.

William I. Brustein

See Also: ARYANISM; BELGIUM; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; CORPORATISM; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; DEGRELLE, LEON; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; DORGERES, HENRY; DORIOT, JACQUES; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE; ECONOMICS; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDUSTRY; ITALY; GERMANY; LA ROCQUE DE SEVERAC, FRANÇOIS, COMTE DE; MARXISM;

NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; REVOLUTION; REXISM; RURALISM; SOCIALISM; *VÖLKISCHER BEOBSACHTER*, THE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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**FASCI DI COMBATTIMENTO: See
FASCIO, THE**

FASCIO, THE

Bundle of rods or sticks, bound together with an ax, that the Roman lictor used as a symbol of authority. The first major political movement to adopt the name, the Sicilian Fasci of the 1890s, was an early socialist organization. In the years before World War I numerous *fasci operai*, or "worker groups," were formed. In March 1919, when Mussolini formed the first *fascio di combattimento*, or "combat group," the term meant almost nothing. The very ambiguity of the name was perfect for a movement that had yet to define itself. In 1926 the bound rods accompanied by the ax became the official and ubiquitous symbol of the new Fascist state. It

conveyed unity and strength, as well as a clear reference to ancient Rome. In 1939 the Italian parliament was renamed the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations.

Alex de Grand

See Also: ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; ROME; SYMBOLS

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FASCIST PARTY (PARTITO NAZIONALE FASCISTA; PNF), THE

The National Fascist Party (PNF) was the political organization that governed in Italy from 1922 to 1943 and implemented an experiment in totalitarian domination.

FROM THE ANTIPARTY MOVEMENT TO THE MILITIA PARTY

The PNF was constituted in November 1921, following the transformation into a party of the movement of the Fasci di combattimento, formed on 23 March 1919 on the initiative of Benito Mussolini with a program that was republican, antistatist, and anticlerical. Mussolini's movement, which called itself "anti-party"—that is, a temporary libertarian association—was not successful. At the beginning of 1920, in the whole of Italy there were only thirty-seven Fasci and fewer than a thousand members, almost all of them in the north of Italy. For that reason Mussolini decided to abandon the program of 1919 and to present Fascism as the defender of the nation, of the productive bourgeoisie, and of the middle classes. At the end of 1920 the Fascist movement effectively became the principal protagonist of antiproletarian bourgeois reaction. Organized into armed squads (*squadristo*) subsidized mainly by the agrarian bourgeoisie, the Fascists carried out a systematic terrorist program to destroy the political, economic, and social organizations of the Socialist Party where those were strongest—that is, in the Po Valley, in Tuscany, and in Puglia. Equally violent was the activity of Fascist *squadristo* in the areas bordering

on Yugoslavia against the hostile parties and the Slav population. Membership rose from 20,165 in December 1920 to 187,588 in May 1921, and to more than 200,000 two months later. In May 1921, Fascism took part in the elections and won thirty-five seats in the parliament.

This new Fascism was substantially identifiable with *squadristo* and was an aggregate of various "provincial fascisms" that had developed locally on their own impulse and not through an initiative of Mussolini's—hence they did not feel any obligation to bow to the authority of the founder of the Fascio. After having approved a so-called pacification pact with the Socialist Party (3 August 1921), Mussolini put forward a plan to organize the Fascists into a party so as to give unity to the new movement and subject it to his own control. He aimed to transform the movement into a sort of "party of labor," as he himself defined it, for the middle classes, by putting a brake on *squadristo* violence. But the majority of the leaders of the "provincial fascisms" rebelled against Mussolini, rejecting the pacification pact and Mussolini's claim that he merited obedience as the *duce* of Fascism. At this period, in fact, Mussolini was not yet recognized by the mass of the Fascists as a charismatic leader, nor did he officially have the role of principal leader of the Fascist movement. The conflict between Mussolini and the *squadristo* chiefs was very bitter, and it was exacerbated in the Third National Congress of Fasci (Rome, 7–10 November 1921), at which the constitution of the "National Fascist Party" was agreed upon. Mussolini succeeded in getting acceptance for the proposal to transform the movement into a party, but the heads of the "provincial Fascisms" brought about the rejection of the pacification pact and the maintenance of the armed organization of *squadristo*, as was established by the statute of the PNF approved in December 1921. That statute laid down the principle of the electivity of posts by the local and national membership in the organization of the internal hierarchy. Mussolini was recognized as Il Duce—that is, as political guide of Fascism, but officially he remained one of the members of the PNF directorate; Michele Bianchi was elected to the post of secretary general of the PNF. Bianchi was one of the founders of the Fasci, a Calabrian former socialist and revolutionary syndicalist who guided the Fascist Party through to the conquest of power. In October of the following year a framework for the "Fascist Militia" was published that definitively sanctioned the complete symbiosis between political organization and armed organization of the PNF.

The Fascist Party was born as a political organization of a new genre—a militia party—and as such it remained unaltered up to its disappearance from the political scene twenty-four years later. The PNF was a militia party not simply because it had its own armed force but also because its organization, its political culture, its ideology, and its way of life were derived from *squadristo*. *Squadristo* was not just a method of violent action but also a mode of conceiving and practicing politics; it was inspired by the military model and by experience of war, and it was characterized by the claim to have a monopoly on patriotism, by the exaltation of violence as the instrument of political regeneration, and by hatred for political opponents, branded “internal enemies” of the nation. Activism remained a fundamental component of the Fascist Party, which always considered itself to be a “movement” and a “militia,” and which saw political militancy as a total dedication founded on faith in the absolute primacy of the nation, on the communitarian feeling of comradeship, on the virile ethic of the battlefield, and on the principle of military hierarchy.

The political culture of the PNF was “anti-ideological” in the sense that it despised rationalistic, theoretical conceptions and exalted mythical thought as an expression of the collective consciousness and as a factor in the mobilization of the masses. Its ideology was represented aesthetically by the myths, rituals, and symbols of a new political style that conferred on Fascism the character of an exclusive lay religion, integralist and intolerant. The Fascists openly proclaimed their will to become the new ruling class, for they considered themselves the new aristocracy, an aristocracy of young people who in the trenches had conquered the right to command. This myth of youth was another fundamental component of the Fascist Party. From its birth, the Fascist Party claimed to be superior to all the other parties and to the liberal state. Although despising bourgeois society as materialistic and individualistic, the Fascist Party upheld the leading role of the productive bourgeoisie and the necessity for collaboration between the classes (corporatism), with the goal of intensifying national production (productivism) so as to be able to achieve a foreign policy of power and imperial expansion. The myth of empire as expressed in the exaltation and cult of Rome (*Romanità*) was present in the ideology of the Fascist Party from the beginning, even when it still lacked a precise program for Fascist foreign policy with clearly defined objectives other than the vague goal of redeeming the “mutilated victory”—a goal formulated in generally revisionist statements against the order fixed by the Versailles Treaty.

THE CONQUEST OF POWER

In 1922, with more than 200,000 members, an armed militia, women’s and youth associations, and Fascist syndical organizations numbering around half a million members, the PNF had become the strongest political organization in the country. The fact that all of the other parties were in crisis owing to their internal divisions or to the continual assaults to which they were subjected by *squadristo* opened the door to a Fascist conquest of power. The success of the Fascist Party was, however, not solely the fruit of violence and the political ability of a demagogue who was able to exploit the fears of the bourgeoisie against Bolshevism. In reality, the Fascist Party conquered power and imposed the transformation of the state during a period in which—on the admission of Mussolini himself—to speak of a Bolshevik threat in Italy was nonsense. The Fascist Party not only urged the defense of the economic and social order based on private property but also aimed to realize its own political and cultural revolution through the destruction of the liberal regime and the construction of a new state; this was to be conceived according to the principles and values of a new integralist and palingenetic ideology that, by its very nature, did not admit either in theory or in practice of coexistence with other ideologies and parties. Democracy, as Mussolini said in August 1922, “had completed its task.”

The PNF conquered power with a tactic that combined terrorist action with political maneuvering. The March on Rome of 27–28 October 1922—that is, the insurrectional mobilization of the Fascist *squadre*—was not simply a dramatic coup but the culminating moment in a terroristic campaign pursued since the spring of that year both against opposing parties and representatives of the government; whole cities and regions were occupied by thousands of *squadristi* who openly defied the authority of the liberal state. The *squadrista* insurrection in many cities of northern and central Italy and its occupation of governmental buildings, prefectures, barracks, post offices, and railway stations would certainly have been defeated in a confrontation with the regular army. But it generated confusion at the highest level in the state, while Mussolini negotiated his rise to power with the representatives of the liberal regime and the economic world. In this way the Fascist Party obtained the maximum of success with the minimum of risk. The king gave Mussolini the task of forming the new government, which won the trust of the chamber and the senate, but that did not diminish the gravity of what had happened with the March on Rome. For the first time in the history of the European

liberal democracies, parliamentary government had been entrusted to the leader of a militia party who repudiated the values of liberal democracy and proclaimed his revolutionary intention of transforming the state in an antidemocratic direction. From that point of view the March on Rome may be considered historically as the first step toward the destruction of the liberal state and the establishment of the Fascist state.

The conquest of power also provoked a serious but temporary crisis at the top of the Fascist Party on account of rivalries between Fascist leaders in the rush to grab public offices, as well as the appearance on the victors' bandwagon of thousands of new members, numbering more than 800,000 by the end of 1923. Between 1923 and 1924 there were also squabbles between various factions of dissident and autonomous Fascists, and especially between the "revisionist" Fascists responsible for the demilitarization of the PNF and the "integralist" Fascists who exalted the role of the party militia and wanted to continue the "Fascist revolution" to the point of total conquest of power and the construction of a new and integrally Fascist state. Mussolini decided to strip the Fascist Party of any sort of autonomy and subject it to his directives. In December 1922 the leadership of the PNF was entrusted to a new supreme organ, the Grand Council of Fascism, composed of the leaders of the party and the Fascist members of the government, with Mussolini as president. *Squadristo* was legalized on 14 January 1923 with the institution of the voluntary militia for national security, incorporating the *squadre* under the direct command of the head of government. These measures were not enough to discipline the party, however, nor to put a brake on the illicit activities of the *squadristi* chiefs (the *ras*, as the antifascists called them), who continued to rule the roost in the provinces, imposing their will even on the representatives of the government. The crisis provoked by the assassination of the Socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti on 10 June 1924, carried out by *squadristi* who acted on the orders of close collaborators of Mussolini, gave back the initiative to the integralist Fascists—that is, to the *squadristo* chiefs, who coerced Il Duce into making a move for total conquest of the monopoly of political power by the PNF at the end of 1924.

THE PARTY IN THE FASCIST STATE

With Mussolini's speech to the Chamber of 3 January 1925, the Fascist Party formally initiated the "legislative revolution" for the destruction of the liberal regime

and the construction of the totalitarian state. In February of the same year, Roberto Farinacci, the principal leader of integralist Fascism, was appointed by the Grand Council as the new secretary of the PNF. Within a few months he succeeded in reconstituting unity and discipline within the party, and he was among the main authors of an intransigent policy to eliminate political opposition definitively and establish a one-party regime. Farinacci had his own idea of a totalitarian party, believing that it must retain its autonomy with respect to the government, and placing the secretary of the PNF, as "head of the party," on the same level as Mussolini—that is, as "head of government" in a dyarchy that was in fact unacceptable to Il Duce. In March 1926, when the authoritarian reforms had concentrated executive power in the hands of Mussolini, Il Duce dismissed Farinacci, and the Grand Council replaced him with Augusto Turati. Turati was also an exponent of integralist Fascism, but one more prepared to support Mussolinian policy in the phase of the transformation of the state into a one-party regime. Turati remained in his post until October 1930 and played a key role in completing the reorganization of the party, conducting a massive purge of corrupt and rebellious elements. This was continued by his successor, Giovanni Giuriati (October 1930 to December 1931), and facilitated the insertion of the PNF into the new regime. A new statute (8 October 1926) abolished internal democracy, and the PNF was definitively subjected to the orders of Il Duce. Successive statutes (1929, 1932, and 1938) perfected the new character of the PNF, which became fully a civil militia under the orders of the *duce* and the servant of the Fascist state. In 1927, Mussolini declared that in the Fascist regime the party was subordinate to the state, as in the provinces the federal secretary was subordinate to the prefect. In fact, contrary to what many scholars still maintain, seeing this as the "political liquidation" of the PNF in the Fascist regime, the subordination of party to state, was merely a rhetorical fiction, for the confusion and symbiosis between state and party became an essential facet of the Fascist regime. This symbiosis became evident in the ambiguous duality of the role of Mussolini as both head of government and head of the PNF. Behind the facade of the regime's monolithic unity, conflicts between party and traditional institutions continued up to the end, and even Mussolini either did not want, or was not able, to avoid them (he may even have encouraged them). For example, the rivalry between prefects and federal secretaries continued, and federal secretaries were never stated to be subordinate to prefects in any of the statutes of the PNF. The federal secretary depended

directly on the secretary of the party, and he had powers and functions in his own territory analogous to those that the secretary of the PNF had in the national arena.

During the years of the regime the party was the chief artificer of the totalitarian experiment gradually set in motion after 1925 at a progressively increasing pace. During the secretaryships of Turati, of Giovanni Giurati, and especially of Achille Starace, from December 1931 to November 1939, the party was constantly widening the sphere of its power in state and society.

THE EXPANSION STRATEGY OF THE PNF

The most important manifestations of this PNF “expansion strategy” were the annexations carried out to the detriment of other institutions of the regime, such as the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, the most powerful instrument for penetrating the masses, which was incorporated into the PNF in 1932. The other important annexation was the conquest of the monopoly over the education of the new generations that Starace managed to complete in 1937, withdrawing the Opera nazionale Balilla from the aegis of the Ministry of National Education and establishing a single youth organization for anyone from six to twenty-one, the Gioventù italiana del Littorio, which was dependent on the secretary of the PNF. Following the directives of Mussolini, Starace developed the totalitarian organization of the party by bringing millions of men and women of every age into a system of collective life, with the aim of developing a new type of Italian, a “New Man” and a “New Woman.” In conformity with its original political culture, the party had a predominant role in the development of Fascist ideology as a political religion, in the celebration of the cult of Il Duce, and in the dogmatic and fideistic indoctrination of the masses through a dense and ever-expanding network of symbols and rites. The party did not hesitate to provoke conflicts with the Church, as happened in 1931 and 1938, in order to claim the monopoly of the education of the young in the principles and values of the Fascist religion.

The presence of the PNF in society became more and more invasive and obsessive; the daily publication of “regulations” told Italians how to live according to the rules and the forms of the new “Fascist Way.” Membership in the PNF became a mandatory requirement for all public civil and military employees, so that only PNF members enjoyed “full citizenship.” Any Fascist expelled from the PNF was outlawed from public

life. At the end of the secretaryship of Starace (November 1939), the PNF numbered more than 21 million Italians, men and women from six years of age upward, in its numerous political and social subdivisions. This enormous organization ramified from the center to the periphery through provincial federations, the Fasci di combattimento, and the local groups.

TOWARD THE CONQUEST OF THE STATE

With regard to the chamber of deputies and the senate, the “expansion strategy” of the PNF followed different tactics in each case. The definitive fascistization of the chamber of deputies was completed with the political elections of 1929, which eliminated the few surviving non-Fascist deputies elected in 1924. The initiative of the PNF was then crucial in the abolition of the chamber of deputies in 1939 and the establishment of the Chamber of Fasci and Corporations, a move that signaled the death of the principle of parliamentary representation. The new chamber was a direct emanation of the Fascist Party and the corporations. In regard to the senate, whose members were appointed for life by the king on the recommendation of the head of government, the PNF followed a tactic of progressive fascistization via the nomination of new Fascist senators and the activity of an internal association of Fascist senators, the National Fascist Union of the Senate (UNFS), which recruited numerous new members from among the senators nominated prior to the time of Fascism. The fascistization of the senate was to a large extent complete by the early 1930s, with only a few dozen anti-Fascist or non-Fascist senators remaining, and those completely marginalized from the legislative activity of an assembly stripped of autonomy and placed under the control of the Fascist Party through the UNFS.

A new and vaster territory for the expansion of the power of the PNF in society and state were the public bodies, the so-called parallel bureaucracy in a wide range of sectors: from agriculture to welfare, from culture to tourism, from industry to public works, from commerce to transport. There was a huge proliferation of these bodies during the years of the regime; whereas 102 public bodies were created between 1901 and 1921, between 1922 and 1943 353 new public bodies appeared, for the most part controlled by members of the Fascist Party. But the “expansion strategy” of the PNF did not enjoy the kind of immediate success in all the sectors of the traditional state that the more integralist Fascists would have wished. The armed forces,

for example, conserved an internal autonomy of administration, though they remained subject to the orders of Mussolini as head of the PNF, who almost always reserved the military departments for himself as head of the government, so that the military was far from immune from party influence.

In the phase of the acceleration of the totalitarian experiment after 1936, the PNF was either the promoter or held the leading role in the racist policy, in anti-Semitic propaganda, and in the antibourgeois campaign for the reform of customs and the intensification of the revolution in the social arena as well. The PNF was moreover committed to the transformation of the constitutional order, leading to a more powerful role and function for the party in the state. In 1937 the secretary of the PNF had the post and functions of a minister. With the new statute of 1938 the PNF was officially declared the only party, taking on as specific tasks “the defense and strengthening of the Fascist revolution and the political education of Italians.” In 1941 the new secretary of the PNF, Adelchi Serena, succeeded Ettore Muti (November 1939 to November 1940) and introduced new reforms that subsequently further reinforced the role and power of the party in the state. In the same year the Fascist Party prepared a plan for the reform of the state involving the definitive constitutional affirmation of the primacy of the party as the “driving force of the state.” This reform proposed making the Interior and Popular Culture Ministry directly dependent on the Fascist Party, eliminating the dualism between prefect and provincial party secretary with the appointment of a single representative of the party for each province, and officially recognizing the secretary of the party as the highest officer of the Fascist regime after Il Duce. This reform of the state was blocked by Serena’s resignation in December 1941 and by the appointment as PNF secretary of a twenty-seven-year-old, Aldo Vidussoni, fresh from the university organizations of the party and completely incompetent to guide the complex machine of the PNF in the difficult years of World War II.

CRISIS AND END OF THE FASCIST PARTY

As the years passed the PNF developed into an enormous bureaucratic apparatus associated with militaristic training and pedagogical propaganda, and it came to be largely discredited in the eyes of the public. It is difficult to say how deeply this totalitarian organization affected the collective consciousness of the Italians, which had been molded and controlled by the PNF.

The fact that in time the party became the single political dimension within which it was possible to exercise some kind of active form of participation, whether individual or collective, in the life of the state is hugely significant. In 1942, one year before the end of the Fascist regime, 27,375,696 Italians, 61 percent of the population—men, women, and children from the age of six years—were involved in the PNF and dependent organizations. One year later, notwithstanding the crisis provoked by the war, the party organization was still growing.

When military defeats undermined the Mussolinian dictatorship and brought it crashing down, a disorderly succession of secretaries (the last being Carlo Scorza, former *squadrista* and exponent of intransigent Fascism, appointed in April 1943) merely compounded an already disastrous crisis. The entire structure of the regime crumbled immediately after 25 July 1943, when Il Duce, disowned by the majority of the chiefs of the Grand Council, was stripped of his powers by the king and arrested. On 2 August 1943 the National Fascist Party was abolished by the new government of Marshal Pietro Badoglio. A few months later, with the constitution of the new Fascist state, the Italian Social Republic, Mussolini tried to reconstitute the Fascist Party, entrusting it to the leadership of Alessandro Pavolini. Composed now of the most totalitarian, intransigent, and violent elements in *squadrista* and the Fascist regime, plus young people who had been molded by the organizations of the Fascist Party, the new Republican Fascist Party (PFR) redoubled its militarization efforts, establishing the Black Brigades for the war against the partisans of the Resistance; in its program, as approved by the Congress of Verona (14 November 1943), it reprised the antibourgeois and anticapitalist themes that had emerged in the last years of the regime. The PFR made even more of the irrational and mystical themes that were typical of the militia party, such as the ethic of sacrifice, the sense of honor, the warrior spirit, and the cult of violence. It also returned with redoubled enthusiasm to the persecution of the Jews: from 1943 to 1945 more than 7,000 Jews were deported from the territory of the Salò Republic, and of those only 610 came back from the death camps. The victory of the Allies and Resistance forces signaled the end for the PFR on 25 April 1945. The constitution of the Italian Republic as approved in 1947 forbade the re-establishment of the Fascist Party.

Emilio Gentile
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-CLERICALISM; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; BADOGLIO, PIETRO; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; CULTURE; DEMOCRACY; EDUCATION; *EHRE* ("HONOR"); FARINACCI, ROBERTO; FARMERS; FASCIO, THE; FIUME; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; INDUSTRY; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MATERIALISM; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MILITARISM; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NEW MAN, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PRODUCTIVISM; PROGRESS; RACISM; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROME; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); SPANN, OTHMAR; SPORT; *SQUADRISMO*; STARACE, ACHILLE; STATE, THE; STYLE; SYMBOLS; TOTALITARIANISM; VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH; YOUTH MOVEMENTS (ITALY); ZIONISM

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FAULHABER, CARDINAL MICHAEL VON (1869–1952)

Leading German Catholic opponent of Hitlerism and anti-Semitism. He was ordained to the priesthood on 1 August 1892 and undertook pastoral work and research in the diocese of Würzburg. He served as chaplain and vicar rector in Rome from 1896 to 1898. He taught Sacred Scripture in Strasbourg before becoming bishop of Speyer in 1911. Faulhaber was appointed archbishop of Munich-Freising in 1917. Four years later he was made a cardinal. When Nuncio Pacelli wrote to Rome in 1923 complaining about the Nazi persecution of

Catholics, he noted that the attacks “were especially focused” on the “learned and zealous” Michael Cardinal Faulhaber, who “had denounced the persecutions against the Jews.”

In 1934, the year after Hitler came to power, Faulhaber published a book that defended the principles of racial tolerance and called for the people of Germany to respect the Jewish religion. In 1933, Cardinal Faulhaber wrote Secretary of State Pacelli, describing the persecution of the Jews as “unjust and painful.” In 1935, Nazis called for him to be killed. In February 1936, Nazi police confiscated and destroyed one of his sermons. This happened twice again the following year. In August 1938, the Nazis ransacked his office. During the riots of *Kristallnacht* (9–10 November 1938), Faulhaber provided a truck for the chief rabbi of Munich to salvage religious objects from his synagogue before it was destroyed. He then gave a speech that resulted in a uniformed Nazi detachment arriving at his residence. They shouted, “Take the traitor to Dachau!” and shattered window frames and shutters. In May 1939, demonstrations against Faulhaber took place throughout Bavaria, and posters were hung saying: “Away with Faulhaber, the friend of the Jews and the agent of Moscow.” After the war began, Faulhaber gave an address that resulted in a British newspaper headline reading: “Cardinal Faulhaber Indicts Hitlerism.” Martin Niemoeller, a noted German Protestant leader who spent seven years in concentration camps for his opposition to Hitler and the Nazis, said that Faulhaber’s sermons showed him “to be a great and courageous man.” In his 1945 memorandum to General William Donovan, Fabian von Schlabrendorff praised Faulhaber for stating his opposition to the Nazis and influencing other Catholics to do the same. Schlabrendorff reported that “decisive credit” for the Catholic opposition to Nazism “ought to be given to Cardinal von Faulhaber from Munich . . . whose personal sermons branded Nazism as the enemy of Christendom.” After the war, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the leading U.S. voice for the Jewish cause, called Faulhaber “a true Christian prelate” who “had lifted his fearless voice” in defense of the Jews.

Ronald Rychlak

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; HITLER, ADOLF; *KRISTALLNACHT*; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PROTESTANTISM

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FEDER, GOTTFRIED (1883–1941)

Feder belonged to the pioneers of German National Socialism and the left wing of the NSDAP, with ideas of organic democracy and a controlled economy. Born in Würzburg, he studied engineering in Berlin and Zürich. During World War I he developed a hatred of banks and bankers. He published a short manifesto on this, demonstrating his anti-capitalism and anti-Semitism. He was one of the founders of the DAP, which later became the NSDAP. Together with Hitler and others he wrote the first version of the twenty-five points listed in the German NSDAP's program. After the Night of the Long Knives, Feder withdrew from politics and worked as a university teacher.

Göran Dahl

See Also: CAPITALISM; DEMOCRACY; DREXLER, ANTON; ECONOMICS; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; ORGANICISM

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FEDERZONI, LUIGI (1878–1967)

A founder of the Italian Nationalist Association on 5 December 1910 and its political leader until the merger with the Fascist Party in 1923. Federzoni was elected to parliament in 1914, served as colonial minister (1922–1924) and then as interior minister (1924–1926). A monarchist and authoritarian conservative, Federzoni favored the state bureaucracy over the Fascist Party as the driving force of the Fascist dictatorship.

Subsequently he became president of the Italian Senate (1929–1939) and of the Italian Royal Academy (1939–1943). He voted to remove Mussolini at the meeting of the Fascist Grand Council of 25 July 1943.

Alex de Grand

See Also: CONSERVATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; ITALY; MONARCHISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM

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FEMINISM

Speaking in 1934, Hitler declared that women's revolt had brought about a situation that went against nature. The slogan of women's emancipation, he held, was "the product of Jewish intellect." Mussolini likewise declared himself opposed to feminism, arguing that "[w]omen must obey. . . . [In] a state like ours they ought not to count." Neofascism has been equally hostile to feminism's re-emergence in the late 1960s. Thus for the British National Party, women should reject feminism and recognize again the importance of their traditional role; while the National Circle of Women of Europe, affiliated to the French National Front, has declared that, whereas feminism stood for a "pseudo-liberation," it sought to conserve the natural harmony between the sexes.

Just as fascists have opposed feminism, feminists have opposed fascism. In the early 1930s they were among those who opposed the rise of Hitler, while later in the decade the feminist Six Point Group was part of the British Section of the Women's Committee against War and Fascism. Opposition continued later in the century, with feminist campaigns against fascism in Britain, France, and other countries.

But the relationship between fascism and feminism is less than straightforward. In part, it has been argued, there was a degree of continuity between feminism and fascism in countries in which the latter took power. In Italy some feminists became supporters of the new regime, claiming that where foreign doctrines were individualist, "Latin feminism" recognized women's duty to the nation. In Germany, Claudia Koonz has sug-

gested, the belief common among the feminists of the time that women and men should be equal but different was continued in the contention of Nazi women that women's sphere would encompass not only the home but also much of public life, including welfare and education. In Britain, too, some feminists were drawn to fascism. One, Norah Elam, argued that the British Union of Fascists was the continuation of the prewar suffragette movement in which she had been active. Two other former suffragettes joined the BUF, but, where one, Mary Allen, remained a supporter of its leader, Sir Oswald Mosley, into the postwar period, the other, Mary Richardson, broke with the movement, denouncing it as betraying its claims to support women's equality. Amid internal tensions, the BUF argued that feminists were mistaken in thinking that fascism would treat women merely as the breeders of cannon fodder. On the contrary, it claimed, fascism would recognize women's equality within employment and the state. In the same period, in Germany, a racist women's publication, *Die Deutsche Kämpferin*, accused the new regime of failing to accept women's equality within the *Volk*.

Arguments like these have continued since World War II. During the 1980s, for instance, a U.S. Nazi publication claimed that the view that feminism was being used to divide the white race was "fundamentally un-National Socialist," while in Britain, *Nationalism Today*, the magazine of one of the factions of the National Front, published an article contending that while feminism was under Jewish control, "nationalists" should champion white women's rights to equal pay and freedom from sexual harassment.

Martin Durham

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EDUCATION; EMPLOYMENT; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SCHOLTZ-KLINK, GERTRUD; SEXUALITY; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN

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FERNÁNDEZ CUESTA, RAIMUNDO (1897–1992)

A senior member of the early Falange Española, Fernández Cuesta played a significant role within the Franco regime. Secretary general of FET y de las JONS, the Franco regime's single party, he was minister of agriculture between January 1938 and August 1939, returning to the government in 1951. "Since the rising of 18 July, the Falange has only one decisive aim: obedience to Franco. . . . [We] did, we do and we continue to do whatever Franco wants," he said (Ellwood 1987, 126). After the dictator's death he refounded FE de las JONS, an avowedly nostalgic pro-Franco party.

Sid Lowe

See Also: FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

Reference

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FESTETICS, COUNT SÁNDOR (1882–1956)

Hungarian interwar MP and leader of the Hungarian National Socialist Party. He was the nephew of one of the wealthiest landowners in Hungary. In 1918 he served as minister of defense and did not become involved in far-right political movements until the 1930s. He was involved in the creation of a National Socialist "Directorate" in 1934, but he was subsequently expelled from it on the grounds that he was not anti-Semitic enough. He was elected an MP for the Hungarian National Socialist Party in 1935 but became an independent extreme-right deputy after having been removed from the party leadership, eventually allying himself to the Hungarian National Socialist Party–Hungarist Movement. Festetics subsequently retired from politics for good in 1939.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; HUNGARY; NAZISM

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FILM

Film had a central role in the cultural policies and propaganda campaigns of both Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany. Although radio was arguably the primary channel of mass information and indoctrination for the duration of these dictatorships, the cinema was the mass medium with the most popular appeal. Documentary films and newsreels had the task of disseminating propaganda about both domestic and foreign events, although both regimes made space for ostensibly “nonpolitical” documentary films. Feature films had a more complex agenda. Both Italian Fascist and German National Socialist officials intended to exploit the ability of commercial cinema to influence and instruct under the guise of entertainment. Within the film production and censorship bureaucracies that these regimes created in the 1930s, the relationships between propaganda and art, ideology, and entertainment were continually debated.

The Italian Fascists and German National Socialists were not alone in those years in attempting to harness the suggestive powers of documentary and feature film for political intent. Democracies had made use of moving images since World War I to shape public perception and create specific political constituencies. Yet the ambitions of fascist regimes were on a far greater scale. Both Italian Fascism and German National Socialism aimed not only to transform the political and social order by creating new antiliberal, antileft, hypernationalistic regimes but also to realize what the historian Emilio Gentile has termed an “anthropological revolution,” one that sought to remake the national body and national character by purging it of all supposedly “decadent” and “degenerate” influences. Both Hitler and Mussolini placed new technologies of information, collective mobilization, and reproduction at the service of the state to realize that goal. The place of cinema under these dictatorships may be understood within this framework: it was to facilitate nothing less than the col-

lective transformation of mentalities, morals, and ways of life. Yet for both regimes, film proved to be a double-edged sword. Although fascist movies were to model the looks, speech, and behavior of the members of the new autarkic nation, they were highly influenced by Hollywood and other international film cultures. Co-productions, migrations due to politics, the need to train technicians in new technologies, and the practice of making several “national” versions of one movie simultaneously generated a very international industry culture that ran counter to the protectionist impulses of the 1930s. Thus, although both Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany attempted to develop national film styles to compete with Hollywood, and encouraged filmmakers to cast recognizably “national” faces, their movies communicated the very kind of cosmopolitan glamour that these regimes had pledged to defeat. Both Italian and German films of this era may be seen as a series of experiments toward the goal of making movies that entertained and absorbed the spectator even as they promoted the results of national revolution and rebirth.

In Italy, as in Germany, the true star of mass spectacle and culture was the dictator, and it is not surprising that Mussolini was the first protagonist of many of the early documentaries and newsreels produced by the Istituto LUCE, which Il Duce founded within a year of assuming power. Yet Mussolini’s lack of interest in reviving the Italian feature film industry after its World War I devastation left things in the hands of private entrepreneurs, whose primary aim was often to make money by importing U.S. films. Formal government subsidies for Italian commercial films did not begin until 1931, and a government-controlled film bureaucracy came only with the 1934 founding of the Fascist General Directorate for Cinematography (Direzione Generale di Cinematografia). Headed by Luigi Freddi, it oversaw all film planning, patronage, and censorship, and it served as the model for the Dirección General de Teatro y Cine in Franco’s Spain. The Center for Experimental Cinematography was created the next year to train the future cadres of the new national industry, and 1937 saw the establishment of the state-run Cinecittà studio.

Of the more than 700 films made during the more than twenty years of Italian fascist rule, only about twenty might be considered to be works of clear propaganda. Commercial and aesthetic concerns created a preference for works of subtle rather than open persuasion among many officials, film professionals, and critics. This should not be taken to mean that the regime

did not inspire Italians. An overview of Fascist-era movies would reveal a high degree of correlation between their thematic content and that of the regime's various "campaigns"—from the populism of the early 1930s, to the colonial enterprises of the mid-1930s, to the war films and highly stylized adaptations of national literary classics of 1940 to 1943. Indeed, the vast majority of Italian filmmakers remained in Italy for the duration of the regime, either supporting the regime outright or agreeing to the compromises that were necessary to practice their craft.

Mussolini's regime had been in place for eleven years when Hitler came to power in January 1933, and Joseph Goebbels and other National Socialist officials paid attention to the results of Italy's experiments in mass cultural organizing. One difference was the immediate action that the Germans took to impose political controls on the film industry. The Reich Film Chamber (*Reichsfilmkammer*) was established in July 1933 under the aegis of Goebbels's Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. It had censorship and production planning responsibilities, and spearheaded a drive to nationalize the German film industry that would not be fully realized until the war years. A Film Credit Bank (*Filmkreditbank*) created in June of that year offered credit to German producers; this patronage measure proved effective in securing cooperation with the new regime, but it did not prevent the flight of dozens of film professionals from Hitler's Germany to European and Hollywood studios. Unlike the Italian Fascists, the National Socialists inherited a successful film industry, headed by the major German film production company, Universum-Film-Aktiengesellschaft (UFA), which dated from World War I. During the Weimar Republic (1918–1933), UFA had spearheaded the building of a national film culture founded on the promotion of expressionism as an alternative to the dominant Hollywood styles. Although the expressionist film style would be denigrated during Hitler's rule, the vision of a uniquely "national" cinema that would signal Germanness, even as it conquered markets abroad, remained during National Socialism—as did the worries about the pernicious influence of wildly popular U.S. films. Indeed, UFA was transformed in 1936–1937 into a state-protected entity to further facilitate protectionist measures, and it was placed entirely under state authority as part of a vast holding-company (Ufa-Film GmbH) in 1942.

Like Freddi, Goebbels believed that ideological messages had to be subtle in the commercial cinema. Of the more than 1,000 feature films made during Hitler's

rule, only about 150 are considered to be directly propagandistic. Open propaganda was the province of instructional films, feature-length documentaries—such as National Socialism's most famous film, *Triumph of the Will*, made by Leni Riefenstahl in 1934—newsreels, and *Staatsauftragsfilme* (feature films commissioned and financed by the government). As in Fascist Italy, entertainment films borrowed as much from Hollywood and other film cultures as they did from German national filmmaking traditions. Star worship (of both German and U.S. actors and actresses) was a central component of National Socialist popular culture, and the fantasies of consumer and romantic fulfillment that marked many Hitler-era feature films were not so alien from those projected in the films of 1930s democracies.

Yet National Socialist films do have distinguishing characteristics. They emphasize the recuperation of a sense of wholeness and authenticity in contemporary life, and they promote a sense of belonging to a distinct national community. Whether of the comedic or melodramatic genres, they impart the totalitarian mandates of self-sacrifice, social discipline, and, especially during the war years, the duty of identifying internal and external enemies who threatened the purity of the German *Volk* and its right to expansion. As with many Italian Fascist films, it is not difficult to see how they contributed to the larger social and ideological agendas that guided the dictatorship's development.

Ruth Ben-Ghiat

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; ART; AUTARKY; COLONIALISM; COMMUNITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; SPAIN; TOTALITARIANISM; *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL*; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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FINAL SOLUTION, THE: See
HOLOCAUST, THE

FINANCE

The sources of finance for fascist movements have been taken as an indication of the true nature of fascism and of the economic interests that were served by fascism. “Who pays?” was what Italian socialists derisively asked of their former comrade, Benito Mussolini, in late 1914, when he was expelled from the Socialist Party for his prowar stance and set up his own daily newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*. The answer was secret funding by the French government and money from some Italian industrialists, both of whom wanted Italy to intervene in World War I on the side of France and Britain. It was this kind of transaction that enabled socialist opponents of fascism and Marxist historians to dismiss fascism as the “agent” of the economic interests of the dominant capitalist classes; Marxists claimed that such interests financed fascist movements because of their hostility to socialism and the social and political gains of the organized working class, and their willingness to use violence against the perceived threat of socialist revolution. A few fascist movements could, at least initially, rely on the personal and family wealth of their founders and leaders—for example, the British Union of Fascists, set up in 1932 by the aristocratic Sir Oswald Mosley. A few became large enough in size to be effectively self-financing. That was the case with the German Nazi Party, which soon became a mass party that lived on many relatively small donations and subscriptions from members and supporters. To survive financially, the Nazi Party did not actually depend on the financial support that it attracted and courted from businessmen’s lobbies and associations.

Most other European interwar fascist movements were funded by industrialists, businessmen, and financiers as a party militia to defend them and the “country” against socialism. Sometimes the funding came from individual businessmen, such as the wealthy parfumer François Coty, who seemed determined to invest his business fortune in financing extreme nationalist leagues and movements in interwar France, and whose large gift of money enabled Marcel Bucard, a long-standing member and organizer of several of

these leagues, to set up his own fascist movement, Francisme, in 1933. More usually, though, money was given collectively by organized sectional interest groups, such as the lobby of local industrialists and small urban retailers formed in the major central Italian city of Bologna in 1920 that funded the city Fascio to protect property and order during the postwar period of strikes and popular agitation; the longer-established provincial large commercial farmers’ associations that directly financed and equipped armed Fascist squads to terrorize socialism out of existence in the countryside of north and central Italy from late 1920; and Redressement Français (French Recovery), a business pressure group formed in 1926 to lobby politicians and parliament in behalf of oil, automobile, and power-generating companies, and which funded the first French fascist movement, Le Faisceau. Some interwar fascist movements also came to depend on subsidies from the Italian Fascist and German Nazi regimes in the 1930s.

These sources of funding for fascist movements self-evidently raised questions about their political independence and made them easy targets for their political opponents. Financing by the two fascist regimes allowed them to be portrayed as the “fifth columns” of aggressive foreign powers and as a threat to national independence and security, a fact that undermined fascist movements’ self-image as their countries’ only true national and nationalist political force. Financing by businessmen made fascist movements appear little more than violent antisocialism and the mouthpiece of their financial backers. The French fascist movement of the 1920s, Le Faisceau, disintegrated under the weight of this dilemma, its leader, Georges Valois, eventually deciding that he could not risk compromising his political program as the price for securing the financing to keep the movement afloat.

In post-1945 Germany and Italy, neofascist movements have benefited from and come to rely upon systems of public subsidies for political parties, created presumably to end the parties’ compromising dependence on private and sectional interest funding. In the case of the MSI, this system rescued the movement financially, since as one of the postwar parties permanently excluded from the orbit of government, it was unable to enjoy and exercise the patronage and favors that came to parties which did form governments and insert themselves into public bodies and institutions. Some Western European postwar neofascist movements have, at various times, funded themselves by criminal activities, either directly by robbing banks or indirectly by receiving the proceeds of international

drug trafficking channeled to them by organized crime, including the Mafia. Some have received funding from the Gaddafi regime in Libya and from pro-Iranian Iraqi exiles in Western Europe (on the basis of their anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist positions). Most contemporary neofascist movements, however, continue to rely on self-generated income, membership subscriptions and donations, and profits on the sale of tapes, records, CDs, T-shirts, badges, newspapers, and books, sometimes supplemented by subsidies from individual secret donors. The costs of running a neofascist group or disseminating fascist ideas are, anyway, being reduced by the communications revolution, with extensive use of the Internet, and by the internationalization and cross-fertilization of contemporary groups, who borrow and recycle each other's information and material, a development that is itself a product of the ease of communication across cyber-space.

Philip Morgan

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; BUCARD, MARCEL; CAPITALISM; CYBERFASCISM; FASCIO, THE; FRANCE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; ITALY; LIBYA; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; POSTWAR FASCISM; QADHAFI (GADHDHAFI), MU'AMMAR; SOCIALISM; THYSSSEN, FRITZ; VALOIS, GEORGES

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FINLAND

Fascism in interwar Finland was shaped by the legacy of the Civil War of 1917–1918 between “Whites” and “Reds.” The extreme Right sought to “complete” the White victory. In 1929 farmers in the town of Lapua launched a movement to combat communist agitation

that soon gained the backing of conservative and business interests. The government attempted to appease the Lapua movement and turned a blind eye to its campaign of physical intimidation against its opponents on the Left. By mobilizing broad popular support, Lapua pressured parliament to adopt anticommunist legislation. However, success emboldened Lapua's leaders to flout the law and seek greater influence. Lapua's support of conservative statesman P. E. Svinhufvud ensured his election to the presidency in 1931, but it was his resoluteness in the face of an ill-planned Lapuan uprising, supported by local civil guard units in Mäntsälä in February 1932, that led to the banning of the movement. A few months later the *Isänmaallinen kansanliike* (IKL; Patriotic People's Movement) was founded to continue propagating Lapua's goals. While Lapua was purely a reactionary movement, IKL developed characteristics typical of fascist parties. It adopted paramilitary attributes, such as a uniform consisting of a black shirt with a blue tie, and championed “Finnicization”—that is, minimizing the influence of the Swedish minority. Although IKL gained a parliamentary representation of fourteen deputies, it lacked Lapua's impact. In contrast to the broad bourgeois front mobilized by Lapua, IKL was marginalized by the establishment. A central plank in IKL's program was unifying Eastern Karelia (part of the USSR) with Finland—an idea propagated by the Academic Karelia Society (AKS), a nationalist student society influential among the educated classes during the interwar period. When Finland allied itself with Germany against the Soviet Union in 1941, IKL was given a cabinet post and the “Greater Finland” ideal gained approval. In 1944 the Finns sued for peace, and the Soviets dictated the terms of the armistice, which included the liquidation of all organizations deemed “fascist.” In the conditions of the Cold War, the emergence of an extreme-right party was precluded, though the Finnish Rural Party under the charismatic leadership of Veikko Vennamo functioned as the populist protest party of the Right. In 1995 it changed its name to the True Finns and won three seats in the 2003 parliamentary elections.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: INTRODUCTION; COLD WAR, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FARMERS; GERMANY; LAPUA; NATIONALISM; PARAMILITARISM; RURALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE

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FIUME

Adriatic port 70 miles southeast of Trieste (modern Rijeka in Croatia), flashpoint for Italian nationalist irredentism, occupied by the nationalist adventurer Gabriele D'Annunzio in September 1919. The city had been under many different rulers down the centuries, including Austria and Croatia and latterly, Hungary. By 1910 an influx of Italian immigrants had brought their numbers to 22,488 (compared with 13,351 Slavs plus Hungarians, Germans, and others). On 23 October 1918, Croat troops seized Fiume, but in November of that year Italian and Serbian troops took over a dual sovereignty, with an Italian naval presence in the harbor. The Serbian troops were then replaced by an Inter-Allied force, while the victorious powers put the topic on the agenda of the Paris Peace Conference. In 1919, Italy demanded to annex Fiume, even though the secret treaty of London of 1915, which contained Italy's terms for entering the war, had not mentioned Fiume. The grounds for the demand were that Italians were in a majority in the city. The peace conference saw arguments between President Woodrow Wilson of the United States and Italy over the fate of Fiume and North Dalmatia. Wilson insisted that Yugoslavia needed a port and that the Adriatic coast, being overwhelmingly Slavic, should be assigned to Yugoslavia.

The Italian delegation at the peace conference walked out when Wilson made this demand, and Mussolini and D'Annunzio both demanded that the Italian government occupy the city by force. Italian public opinion was with them. The peace conference, however, supported Wilson's intransigence and continued to deliberate without Italy, so that the delegation had to return in humiliation on 5 May 1919. Negotiations dragged on through the summer. At the end of August the Allies decided to cut down the strength of the Italian garrison and assign policing duties to a "neutral" (mainly British) force. The failure



While in occupation of Fiume with his "private army," celebrated Italian World War I hero, politician, and writer, Gabriele D'Annunzio pioneered or popularized certain elements of the style and political thinking later associated with Italian Fascism and Nazism. (The Great War in Gravure: the New York Times Portfolio of the War, The New York Times Co., 1917)

of the Italian negotiators at the conference to make headway intensified a widespread Italian perception that their government was too weak to resolve problems created by the war.

At the beginning of 1919, D'Annunzio, Italy's most celebrated war hero, had seized control of the movement claiming Fiume and Dalmatia for Italy. In June of that year he published a warning that he was ready to seize Fiume by force if the negotiations failed. During the summer Mussolini and D'Annunzio met for the first time (Mussolini's mistress, Margherita Sarfatti, had known the poet for many years). On 12 September, with the arrival of the new police force imminent, D'Annunzio led 2,000 Italian troops into the city. The force included Arditi and soldiers who had deserted to join the invasion. That evening he appeared on the balcony of the governor's palace and called for the support of the citizens, arguing that Fiume was the embodi-

ment of what Italy had fought for in the war. He finished with a proclamation that the city was thenceforth annexed to Italy. By the end of October further desertions from the Italian army had boosted the occupation force to around 8,500, and enthusiastic support came from all over Italy.

D'Annunzio appointed as his propaganda director a war veteran called Francisco Giunta. At the beginning of 1920 Giunta was also made head of the Trieste Fascio by the Fascist Central Committee. Trieste became a crucial point of contact between Mussolini's supporters and those of D'Annunzio. Giunta created a number of Fascist squads. The hinterland of Istria included numerous Slovenes, and Giunta and Mussolini claimed that the squads had been formed to combat Slovene separatists and their Bolshevik allies. In the summer of 1920 the squads burned down Slovene association buildings and then the offices of socialist groupings.

In September 1920, D'Annunzio proclaimed a constitution for Fiume that created corporations set up so as to represent citizens in accord with their occupations or economic interests. Mussolini supported D'Annunzio publicly by publishing articles in praise of him, while at the same time secretly negotiating with Italian Prime Minister Giolitti to abstain from any action should an invasion of Fiume be undertaken by the Italian government. D'Annunzio lost the support of many conservatively minded Italians because he allowed the citizens to indulge in excessively hedonistic lifestyles. He even invented his own religious Holy Days. Meanwhile, the Treaty of Rapallo of 12 November 1920 enacted that Fiume should become a free state. At the end of that year Italian government forces attacked the city and D'Annunzio retired to Lake Garda. In January 1924 the Fascist government formalized Italian annexation of the city, which became part of Yugoslavia in 1945.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CORPORATISM; CROATIA; DALMATIA; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); *SQUADRISMO*; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR I; YUGOSLAVIA

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FOOTBALL/SOCCER

In Italy the Fascist youth corps, the Balilla, and the Dopolavoro recreational organization coordinated local footballing activities, while the Comitato Olimpico Nazionale Italiano restructured the Italian Football Federation. In 1926 the professional game was institutionalized, and by 1929 the first national league had been established. Rhetoric highlighted training and performance as a demonstration of militaristic Fascist strength, but more visible were the architectural projects that led to the construction or modernization of football stadia in cities such as Milan (1926), Bologna (1927), Rome (1930), Naples (1932), Florence (1933), and Turin (1933).

Government policy did not always manage to conceal obvious conflicts and contradictions. In the first of several incidents, Fascist *squadristi* supporting Bologna invaded the pitch in a game against Genoa in 1925. A nationalist ban on signing foreign players was bypassed by making exceptions for those born abroad of Italian parents. (Five Latin Americans in that category played in the national team.) These apparent incongruities could take nothing away from Bologna's European victories or the success of the national team under its coach Vittorio Pozzo. When the World Cup was held in Italy in 1934, the home team won, its on-pitch violence unpunished by some questionable refereeing. Although the victors received the *Coppa del Duce* in addition to the World Cup itself, the tournament was not as consciously propagandistic as Hitler's Berlin Olympics, in which an Italian universities squad won the football gold. Despite hostile crowds Italy also won the 1938 World Cup in France, famously playing in black shirts for their quarter-final match.

Germany could not rival such success. Felix Linne-mann, president of the German Football Federation, was a reliable supporter of Nazi policy, but this did not mean that German football was thoroughly nazified. The SA had their own team, and the sport was played within Kraft durch Freude and the Hitler Youth, yet football remained essentially amateur in Germany, even if the Nazis tolerated the payments made by a few clubs. Moreover, the elimination of Jews and leftists from clubs and a ban on workers' and then on Christian teams considerably reduced the level of popular participation. A central reason why German football never developed into a potent propaganda weapon was the status of the national team. Under trainers Otto

Nerz and, from 1938, Sepp Herberger, Germany had a tendency to lose on unsuitable occasions. In the first game Hitler saw, against Norway in the Berlin Olympics, they went under 2–0. Austria defeated Germany 2–0 in a game in 1938 designed to celebrate the *Anschluss*. (After that Austrian players were incorporated into the German squad; Austria would not have a national team again until after the war.) In the same year Germany was eliminated by Switzerland in the first round of the World Cup. Nazi reprisals could be extreme: in 1942, after Dynamo Kiev beat a Luftwaffe team, the Ukrainian players were sent to a concentration camp. By contrast, the games Germany lost against England in London (1935) and Berlin (1938) were in fact diplomatic triumphs for the Nazis – particularly the 1938 Berlin game, notable for the sight of the English team giving the Nazi salute in the capital of the Reich—a propaganda coup for Hitler.

In Spain football came under Falangist and military control after the victory of General Franco, although it quickly evolved into a site for regional opposition to the centralist regime. Eventually the authorities viewed the sport as a form of political demobilization, but during World War II the Spanish national team took part in games with the Axis powers, raising their hands in the obligatory fascist salute before matches, just like their German and Italian colleagues.

Almost all countries in Europe have their share of football hooligans who are attached to current neo-Nazi and racist groups. In Italy, Inter Milan, Lazio, and Bergamo are among the teams infiltrated, while Real Madrid (with its Ultrasur following) and FC Barcelona (and its Boixos Nois) feature prominently in racist violence. Paris St. Germain attracts racist fans, as does the Hungarian team Ferencváros. The English group Combat 18 is associated with Chelsea and has succeeded in causing disruption when the national team is playing. In the 1990s a survey found that 20 percent of German fans felt close to neo-Nazis.

John London

See Also: *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; AXIS, THE; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; COMBAT 18; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; ITALY; LEISURE; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MILITARISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROPAGANDA; RACISM; SA, THE; SALUTES; SPAIN; SPORT; *SQUADRISTI*, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YOUTH

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FORCED LABOR

The National Socialist regime subjected different groups of its own people and the peoples of the occupied states to forced labor as a means of bolstering its political and economic dominance. The forms and intensities of the force employed varied according to the value that the relevant groups had in the National Socialist hierarchy of races. Among the forced laborers were above all Jews, the inmates of the concentration camps and other places of imprisonment, civilian workers who had been brought from the Occupied Territories to the German Reich, prisoners of war, and persons who had to work for German ends outside the Reich. Alongside the forced labor to which after 1938 a considerable portion of the population of the Reich was subjected, the situation of the forced laborers was distinguished by a higher measure of deprivation of legal cover and shortage of foodstuffs than was the case for the German people at large.

The number of Jews in slave labor in the German Reich—especially in the armaments industry—topped the 50,000 mark in the summer of 1941. But even employment in the armaments industry, so important for the war effort, offered no real protection to them from deportation to ghettos or death camps. By the summer of 1943 virtually all Jewish slave laborers had been deported from Germany. The forced labor for Jews in the territories occupied by Germany began in October 1939 with the imposition of forced labor on the Polish Jews in the General Gouvernement. By the end of 1940 at least 700,000 Jews were working in ghettos or camps under the harshest conditions, doing forced labor for the Germans. With the beginning of the systematic “final solution” at the end of the year 1941, employment in armaments-related work became for Jewish slave laborers a direct matter of survival. But for the most part, however, it meant simply a delay of their death sentence.



Inmates from the Buchenwald concentration camp at work on a German railroad: forced labor played a significant part in the German wartime economy. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum)

In the early days of the Nazi concentration camps forced labor served above all for the breaking of the prisoners' feeling of self-respect. From 1938 at the latest, the SS began—with the founding of their own economic enterprises—to use prison labor also for the realization of economic goals. With the shortage of labor becoming increasingly acute in the war economy, in late summer 1942 the systematic exploitation of prison labor for the armament industry developed, something that had been happening only occasionally prior to that. The SS made available concentration camp inmates as loan workers on a large scale to private armaments companies such as HASAG, IG Farben, Daimler Benz, and many others. In the spring of 1944 shortages of labor in mining for the armaments industry became so acute that 100,000 Hungarian Jews were deported as concentration camp inmates for forced labor in the Reich. Especially in the last months of the war, the survival chances of these prison workers sank to a mini-

mum. After 1940, some 10,000 foreign and German inmates of special police camps or work camps, who had been guilty of infringements of "work discipline," spent short periods working under conditions similar to those of the concentration camp inmates. After the summer of 1944 more than 90 percent of prisoners in the justice system found themselves involved in the war economy, partly outside the prison walls.

Even before the outbreak of the war, labor shortages in the German Reich had occasionally made necessary the recruitment of foreign labor. After the war began, the occupied territories, in spite of the racist-ideological prejudice against the importation of foreigners into the Reich, were immediately used as a reservoir of labor for German industry and agriculture. Alongside those whose recruitment was not entirely without a voluntary element, there followed recruitment of labor especially in occupied Eastern Europe by conscription and sometimes by manhunts

involving brutal violence. There was a clear intensification and brutalization in the practice of recruitment in the occupied territories after the Thuringian Gauleiter Fritz Sauckel was put in charge of labor recruitment in March 1942. A greater part of the labor deported from the occupied territories consisted of women and young persons. Their treatment in the German Reich varied very much according to their “racial origin” and foreign policy considerations. The National Socialists distinguished between workers of Germanic origin, who were formally put on a level close to that of German workers, and workers from alien peoples, who were to be accommodated only in camps and who were at the mercy of further discrimination. For workers from Poland and the Soviet Union there was a special severely discriminatory decree passed that provided for obligatory marking and limited their freedom and mobility considerably. Even for most of the foreigners who had initially signed up voluntarily on a limited contract, return to their homes was forbidden after October 1942. By the late summer of 1944 nearly 6 million foreign civilians were working in the German Reich.

Soon after the invasion of Poland, the German war economy began to exploit the labor of prisoners of war. The employment of prisoners of war was permitted according to the human rights provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1929, as long as it followed principles of humanity and did not stand in direct relationship to war activities. While these guidelines were widely applied to the treatment of Anglo-American prisoners of war, they were infringed in respect of the use of French, Belgian, and Serbian prisoners of war. In the case of Polish, Soviet, and (after 1943) Italian prisoners of war, the human rights provisos were completely ignored. The Nazi leadership first agreed to the employment of Soviet prisoners of war in the autumn of 1941. Up to February 1942, some 2 million of the 3.35 million Red Army soldiers taken prisoner were murdered or died in the concentration camps of the Wehrmacht. From February 1942 to the end of the war, around 1.3 million Soviet prisoners of war died—for the most part in labor service. Overall, more than 57 percent of the 5.9 million Red Army soldiers who were in German imprisonment during the war perished.

The total number of slave laborers employed during the war in the German Reich (inclusive of the annexed territories) is estimated at about 12 to 13 million. Only in the year 2000, after decades of protracted struggle, did a significant proportion of the survivors receive compensation, with the establishment of a foundation—Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft (Mem-

ory, Responsibility and Future)—funded by contributions from numerous businesses.

It is impossible to calculate more precisely at the present time the number of those who worked as slave laborers for the German conquerors beyond the borders of the Reich. Among them were Jewish and non-Jewish concentration camp inmates and parts of the civilian population of the occupied lands, who under different degrees of compulsion served German administrations, companies, and institutions like the Todt organization, the railways, or the Wehrmacht. Especially in Eastern Europe, the conditions of existence of these persons were at the most not better, and often worse, than the conditions of existence of forced laborers in the Reich. Some were resettled in work camps, but the majority were able to remain in their homes.

Hans-Christoph Seidel
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FARMERS; *GENERAL GOUVERNEMENT*/GENERAL GOVERNMENT, THE; GHETTOS; HOLOCAUST, THE; IG FARBEN; INDUSTRY; MEDICINE; NAZISM; PARAGUAY; POLAND; RACISM; SLAVS THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; U.S. CORPORATIONS; VOLKSWAGEN; WAR; WEHRMACHT, THE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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FORD, HENRY (1863–1947)

Leading U.S. car manufacturer and anti-Semite in the interwar years, admired and decorated by Hitler. Ford was born and educated at Springwells (now Greenfield) Township, Michigan. Although he left school at age sixteen and worked for years as a mechanic, in 1903 he founded the Ford Motor Company, soon famous for its

innovations in advertising, mass marketing, assembly-line production, high minimum wage, and reduced work week. After failing at various political ventures, which included personal efforts to end World War I and a race for the U.S. Senate, in 1919, Ford launched a weekly magazine, the *Dearborn Independent*. In it he endorsed such traditionally reformist causes as temperance, women's rights, and the League of Nations while attacking big business and Wall Street. Beginning in the spring of 1920, however, and continuing through the beginning of 1922, Ford espoused a vehement anti-Semitism. His editor, William J. Cameron, was a lay preacher who believed that the Anglo-Saxons were the true children of Israel. His private secretary, Ernest Liebold, served as special "investigator" of Jewish influences. Ford published not only the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* but also a work entitled *The International Jew*, the latter widely translated and circulated throughout the world. In his writings Jews were blamed for a whole series of events, including the assassination of Lincoln, the launching of World War I, and the success of the Bolshevik Revolution. More mundane "offenses" included jazz music, short skirts, and rolled-down stockings for women. By 1923 the journal's circulation was approaching half a million. Four years later, however, Ford terminated the magazine after a major lawsuit and apologized to the Jews for his negative comments. Adolf Hitler had long been a strong admirer of Ford, praising him in *Mein Kampf*. By 1933 the Nazis had published twenty-nine editions of *The International Jew*, and in 1938 Hitler bestowed the Grand Cross of the Supreme Order of the German Eagle on the auto manufacturer. In 1938, Ford suffered a stroke so severe that his mental capacities deteriorated. When World War II broke out in Europe, Ford publicly blamed the conflict on "greedy financial groups" and privately saw Jewish conspiracy at work. The German subsidiary of his Ford corporation played a crucial role in manufacturing vehicles and armaments for the Nazi war effort.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; HITLER, ADOLF; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; U.S. CORPORATIONS; WORLD WAR I

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FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH (1846–1935)

Sister of Friedrich Nietzsche, enthusiastic disseminator of his works, and admirer of Nazism, for which she claimed her brother as a prophet. Her husband, Bernhard Förster, was a fanatical anti-Semite, and together they settled in Paraguay in 1886 with a handful of other families to found Nueva Germania, which was, in a chillingly prophetic anticipation of the Nazi enterprise, to be a racially pure Aryan colony from which all Jewish "taint" would be excluded. Her philosopher brother made no secret of his contempt for the extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism of the couple. Both Bernhard and Elisabeth were devotees of Richard Wagner, whose circle had nurtured and encouraged their thinking, but Friedrich Nietzsche had found that aspect of Wagnerism increasingly repellent after his initial admiration for the composer had worn off. Elisabeth returned to Germany after the project had run into difficulties and her husband had committed suicide in 1889, and she nursed her brother during the final years of his life, after he had succumbed to insanity. She set up the Nietzsche Archive in the house in which he spent his last years in Weimar, and she developed an editing and publishing center dedicated to the dissemination of the philosopher's writings.

Benito Mussolini professed himself an admirer of Friedrich Nietzsche: in 1908 he wrote that the German philosopher "had the most congenial mind of the last quarter of the nineteenth century," and he claimed that it was Nietzsche who had "cured" him of his classic socialism. When Mussolini came to power in 1922, Elisabeth wrote to congratulate him, and a warm correspondence ensued. In 1928, in her capacity as chairman of the Nietzsche Archive, she gave an address in praise of Il Duce. Writing at this time to the Italian ambassador to Germany, she claimed that her brother would have been proud of the great leader of Italy, "who offers mankind the happy chance of salvation." She assumed that Mussolini had rediscovered the true Nietzschean

values. The dictator fully reciprocated her devotion to the spirit of her brother. Elisabeth even arranged to have a play written by Mussolini about Napoleon performed in German at the Weimar National Theater in 1932. Hitler was present and personally gifted her with a bouquet of red roses.

Elisabeth became a devotee of Hitler, whom she referred to as “our wonderful Chancellor” and “a splendid gift from heaven,” and she was instrumental in encouraging the idea that Nazism was somehow the fulfillment of her brother’s vision—grafting onto his thought anti-Semitic and extreme nationalist ideas for which he had actually expressed antipathy in his lifetime, and making a cult of his memory. Hitler in turn professed himself an admirer of Nietzsche. In 1934 he allocated Elisabeth an honorary monthly stipend in recognition of her services to the Reich. Hitler was present in person at her funeral, along with a Nazi guard of honor. The association of Nietzsche with Nazism brought the philosopher’s name into disrepute for several decades.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BAEUMLER, ALFRED; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NUEVA GERMANIA; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD

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FORTUYN, PIM: See **NETHERLANDS, THE**
FOUR-YEAR PLAN, THE: See **INDUSTRY**

FRANCE

Whether authentic fascism developed in France, and, if so, how influential it became, is intensely debated. Many French scholars argue that a strong republican tradition made France “allergic” to fascism. They maintain that whereas some fascist movements and in-

tellectuals existed in France, these were “shallow copies,” a coat of “Roman whitewash” splashed onto a home-grown Bonapartist tradition rather than a “true French fascism” (Rémond 1969, 281, 293). Others believe that France was the “real birthplace of fascism” (Sternhell 1994, 4). Indeed, Sternhell considers that it is by studying interwar France, where fascism “impregnated” political culture in a pure form uncompromised by the exercise of power, that one “is able to understand the true significance of fascism in general” (Sternhell 1986, 270).

Fascism faced genuine obstacles in France. When it first appeared in the wreckage and turmoil following World War I, France was a victor nation. Moreover, French patriotism was inextricably tied to the highest moment of French world influence: the universal lessons the French people offered in 1789 by opening the Bastille prison and by issuing the Declaration of the Rights of Man, followed by the conquest of much of Europe by Napoleon Bonaparte, whose rule, however dictatorial, never renounced all the rationalizing, egalitarian, and universalist legacies of the French Revolution. The defeat of Napoleon by European monarchies in 1815 could not turn the clock back forever; the French overthrew three more monarchs in the nineteenth century before their country became, in 1875, the first Great Power governed as a republic. Nevertheless, there was always another France. Many French monarchists and authoritarian nationalists never accepted a parliamentary republic as appropriate for *la grande nation* (“the great nation”). Already before 1914 several incidents had combined antirepublican authoritarian nationalism with popular enthusiasm in France in an unprecedented way that looks in retrospect like a preview of fascism. From 1887 to 1889, General Georges Boulanger, a patriot hero with vague plans for constitutional revision, attracted both labor and monarchist support in multiple electoral campaigns against an allegedly corrupt republic. Later, in the passionate quarrel over the wrongful imprisonment of Captain Alfred Dreyfus for espionage (1896–1906), anti-Dreyfusards linked popular pro-army, pro-Church, and anti-Semitic emotions with authoritarian nationalism. The anti-Dreyfus campaign shifted French nationalism from its French revolutionary origins to the right. By 1914, a new nationalist populism had come into being in France. It drew not only upon the popular patriotism of several nationalist “leagues” but also upon a new cult of will and action expressed by intellectuals like Georges Sorel. The most important organized expression of French anti-Dreyfusard nationalism by 1914 was Charles Maurras’s newspaper and

movement, *Action française*. Maurras's mixture of monarchism and Catholicism with popular xenophobia and resentment of international business, along with the belligerency of the young Camelots du roi, who sold *Action Française* in the street and battled leftists, has been pronounced authentically fascist by the philosopher Ernst Nolte, though most consider it at most a precursor, intermediary between reaction and fascism.

The period between the two world wars saw the greatest development of fascist or fascistic movements in France. As the euphoria of the 1918 victory dissipated, the Third Republic coped badly with three simultaneous threats: social revolution (France had the largest communist party in Europe); economic depression; and German revival. With parliament splintered both on the Left (communists vs. parliamentary socialists) and on the Right (parliamentary conservatives vs. antisystem rightists), and with the center (radicals) voting left on constitutional issues and right on socioeconomic ones, no solid majority was available to cope effectively with any of these threats. France had forty-one governments, some of them tarnished by corruption, between 1918 and 1939. Aggressive far-right movements arose whenever the Left gained. When a center-left coalition, the Cartel des Gauches, won the 1924 parliamentary election, Georges Valois, a Maurrassien who had already tried in 1911 to attract workers to the nationalist cause in the Cercle Proudhon, founded the Faisceau (1925), whose name (the "Bundle," or *Fascio*) and ideas derived directly from Mussolini. Pierre Taittinger, a champagne magnate, responded to the reburial in 1924 of socialist leader Jaurès in the Pantheon by forming the more traditionally nationalist Jeunesses Patriotes (Patriotic Youth). Catholic opinion, too, offended by the Cartel's militant secularism, moved rightward with General Noël Currières de Castelnaud's Fédération nationale catholique (1925).

Signs of French decline multiplied in the 1930s. The Depression bit, and Hitler successfully dismantled the 1918 peace settlement without a shot. The French birth rate failed even to maintain a stable population, and the average age rose. As the Third Republic's center-left majority (renewed in 1932) became implicated in covering up fraud (the Stavisky Affair), the discontent of the "other France" grew more violent. In the absence of any prospect of uniting fragmented French conservatives in an effective equivalent of Britain's Tories, a new crop of right-wing "leagues" (they rejected the word *party*) blossomed: Jean Renaud's Solidarité française (1933), Bucard's Le Francisme (1933), both financed by the cosmetics industrialist François Coty,

and the Croix de feu (1927, expanded after 1931), along with splinter groups. The principal veterans' associations, enraged by the "lost peace," also espoused authoritarian nationalism. The peak of "league" activism in 1930s France was massive street demonstrations before the chamber of deputies on 6 February 1934 by militants of the Croix de Feu, Solidarité française, Action française, the Jeunesses patriotes, as well as several veterans' movements. Fifteen people were killed and dozens injured. Jittery republicans believed that a "March on Paris" had begun, though no evidence confirms that a coup was planned or that the participating leagues could agree on a single leader. Both the parliamentary republic and the capitalist market worked badly in the mid-1930s and were widely criticized; not all of their critics were fascists.

Although the leagues were strong enough to topple a French government in February 1934, they were not strong enough to install one of their leaders in power. In the period of intense polarization that followed the February riots, the Left drew more votes. The Popular Front coalition (socialists, radicals, and communists) won elections in May 1936. Prime Minister Léon Blum banned paramilitary leagues in June, something that Chancellor Heinrich Brüning had failed to do in Germany six years earlier. The Popular Front's victory had been narrow, however, and the sight of a Jew like Blum as premier, supported by communist votes, aroused the Right to a paroxysm of indignation. Reaction to the Popular Front produced Doriot's Parti populaire français (1936), Colonel François de La Rocque's Parti social français, based on the banned Croix de feu, and Eugène Deloncle's conspiratorial Comité secret d'action révolutionnaire, or Cagoule (French for "hood"). The Cagoule prepared to eliminate communists from the civil service and military and assassinated Italian antifascist refugees in France at the request of Mussolini before being closed down by the police (1937).

Sternhell concluded that fascism "impregnated" the language and attitudes of French public life in the 1930s (Sternhell 1986, 29, 209, 293). Undeniably, fascism became fashionable then among many younger intellectuals, who contrasted its youth, vigor, and excitement with the graying, tired republic. Novelists Robert Brasillach, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, and Céline, and reviews like *Je Suis Partout* made scorn for the republic intellectually chic. Most French and some foreign critics of Sternhell consider that he makes his "fascist" category far too broad by including a wide range of conservative and authoritarian critics of French parliamentary inefficacy and corruption, and they find his conclusions excessive.

No one denies the label of fascist to Valois's *Faisceau*, Bucard's *Francisme*, Renaud's *Solidarité française*, and Doriot's *Parti populaire français* between the wars. These enrolled only a few thousand members, however, except for the PPF, which claimed 300,000 members in 1938. A more plausible figure is 60,000, of whom about 15,000 were really active. The PPF had a genuine popular following in Doriot's fief of Saint-Denis (a working-class Paris suburb), where some of his original working-class clientele followed him from communism to fascism, making the PPF easily the most proletarian of the French far-right movements. Marseilles had a PPF mayor (Simon Sabiani), and the party had a mass following in Algiers, along with some intellectual and industrial backers. The one far-right movement that achieved mass catch-all party status between 1936 and 1940 was La Rocque's *Parti Social Français* (PSF). Any assessment of fascism in France turns on it. If the PSF was fascist, fascism was powerful in 1930s France; if not, fascism remained marginal. La Rocque, an army officer of monarchist background, assumed control in 1931 of the *Croix de Feu* (CdF), an association of veterans decorated under fire. He opened it to nonveterans and committed it to political activism. He denounced the weakness and corruption of parliament, warned against the Bolshevik threat, and advocated a strong executive capable of vigorous repression of internal and external enemies. His paramilitary *Dispos* (from the French word for "ready") conducted militaristic automobile rallies (1933–1934) that mobilized secretly for "D-Day" and "H-Hour" in apparent preparation for opposing communist insurrection by force. The CdF's fascist reputation was fortified by participation in the February 1934 demonstrations. La Rocque kept his forces apart, however, and disbanded them when disorder began. While CdF folklore highlighted clashes with communists, La Rocque cultivated a public impression of discipline and order rather than disorderly street violence. Almost uniquely on the French Right, he rejected anti-Semitism and even recruited some patriotic Jews (though his Alsatian and Algerian branches were anti-Semitic). Although La Rocque admired Mussolini (except for what he saw as excessive statism), he retained the anti-Germanism of most French nationalists.

Colonel de La Rocque's replacement for the banned CdF in 1936, the *Parti social français* (PSF), abandoned paramilitary rallies and turned to elections (not incompatible with fascism, as Hitler and Mussolini showed). He emphasized national reconciliation and socioeconomic justice under a strong but elected leader. The PSF grew rapidly. Some interpret this growth as

public ratification of the PSF's moderation, a judgment reinforced by the departure of disappointed hard-liners for Doriot's PPF and harsh criticisms from the Right of La Rocque as "soft." Others believe that the PSF carried moderate conservatives rightward in their fear of the Popular Front. Some scholars, mostly non-French, have concluded that both La Rocque's first movement (the CdF) and his second (the PSF) were fascist. Important differences, however, between the CdF, with its paramilitary exercises and its apparent readiness to supplant state authority, and the explicitly legalitarian PSF persuade others to split their vote: the former was fascist, the latter not. The PSF, with its unverifiable million-plus members, was the largest party in France on the eve of World War II and the first real mass cross-class party in France. It recruited eight to ten deputies elected under other labels in 1936, and won two more seats in by-elections (1937–1939), but since the national election of 1940 never took place, La Rocque's expectation of a hundred deputies could never be tested.

Fascism's success among French farmers is a significant issue, since both Mussolini and Hitler won their first mass following in the countryside, and since France was still half rural. French farmers, already losing out, resentful of organized labor and urban elites, and devastated by the 1930s price collapse, were ready for extreme solutions. Henry Dorgères's *Défense paysanne* was the most important extreme-right farmers' movement in the 1930s. But was it authentically fascist? Dorgères openly praised Fascist Italy in 1933 and 1934 (though he later declared it to have been too statist), and he adopted elements of fascist style: colored shirts, inflamed oratory, nationalism, corporatism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism. His Greenshirts were ready to use violence against farm foreclosures, striking farm workers, and price-cutting middlemen. On the other hand, while Dorgères skillfully aroused farmers' anger, he tended to see urban shopkeepers as enemies and thus failed to build the true "catch-all" party of fully developed fascisms. The size of *Défense paysanne* is hard to gauge. Dorgères was capable of gathering the largest crowds ever assembled in French country towns. Outside moments of peak excitement, however, his movement was skeletal—farmers, after all, had to go home and work their fields. Dorgères's two largest weeklies (he had several others, as well as a monthly) had a peak circulation of about 50,000 in 1934. Dorgères's movement was also limited to Catholic and conservative Brittany, Normandy, the Channel coast, and a few spots in the Loire Valley. Much of southern and southwestern France remained closed to the

Greenshirts by long-standing peasant attachment to the traditions of the French Revolution, which had given them full title to their little plots. The Communist Party successfully channeled peasant rage away from fascism in traditionally left-leaning regions. Here the French Republican tradition apparently did impede fascism.

Other factors that limited rural fascism in France were the readiness of the French state to repress agrarian strikes (unlike the situation in Italy in 1920–1921), and the entrenched social power of the conservative farm organizations. They organized successful cooperatives and supplied essential services, while the Greenshirts offered only a vent for anger. The crucial turning point arrived in 1937, when Jacques Le Roy Ladurie, president of the powerful French Farmers' Federation (Fédération nationale des exploitants agricoles; FNEA), who had earlier helped Dorgères arouse rural crowds, decided that it would be more efficacious to construct a farmers' lobby capable of influencing state administration from within.

The Depression, for all its ravages, was less severe in France than in more industrially concentrated Britain and Germany. The Third Republic, despite its lurching, never suffered deadlock or total paralysis. Mainstream conservatives did not feel sufficiently threatened in the 1930s to need fascist help. Finally, no single federator emerged to dominate the small army of rival French fascist *chefs*, most of whom preferred intransigent doctrinal "purity" to the kind of deal-making with conservatives that Mussolini and Hitler practiced. As France regained some calm and stability in 1938–1939 under an energetic center-left prime minister, Edouard Daladier, all the far-right movements except the most moderate one, La Rocque's PSE, lost ground. Growth of the Axis threat against France discredited those who appeared to support France's main enemies—another obstacle to fascism in France. The PPF offended some nationalists when Doriot approved the Munich Agreements granting Czech territory to Hitler in September 1938.

Inasmuch as France was a satisfied nation, more concerned to keep its possessions than to expand, but at the same time still traumatized by the bloodletting of World War I, the French far Right found itself in the odd position in the late 1930s of rejecting "Stalin's war" against Hitler and abandoning its traditional terrain of national defense to the antifascist Left. Some French fascist intellectuals openly scorned French patriotism. After 1940 they threw in their lot with Hitler and advocated the submersion of petty French national identity within a grand European fascism (for example,

Déat, Drieu La Rochelle). This rejection of nationalism and expansionist militarism by some sectors of the French far Right after 1938 sets them apart from mainstream fascism. After the defeat of 1940, it was the traditional Right, rather than the fascist Right, that established and ran the collaborationist Vichy government. The defeat of May–June 1940 so discredited the Third French Republic that the French National Assembly voted full powers on 10 July 1940 to an eighty-four-year-old World War I hero, Marshal Philippe Pétain, who had been the most prominent advocate in June of giving up the fight. Pétain set up a provisional capital at Vichy, in the unoccupied south, and governed through authoritarian personal rule supported by the traditional French state services, the economic and social establishment, the military, and the Roman Catholic Church. There was no single party or obligatory youth movement (the Church opposed them). The closest equivalent to a Vichy official party was the veterans' organization, the Légion française des combattants, and the closest to a youth movement was six months of obligatory service for young men in rural camps under paternalist military leadership, the Chantiers de jeunesse. Pétain collaborated with the Nazi authorities in hopes of earning a suitable place in the new German-dominated Europe, which he was convinced was permanent.

Hitler himself preferred to keep Vichy out of the hands of the French fascists. France was the German army's most valuable conquest. Since French neutrality, products, and manpower were indispensable assets for the Reich war machine, Hitler was not about to endanger them by handing the administration of France to one of the petty squabbling fascist chieflings. He kept a number of them available on the Nazi payroll in Paris, however, in case he needed to pressure Pétain with a rival. The most important were Doriot's PPF and the former socialist Marcel Déat's Rassemblement national populaire, which acquired sizable followings. The main role that Hitler gave home-grown fascists in occupied countries was to recruit local volunteers to freeze and die on the Russian front. Doriot and the Belgian Degrelle were the only European fascist leaders to fight in person in German uniform on the Eastern Front. Doriot accompanied some 6,000 other Frenchmen in the semiofficial Légion des volontaires contre le bolshévisme. Only in the last days of the war, when the tide had turned and the conservative notables who had earlier supported Vichy drew back, and when Vichy became transformed into a police state in its fight against the Resistance, did parallel institutions appear—the Milice, or supplementary police; the "special sections" in the judiciary; the Police for Jewish Affairs—and fig-

ures close to fascism, such as Déat and Joseph Darnand, obtained office.

For a generation after the Liberation of 1945, the French extreme Right was discredited by association with Nazi and Italian occupation. It had not vanished, however, and movements that show some kinship with fascism persisted. First came survivor movements: the unreconstructed partisans of the anticommunist, anti-American “New Europe” promised by Hitler, and the resentful victims of the postwar purge. Maurice Bardèche, brother-in-law of the executed fascist novelist Robert Brasillach, spoke for them in his 1961 essay “Qu’est-ce que le fascisme?” (“What Is Fascism?”). As the survivors died out, a new extreme-right generation emerged around new themes reflecting the special problems of the postwar Fourth Republic: the loss of Great Power status, the influence of communism among intellectuals, and defense of the white “Occident” against Third World immigrants and revolutionaries. Jeune Nation (begun in 1950), led by Jacques and Pierre Sidos and mobilizing several thousand followers (often students), painted its Celtic cross on walls, mounted physical attacks on the Left, and called for authority, order, and hierarchy.

The losers in France’s spectacular economic boom after the 1950s provided more troops for the extreme Right. Struggling shopkeepers and peasants flocked to the UDCA of Pierre Poujade, which peaked at 2,500,000 votes (11.5 percent) in January 1956. The UDCA scorned parliamentary weakness and was occasionally anti-Semitic, but it lacked all the external insignia and most of the authoritarian, corporatist, and expansionist program of classical fascism. It was mostly a pressure group for aid to those left behind by modernization. Loss of empire was the greatest postwar trauma. France lost first Indochina and then Algeria in nonstop colonial wars (1945–1962), an ordeal unmatched by any other colonial power. Anger at decolonization crested with Algerian independence in 1962. Diehards, organized in movements like the OAS (Organisation armée secrète) and MP-13, tried to sabotage the peace, overthrow the republic, and establish an anticommunist military dictatorship.

Charles De Gaulle’s Fifth Republic (1958) undermined this generation of far-right activists by providing substitute foci for French national pride: a nuclear bomb, rapid economic growth, and international prestige through an activist foreign policy. Gaullism provided at last the broad, catch-call conservative party that France had lacked. Tiny factions like Occident (1964) and Ordre nouveau (1970–1973) fought each other on streets and campuses for a dwindling antisys-

tem right clientele. Immigration, economic stagnation, and socialism in power (François Mitterrand, 1981–1994) gave the French far Right a new lease on life after 1980. Whereas previous immigrants (with the significant exception of Jews fleeing Russian pogroms in the 1880s) had been Europeans, now they came from Africa and the Caribbean. Many were Muslims who rejected assimilation. When times were good, their labor was needed, but when the postwar boom ended and unemployment reappeared, resentment rose. In addition, many French people resented immigrants for diluting French culture and blamed them for urban decay and delinquency.

The main beneficiary was the Front National (FN), founded in 1972. Gradually taken in hand by a veteran of colonial wars, Jean-Marie Le Pen, the FN won the biggest following of any far-right party since World War II in the 1984 European parliament elections (11 percent) and the 1986 French parliamentary election (10 percent, 35 seats). The FN attracted unemployed and disillusioned former communists as well as traditional rightists, and, with the decline of communism, became the principal beneficiary of protest voting. It capitalized on the resentments of ordinary French people troubled by petty crime, unemployment, and the loss of French prestige in the world. Although Le Pen sometimes let slip an anti-Semitic remark, it was primarily anti-Muslim feelings that fueled his movement rather than anti-Semitism, in decline in France since the end of World War II (even after the cooling of French relations with Israel after the 1967 war).

In the first round of the April 2002 presidential elections, Le Pen came in second, with 19 percent of the vote, but this fluke reflected the Left’s divisions. In the second round he was limited to the same 15 percent as throughout the previous decade. Nevertheless, the FN had some success bending the national agenda in its direction. It also managed to root itself in some French cities with declining industrial employment and large immigrant populations, especially along the Mediterranean coast and in eastern France. There it elected mayors and city councilmen and acquired enough local electoral muscle to persuade some mainline conservatives to accept it as a normal partner in electoral coalitions against the Left. The FN exhibited some, but not all, of the features of classical fascism. It echoed fascism in its cult of action, of leadership, and of “law and order,” as well as in a xenophobia verging on racism. It lacked other basic features of fascism, however: state economic control, for it wanted economic liberty; military expansionism; and fundamen-

tal rejection of the parliamentary republic. Like the PSF in the 1930s, it did best when it muted overt references to classical fascism.

Robert O. Paxton

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; BARDÈCHE, MAURICE; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; BLANCHOT, MAURICE; BOLSHEVISM; BOULANGISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; BRASILLACH, ROBERT; BUCARD, MARCEL; CAESARISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CELINE, LOUIS FERDINAND; *CERCLE PROUDHON*, THE; CORPORATISM; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DÉAT, MARCEL; DORIOT, JACQUES; DREYFUS CASE, THE; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE; ECONOMICS; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FARMERS; FASCIO, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GRECE; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; LA ROQUE DE SEVERAC, COMTE FRANCOIS DE; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM; MUNICH PACT, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE), THE; NATIONALISM; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; POSTWAR FASCISM; POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND; REBATET, LUCIEN; SOCIALISM; SOREL, GEORGES; STATE, THE; TRADITIONALISM; VALOIS, GEORGES; VICHY; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; XENOPHOBIA

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General Francisco Franco came to power in Spain with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini and has often been regarded as the third in a trio of fascist dictators. He kept Spain neutral during World War II, however, and his regime was more authoritarian/traditionalist than fascist. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO (1892–1975)

Dictator of Spain and the nation's sole arbiter at the head of a single party, the army, and a fascistic régime for thirty-six years. The most successful but least well known of Europe's right-wing interwar leaders. Franco lacked charisma, was far from intellectually brilliant, was short and squat, and those who met him invariably commented sarcastically on his femininity. One wrote: "A small man, his hand is like a woman's. . . . [H]is

voice is shrill and pitched on a high note which is slightly disconcerting since he speaks very softly—almost in a whisper” (quoted in Preston 1993, 168). That apparent timidity and his natural caution—underpinned, according to some authors, by a feeling of inadequacy and insecurity—undoubtedly aided his survival during nearly four decades, while also hiding his burning ambition. Franco was born in El Ferrol on 4 December 1892, one of five children. His family had a naval history but he joined the army, graduating from the Toledo military academy in 1910. Posted to Morocco, he earned a reputation as a brave soldier, reaching the rank of major in 1917. He was offered the post as second-in-command with the Tercio (Foreign Legion) in October 1920, under the eccentric, one-armed, blind-in-one eye, death-obsessed General José Millán Astray. Franco took over command in 1923.

In October 1923, Franco married Carmen Polo in Oviedo. Throughout the thirty-six years of his dictatorship, he carried the mummified hand of Saint Teresa of Ávila—an ostentatious Catholicism that appears to have stemmed from his pious wife. In 1926, Franco became Europe’s youngest general; two years later, he was named commander of Zaragoza’s military academy, the closing of which, ordered in July 1931, fueled an intense hostility on his part toward the Republic and Manuel Azaña. The country was by now under a right-wing government, and Franco was called in to put down the 1934 Asturias revolt with the army of Africa, which he did with particular bloodthirstiness, making him a hero among sections of the Right. In 1935 he was made chief of staff at the Ministry of War, losing his post when the Right lost the February 1936 elections. Suspicions over his loyalty led to his relocation to the Canary Islands. Throughout the spring of 1936, Franco prevaricated over joining the plans for a rising against the elected government, earning himself the nickname “Miss Canary Islands 1936” thanks to his coyness. When he did join, he led the vital Army of Africa. Aided by a series of freakily fortuitous deaths, Franco was nominated supreme commander of the nationalist forces and head of state in October 1936, laying the foundations of the Francoist New State.

Although Hitler was an ally, Franco met him only once, in Hendaye on 23 October 1940, where they failed to agree on Spain’s entry into the war. Famously, Hitler remarked bitterly: “I’d rather have teeth pulled than go through that again.” In his *Table Talk*, Hitler made it clear that he despised Franco for his Catholicism, considering him to be subservient to the priests. As the war turned against the Axis, Franco sought to reinvent himself, but international isolation was the

price of a fascist past until the Cold War brought entry into the United Nations in 1950 and then a bases agreement with the United States and a concordat with the Vatican in 1953. In 1969, Franco announced that his successor would be King Juan Carlos.

Sid Lowe

See Also: CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; COLD WAR, THE; FALANGE; FRANCOISM; HITLER, ADOLF; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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FRANCOISM

The political system instituted by General Francisco Franco, dictator of Spain 1936–1975; often branded “fascist” but in fact differing very substantially from the “classic” fascism of Mussolini and Hitler. Francoism was less a coherent political ideology, more a series of pragmatic reactions to a changing political scene, the main aims being the maintenance of Franco’s power within Spain and the preservation of Spanish interests in the outside world. As circumstances changed, one or other of the disparate components that made up the ruling party came to the fore, and others became less important. Most generalizations turn out to be invalid, whether they be the Spanish post-Franco characterization of Francoism as having been a form of “fascism,” or the delineation, by so many, of Franco’s basic political position as having been purely and simply that of a traditional military reactionary.

The picture of Franco as a “conservative” rather than “fascist” figure has always been helped by the fact that the nationalist rebellion in 1936 appears to fit in with a whole Spanish tradition of right-wing military coups from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, the most recent of which had resulted in the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo de Rivera from 1923 to 1930. Primo de Rivera’s 1923 *pronunciamiento* (the forty-third since 1814) expressed many of the ideas that were, in their turn, to bring the military plotters of

1936 to the point of rebellion, speaking as it did of the need to liberate the country from the politicians, “the men who for one reason or another are responsible for the period of misfortune and corruption which began in 1898 and threatens to bring Spain to a tragic and dishonourable end.” There was a difference, however. Once Franco had become the leader of the 1936 rebellion, he was only too aware of the problems that would face him after the war. Primo de Rivera’s mistake, which Franco was determined not to repeat, had been not to create a political organization that would enable him to govern the country effectively. Franco was aware of the wide variety of political forces that had rallied to the Nationalist cause: Falangists, monarchists, Carlists, Christian Democrats, aristocrats, military men, and Catholics pure and simple. They were all united in the negative aim of what they wanted to get rid of: the left-wing Popular Front Republic that had resulted from the 1936 elections, and the political and social chaos of the previous few years. Yet would they be united in the creation of a new state after the battle?

In April 1937, at the height of the Civil War, Franco created a single party called the Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS (using the names of the two main fascist movements, but adding the word *traditionalist*). It has sometimes been suggested, by proponents of the “traditionalist” Franco thesis, that he thereby cleverly submerged the fascist-style Falange (weakened in its leadership, partly by the execution of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the charismatic son of the former dictator) in a vast new party containing all the other nationalist elements. Although there is some truth in that picture, it underestimates Franco’s acceptance of the idea of international fascism, of which Spain might be a part, and his pragmatic acceptance of Falangist numerical strength, which had grown so greatly since the outbreak of the war. As Stanley Payne has put it, his goal almost inevitably had to be a “radical and sophisticated state party of at least semi-fascist contours, organized on the basis of the Falange but integrating other Nationalist elements as well” (Payne 1988, 168). Much of the new party was Falangist in tone: the Falangists’ blue shirts, red and black flag, and Fascist salute were adopted, as was the slogan *Arriba España*; the Nazi influence was to be found in the slogan *Una Patria, un Estado, un Caudillo*; while in themselves the creation of a single state party, and the elevation of a sole authoritarian figure, the Jefe (the Spanish equivalent of Duce or Fuehrer), to the headship of the state, were very much in line with fascist procedures. In conversation not just with German and Italian representatives but also with more neutral observers, Franco in-

sisted that “the core of the . . . party would be formed by the Falange, which had the soundest program and the greatest following in the country” (Delzell 1970, 288), and that the new unitary party was part of an international movement toward fascism, which by its nature differed from country to country “to the extent that countries and national temperaments vary” (Masis 1939, 150). In a “Call for the Unification of the Fighting Forces,” on 18 April 1937, Franco drew a clear distinction between the old-style *pronunciamiento*-driven military Right and new-style fascism, when he described the early twentieth century as being “a period of transition between the *Pronunciamiento* of the nineteenth century and the organic conception of those movements that our present-day world labels ‘fascist’ or ‘nationalist.’”

From all of this we should not necessarily jump to the conclusion that Franco’s main aims were “fascist,” or that he wholeheartedly espoused the more radical parts of fascist social theory. His Spanish Labor Charter of 1938 was, for example, more paternalistic and regulatory than the “fascist” model. Yet there is no escaping the fact that, in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War and during World War II, “the regime’s ideological tone was set by the Falange,” and “in the eyes of the outside world, the Falange and Francoism were consubstantial” (Preston 1990, 140). Franco was convinced that Spain was an integral part of the move toward a “new Europe,” and that it was essential to associate the country more closely with the German and Italian regimes that were creating it. These were the years, 1939–1942, that have been described as the “fascist temptation” of Franco (Payne 1999, 326), when the Spanish leader was convinced (even though he did not bring Spain into World War II) that the war would create a world dominated by the fascist powers.

By 1943, confidence in the victory of the fascist states had worn thin. Franco’s position seemed to many to be perilous, particularly after the fall of Mussolini had shown the fragility of even the most authoritarian rule. Within the ruling party, the “fascist” cause had become less attractive, and the monarchist strain had returned to the fore, with there being also considerable disaffection among the military. Yet, as the war ended, it became clear that any danger to the regime had been illusory. The unwieldy alliance of right-wing interests had too much fear of those forces of the Left that might return if they did not cling together. And Franco’s creation of the substructure of a powerful state through the single party had paid off. As the war ended, there was no sign of a collapse of the regime. The chameleon-like nature of Francoism is shown by its adaptation to

the postwar situation, in which Spain needed to be acceptable to the conquerors. Food, raw materials, and credit were needed, and they could be supplied only if the country became part of the international economy. Spain could not afford to become a pariah. The regime abandoned most of its fascist trappings, and the Falange had to take a back seat while the Christian Democrats, monarchists, and Carlists who had coexisted with it within the party during its “fascist” stage now came once more to the fore. It is almost certainly post-1945 Francoism that has led many commentators to espouse the theory that Franco was a “traditionalist pure and simple,” who had merely used fascism for his own ends up to that time, while cleverly restraining it. Yet as we have seen, that theory does not hold water.

Although the regime remained authoritarian, it produced sops to Western opinion by an appearance of greater democratic procedures, including the use of plebiscites. And in 1947 a new law, the *Ley de Sucesión*, in which Spain was pronounced to be a kingdom, with Franco as its head of state for life, eliminated at a stroke the idea of a fascist state and proclaimed the state’s traditionalist legitimacy. By 1951, Franco was able, in a major cabinet reshuffle, to oust most of his remaining Falange ministers. By 1955 he was negotiating with the pretender, Don Juan. Gradually Franco’s regime had become accepted in the postwar family of nations, particularly from the late 1940s onward, as the communist threat became clearer and the United States became aware of Spain’s strategic uses. In 1952, Spain entered UNESCO, and in 1953, Franco negotiated a treaty with the United States that provided for U.S. bases within Spain. In 1953, too, a Spanish concordat was signed with the Vatican. There came a time for further change, however. By the late 1950s, Franco was faced, on the one hand, by growing tensions within the movement, and on the other by severe problems with the economy. His solution was to create a cabinet of “experts” and technocrats, with major posts going to the Catholic pressure group Opus Dei. Their reforms were successful, and they succeeded in bolstering yet again the authoritarian regime, as industrial production increased and the standard of living rose.

By now Francoism consisted not so much of political activists from its various strands (conservative, fascist, monarchist, Christian Democrat) as of a large number of people whose financial or career stake in the regime’s continuance outshone any ideological stance. Franco himself, the authoritarian ruler, was essential to their needs. As Franco grew older, the prospect of his loss led many hesitantly to plan for the future. At the

same time, in-fighting between the various strands of the regime, and disaffection among the people, seemed to be pointing to a decline in Francoism’s fortunes. In the last stage of Francoism, therefore, from the mid-1960s onward, there developed what has been described as “Moderate Francoism,” as reformists tried to direct the regime into more democratic paths. Although the instinct of many Francoists was to desire an unchanged continuation of the authoritarian regime, with the pretender’s son Juan Carlos (who had been named as Franco’s successor in 1969, and whom many saw as being inexperienced and open to influence) presiding as a puppet over it, the reformists saw the only credible future as lying in a form of democratization, particularly because of the increasing tensions within the regime and opposition to it in large sections of society. They set out to form a link between Francoism and the democratic Left. The first steps toward democratization were taken as early as 1964, with the Law of Associations, and 1966, with a new Press Law. Although the measures thus introduced were limited and cautious (and perceived by some as a sham), the gesture had been made. By the time that Franco died in November 1975, the majority of Francoists had become committed to a middle way, which could in their view save the regime in its present form, under Juan Carlos as king, by making various gestures of a moderate kind toward democratic representation. Only the extreme diehards opposed this strategy. The diehards may have been right in one sense (though their intransigence would probably have caused a return to civil strife). The mistake of the “moderate Francoists” was to believe that Juan Carlos, who had been Franco’s protege, was committed to Francoism. As early as 1976, with the creation of the Reform Law, King Juan Carlos swept away the Francoist state.

Richard Griffiths

See Also: INTRODUCTION; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSERVATISM; COLD WAR, THE; DECADENCE; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; HITLER, ADOLF; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; STATE, THE

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FRANK, ANNE (1929–1945)

Young Jewish girl famed for her posthumously published diary in which she described the experience of hiding with her family from the German occupiers in a secret annex in a former warehouse in Amsterdam. After being discovered by the Gestapo on 4 August 1944, she died in Belsen shortly before the war's end. The diary was translated into many languages and turned into a stage play and film. Today the building where she hid has become a shrine.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; HOLOCAUST, THE; NETHERLANDS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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Frank, Anne. 1997. *The Diary of a Young Girl*. London: Penguin.

FRANK, HANS (1900–1946)

Legal adviser to the Nazi Party from 1929 and governor-general of occupied Poland from 1939. He was involved in the 1923 Munich Putsch as a storm trooper and in 1926 began to practice as an attorney in Munich. He defended many brownshirts arrested over street fights with communists, and in one of these cases called Hitler as a witness in behalf of a client. Hitler put him in charge of the legal division of the NSDAP, and he represented Hitler in 150 lawsuits. He was also given the task of carrying out research to show that

Hitler himself had no Jewish blood. When Hitler became chancellor, Frank was appointed Bavarian minister of justice, Reich minister of justice, and Reich minister without portfolio. Other positions Frank held included those of Reich leader of the NSDAP and president of the Academy of German Law. As governor-general of Occupied Poland, Frank pursued a policy of destroying the country as a nation and plundering its resources. He also presided over the deportation of Polish Jews to the death camps. On trial at Nuremberg, Frank announced his conversion to Catholicism and penitence and turned on Hitler as betrayer of the German people's trust. But he was condemned to death and hanged.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GLEICHSCHALTUNG; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LAW; MUNICH PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; POLAND; SA, THE; WORLD WAR II

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FRANK, KARL HERMANN (1898–1946)

Sudeten German Nazi politician, a bookseller by profession. Frank was not loyal to Czechoslovakia and inclined to the Sudeten German movement, holding a prominent post in the Sudeten German Party. After the Munich Agreement and the Nazi occupation of the rest of Bohemia and Moravia, he became state secretary of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (1939–1943) and then German state minister of Bohemia and Moravia (1943–1945). Frank became one of the symbols of the Nazi occupation, power, and terror in the Czech lands (for instance, he was responsible for the destruction of the village of Lidice). After the war Frank was sentenced to death by the Czechoslovak people's court and executed on 22 May 1946.

Miroslav Mares

See Also: CZECHOSLOVAKIA; MUNICH PACT, THE; NAZISM; SUDETENLAND, THE

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**FRANKFURT SCHOOL, THE: See
PSYCHOLOGY**

**FREDERICK II, THE GREAT
(1712–1786)**

King of Prussia and architect of Prussian expansion, one of Hitler's great heroes. Frederick was famous for his involvement with leading figures in the Enlightenment such as Voltaire, but he is remembered above all for having seized Silesia from Austria by force and later for having acquired further territory from Poland. He was considered to be one of the foremost military commanders of the day. In Hitler's office in the new National Socialist Party headquarters, opened in 1931, a painting of the Prussian monarch was there to keep a bust of Mussolini company. At crucial moments in his life Hitler was in the habit of quoting Frederick or of appealing to his example. In January 1924, when Hitler was in prison, he heard the news of Lenin's death and saw it as prophetic of the fall of the Soviet Union, recalling the way in which Frederick the Great had joyfully received the news of the death of the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia in 1762. In 1939 he was in the habit of complaining that Frederick the Great would turn in his grave if he could see the cowardice of the generals of his own day. In 1940 he compared himself, as he contemplated further military advances westward, to the great Prussian monarch planning the first Silesian War. As Hitler contemplated the Allied Offensive after D-Day in the autumn of 1944 and proposed a counteroffensive through the Ardennes—only to be stopped in his tracks by his own generals—he remarked that they had forgotten Frederick the Great, who had defeated enemies twice his strength. How had he done it? By bold attack. As the Allied forces closed in relentlessly on Berlin in the spring of 1945, he had Goebbels read Carlyle's writing on the Prussian monarch to him.

Hitler had tears in his eyes as he heard about Frederick's sudden rise from the abyss with the death of the czarina of Russia.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CARLYLE, THOMAS; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; WORLD WAR II

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FREEDOM

The Nazis believed themselves to be "freedom fighters," in the sense that they were fighting for Germany to be freed from the chains of the punitive provisions of the Versailles Treaty. The Saar District, for example, continued until 1935 to be administered on the basis of that treaty by the League of Nations, with its highly productive coal mines under French control: this penalty had been imposed on Germany because of the damage done to French coalfields by the Germans in World War I. The Rhineland including Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Bonn had been demilitarized as a result of the treaty conditions until Hitler reoccupied it on 7 March 1936. In addition, the treaty had restricted the size of the German army to 100,000 men, while the demand for financial war reparations laid an intolerable burden on the German economy. Because of all this Hitler and his followers were able to present themselves as liberators who would free Germany from the shackles imposed on them at the end of a war that they claimed had been lost only as a result of treachery. This particular agenda was peculiar to the German Nazis and had nothing to do with the Italian situation. On the other hand, there was another way in which Hitler presented himself as a liberator: that is, of ethnic Germans who were "oppressed" minorities in countries like Czechoslovakia or Poland. Here Mussolini had a similar rhetoric, for there were ethnic Italians living in territories to the east of Trieste under Slav domination; his anticipator D'Annunzio had gone as far as to launch a coup in Fiume in 1919 to "save" the city from being put under Slav domination in the post-World War I settlement.

There was another sense in which German Nazis and Italian Fascists saw themselves as "freedom fighters": they saw themselves as campaigning to free the

world from enslavement to various groups. For the Italian Fascists it was the forces of Bolshevism, liberalism, Freemasonry, and “plutocracy.” The Nazis were engaged in the same war of liberation, but for them there was a shadowy and pernicious enemy behind these movements manipulating them all—the force of world Jewry. The majority of the fascist or fascistic movements that drew inspiration from German Nazism portrayed themselves as engaged in a crusade to free the world from Jewish domination. Sometimes German Nazi propagandists spoke of the need to overthrow the oppressive forces of Jews *and Jesuits*. The idea behind this rather surprising combination was that these two movements represented the acme of internationalism and were the most intransigent enemies of the hypernationalism which formed the foundation of Nazism. The Jesuits stood out among Catholic movements for their direct dependence on Rome (which meant independence from both national governments and national church leaderships). But for the individualist meaning of the term *freedom*, familiar in the liberal context, interwar fascists had no time at all. That was because they were committed to a notion that the state and the collectivity came first, the individual only second. The individual had no rights; only the state had rights. It was the vocation of the individual to sacrifice himself and his freedom for the state.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; COMMUNITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; GOERING (VON KANTZOW), CARIN; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; PLUTOCRACY; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; REPARATIONS; SLAVS, THE; STATE, THE; SUDETENLAND, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WORLD WAR I

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FREEMASONRY/ FREEMASONS, THE

From the NSDAP to a panoply of contemporary parties, extreme-right movements have frequently expressed their hostility to Freemasonry. Freemasonry often plays an important role in the variety of conspiracy theories articulated by extreme-right parties and their ideologists. The anti-Masonic discourse of extreme-right currents describes Freemasonry as an elite opposed to the “people.” While this populist theme is often shared by leftists, the extreme Right combines it with accusations against the alleged or real cosmopolitanism of Freemasonry—an accusation that parallels similar ones voiced against Jews. Because of the international nature of their organization, Freemasons are suspected of having contacts with the enemies of the nation, an issue that was particularly relevant in the early twentieth century with the prevalence of over-heated nationalism. Extreme-right hostility toward Freemasonry has not limited itself to campaigns of denigration. The practice of extreme right parties during the interwar years when in power also included the repression of Freemasonry, whose existence was outlawed. Such repression was practiced by Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany, by the Franco regime in Spain, and the Pétain regime in France. Extreme-right groups have, however, frequently displayed at the same time a fascination with Freemasonry, resulting in attempts to infiltrate it or to create similar secret societies.

Freemasonry is a worldwide fraternal organization, a service club that also intends to be a philosophical society. It traditionally abstains from political and religious controversies and has in fact generally been characterized by its conformism and its proestablishment attitude. It originated in Great Britain, where it was founded in 1717. Since then it has spread over the world, although its strongholds remain the Anglo-Saxon world and in a lesser measure Europe and Latin America. Although—or perhaps because—it professed a vague religious creed involving belief in a Supreme Being whom it designated “the Architect of the Universe,” Freemasonry frequently encountered hostile reactions from religious groups, and in particular from the Catholic Church. As a consequence, during the nineteenth century in certain predominantly Catholic countries, especially in Europe—France, Belgium,

Italy, Spain, Portugal—it gradually turned more anticlerical. Masonic organizations in those countries abandoned references to a Supreme Being (Belgium in 1871–1872 and France in 1877), which resulted in a schism with Anglo-Saxon Freemasonry not yet overcome. They also became more politically involved and abolished the prohibition on political debates (in Belgium in 1854, to be followed by Freemasons in other Catholic countries). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Freemasonry in these countries was involved in anticlerical politics, including the unification of Italy (which deprived the Catholic Church of its temporal power, thus arousing the Church's hostility to Freemasonry), whose main protagonists, such as Garibaldi, were also prominent Freemasons. In the twentieth century the political role of Freemasonry in these countries gradually subsided, reflecting the diminished weight of anticlericalism in politics.

The far-right critics of Freemasonry drew on the tradition of counter-revolutionary conspiracy theories originating in Abbé Barruel's pamphlet *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du jacobinisme* (1797), claiming that the French Revolution was the outcome of a conspiracy of philosophers, Freemasons, and the Illuminati (a Bavarian group related to Freemasonry). During the nineteenth century anti-Masonism was principally propagated by the Catholic Church. Politically, the claims against Freemasonry were activated in the late nineteenth century by the French nationalist Right. The idea of revolutionary Masonic conspiracies also influenced extreme-right writings outside France and Catholic countries. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, produced by the czarist secret services, albeit more concentrated on the role of Jews, nevertheless gave Freemasonry a role in the 'Jewish' conspiracy that the booklet claimed to be divulging. The German adaptation of the *Protocols*, published after World War I, highlighted much more than the Russian original the role of Freemasons, and therefore played an important role in the creation of the myth of the Judeo-Masonic plot (in which communists were also given a prominent place). The vast popularity enjoyed by the *Protocols* between the wars undoubtedly enhanced suspicions about Freemasonry, even in those countries in which it did not play any political role, or where, as in Germany, many of its members were conservative nationalists. During World War II, the Nazis organized anti-Masonic campaigns in all the occupied countries, regardless of the political stance of Freemasonry in those countries.

It should be noted, however, that hostility toward Freemasonry rarely acquired the virulence of anti-Semi-

tism. Italian Fascism was only marginally influenced by this myth. Even Nazism, while outlawing Freemasonry, did not persecute individual Freemasons systematically. The virulence of anti-Masonic campaigns was clearly related to the impact of Catholic anti-Masonry on the extreme Right. In the case of the Franco regime during and after the Spanish Civil War, the brutal persecution of Freemasons no doubt resulted from the presentation of the war as a crusade against the enemies of the Catholic Church. The hostility of the Pétain regime toward Freemasonry stems from a similar cultural background.

The attitude of many contemporary extreme-right currents toward Freemasonry can be traced back to the conspiracy theories cultivated by the extreme Right during the interwar years. No doubt as a result of the diminished political orientation of Freemasonry in those countries in which it was politically very active in earlier periods (for example, France and Belgium), the movement does not play a very prominent role in contemporary extreme-right propaganda. Negative references to Freemasonry persist as an ideological or rhetorical inheritance from the past rather than as a live issue.

Michael Huysseune

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FRANCE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RISORGIMENTO, THE; RUSSIA; SPAIN; TRADITIONALISM; WEBSTER, NESTA; WORLD WAR II

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FREIKORPS, THE

Nationalistic paramilitary units put on a formal footing in Germany by Kurt von Schleicher in 1919. Members were demobilized soldiers of lower-middle-class back-

ground who had not been absorbed into the Reichswehr, which had been restricted by the terms of the Versailles Treaty to a membership of 100,000. In the beginning (1919–1920), the militaristic and antidemocratic Free Corps, with its membership at 400,000 (as of 1919), mainly fought the Left and supported the German aristocrats in the Baltic States militarily. After their official disbanding in 1920, the Free Corps partly changed to far-right underground organizations responsible for murder and conspiracy.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: HITLER, ADOLF; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PARAMILITARISM; SCHLEICHER, KURT VON; WEHRMACHT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE

Out of the opposition to the French Revolution, modern European conservatism developed, and from conservatism different connecting lines led to fascism. The conservatives opposed the Revolution's democratic ideas, its anticlericalism, and its primacy of reason against tradition. In fascist thinking, the French Revolution was a symbol of materialism, liberalism, Jewry, and Freemasonry, and the polar opposite of its own ideology of national revolution. In the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, conservatives linked the French Revolution to what they saw as the negative aspects of democracy and mass politics. Gustave Le Bon, an influential theorist of "crowd" behavior, warned that the French Revolution epitomized the irrationality, savagery, and violence of the mob. Some conservatives (along with Marxists and English utilitarians like Jeremy Bentham) decried the universal principles of human rights upon which the Revolution was based. They saw danger in these universal appeals, especially as they promised social equality for Jews and for "inferior" races. The racist thinker and self-appointed aristocrat comte Arthur de Gobineau saw the French Revolution as the over-

whelming of a pure-race "white" aristocracy by the inferior "yellow" mob. Charles Maurras, a classical scholar and militant anti-Semite, who became involved in politics during the Dreyfus Affair and who was a leading figure in the proto-fascist movement Action Française, believed that as a result of the Revolution, France had become dominated by four "confederate Estates": Protestants, Freemasons, Jews, and foreigners. He hoped to destroy these influences and return France to its traditional institutions—particularly the monarchy and Catholicism (a religion that he himself did not actually practice, recommending it instead on sociopolitical grounds as good for the people). Maurras and his movement contributed to the development of attitudes and positions that would later become identified with fascism.

Despite the fact that in general the French Revolution was a target of fascist abuse, there were also ambivalent statements that did not entirely reject it as a model for change. Benito Mussolini regarded the French Revolution as the starting point of a "leftist" (that is, liberal and socialist) era that had come to an end with the ascent of fascism. On 25 February 1922, he wrote in an article in the journal *Gerarchia* that the leftist chain, forged in 1789 and only temporarily interrupted between 1815 and 1848, had reached its apogee in the first two years after World War I. Now it had exhausted its vitality and would give way to a rightist era. In his article "The Doctrine of Fascism," published in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* in June 1932, Il Duce stated that the fascist rejection of socialism, democracy, and liberalism did not mean that the fascists wanted to turn back the clock to the prerevolutionary era; they considered the monarchic absolutism and feudal privileges that the Revolution had abolished to be mere idolatry. But fascism had picked out of the trash of liberal, socialist, and democratic doctrines all those elements that had preserved their vitality. In a speech on the corporative state to the Consiglio Nazionale delle Corporazioni in 1933, Mussolini likewise stressed that the French Revolution had destroyed many medieval remnants such as tolls and compulsory labor and that it had created millions of property owners who still formed the basis of the French nation. The French Revolution had been a cause of the whole nation, not just of a political party.

The German National Socialists saw their seizure of power explicitly as the overcoming of the French Revolution's values. In a 1933 radio speech, Joseph Goebbels stated that the French Revolution would now be wiped out of history. Soon after, Adolf Hitler stated in a private conversation with Hermann

Rauschning that the planned international Nazi Revolution would be the exact counterpart of the French Revolution. The Nazis were particularly disturbed by the completeness of the French Revolution's break with the past. Its repudiation of history seemed to them a logical consequence of the Enlightenment. In Nazi historiography, the French Revolution was depicted as a revolt of Jews and Freemasons (for example, Walter Frank). Moreover, the Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg stated that the Revolution had had as its necessary consequence the establishment of an overbearing influence of women, which he linked to an immoral confusion of sexes and to an overall destruction of the social and political order. The Nazis—like many German nationalists before them—stressed the importance of the so-called *Freiheitskriege* (“wars of liberation”) against Napoleonic hegemony between 1813 and 1815 as the overcoming of the French Revolution. In a 1938 lecture, the Nazi historian Erich Botzenhart characterized the French Revolution as a revolution springing from reason, whereas the German uprising of 1813 had been a revolution springing from myth. Parallels between the German defeats of 1806 and 1918, between the Napoleonic *Fremdherrschaft* (“foreign rule”) and Weimar Germany under the Treaty of Versailles, and between the wars against Napoleon and Hitler's national revolution, were used to legitimate several elements of Nazi politics. In March 1935, for instance, when universal compulsory military service was reintroduced, the newspaper *Germania* wrote that the soldiers who died fighting Napoleon at the battles of Eylau and Friedland had not been killed for nothing, nor their grandsons in the final battles of 1918: “Tilsit was followed by the uprising of 1813, Versailles is followed by the 16th March 1935!” Some of Hitler's early statements, however, show a certain ambiguity toward the French Revolution: in several speeches of the early 1920s, he contrasted the French Revolution, which he styled “national” and “constructive,” favorably with the German Revolution of November 1918. In *Mein Kampf*, he stressed the French Revolution as a model for change that was rooted in the rhetorical strength of the demagogues. The French Revolution as well as Italian Fascism had been successful because they showed a new overall idea. After Hitler's seizure of power, such reflections on revolutionary change were no longer opportune. In summer 1933, SA leader Ernst Röhm, hoping for a second, ‘real’ national-socialist revolution, looked upon the French armies of the *levée en masse* as a model for a revolutionary Nazi

people's militia. A year later, he and his supporters were liquidated.

The attitudes of French fascists toward the French Revolution were also controversial. Many of them accused the Revolution of having begun a process that culminated in the allegedly corrupt Third Republic (1871–1940), which they failed to overthrow in February 1934. In 1939, the fascist journal *Je suis partout* published a special issue on the French Revolution, dedicated to those who had fought against the Revolution, especially the peasants of the Vendée. But there were also some ambivalent attitudes. Georges Valois, the founder of the fascist organization *le Faisceau*, saw the Revolution as the beginning of a movement both socialist and nationalist that would be completed by the fascists. The fascist writer Robert Brasillach contemplated the spread of the activist flame first lit in 1789 and indicated how little it had to do with either individual liberty or international peace. Jacques Doriot, a former member of the French Communist Party, which he had left in 1936 to found the fascist *Parti Populaire Français*, thought that the French Republic would not survive and that a national and social revolution was necessary in order to regain the basis of 1789. After the French defeat in the summer of 1940, the Jacobin Terror was at least momentarily rehabilitated by Marcel Déat, leader of the *Rassemblement National Populaire*, who—seeking to show the French fascists worthy of being trusted by the Nazis—wrote that, as in Robespierre's times, terror against the sworn enemies of the national revolution had to be the order of the day. However, the authoritarian *Etat français* in the nonoccupied zone under the leadership of Marshal Pétain soon deliberately decreased the Revolution's importance in the official cultural memory. Vichy's *révolution nationale* replaced the revolutionary values *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* by the slogan *Patrie, Famille, Travail*. In 1941, the regime offered fifteen Principles of the Community that replaced liberal individualism by a stress on duties, as Vichy's answer to the Declaration of Rights of 1789.

On a less intellectual level, the political culture of the French Revolution was a model for the fascist sacralization of politics. The Revolution had been the starting point of new forms of political organization, new patterns of interpretation, and new political semantics. Especially its mass-mobilizing worship of the nation, of death, and of youth had had great effects on nineteenth-century nationalist movements—not least in Germany and in Italy. This sacralization reached its apogee during the fascist era. After World War II, neo-

fascists and radical-right movements remained hostile to the French Revolution. Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National, for instance, the strongest radical-right party in contemporary France, quotes in its party program Edmund Burke's criticism of the Revolution's allegedly mechanistic conception of society. It states that the French political and economic elite has been considering society as a field of experimentation since the Revolution and, therefore, adhered to several forms of utopia, like liberalism, socialism, Marxism, Third-Worldism, and globalism.

Christian Koller

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; BRASILLACH, ROBERT; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DÉAT, MARCEL; DEMOCRACY; DORIOT, JACQUES; DREYFUS CASE, THE; EGALITARIANISM; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; GLOBALIZATION; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; LE BON, GUSTAVE; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MECHANISTIC THINKING; *MEIN KAMPF*; MILITARISM; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; ORGANICISM; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RATIONALISM; RAUSCHNING, HERMANN; RELIGION; ROEHM, ERNST; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; TRADITIONALISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VALOIS, GEORGES; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; VICHY; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WOMEN; YOUTH

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FREUD, SIGMUND (1856–1939)

Founder of psychoanalysis; psychoanalytic ideas have provided the basis for a number of psychological theories of fascism. Freud's own career and personal life were directly affected by the rise of anti-Semitism in Austria and the growth of Nazism. Freud, who was Jewish, spent most of his life in Vienna. He trained as a medical doctor and was drawn to psychiatry, believing that many mental disorders were the product of unconscious sexual desires. When Freud was formulating the basic elements of psychoanalytic theory, the overtly anti-Semitic party of Karl Lueger was governing Vienna. Freud believed that his chances of a career at the University of Vienna were being blocked by anti-Semitism. Although Freud rejected Jewish religious practice, he never renounced his Jewish identity. Most of Freud's early patients and followers were secular Jews like himself. In later life, he would claim that only a Jew could have discovered psychoanalysis. Because Jews were outsiders, they were more likely to be free from the prejudices of what Freud called the "compact majority." When the Nazis came to power in Germany, they denounced psychoanalysis as a "Jewish science," and Freud's books were publicly burned. Freud sought to apply psychoanalytic theory to Jewish history in *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), which was his last book to be published in his lifetime. Freud argued that Moses was actually an Egyptian who had been murdered by Jews. In this book he touched briefly on the irrationality of Christian anti-Semitism and on the pre-Christian roots of Nazism, but he did not develop such ideas. That was left to a later generation of psychoanalytic thinkers. Practicing psychoanalysts like Erich Fromm and Wilhelm Reich, and psychoanalytically influenced social theorists such as Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, were to use Freudian theory to explore how fascist ideology drew upon irrational, unconscious fears.

Michael Billig

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; BURNING OF THE BOOKS, THE; FROMM, ERICH; JUNG, CARL GUSTAV; LUEGER, KARL; NAZISM; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; REICH, WILHELM

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FREY, DR. GERHARD (born 1933)

Chairman of the German extreme-right Deutsche Volkunion (DVU) Party as well as owner of a large publishing house, DSZ-Verlag, and the publisher of the right-wing tabloid National-Zeitung (NZ). Involved in right-wing publishing since the late 1950s, Frey has not only built the largest German extreme-right media empire but has also played a vital part in right-wing politics since the early 1970s. In 1987 the DVU was registered as a party, and in the 1990s it started to have electoral success because of Frey's spending large amounts of his private money on party campaigns. The party landed a huge success in 1998 with 12.9 percent of the vote in the state of Sachsen-Anhalt—a result that the DVU was never able even remotely to repeat. DVU membership has fallen from more than 20,000 in the 1990s to around 12,000 at the time of writing.

Thomas Grumke

See Also: GERMANY; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; SCHÖNHUBER, FRANZ

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FRICK, WILHELM (1877–1946)

Hitler's Reich minister of the interior and a legal expert on whom the Fuehrer placed much reliance. He was born in Alsenz in the Palatinate and studied law at Munich, Göttingen, and Berlin before reading for a doctorate in Heidelberg. He started practicing law in Munich

in 1912. He became a close associate of Hitler's in Munich and was one of those put on trial for the Munich Beer-Hall Putsch of 1923. He avoided imprisonment and was elected to the Reichstag as a Nazi Party delegate in 1924. In 1930 he became minister of the interior for Thuringia, and Hitler appointed him Reich minister of the interior soon after becoming chancellor in 1933. During his time in Thuringia, Frick had banned *All Quiet on the Western Front*, an antiwar film that had been passed by the Berlin censors, and he also allowed previously banned National Socialist newspapers to appear again. He created a special chair of social anthropology at the University of Jena for Professor Hans Günther, one of the foremost exponents of Nazi racial theories. He also introduced special ultranationalist prayers into the Thuringian schools. As Reich minister of the interior, Frick ensured that all of the new Reich governors were Nazis; in September 1935 he drew up the Nuremberg Laws, which relegated Jews to second-class citizenship, and in the meantime he was vigorously deporting at least 100,000 individuals to concentration camps. Frick was totally devoted to Hitler and was an expert at cloaking the Fuehrer's actions in legality, arguing that right was what benefited the German people and wrong was what harmed them. At the Nuremberg Trials he was condemned as the one most responsible for bringing Germany under Nazi control, not least through the institution of laws abolishing political parties and trades unions. He was hanged on 16 October 1946.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FILM; GÜNTHER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL; HITLER, ADOLF; LAW; MUNICH PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; TRADE UNIONS

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FROMM, ERICH (1900–1980)

German social psychologist and psychoanalyst who offered a provocative explanation for the psychological roots of fascism. He studied psychology and sociology

at the universities of Frankfurt, Munich, and Heidelberg and went on to train as a psychologist at the Berlin Institute of Psychoanalysis. He left Germany in 1933 for the United States. Fromm was later one of the founders of the William Manson Institute of Psychiatry. In *Escape from Freedom* (1941), he suggested that modernity led to alienation, emptiness, and loneliness, because, as Marx had claimed, under capitalism all social relations are market relations. The painful loss of community may lead to a total submission to fascist authority and to a dangerous yearning for an idealized premodern past. Fromm wrote of “the authoritarian social character” that is the energy source responsible for the development of Western capitalism. Common to all authoritarian thinking is the conviction that life is determined by forces outside man’s own self, his interest, and his wishes and that the only possible happiness lies in the submission to these forces.

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi

See Also: ARENDT, HANNAH; AUTHORITARIANISM; CAPITALISM; COMMUNITY; FREUD, SIGMUND; INDIVIDUALISM; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; NAZISM; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHOLOGY; REICH, WILHELM; RELIGION; TOTALITARIANISM

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FRONT NATIONAL: See NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE)
FUEHRERPRINZIP, THE: See LEADER CULT, THE
FUNDAMENTALISM: See CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; CHRISTIANITY; SURVIVALISM
FUNDING: See FINANCE

FUNK, WALTHER EMANUEL (1890–1960)

Nazi minister of economics, president of the Reichsbank, and fervent devotee of Hitler, who in his eyes was

the only one capable of saving Germany from bankruptcy or from communist revolution. He studied philosophy, law, and economics at the University of Berlin. He was discharged from World War I army service in 1916 on health grounds. A business journalist in the 1920s, Funk became Hitler’s personal economics adviser in 1931. After the Nazis took power in 1933, he became government press chief and was also given responsibilities in the area of broadcasting and propaganda. He became minister of economics in 1938 and eventually acquired the responsibility for the financial leadership of the country. According to an agreement he made with Himmler in 1942, valuables and money stolen from Jews murdered in the death camps were to be channeled to the Reichsbank. At the Nuremberg Trials he was sentenced to life imprisonment but was released in 1957 on grounds of ill health.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BANKS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; ECONOMICS; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; MARXISM; PRESS, THE; PROPAGANDA; RADIO

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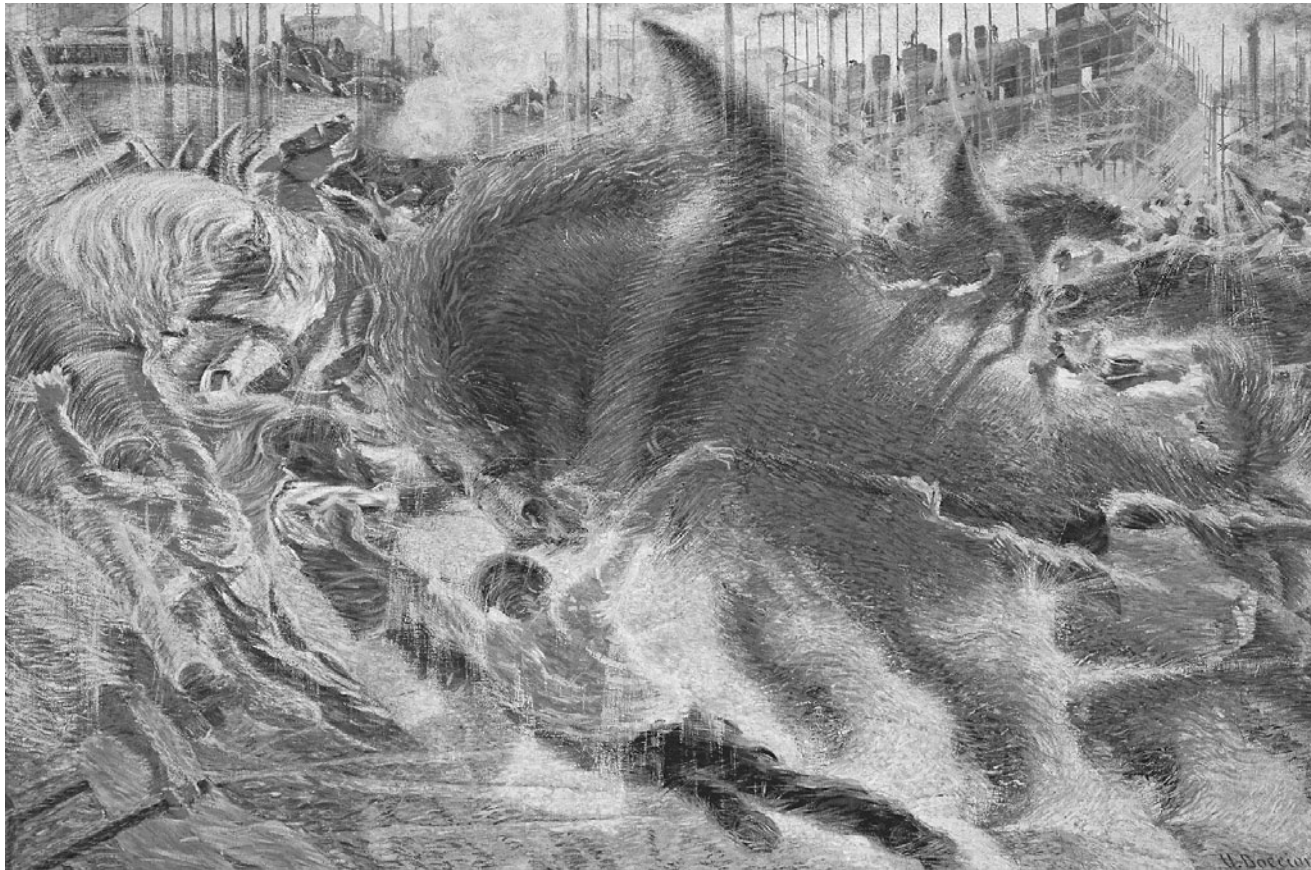
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FUTURISM

Many of the activists in this avant-garde Italian artistic movement were enthusiasts for Mussolinian Fascism and exercised a significant influence on it. Founded in 1909, Futurism had a vast influence on the modernist culture of the early twentieth century in Europe and the world. In Italy, Futurism was also a political movement that gave birth to a Futurist Party in 1918 and that was involved in the birth of the *Fasci di combattimento*. Some of its supporters went on to contribute to the development of the most modernistic expressions of Fascist aesthetics and cultural policy.

THE FUTURIST POLITICAL POSITION

The establishment of Futurism arose from the publication in *Figaro* on 20 February 1909 of the *Futurist Manifesto* by Marinetti. The new movement aimed to be a revolutionary artistic avant-garde. Futurism sought new forms of aesthetic expression free from



The City Rises, by Futurist painter Umberto Boccioni (1910). The support of many members of the Futurist artistic movement for Italian Fascism is a reminder of its early image as a progressive, avant-garde political movement. (The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/Art Resource, NY)

the cult of the past and talked of a new sense of life exalting modernity as the irreversible process of transformation of the human condition. Futurism desired to be a cultural revolution and, as such, to transform and permeate all aspects of life, not just art, to create the “New Man” of modernity. Consequently, Futurism also had a political position, a confusing mix of anticlericalism, anarchism, patriotism, imperialism, cosmopolitanism, and an exaltation of brutality, violence, and war as essential aspects of modernity. The first Futurist political manifesto was published in 1909, a second in 1911 to exalt the Italian colonial war for the conquest of Libya, and a third appeared in 1913 on the occasion of elections to present the Futurist political program—synthesized in the formula “The word ITALIA must dominate the word LIBERTY.” The Futurist political attitude was the expression of an antiauthoritarian modernist nationalism that aimed at modernizing and industrializing Italy through radical political and social reforms. *Italian-*

ism, understood as the exaltation of a new Italian primacy in modern civilization, was always the dominant myth of artistic and political Futurism and was at the origins of the concrete political choices of the greater part of the Futurists.

FROM THE GREAT WAR TO FASCISM: THE FUTURIST POLITICAL PARTY

When the European War broke out in 1914, most of the Futurists, like Umberto Boccioni, Giacomo Balla, Carlo Carrà, Mario Sironi, Antonio Sant’Elia, Ardengo Soffici, and Marinetti himself, were interventionists from the start. They celebrated war for itself as a great destructive and creative event, and staged violent demonstrations calling for the participation of Italy in World War I, which they promoted as the beginning of the “Italian revolution” to create a new state, to regenerate the Italians, and to make Italy a great power.

Many Futurists were volunteers and fighters, and some of them lost their lives at the front.

The Futurist political party was established in September 1918 with its own newspaper, *Roma futurista*, and with a network of *Fasci futuristi* in various Italian cities. On 23 March 1919, Marinetti and other Futurists took part in the foundation of the Fasci di combattimento promoted by Benito Mussolini, and were protagonists in the first violent actions of the Fascist movement against the Socialist Party. The *fascist style*, as a new mentality oriented toward violent political struggle through the medium of small armed groups, the *squadre* (from which *squadrisimo* emerged), had many features of Futurist militancy. The Futurist Party, like the Fascist movement in 1919, was republican, democratic, libertarian, nationalist, anticonservative, antisocialist, and anticlerical: one of the points of its program was the “de-Vaticanization” of Italy. The symbiosis between fascism and political Futurism lasted up to the end of May 1920, when a breach occurred as a consequence of the turn to the Right of the fascist movement. Some Futurists became openly antifascist and communist, while others, like Mario Carli and Ferruccio Vecchi, took part in the movement of Gabriele D’Annunzio in Fiume, sympathizing with the Bolshevik revolution and attempting to establish an alliance between Futurists, anarchists, and revolutionary socialists. The political activity of Futurism exhausted itself in the 1920s, along with the fragmentation of the artistic movement; a so-called second Futurism continued the activism in the artistic field in the 1920s, but it lost any originality and autonomy as a movement, and some Futurists converted to aesthetic Formalism and to the cult of a renewed tradition of Italian realism.

FUTURISM AND THE FASCIST REGIME

After Mussolini’s rise to power at the end of 1922, many Futurists hooked up with Fascism, with Marinetti at their head, but they did not play any important political role, limiting their activity to the field of art. Their antitraditionalist position was, however, an important component in fascist modernism. The Futurists disputed the field with the Fascist traditionalists, especially in the fields of painting and architecture, and they often had the support of Mussolini. However, the ambivalence of the cultural policy of the Fascist regime, wavering constantly between modernism and classicism, did not allow the Futurists the hegemonic position in the aesthetics and the cultural policy of the

regime that they coveted. Some Futurists, although proclaiming themselves to be loyal and intransigent Fascists, like Marinetti himself, continued to have an anticonformist and iconoclastic attitude, noisily opposing certain fundamental political choices such as the Concordat with the Catholic Church in 1929 or the promulgation of anti-Semitic laws in 1938.

In reality, the totalitarian state that Fascism was constructing was the antithesis of the new state imagined by political Futurism in 1922, just as the “New Man” of Fascism, the “citizen soldier” regimented and educated in the dogmatism of the “Fascist religion,” was not in fact the realization of the Futurist ideal of a “New Man”—the “heroic citizen” described in the first Futurist manifestoes as an individual free from any constraint and opposed to all dogmatism. Nonetheless, there remained many elements in common between Fascism and Futurism, like the exaltation of violence, the cult of virility, imperialistic ambition, the bellicose vocation, and also the myth of the leader, which was the preferred subject of many Futurist painters and sculptors. Some Futurists, like Marinetti and Sironi, followed Mussolini right up to the end of the Italian Social Republic.

Emilio Gentile

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTICLERICALISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; BOLSHEVISM; CULTURE; D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREEDOM; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; LIBYA; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NEW MAN, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SOCIALISM; *SQUADRISMO*; STATE, THE; STYLE; TOTALITARIANISM; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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GADDHAFI: See QADHAFI (GADDHAFI),
MU'AMMAR

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE,
THE; BOLSHEVISM; COMMUNISM; CZECHOSLOVAKIA;
FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; MARXISM; NAZISM;
WORLD WAR II

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GAJDA, GENERAL RADOLA
(real name, Rudolf Geidl,
1892–1948)

Leader of the Czech interwar fascist movement. During World War I he fought in the Austro-Hungarian army in Russia and was taken prisoner. Later he was one of the military leaders of the Czech legions during their confrontation with the Bolsheviks in Siberia. In the new Czechoslovak state Gajda became a national hero, was promoted to the rank of general, and held high military posts. After controversial clashes with the Czechoslovakian president, Masaryk, in 1926 he was demoted. In 1927 a new fascist movement in the Czech lands chose Gajda as leader of the National Community of Fascists. He was inspired by Italian Fascism and was anticommunist, anti-Semitic, and pro-German. When German troops occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939 he pursued a policy of cooperation with the Nazis, but they did not accept him. After the war Gajda was sentenced to two years in prison.

Miroslav Mares

GALEN, CARDINAL
CLEMENS AUGUST VON
(1878–1946)

A patriotic German aristocrat consecrated priest in 1904, appointed bishop of Münster in 1933, and a bitter critic of the Nazis. After initially supporting them in their moves to end unemployment and reunify Germany, he became a thorn in the flesh of the regime. In 1941 he preached a series of sermons labeling Nazis murderers. Hitler considered having von Galen eliminated but was warned that this would provoke popular unrest. After the war Galen was critical of the treatment of German civilians by the Allies. He died shortly after being appointed cardinal by Pope Pius XII.

Irving Hexham

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; EMPLOYMENT; FAULHABER, CARDINAL MICHAEL VON; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; PIUS XII, POPE

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GALTON, FRANCIS: See EUGENICS;
PSYCHOLOGY

GENDER: See FEMINISM; SEXUALITY;
WOMEN

GENERALGOUVERNEMENT/ GENERAL GOVERNMENT, THE

Official name for the area of Central Poland that the Nazis placed under a governorship after their invasion of Poland in 1939. The western provinces of Upper Silesia, West Prussia, Poznan, and Danzig were simply annexed to Germany.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; WORLD WAR II

GENIUS, THE CULT OF THE: See HERO,
THE CULT OF THE

GENOCIDE: See HOLOCAUST, THE

GENTILE, GIOVANNI (1875–1944)

Unofficial philosophical mentor to Italian Fascism. Although he served Mussolini and the Fascist dictatorship in a number of capacities (for example, as minister of

public instruction) and was in fact murdered in Florence in 1944 for this service, Gentile was first and foremost a man of ideas. European intellectual historians remind us that toward the end of the nineteenth century in Western Europe there was a substantial reaction against positivism and—to the extent it could be identified with this outlook—Marxism as well. Philosophers and social observers informed by philosophical ideas rebelled against efforts to apply the laws and procedures of the natural sciences to human conduct. There was even a rebellion, at least to some extent, against empiricism or the way of knowing reality associated with scientific inquiry. In place of positivist and empiricist ideas, the critics stressed the role of discretionary human will as the basis of behavior. In regard to epistemology, such critics emphasized the point that “reality” is a mix of the physical world outside ourselves and our subjective perception of it; for many of them the ideas of Hegel took on a renewed significance.

At the same time as the antipositivist and anti-Marxist rebellion was underway, various philosophers also challenged the liberal state, the form of rule apparently preferred by the mainstream political writers of the era. Individualism, laissez-faire capitalism, parliamentary supremacy, and a minimalist, ethically neutral state were ideas, practices, and institutional arrangements that they came to regard with contempt. There was a new current of thought according to which the state should not be small and neutral but rather big and pedagogical, playing an essential role in society and reshaping human beings so that they might pursue higher goals and objectives than mere material acquisition. Gentile’s philosophy—called actualism, should be understood as emerging from this antipositivist rebellion and antiliberal mood. The other element that needs to be introduced is the nation. Gentile was an ardent Italian nationalist whose writings reflected a desire to see his country’s standing in the world elevated to that of a great power. The problem, of course, was that Italy and Italians had suffered one setback and humiliation after another over the preceding centuries. To return Italy to its rightful place in the world required a maximum exertion of will. To that end, there was a need for a powerful state, led by a far-seeing individual, that would be able to transform not only Italy’s external reality but also the psyche of individual Italians. Human beings were not by nature atomized individuals but were, instead, social creatures who only realized themselves as members of a nation. Gentile thus provided the basis and justification for the totalitarian state of the kind that Mussolini sought but never quite achieved.



Italian Giovanni Gentile, advocate of actualism and the only widely-respected philosopher to throw in his lot permanently with an interwar fascist regime. He sponsored a Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals and was a moving spirit behind the multi-volume Enciclopedia italiana, a celebration of Italian culture. (Harlingue-Viollet)

A Sicilian by birth and a precocious student, Gentile was teaching philosophy at the University of Rome when Mussolini came to power at the end of October 1922. Immediately after the Fascist March on Rome, Mussolini (who referred to Gentile as his “teacher”) appointed him to his first cabinet post as minister of public instruction, a position he held through 1924. It was also during this period that Gentile became a member of the Fascist Party and, more important, a member of the Grand Council of Fascism. Following these experiences, Gentile served in a variety of posts, largely focused on cultural matters, through the second half of the 1920s and most of the succeeding decade. In these years Gentile was given the responsibility by Mussolini of editing the *Enciclopedia italiana*, a task that came to include writing the first part of the official *Dottrina del Fascismo*, the fundamental exposition of the Fascist state’s ideology. Gentile’s views, particularly those in-

volving the predominant role of the state in education, brought him into conflict with the Church, which, of course, had its own claims on the attention of Italian youth. So, to the extent that the Fascist regime wished to mollify the Church, its spokesmen began to establish some distance between state policy and Gentile’s philosophy. Nonetheless, Gentile remained loyal to Fascism until the end. After King Victor Emmanuel III dismissed Mussolini from power in 1943, effectively bringing the regime to an end, Gentile was one of the few Italian intellectuals who stayed at Il Duce’s side. With prompting from the Germans, Mussolini created a neo-Fascist Social Republic (the Salò Republic) in northern Italy—or, in other words, the section of the country that had not as yet been occupied by the advancing Allied armies. Gentile served this new, short-lived regime as the president of the Accademia d’Italia, its foremost cultural institution. On 15 April 1944, less

than two months before the liberation of Rome from German occupation, Gentile was shot and killed by anti-Fascist partisans in front of his home in Florence. His body was buried nearby in a vault at the church of Santa Croce, the final resting place for such illustrious Italians as Machiavelli and Galileo.

Leonard Weinberg

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ACTUALISM; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CULTURE; EDUCATION; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSITIVISM; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III; VITALISM; VOLUNTARISM; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*; YOUTH

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GEOPOLITICS: See HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST

GEORGE, STEFAN (1868–1933)

German poet whose antiliberal and *völkisch* philosophy with its anticipation of a new age gained him a wide circle of admirers and approval in Nazi circles. Born 12 July 1868 in Büdesheim (near Bingen), George studied at the gymnasium in Darmstadt. On completing his studies in 1889 he traveled for a year in Europe, visiting London, Italy, and Paris, where he was much attracted to the Symbolist poets, particularly Stéphane Mallarmé. Following three semesters at

the University of Berlin, he fell into what became a permanently peripatetic way of life, living with friends in Berlin, Munich, Heidelberg, Basle, Italy, and Paris, publishing his work privately, and maintaining an esoteric Symbolist program wherein pure poetry was understood as revelatory of the mysteries of life, upheld by “a noble few” and “triumphing over torment and transfiguring ecstasy.” In *Pilgerfahrten* (1891), he idealized this aesthetic life. A *George-Kreis* (“Circle”) quickly arose in which very close friendships were maintained, above all those between George and the young Austrian poet and playwright Hugo von Hofmannsthal (a short but intense relationship), the Germanist and George’s strongest supporter, Friedrich Gundolf (from whom he became estranged in 1920), and the young teenager Max Kronberger, whose death at sixteen in 1904 was poetized by George in terms of Maximin, the ideal of the “spontaneous mind and heroic soul.” The Circle included nationalists, republicans, anti-Semites, and Jews. Closely associated with George early in the publication of the periodical *Blätter für die Kunst* (1892–1919) was the poet Karl Wolfskehl, a Jew, attached for a time (as was George in 1923) to the Munich “Kosmiker” who were convinced of the decadence of Western Judeo-Christian culture and pressed for a reinvigoration of the pagan past. Among this circle the philosopher Ludwig Karls saw the greatest hope in primitive Germanic traditions. The most important work of these early years was his *Das Jahr der Seele* (1897).

By 1907 in *Der siebente Ring*, George’s earlier aestheticism and its doctrine of art for art’s sake developed a political perspective and announced an elitist pedagogical and prophetic role for the poet in opposing contemporary society as decadent, barbarous, and philistine. With the publication of the *Jahrbuch für die geistige Bewegung* (1910–1912), the Circle promulgated its central concerns. In *Der Krieg* (1917), George interpreted World War I as the result of decadence arising out of bourgeois mass culture. Following the war George’s popularity increased among young German writers, drawn to his proclamation of a superior cult of youth, high art and beauty, and an elitist ethic of spirit over matter. His *Das neue Reich*, published in 1928 and understood by George more in a spiritual than a practical, political sense, attracted the attention of the National Socialists and other fascist-minded supporters. Both the July Plot conspirator Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg and Joseph Goebbels were members of the George Circle, as were the literary historian Ernst

Robert Curtius and the cultural and political critic Ernst H. Kantorowicz. In 1933, George immigrated to Switzerland, where he died at Minusio near Locarno on 4 December.

The earliest critical work on George tended to be controlled by members of the George Circle, and that pattern continued after World War II, as did the tendency to downplay any links between George and the Circle and the rise of Nazism. The exact relationship between the two is difficult to ascertain. George did express anti-Jewish sentiments, but he supported the Jewish members of the Circle. Certainly when his 1921 poem “Der Dichter in Zeiten der Wirren” was reprinted in 1928, many understood it as a prophetic reference to Adolf Hitler. When the Nazis took power, Goebbels offered him the presidency of a newly established German Academy of Poetry, which George declined, but such an action need not have been because of political opposition on his part to the new powers. It might to some extent have been a result of his consistent distancing of himself from the populace at large. In 1927, for example, he declined the Frankfurt Goethe Prize, eventually accepting it under pressure but without the public honor. His emigration in 1933 was most likely because of his declining health and not for political reasons.

Peter Erb

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; CULTURE; DECADENCE; ELITE THEORY; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; JULY PLOT, THE; LIBERALISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; VOLK, VÖLKISCH; WAR; WORLD WAR I

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GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE

A movement within the German Protestant church during the Nazi era that advocated an “Aryan” church that would conform to the National Socialist political agenda. Emerging from several Protestant *völkisch* movements during the 1920s and early 1930s, the German Christians sought church renewal along ethnic nationalist lines. At its height the movement included about 600,000 members, or about 2 percent of German Protestants. The German Christian movement incorporated a number of aspects typical of fascist thinking: rigid gendering and support for stereotypical gender roles, anti-internationalism, romanticism, a blend of traditional symbols and myths with modern ideology, and a strong emphasis on ethnic identity and separatism.

When Adolf Hitler came to power in January 1933, the German Christians immediately began a drive to make the German Protestant church conform to the new government. After the passage of the first laws banning “non-Aryans” from the civil service, the German Christians pushed for similar laws within the church. Hitler viewed the German Christians as early allies in his aim to nazify all aspects of German life, and publicly supported the group in the July 1933 national Protestant church elections. The German Christians won two-thirds of the vote in these elections, thus gaining power in most regional church governments. They promoted a national Reich church and elected one of their members, Ludwig Müller, to be Reich bishop. In the months that followed, the movement gained strength, culminating in a mass rally in November 1933 at the Sports Palace in Berlin, where the German Christians declared an agenda for the Protestant church that included the elimination of the Old Testament from the Bible and placed the Reich church squarely under Nazi authority.

The Sports Palace rally provoked a backlash among Protestants throughout Germany. Despite their nationalism, most Protestant leaders were theologically conservative. They feared the loss of church independence under Nazism and viewed the German Christians as too ideologically driven. An opposing church group, the Confessing Church, emerged to counter the German Christian agenda, and the German Protestant church found itself in a struggle (the *Kirchenkampf*) between the two groups and church moderates who

hoped to avoid a schism. Despite the clear ideological lines that had been drawn, the *Kirchenkampf* was primarily about church independence vs. conformity to the Nazi regime. By the late 1930s, the ranks of the German Christians had dwindled. Nonetheless, they continued to incorporate Nazi ideology into church liturgies and theology, and because of their power in the regional church leadership, they attempted throughout the Third Reich to exclude people considered “non-Aryan” under Nazi racial law and compel the church to conform to state regulations.

The real impact of the movement during the Third Reich may have been to make a “nazified” ideological Christianity appear legitimate. After 1945, most German Christians merged back into mainstream German Protestantism, and many of their leaders eventually found positions in the Lutheran Church.

Victoria Barnett

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CHRISTIANITY; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; HITLER, ADOLF; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MÜLLER, BISHOP LUDWIG; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROTESTANTISM; SEXUALITY; THEOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WOMEN

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GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE

The German-American Bund (Amerikadeutscher Volksbund) was established in the United States in March 1936, following the demise of an earlier pro-Nazi group, the Friends of the New Germany. Between 1936 and 1939 the Bund—meaning federation—was led by Fritz Kuhn, a German-born, naturalized U.S. citizen who had served as a machine-gunner in the

Bavarian infantry in France during World War I. A former member of the Freikorps and a longtime member of the National Socialist German Worker's Party (NSDAP), Kuhn consciously adopted the manner and style of Hitler, seeing himself as an “American Fuehrer.” The Bund endeavored to unite all German Americans behind its National Socialist agenda, while at the same time demanding that the United States remain neutral in any forthcoming European conflict. Fervently anti-Semitic and anticommunist, the Bund's first official announcement declared that its purpose was “to combat the Moscow-directed madness of the Red world menace and its Jewish bacillus-carriers” (Grover 2003, 177). Such views were propagated through the Bund's newspaper, *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, in numerous pamphlets, at marches, camps and rallies, and through its promotion of films such as *The Triumph of the Will* and Hitler's autobiography, *Mein Kampf*. Kuhn also created a Bund youth division modeled on the Hitler Youth, where, in addition to receiving instruction on National Socialist ideology (including how to salute the swastika correctly), children could meet to take part in such activities as folk-singing, traditional dancing, and military drill.

The exact size of the German-American Bund is difficult to determine. Estimates of its membership at the height of its popularity—between 1937 and 1938—range from 6,600 to 50,000, for example. The Bund's largest single public display took place on 20 February 1939, when more than 22,000 people attended its Pro-American Rally and George Washington Birthday Exercises at New York's Madison Square Garden. In a hall bedecked with swastikas, American flags, and an enormous portrait of George Washington, attendees heard Kuhn denounce Franklin D. Roosevelt for being part of a Bolshevik-Jewish conspiracy to undermine the United States: Roosevelt was referred to as “Frank D. Rosenfeld” and the New Deal dismissed as the “Jew Deal.” The event was widely covered in the national and international press, and the public outcry was considerable. In addition, an investigation into the Bund's financial activities was launched by New York district attorney Thomas E. Dewey. Although the Bund was the subject of a House Un-American Activities Committee investigation in 1938, it was Dewey's enquiry that proved to be its undoing. Found guilty of embezzlement and forgery, Kuhn was sentenced to a two-and-a-half to five year prison term, and without his leadership the organization became increasingly splintered and ineffective. On 8 December 1941, the day after the Japa-



German-American Bund parade in New York in 1939. This event is a reminder that there was much sympathy for German Nazism (and Italian Fascism) in interwar America. There was little enthusiasm in the U.S. for intervention in World War II until after Pearl Harbor. (Library of Congress)

nese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Bund's executive committee voted unanimously to disband what remained of the movement.

Darren Mulloy

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; HITLER, ADOLF; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; NAZISM; PEARL HARBOR; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SOVIET UNION, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL*; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); YOUTH

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GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE

A religious movement founded in 1933 as an amalgam of earlier movements by J. W. Hauer to replace traditional Christianity with a pagan cult. The rituals attached to birth, marriage, and death were to be de-Christianized, and Christmas was to give way to a pagan solstice festival. Its leaders prohibited nativity plays and carols in schools and attacked the practice of daily prayers in the classroom. By 1936 it had already been marginalized, and it fragmented soon afterward into smaller groupings.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CHRISTIANITY; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; OCCULTISM

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GERMANIC RELIGION

Renewed interest in the ideas of a discrete German *Volk* emerged from the traditions of Romanticism, pantheism, and of philosophical idealism that developed during the nineteenth century and that counterpointed the rationality of the Enlightenment. The concept of a distinct German *Volk* signified a people who possessed a “transcendental essence” that was to be found in their mythologies and a “true” appreciation of both their “cosmic” and “natural” surroundings. From this appreciation a connection to a “transcendental essence” would emerge manifesting the true creativity and soul of the nation. The cosmos was understood to possess a “living force” that was directed to the earth, and all true self-fulfillment had to be in tune with that cosmic life force. The symbol of the tree represented this idea. Its roots signified the German peasant’s strength and rootedness in history and in the land, while the crown of the tree reached out and captured the cosmic life force. The Jews were specifically seen as the antithesis of a rooted people, not in communion with the cosmic life force. Often they were represented as a snake at the bottom of the tree, challenging the Germanic sense of “rootedness.” French and British industrialism and the alienation of the modern city were also seen as the antitheses of the true German *Volk*. This was characterized as “natural” and rural life, and the peasant farming communities of the Middle Ages symbolized the ideal of patriarchal communities that lived in communion with nature and were viewed as an integral part of the land rather than as a human imposition onto it.

In the literature on Germanic religion, the normative importance of Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl’s *Land und Leute* was crucial in fleshing out the role of workers not as a modern proletariat but as medieval artisans. Riehl also sketched out a Christianity that was not restricted by theology, but rather emphasized localized piety. Also influential in the development of this ideology during the nineteenth century were Berthold Auerbach’s writ-

ings of Manichean peasant narratives triumphing over evil, and Jakob Grimm’s *Deutsche Mythologie*. However, of primary importance as ideologues of Germanic religion that fed into the Nazi thought systems were Paul de Lagarde and Julius Langbehn. Lagarde conceived of the “nation” as a spiritual essence that had declined and needed major renovations in order once again to reflect the organic, national “inner attitude.” He wrote that St. Paul had transformed the simple piety that typified this dynamic “inner attitude” into a sterile theology through codifying religion in Hebrew law. Therefore, Lagarde appealed for a return to an “original” Christianity that was inherently Germanic, and sought to guide the German nation from modernity back to their spiritual essence through a return to the estates of the Middle Ages.

Following on from Lagarde’s ideas was Langbehn. He injected into Lagarde’s dynamic a mysticism that drew from the theosophical speculation that was in the air at the turn of the twentieth century, and he was especially influenced by Emanuel Swedenborg’s theorizations of the extra-sensory world. Again Langbehn saw the Jewish people as the antithesis of the German *Volk*, which was, by definition, rooted in the landscape of the German nation. This was typical of how various appreciations of a discrete “Germanic religion” sought to anthropomorphize the world, or rather northern Germany, in order to protect the idealized German soul. Within such theorizing there was also a tendency to replace Christ with the German *Volk* that was truly in communion with God and the Universe, thereby making possible a dynamic of mystical unity between individual selves, the *Volk*, and the cosmos. Also, the historical Christ was often mutated into a symbol of simplistic moral and pious ideals. Other ideologues of importance in theorizing this dynamic included Moritz von Egidy, Hermann Lietz, Ferdinand Schöll, and Kurt Wilhelm.

Paul Jackson

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHRISTIANITY; DECADENCE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; MATERIALISM; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; OCCULTISM; ORGANICISM; RATIONALISM; ROOTLESSNESS; RURALISM; THEOLOGY; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*

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GERMANNESS (DEUTSCHHEIT)

A quality considered by many Nazi ideologues as innate to those of German blood—that is, those of German race. In practice, it was often equivalent to “Nordicness.” The concept was found most frequently in its adjectival form as *deutsch* (“German/Germanic”). This had nothing to do with political citizenship or the holding of a German passport; it had purely to do with racial purity: a “German” could be a citizen of Czechoslovakia or Austria or Poland, as much as of Germany itself. But German racial purity was believed to go along with certain superior qualities of “soul” and character, so to that extent behavior or a way of thinking or a moral code could be considered “German.” Equally it could be considered “un-German,” and the term for that was *deutschfremd* (“alien to the German”). This kind of vocabulary was pioneered by the Pangerman movements, and it is of vital importance to an understanding of Nazi thinking. An important term in the vocabulary of “Germanness” was *Herrenvolk*, meaning “master race,” as a designation for the Germans. “Germanness,” like “Nordicness,” had predominantly Protestant undertones, for such an elevation of a particular race could not readily be accommodated to a globalized church that owed allegiance to Rome and the papacy, and the German culture referred to was much more that of Lutheran Prussia than that of Catholic Bavaria. Such theories glorified the partially secularized Protestant culture of Kant and Hegel, Goethe and Schiller. Obviously this had very limited attraction to the Italian Fascists, for their Latin Mediterranean traditions were very different from the German on many levels, and theirs was a powerful autochthonous culture that had no need to borrow from Germany. Mussolini, however, did have an equivalent myth to that of Germanness in *Romanità* (“Romanness”). Moreover, there were parallel phenomena elsewhere—for example, in Hungary, where there was a myth of ‘Magyar’ superiority.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; EXPAN-
SIONISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANIC RELIGION;
GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; HITLER, ADOLF; HUNGARY;
MEIN KAMPF; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM;
NORDIC SOUL, THE; PANGERMANISM; PAPACY, THE;
POLAND; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROME

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GERMANY

Although fascism originated in Italy, it was in Germany under Adolf Hitler that the most notorious, powerful, and destructive fascist regime arose in the 1930s, a regime known to history as Nazism. Its origins can be traced back to the previous century. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, Europe saw the rise of various forms of Romantic movement. It began as a mainly cultural reaction to the rationalism of the Enlightenment, exalting the idealism, the myths, and the hopes of a tragic and suffering individual—it was, as the nineteenth century drew to a close, gradually blended in Europe with early liberal values. On German soil, however, these Romantic ideas took a slightly different path. Whereas the sense of pessimism and mystical longing for cathartic rehabilitation remained basically unaltered, the individual was being replaced by *das Volk* (the people) and the nation was assigned holistic and organic qualities. This shift from an idealization of the single individual to an idealization of the nation, one and undivided, meant that “foreign” values were associated with distinctly negative qualities. These “un-German” values were seen as “progressive and liberal” in a bad sense, in that they threatened a traditionalist and protectionist economic system. They were styled by *völkisch* thinkers as “mechanistic, materialistic, and superficial”—consequently violating a “spiritual” and “authentic” Germanic culture. Furthermore, ‘foreign’ ideas proposed abstract thinking, intellectualism, and rationalism—in contrast to the blessings of “common sense” and of things concrete and tangible, such as the family and the community. Universalistic and egalitarian, such ideas were used in defense of “the rights of man”—in other words, in opposition to “natural hierarchies” that were soon to form the basis for a creed of anti-Semitism and outright racism. Finally, these ‘foreign’ ideas came to be represented as ‘feeble’ and ‘worn



Celebrated German writer Ernst Jünger, one of a number of authors whose elitist, anti-democratic, and nationalistic rhetoric helped create an ambience favorable to the rise of Nazism. (Sophie Bassouls/Corbis Sygma)

out', seeking to obstruct the young and vigorous ideas of the rising Germanic nation.

These psychological and cultural factors were reinforced by the fact that Germany's bourgeois revolution, as opposed to the "healthy" evolution of Britain and France, remained haphazard and incomplete. The nation exhibited a flawed development—*ein Sonderweg* (a special path). Middle-class constituencies remained embedded in a "preindustrial" and "premodern" worldview. Artisans, white-collar employees, and civil servants clung to antique notions of caste and estate, and, anxious to guard their corporatist privileges and mercantilist traditions, mobilized against the advance of modern capitalism. As the bells of 1900 tolled, the philosophical underpinnings for the coming cataclysm had already therefore sunk deep into the foundation of German society. Other contributory causes of the rise of Nazism were of a more political and practical nature. As a Romantic reaction against a superficial bourgeois existence, movements like *Wandervögel*, which were interested in reviving old Teutonic values as a protest

against industrialization, attracted mainly middle-class teenagers. Although *Wandervögel* were prohibited after 1933, their associations with youth and invigorating country life, marches, and song were systematically exploited by the Hitler regime. *Stahlhelm* was founded by World War I veterans: German-nationalistic and a stern opponent of 'bourgeois decadence' and the Weimar Republic, the organization often joined forces with the Nazis, especially in the period after 1929. Germany's war reparations imposed by the 1919 Treaty of Versailles amounted to no less than 132 billion gold marks, even today a sum of immense proportions. This "deliberate act of aggression against the Germanic *Volk*" was to become an important ingredient in Hitler's speeches. Another World War I myth on which Hitler drew heavily was that of the legend of the "stab in the back" (*die Dolchstoßlegende*), implying that the war on the battlefields was virtually won and that the military had been betrayed by ignorant civilians and feeble-minded bureaucrats, with the sinister figure of "the Jew" lurking behind them.

The major financial crash on Wall Street in 1929 gave the forces of the Right a—possibly decisive—momentum. Unemployment skyrocketed, and the Weimar democrats were subjected to increasing criticism. Correspondingly, calls for forceful leadership grew in proportion, demands from which the charismatic Adolf Hitler was soon to profit. Who then supported Hitler? And for what reason? The National Socialists appealed to those social strata that had suffered considerably during the Great Depression. Especially in the early 1930s, they won acclaim for beating the Great Depression and for curing the massive unemployment. In contrast, Marxist historians point toward the link between the Nazi regime and the ruling classes. Some argue that Hitler's main thrust came from a radicalized, *völkisch* notion of a community, whereby “non-Aryans” and Jews in particular were seen as inferior races. Those of a more republican leaning hold, in contrast, that the rise of Nazism should be sought in the cynical fragmentation of society, in the disintegration of a moderate, civic-minded community. Scholars who stress the *völkisch*, cultural origin of Nazism as opposed to more practical, economic causes often suggest that Hitler had a stronger position among academics than among the working classes. Others, such as Daniel Goldhagen, argue that the anti-Semitic issue was the prime reason for Hitler's support; still others play down its real significance. Hitler biographer Alan Bullock, for example, maintains that Austrians may have supported *Die Anschluss* in 1938 not because of Hitler's anti-Semitism but in spite of it. The issue of free choice versus compulsion keeps attracting attention. At times, it is claimed that Hitler simply managed to force the entire German population to support the regime. To others, the system rested mainly on open support and outright enthusiasm by “willing” soldiers and an eager electorate.

Why, then, did the Germans not consciously choose *not to* support the Nazi regime? Were the German population in general really aware of the unfathomable scale of human suffering caused by Adolf Hitler and his party? Information was disseminated in Europe fairly slowly in 1940. Many Germans throughout the country insisted that they simply did not know what was going on until the end of the war; and besides, the camps were for the most part situated far from major German cities, many of them being in Poland. Documents regarding the early euthanasia program (that is, the killing of those “racially inferior”) indicate that the Nazis realized that the German public was far from convinced about the “humanitarian” nature of these measures. On the other hand, it has been argued that the Germans gradually adjusted their val-

ues to Nazi values. Some even deny the whole idea that Nazi propaganda was crudely forced onto more than 60 million Germans. On the contrary, it was meant to appeal to them and to match up with everyday German thinking. The idea that the average German was simply ignorant about the whole drama has been subject to considerable critique. After all, the trains to the concentration camps passed through virtually all parts of Germany. Major German industries, such as IG Farben and Siemens, supplied material to the concentration camps. Adolf Hitler himself never shied away from his objectives. Neighbors disappeared, never to return. A vast array of material on the police and the camps and various discriminatory campaigns was regularly published in the press of the day. In brief, the idea of a general unawareness among Germans does not seem convincing.

In the immediate aftermath of 1945, democratic opinion in Germany and abroad felt great distress at the fact that radical rightist values still had an undisputed audience. The German Conservative Party-German Right Party (DKP-DRP) had been formed as early as 1946 by former Nazis. That same year, in one opinion poll, a surprising 48 percent of Germans thought that some races were more fitted to rule than others. After the 1949 Bundestag elections, the Allied system of licensing parties ended. Domestically, the new German government decided to dismantle the denazification program, which was already losing impetus as the Cold War led to changing Allied priorities. This new climate provided the opportunity to create a more truly neo-Nazi party. A remarkable variety of conservative and nationalist groups contested the elections, gaining a total of 10.5 percent of the vote. The Socialist Reich Party (SPR) was founded in October 1949 as a result of a rightist breakaway from the DKP-DRP. That same year, six out of ten Germans thought, on opinion poll evidence, that Nazism was a good idea badly carried out.

Still, in contrast to certain dark forecasts, the 1950s did not witness a further radicalization of the German political landscape, and by the beginning of the 1960s, radical nationalist groups seemed to be slipping into oblivion. One major reason for this was the German economic miracle. In 1964, the Ministry of the Interior's official report on neo-Nazism and radical nationalism put forward further reasons for the electoral collapse of the rightist fringes: the growing awareness of the evils of the past, weak radical leadership, personal differences between the leaders, and a strong tendency toward factionalism that made it difficult for one major organization to emerge.

In 1971, Thies Christophersen set up a publishing house where various neo-Nazi views, such as Holocaust denial, were published. Times were now changing. After a period of shared beliefs and tacit agreement, there were new tendencies toward a political polarization, whereby more pronounced rightist *and* leftist positions each saw their stock rise. German would-be fascist movements were again enjoying a slightly widening electorate. In 1977, the National Socialist Action Front (ANS) was formed. Its leader, twenty-two-year-old Michael Kühnen, offered a strange mixture of charm and brutality, Marxism and Nietzsche. Kühnen's low esteem of homosexuality was surprising, given his own homosexuality and the fact that he himself was to die of an AIDS-related illness in 1991. In 1989 the Republican Party (Die Republikaner) and Franz Schönhuber attracted a spectacular rise in support, not wholly different from that of Jörg Haider's Austrian Freedom Party. The Republican Party, initially set up in 1983, did not openly defend Nazism. Rather, it seemed to advocate a more authoritarian government that would restore order and national pride. Other rightist parties of moderate fame are the Deutsche Volksunion (DVU), led by Gerhard Frey, and the older Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD).

There were also a number of rightist attacks against civilians. In 1981 a former member of NPD blew himself up while placing a bomb at the 1980 Munich Beer Festival, killing another 12 people and injuring 211. The euphoria after the reunification of BRD and DDR quickly came to a standstill as the early 1990s saw a major wave of neo-Nazi violence sweeping the country, particularly in the so-called "new" *Länder*. In the face of a passive or even encouraging local population and a powerless police, foreign workers and asylum seekers were burned out from their homes by gangs of skinheads in the former DDR city of Hoyerswerda. At Mölln in former West Germany a fire bomb attack killed a Turkish woman with her young granddaughter and niece. Worse still, in Rostock in the late summer of 1992, some 1,000 Nazis attacked immigrants and asylum seekers. The year 1992 alone had witnessed more than 2,500 rightist attacks on foreigners across Germany, 697 cases of arson, and 17 people killed. Statistics at the time showed that these attacks reflected rightist trends among the entire electorate. In 1989, 38 percent of West Germans thought that, but for the persecution of the Jews, Hitler could be counted among the country's top statesmen. Other polls revealed that some 10 to 15 percent of Germans could be classed as anti-Semitic, and that negative stereotypes, such as the belief that Jews are cunning, were increasing.

A rightist trend was also at hand on the German official scene. It was a sign of the times when in 1982 the conservative poet Ernst Jünger was awarded the prestigious Goethe Prize. Even his 1920s writings, hitherto seen as highly problematic because of their indisputable links to fascist aesthetics, were accorded an accolade for their literary and intellectual content. Furthermore, the desire to "normalize" the past was probably the motivation behind Helmut Kohl's controversial decision to invite President Ronald Reagan to attend a ceremony at the Bitburg Military Cemetery to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the end of World War II: among the graves were those of forty-five members of the Waffen SS. A few years later, in June 1993, the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats jointly decided to remodel Germany's immigration law from the most liberal in Europe into one of the most restrictive. Coming in the immediate aftermath of one of the most severe outbursts of German fascist violence since 1945, the new laws could be seen as an *ex post facto* endorsement of those attacks. However, to some these measures evidently seemed insufficient, as an arson attack in Solingen later on that same year left five Turkish immigrants dead.

As a final indication of a more rightist tendency, the "historians' debate" (*Historikerstreit*) had wide repercussions regarding what may, and what may not, fall within the borders of fair and legitimate historical analysis. On the surface, the "historians' debate" dealt with three major issues. First, the participants discussed the concept of the singularity of the Holocaust, primarily as opposed to Stalinist atrocities. Second, the discussants argued about the need for today's historians to identify with the German troops during the Nazi period. The liberal critics held that, if an approach of "identification" was to be chosen at all, historians should rather empathize with the prisoners in the concentration camps. Third, the liberal critics assumed that the conservative camp—comprising, among others, Ernst Nolte and Andreas Hillgruber—was part of an overall effort to normalize the representation of the Nazi past and to remove the major conceptual and emotional obstacles to the revival of a politically dubious right-wing German identity.

These recent rightist trends constitute only one aspect of a general polarization of the German political scene. The times since the 1970s have also been characterized by an expanding leftist discussion about the nation's distressing twentieth-century history. Among other things, this "coming to terms with the past" (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*) has meant a growing awareness of Nazi atrocities and increasing efforts to capture those

criminals still on the run. The gradual rise in number of (would-be) Fascist organizations in Germany has also resulted in a proliferation of a corresponding leftist, antifascist, movement within the nation. In addition, cultural depictions of postwar Germany in which the wartime period played a vital role—such as the ambitious television project *Heimat*; critical assessments from a distinctly political perspective of the allegedly apolitical philosopher Martin Heidegger; and, finally, Jewish communities seeking economic compensation for their suffering—all indicated that an era of consensus was coming to an end.

Göran Adamson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AUSTRIA; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BLITZKRIEG; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BRÜNING, HEINRICH; CAPITALISM; COLD WAR, THE; COMMUNITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CULTURE; DENAZIFICATION; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; EMPLOYMENT; ENABLING ACT, THE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUTHANASIA; FAMILY, THE; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FOOTBALL/SOCCER; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; FREY, DR. GERHARD; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GUERNICA; HAIDER, JOERG; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; *HISTORIKERSTREIT*, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; HOMOSEXUALITY; IG FARBEN; IMMIGRATION; INFLATION; ITALY; JÜNGER, ERNST; KÜHNEN, MICHAEL; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MILITARISM; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MUNICH PACT, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; NUREMBERG; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; ORGANICISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RATIONALISM; RURALISM; SCHÖNHUBER, FRANZ; SONDERWEG ("SPECIAL PATH"), THE; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPORT; SS, THE; STAHLHELM; TECHNOLOGY; TRADITION; UNIVERSITIES; VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WAFFEN SS, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; *WANDERVÖGEL*, THE; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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"GERMANY AWAKE!": See
DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE!

GESTAPO (*GEHEIME STAATSPOLIZEI*), THE

The secret state police after the NSDAP seized power in 1933, one of the main instruments of organized terror by which the Nazis secured their power in Germany and, during World War II, in the conquered countries. The Gestapo, founded and headed by Hermann Goering in Prussia in 1933, soon came under the influence of Heinrich Himmler, who already

directed the SS and who had gained control of the political police departments in other parts of the Reich. In April 1936 he also controlled the Gestapo de jure, and, later that year, merged it with the Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Investigation Police) under the new name of Sicherheitspolizei (abbreviated Sipo, for Security Police). Three years later, the Sipo was joined with the Sicherheitsdienst (abbreviated SD, for Security Service), an intelligence branch of the military, the new institution then called the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA, Reich Security Central Office) and commanded by Reinhard Heydrich up to the time of his assassination in late May 1942.

Recruited from professional police officers, the Gestapo had the official task of investigating and combating all tendencies said to be dangerous to the state. To implement its goals the Gestapo relied heavily on a measure called *Schutzhaftbefehl* (“protective custody order”), by which they imprisoned people without judicial proceedings, most often in concentration camps, where the prisoners were tortured or murdered. In February 1936 a new legal basis for the Gestapo came into force which declared that such actions were not restricted by judicial review. Beyond the elimination of political opponents, the primary target groups of intimidation and persecution were Jews, Gypsies, and homosexuals.

Even if the number of full-time Gestapo personnel never exceeded 40,000 and the number of informers was limited, it could count on great willingness on the part of party officials and *Volksgeuossen* to be involved in denunciation. During World War II the Gestapo played an important role in exerting terror in the countries occupied by the Nazis; especially as part of the Einsatzgruppen of the SS, its members participated in the huge-scale maltreatment and killings of Jews, gypsies, communists, and partisans. The Gestapo was deeply implicated in the attempted extermination of European Jewry, forcing the Jews into ghettos and arresting them to be deported to the extermination camps. As the prospect of defeat loomed ever larger, members of the Gestapo even intensified their murderous activities from the autumn of 1944 in many parts of Germany, and went over to murdering foreign laborers, killing prisoners of war as well as Wehrmacht deserters, and lynching Allied pilots shot down over Germany. At the Nuremberg Trials the entire organization was indicted and convicted of crimes against humanity.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GERMANY; GHETTOS; GOERING, HERMANN; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; LAW; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SA, THE; SD, THE; SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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GHETTOS, THE

The medieval practice of confining Jews to specific areas of towns (“ghettos”) was revived by the Nazis as part of their strategy for dealing with “the Jewish problem.” In September 1939, Heydrich gave orders that the Jews of newly conquered Poland were to be forced into ghettos in the larger cities. This effective incarceration of Jews was the prelude to the Holocaust and made that project easier, in that it was much simpler to deport to concentration camps whole populations of individuals already clearly identified as Jewish by their address. The first such ghetto was established in Lodz, and subsequently others were set up in various areas of Eastern Europe; the largest and most famous, however, was the Warsaw Ghetto, which was eventually home to 350,000 persons herded behind a brick wall. Conditions in these areas rapidly deteriorated to the point where unemployment, starvation, and deprivation reduced the inmates to a state in which they actually resembled the “subhuman” image that the Nazis had of them. The Warsaw Ghetto also became an enduring symbol of Jewish resistance in the first months of 1943, when the “Jewish Combat Organization” formed by inmates offered armed resistance to deportation. They managed to hold out until May, when the ghetto was finally destroyed. The ghetto phenomenon was not entirely restricted to the world of German Nazism: for example, in Croatia during World War II,



Jewish civilians are marched down a street during the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto, the most celebrated of the Jewish ghettos established in European cities by the Nazis. Ghettoization facilitated the project of the Holocaust by forcing the Jews into a particular locality from which they could be readily deported to the death camps. (National Archives)

officials of the ruling Ustasha Party similarly drove Serbs (whom they considered racially inferior) into ghettos.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CROATIA; HOLOCAUST, THE; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; SERBS, THE; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMAN"); USTASHA

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GLEICHSCHALTUNG

A key term, meaning "coordination," used by the Nazis to describe the aim of working in the common direction set by German National Socialism as summed up in the slogan "One Volk, one Reich, one Fuehrer." It conveys the idea of marching in step and recalls the comradeship of frontline soldiers during World War I. The essential, if contradictory, idea was an imposed pseudo-collegial consensus embracing the entire nation as applied to the attitudes and practices of individuals and groupings such as the Hitler Youth. National Socialists were expected to exercise "inner *Gleichschaltung*" to conform their thoughts and actions to those of the party and Fuehrer. As a political policy it was initiated by Hans Frank to regulate German states, or

provinces (*Gleichschaltung der Länder* 31/3 and 7/4 1933). Political parties such as the Communist Party and the SPD were outlawed (28 March and 22 June 1933, respectively) and those that remained were reorganized (14 July 1933). Culture, education, industry, and farming were brought into line with National Socialist objectives. The Protestant churches resisted through what became known as the *Kirchenkampf*, although the majority were drawn into a National Socialist framework.

Irving Hexham

See Also: CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; CULTURE; EDUCATION; FARMERS; FRANK, HANS; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; MILITARISM; NAZISM; RELIGION; TOTALITARIANISM; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH

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GLOBALIZATION

Neofascist political parties such as the National Front in France or the Freedom Party in Austria and the European New Right have railed against globalization, Americanization, the European Union (EU) project, immigration, the erosion of homogeneous cultural identities, and the loss of sovereignty of nation states. These radical right-wing, ultranationalist political forces have tended to unite with revolutionary leftists, Maoists, Trotskyites, and anarchists in fighting what they consider the excesses of globalization. Whereas the Left rejects globalization because of the acceleration of neoliberal values and institutions such as the EU and World Bank, the erosion of the welfare state, and the rise in poverty at home and abroad, the fascists, neofascists, and New Right fear globalization because they fear the Americanization of their societies as well as the loss of national or regional cultures.

Interwar fascists similarly loathed globalization, which they labeled with such terms as “cosmopolitanism.” In racially based fascist and Nazi literature, the Jew was the epitome of the “rootless cosmopolitan,” whereas fascists and Nazis supposedly enjoyed a rootedness in the land of their homogeneous national cultures. Neofascist, ultranationalist, Third Positionist, and New Right tendencies similarly reject globalization and cosmopolitanism, particularly the demise of homogeneous regional or national cultures and the spread of multicultural societies. Hence it is no accident that one branch of the New Right based in Germany has called for homogeneous communities within the context of a heterogeneous community of cultures and nations. The ENR in general views globalization, Americanization, and the Judeo-Christian tradition as the true “totalitarianism” and “fascism.”

Globalization has tended to both hinder and assist neofascism around the globe. On the one hand, the presence of immigrants in large numbers in France, Germany, and other European countries has created de facto, functioning multicultural societies. On the other hand, ultranationalist politicians like Jean-Marie Le Pen in France have exploited the fears created by globalization’s greater economic and cultural openness to make immigration one of the dominant issues in electoral contests in Western Europe since the mid-1980s. Similarly, neofascist groups from the United States, Germany, Russia, and Italy have used the Internet to recruit followers around the world. A point of growing convergence between neofascists and the radical Left has been the antiglobalization protests from Seattle to Genoa that challenge the demise of democracy and national sovereignty as a result of the implementation of global trade agreements such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the impact of institutions such as the World Bank.

While interwar fascists remained rhetorically committed to their respective national myths of regeneration, they cooperated in practice, as in the Axis alliance between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, Franco’s Spain, and Hirohito’s Japan. In the post-World War II period, Anne-Marie Duranton-Crabol has demonstrated some of the cultural links between the French Nouvelle Droite and other ENR chapters. European-wide, neo-Nazis meet annually, while the radical Right has an alliance of like-minded political parties in the European Parliament. While insisting on the ideological heterogeneity of the ENR, Duranton-Crabol has also recognized the “multinational” character of GRECE, a key ENR think tank. Ultranationalist political parties have made great gains in an era of greater

globalization, but other forces such as the decline of communist and socialist parties have been at work to allow for the rise of ultranationalist political movements. In the 1990s, France's Jean-Marie Le Pen reached the second round of the presidential election; the neofascist (or postfascist?) National Alliance joined the Italian coalition government, and the anti-immigrant Freedom Party achieved the same coalition status in Austria. In the postcommunist period, we witnessed the beginning of transversal and eclectic sorts of political alliances and syntheses that cut across Right and Left with issues such as immigration. Playing on fears associated with globalization, the hegemony of liberal democracy, and a U.S.- or Western-led cultural imperialism propagated by large multinational corporations upon non-Western countries and cultures, neofascist, ultranationalist, and New Right forces have begun to make their impact on the European body politic. As in the interwar era, when a collection of "neither right nor left" political forces helped to usher in the fascist era, today anticapitalist forces both on the radical Right and Left seek to undermine liberal democracy by highlighting the dehumanizing effects of globalization, or the antiliberal, antidemocratic trends of liberal democracies themselves.

Tamir Bar-On

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; AUSTRIA; AUTARKY; AXIS, THE; BOLSHIEVISM; CAPITALISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURE; DEMOCRACY; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GRECE; HAIDER, JÖRG; HIROHITO, EMPEROR; IMMIGRATION; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; JAPAN; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MULTICULTURALISM; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NIHILISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROOTLESSNESS; RUSSIA; SPAIN; THIRD POSITIONISM; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADE; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WORLD WAR II

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GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE (1816–1882)

One of the most widely read proponents of Aryan racial theory, highly influential in Germany on the Nazi movement. Born into an impoverished noble family, he was convinced that his family descended from Norman Viking nobility. Throughout his life, Gobineau remained obsessed with heredity and blood. He combined conservative Catholic values and modern influences, notably Hölderlin and Novalis, with their distaste for bourgeois values and a Romantic nostalgia for the Middle Ages. He befriended Richard Wagner, who shared his ideas about race.

The Revolutions of 1848 strengthened Gobineau's conviction of the evil of the values they represented—notably, democracy and national self-determination. This conviction he expressed in his play *Manfredine*. His most celebrated work was the "Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines" (1853–1855). In this work Gobineau stresses the superiority of the white man, who has a greater intelligence, a higher morality, and a better physical harmony than other races. The predecessors of white European culture were the Aryan peoples of North India. The original Aryans were virtuous, in the sense of Rousseau, in that they were unspoiled and not corrupted. Gobineau believed that all successful civilizations had received help from the white Aryan race. From the original Aryan civilization in India, other true white Aryan civilizations sprang, such as ancient Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, and Western Christianity, founded by Germanic tribes.

Paradoxically, Gobineau claimed that white Aryans even founded Chinese civilization, and also the great middle and southern pre-Columbian civilizations. The white Aryans merely dissolved into the indigenous people, leaving behind their great heritage. Great empires invite multicultural and racial intermingling that brings corruption, and that is the cause of their demise. Historical development does not end in civilization but in destruction. Civilization is determined by race. The dilution of blood leads to a loss of control. Gobineau believed that he saw clearly the signs of decay in nineteenth-century Europe as a result of racial mixing. European history must of necessity be a history of war, in which the superior, "purest" peoples conquer the less pure, less vital, and degenerate peo-

ples. It will lead to the end of European civilization and the end of the great white Aryan race.

Philip van Meurs

See Also: AHNENERBE; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GÜNTHER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SCIENCE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TIBET; UNIVERSITIES; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH (1897–1945)

One of Hitler's closest associates and head of the Nazi propaganda machine. Hitler probably owed his success as much to Goebbels and his propaganda skills as to any other Nazi chief. Goebbels, who grew up in a strict Catholic home, was excluded from military service in World War I because of osteomyelitis. This affliction left him with a crippled foot, which he would later claim to be the result of a war wound, and with an inferiority complex to match. This was made even worse by the fact that he was small in stature, so that he looked the very opposite of the tall, blonde Aryan of Nazi myth. In 1920 he acquired a Ph.D. in literature (on the Romantic movement) after studying in Freiburg, Bonn, Würzburg, Munich, and Heidelberg. He subsequently began to indulge a taste for a Bohemian lifestyle. His record of employment at this period included a stint in a bank, acting as a clerk in the Cologne Stock Exchange, and a position with a publisher. He wrote a novel, *Michael*, in 1923, though it was not published until 1929; it reflects a deeply rooted antibourgeois feeling. After initial contacts with the National Socialist movement in 1924, he became editor of papers like *Völkische Freiheit* (1924), *Der Angriff*



Joseph Goebbels, the driving force behind the hugely innovative, wide-ranging, and effective Nazi propaganda campaigns. He was remarkably successful in 'branding' Nazism as a powerful progressive force that could lift the German people to a new greatness. (Library of Congress)

(1927), and *Das Reich* (1940). Having first sided with the Strasser brothers and expressed suspicion of Hitler, he turned to the dominant Hitler faction in 1926, becoming a slavish adulator of the latter. Goebbels was rewarded with the position of NSDAP-*Gauleiter* of Berlin the same year. He subsequently became one of the most unscrupulous agitators in the Nazi movement, exploiting the worries of the unemployed during the world economic crisis and presenting Hitler as the savior of the German people. His speeches were replete with extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism. In 1929, Hitler made him chief of the NSDAP propaganda apparatus after Goebbels had repeatedly provoked violent clashes with left wingers in working-class areas of Berlin.

Goebbels was responsible for many of the propagandistic innovations that gave the Third Reich such a powerful and imposing reputation. He was responsible

for elevating the versifier Horst Wessel to martyr status, despite the latter's ignominious death in a brawl and the feebleness of his doggerel. In *Der Angriff* Goebbels played relentlessly on certain repetitive themes—the November Criminals, the ineptitude of parliamentary government, and the wickedness of the Jews. He composed the Ten Commandments for National Socialists, which amount to a manic call to hypernationalist pride in Germany and her destiny combined with an unashamed exultation in violence. In 1930 he became a deputy in the Reichstag. Upon becoming Reich secretary for public enlightenment and propaganda (March 1933), Goebbels established an extensive propaganda apparatus embracing radio, newsreels, and feature films, and he pushed ahead with a policy of tight control of the news media and the cultural sector: his philosophy could be summed up in the phrase “total propaganda.” He was now effectively the “dictator of culture” in all of Germany. His propaganda pamphlets majored in the exploitation of crispness in phrasing and the obsessive use of capital letters, which he probably borrowed from the practice of some contemporary U.S. newspapers.

Goebbels took an active part in the expulsion of antifascist artists and in a wide range of terrorist activities, such as the boycott of Jewish shops on 1 April 1933 and *Kristallnacht*. Later he demanded the deportation of the Jews living in Berlin and indeed called for the extermination of Jews and Gypsies. Goebbels played a prominent role in mobilizing the German population for the expansionist policy that led to open war in 1939. After the defeat of the Wehrmacht at Stalingrad, Goebbels delivered his “Sports Palace speech” in which he demanded “total war.” In July 1944 he became the “total war” plenipotentiary and tried to mobilize Germany's very last resources for a final victory. Hitler had once designated him as his successor as chancellor, but by the final period of the war he had been disgraced. Staying with Hitler in a bunker in Berlin right down to the last days of the war, Goebbels killed his family and himself on 1 May 1945.

Fabian Virchow and Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CULTURE; FILM; GERMANY; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; *KRISTALLNACHT*; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PROPAGANDA; RADIO; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; STALINGRAD; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WESSEL, HORST; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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GOEBBELS, MAGDA (1901–1945)

Convert to Nazism after experience of Buddhism and Zionism and wife of Joseph Goebbels; her life is worthy of record not simply because of her marriage to Hitler's brilliant minister of propaganda but also because of the way in which it illustrates the eclectic spiritual path of so many contemporaries. Magda Behrend was the daughter of a maid who married Dr. Oskar Ritschel, a wealthy building engineer, soon after Magda's birth. Ritschel was apparently Magda's biological father. From Ritschel, a nominal Catholic, Magda learned Buddhism. When Magda married the twenty-year-old multimillionaire Günther Quandt, he insisted that she become a Protestant. Magda then engaged in an affair with the passionate young Zionist Chaim Vitaly Arlosoroff, from about 1928 to 1932. During these years she gave herself over to Zionism. In 1930 she met Goebbels, whose radicalism fascinated her, and she soon read and absorbed Rosenberg's *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, and other National Socialist literature. On 19 December 1931 she and Goebbels were married, apparently with the ceremony officiated by a minister belonging to the National Socialist German Christians. Magda's political-religious career—from Catholicism to Buddhism to Protestantism to Zionism to National Socialism—led to absolute moral relativism and cynicism in which

she was outdone only by Goebbels himself. It is said that she learned the ability to keep her distance in the presence of adversity from Buddhism, and Buddhist literature apparently accompanied her throughout her life. Having remained loyal to Hitler until his death, Joseph and Magda Goebbels murdered their six children and committed suicide in 1945. Magda's son from her first marriage (Harald Quandt, 1921–1967) survived the war and became an industrialist like his father.

Karla Poewe

See Also: BUDDHISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; *MEIN KAMPF*; NAZISM; PROTESTANTISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; ZIONISM

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GOERING (von KANTZOW), CARIN (1888–1931)

Carin von Kantzow (née von Fock), Swedish baroness who left her husband to become the first wife of Hermann Goering in 1923. Her family was suspicious of Goering for a time because he had taken to morphine after being injured in the Munich Putsch. When Carin died after a long struggle with tuberculosis in 1931, Goering was devastated, and named his Prussian mansion Carinhall, making it something of a shrine to her memory. A memoir of her life published in 1934 by a relation glamorized her relationship with Goering, whom she saw as a noble and heroic freedom fighter; it was a great publishing success.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FREEDOM; GERMANY; GOERING, HERMANN; MUNICH PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM

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Nazi chief Hermann Goering, who spearheaded German rearmament and particularly the creation of Nazi aerial power in the shape of the famed Luftwaffe. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

GOERING, HERMANN (1893–1946)

The highest-ranking Nazi leader to face the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal. The son of a jurist appointed by Bismarck as the first German commissioner in the colony of South-West Africa, Goering was brought up in Bavaria in a semifeudal aristocratic environment and graduated from a cadet school and joined the German air corps in World War I. Highly decorated with the Pour le Mérite, he had the aura of a war hero when hostilities ended, but he joined the ranks of the many war veterans who were deeply embittered by the betrayal of Germany by the “November Criminals” who had “stabbed an undefeated Germany in the back” and un-

dermined the efforts and the sacrifices of her brave soldiery. He married Carin von Kantzow, who left her husband to be with him; her premature death in 1931 was a severe blow to him. At Hitler's behest Goering became commander of the storm troopers in 1922. He was injured in Hitler's abortive putsch of 9 November 1923 and had to flee Germany. He returned in 1927, renewed his contact with Hitler, and after working for a while as a salesman became one of the very first NSDAP members of the national parliament in the Weimar Republic in 1928. In 1932 he became president of the Reich parliament.

Unlike Goebbels and Himmler, Goering was much more a man of action than ideologue. He not only acted as an important intermediary between the NSDAP and industrial circles, the aristocracy, and the military leadership, but also became responsible for the undercover arming of the German air force after 1935. After the takeover of power by the NSDAP, Goering became secretary of the interior in the state of Prussia and head of the police forces. Together with Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich he set up the first concentration camps, in order to imprison and torture political opponents. In April 1933 he became head of the Prussian state. At the end of June 1934 he helped to murder Ernst Roehm. He acquired a large estate in Prussia and lived there the life of a wealthy but eccentric country squire, collecting and displaying jewelry and exotic costumes. Well bred and sophisticated in his manners, he gave a cultured tone to the Nazi leadership.

On 1 May 1935, Goering became commander of the German air force and then spearheaded the four-year plan (1936) that prepared Germany's industrial base and production capacity comprehensively for war. Under his patronage the *Reichswerke Hermann Goering* became one of the biggest industrial conglomerates in Germany, heavily involved in the plunder of the occupied territories. During the war Goering organized the theft of artworks throughout Europe. As supreme commander of the German air force he was responsible for the deployment of the Condor Legion to Spain to support the forces of Franco, for aerial warfare against Poland and France, and for the first night-bombing raids on London in September 1940. But his failure to destroy the Royal Air Force was crucial to the progress of the war, for it obliged Hitler to abandon his planned cross-channel invasion of Britain. Goering was an ardent believer in the creation of a German Empire in Europe and was completely devoted to Hitler, even to the point of stating that he had no conscience, because his conscience was Adolf Hitler. The latter admired

him for his coolness and brutal decisiveness, but the two became increasingly estranged in the last two years of the war. Goering evaded execution at Nuremberg after the end of the war by committing suicide.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: BATTLE OF BRITAIN, THE; BLITZKRIEG; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; GOERING (VON KANTZOW), CARIN; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MUNICH PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; ROEHM, ERNST; SA, THE; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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GÖMBÖS, GYULA (1886–1936)

Extreme nationalist World War I veteran and career military officer, prime minister of Hungary from 1932 to 1936. After World War I he became a key organizer of the Hungarian National Defense League (MOVE) and served as a close confidant of Regent Horthy. From 1921 he was one of the chief ideologues of the racist National Unity Party (NEP), but he can also be credited with having organized one of the first openly racist and anti-Semitic parties in the country in 1923, the Hungarian National Independent Race Defenders' Party (MNFPP). In order to advance in political life, he quit his party and accepted political positions: from 1929 he served as minister of defense in two governments, and in 1932, with the help of military officers and wealthy landowners, he became prime minister. In that position he managed to secure close working relations with Italy and Germany and had a meeting with Hitler in 1933. He was involved with planning the murder of French foreign minister L. Barthou, an action that almost cost him his office. He fashioned many

party and state rituals in imitation of those introduced in Italy under Mussolini, inaugurating the practice of exchanging the special greeting “Long Live Our Leader,” and he attempted to appeal to all social classes in order “to transform the whole soul of the nation” (Macartney 1957, 116).

László Kürti

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; *HEIL HITLER!*; HITLER, ADOLF; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; STYLE; THEATER; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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GOOSESTEP, THE

A marching mode for parades that originated in the 1600s with the Prussian army and that was adopted by several countries in the twentieth century. It became most closely associated with Hitler’s Nazism and its tightly knit, synchronized parading armies. A slightly different version of the goosestep was instituted by Mussolini’s regime in 1938 with the name of *passo romano*. The “Roman step” for military parades was considered a symbol of discipline and order—an expression of the military spirit—and Mussolini claimed it had its origins among the ancient Romans.

Angela Falasca-Zamponi

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; ROME; SYMBOLS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

GRAMSCI, ANTONIO (1891–1937)

Interwar Italian Marxist and opponent of Mussolini who produced influential political writings while imprisoned by the Fascist regime. Celebrated as the main

inspiner of postwar “Eurocommunism,” Gramsci has also made an impact on postwar fascism. He was born in Sardinia, and after university studies in Turin he participated in a review of socialist culture, *l’Ordine Nuovo*. After visiting Moscow in 1922, he was elected to the chamber of deputies. He was arrested in 1926 and sentenced to twenty years’ imprisonment for activities against the state. His *Prison Notebooks* gave him an international reputation as a Marxist philosopher. Gramsci pioneered the concept that political movements need to attain a “cultural hegemony” in society in order to be successful. Contemporary European New Right intellectuals generally share a long-term, right-wing metapolitical strategy akin to that of Gramsci. A right-wing Gramscianism is designed to awaken certain individuals—namely, intellectual, political, and economic elites—to new ways of seeing and being, to change hearts and minds, and to gain support for alternative, counterhegemonic conceptions of the world. For Gramsci, like the ENR, the precondition for all successful revolutions in history has first been a revolt against both the dominant spirit and cultural apparatus of the age. This nonviolent, metapolitical stance is directed primarily at societal elites and intellectuals rather than at the masses and has been a practical and tactical choice on the part of the postwar Right, conditioned by the public’s negative historical associations of this political position with the legacies of Italian Fascism and German Nazism. Right-wing Gramscianism in the ENR mold consciously differentiates itself from both the violent, extraparliamentary political movements and parliamentary political parties of the radical, ultranationalist Right.

Tamir Bar-On and Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BENOIST, ALAIN DE; CAESARISM; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROPAGANDA

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GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE

Formed by Mussolini in December 1922 as an essentially consultative political organ; from 1928 it gained a strengthened role as the seat of supreme power in the government. In theory, at least, it was held to be the seat of supreme power in the government; it comprised the top leadership of the Fascist Party, with the prime minister as chairman. It was responsible for choosing the list of candidates for the chamber of deputies and was to be consulted on important governmental business. It was in particular entrusted with the task of selecting Mussolini's successor. On the night of 24–25 July 1943 it did in fact vote to unseat Mussolini, who was then imprisoned but subsequently rescued by the Germans and enabled to set up the short-lived Salò Republic.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE

GRAND MUFTI OF JERUSALEM, THE: See IRAQ; PALESTINE

GRANDI, DINO (Conte di Mordano, 1895–1988)

Major influence in the formulation of Italian foreign policy as Mussolini's foreign minister from 1929 to 1932 and then ambassador to Great Britain. In 1939 he was appointed by Mussolini as minister of grace and justice and president of the chamber of the Fasci and corporations. He was of all the Fascist leaders the one most opposed to Italy's entering the war on the side of Germany. In collaboration with the monarchy and the conservative establishment, he played a leading role in the fall of Mussolini and the Fascist regime in July 1943.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; CORPORATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; INVENTIONISM; ITALY; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; VICTOR EMMANUEL III/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; WORLD WAR II

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GREAT BRITAIN

Given traditional assumptions regarding fascist masculinity and its retrograde view of women, it is ironic that Britain's first overtly fascist group—the British Fascisti (or “Bloody Fools” as they soon became known)—was founded in May 1923 by a woman, Mrs. Rotha Lintorn-Orman. Her group rapidly attracted several thousand members who engaged in attacks on left-wing newspaper vendors, strike-breaking, and, most notably, the kidnapping of Harry Pollitt, leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain in March 1925 (he was later released). The party then slowly disintegrated, its more able members defecting to other parties, while Lintorn-Orman drank herself to death. In parallel with the decline of the British Fascisti, Arnold Spencer Leese, a retired veterinary surgeon and world authority on diseases of the one-humped camel, founded the Imperial Fascist League (IFL) in 1929. The IFL was a small racial, nationalist sect wedded to biological Nazism and the conspiratorial anti-Semitism of Nesta Webster and *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; the latter book had been kept in print in England since 1919 thanks to Henry Hamilton Beamish, founder of the Britons Publishing Company, an anti-Semitic conveyor belt of “Jew-wise” thought that finally closed its doors in 1983. Although Leese made absolutely no impact on interwar politics, his racial fascism was hugely influential upon the development of post-1945 fascism.

The key figure in the history of British fascism was Sir Oswald Mosley, a political lothario who had crossed the floor from the Conservative Party in 1926 to join Labour over the government's use of “Black and Tan” paramilitaries in Ireland. Mosley was too intolerant and impetuous for the rigors of parliamentary bureaucracy, however. Following the rejection of his

“Mosley memorandum” outlining his solution to the unemployment crisis through Keynesian economics, Mosley resigned from the party in 1931, determined to challenge the ossified “old gangs” of British politics. He went on to found the New Party, and, having made a study of Continental fascism, he modeled its youth movement, NUPA, on Hitler’s storm troopers. The electorate comprehensively rejected the New Party at the 1931 general election. That did not deter Mosley, who outlined his ideas for a corporate state in *The Greater Britain*; in October 1932 he founded the British Union of Fascists, which soon absorbed the other fascist parties except for the IFL, which refused, carping from the sidelines that Mosley was a “Kosher fascist” with a Jewish wife.

Like Mussolini, Mosley came from an (atypical) socialist background, though his “left-wing” beliefs were soon rejected in favor of elitist, authoritarian, and anti-Semitic politics, which won the backing of newspaper magnate Lord Rothermere; Rothermere’s *Daily Mail* proclaimed in January 1934 “Hurrah for the Blackshirts!” (that is, BUF members known by their distinctive black shirts, in imitation of Mussolini’s *squadristi*). By June 1934 membership of the BUF stood at 50,000. Hoping to capitalize on its middle-class support, the BUF held a large meeting in London’s Kensington Olympia, but the organized violence of antifascist opponents and the brutality of the blackshirt response—not to mention news of Hitler’s “Night of the Long Knives”—succeeded in repelling mainstream opinion, which was appalled by such “un-British” methods. Thereafter, the BUF declined rapidly, its support hinging on the strength of its anti-Semitic invective as it retreated into London’s slum-ridden East End. In October 1936, Mosley attempted to lead a march through the East End, only to be stopped by the massed ranks of antifascist opposition and the police. In the wake of the “Battle of Cable Street,” the government passed the Public Order Act (1936), which forbade political uniforms and imposed a number of other limitations on the BUF. It also led Mussolini to cease his secret subsidy to the BUF, plunging the party into an acute financial crisis and forcing Mosley to undertake a massive retrenchment that saw many of its most able activists—including John Beckett, William Joyce, and later A. K. Chesterton—being dismissed or resigning from the party. The BUF underwent a brief resurgence in the late 1930s as Mosley opposed a “Jews War” against a Nazi Germany that was approaching its zenith, and to whose fortunes his own fate was now intimately connected.

In May 1940, as France fell to the Nazis, the British state hurriedly interned more than 800 leading fascists—including Mosley—and proscribed the BUF. This simple expedient crushed British fascism and marked a “watershed” in its history. Never again was British fascism representative of a mass movement. Mosley and a hard core of his followers found salvation in their “martyrdom” to “the cause,” but for the majority it was the end of the road. This sense of isolation was compounded by popular memories of the “spirit of the Blitz” and a “people’s war” against fascism, coupled with mass revulsion at revelations of Nazi genocide, all of which served to place British fascism firmly beyond the pale, forcing its true believers into the political catacombs. After 1945 this embittered and envenomed residue again coalesced around Mosley, who in 1948 formed the Union Movement (UM), the final panel in a triptych of failed political endeavor that soon atrophied, as a result of a high-octane mix of antifascist violence, internal feuding, and media silence. In 1947, Mosley published *The Alternative*, in which he set forth his grandiose geopolitical settlement for postwar Europe, which would stand as a “Third Force” between “Mob” (Russia) and “Money” (the United States). Although it created a brief flurry of interest among the detritus of Continental fascism, it only served to alienate further what little support Mosley had retained among “Britain First” fascists who saw such an ideological inversion as not so much “beyond fascism and democracy” as “beyond comprehension.” In 1951, Mosley abandoned England for Ireland and subsequently France, where he died in self-imposed exile in 1980.

But while the Mosleyite tradition of British fascism withered on the vine, the fortunes of British fascism underwent a curious inversion. At a moment when the British government was encouraging emigration from the West Indies and Asia to plug large gaps in the British economy, a new generation of fascist activists came of age, adhering to the biological Nazism of Leese and his dictum “Keep Britain White.” This new wave came into its own following the Notting Hill race riots in London in 1958, leading to the racialization of British politics, which had hitherto shied away from openly discussing mass immigration. Poised to capitalize upon this was the League of Empire Loyalists (LEL), founded in 1954 by A. K. Chesterton with money from a wealthy expatriate supporter to protest against “colored” immigration and the “scuttle” of the British Empire. Although the LEL was mocked for its Blimpish exterior, it was responsible for keeping the “Jew-wise”

tradition of conspiratorial anti-Semitism alive and served as a crucible for a number of fascist careers, including those of John Bean, Colin Jordan, Martin Webster, and John Tyndall. After leaving the LEL, these activists formed two separate “racial nationalist” groups, the National Labour Party and the White Defence League, which in 1960 merged to form the British National Party, whose racial nationalism, espoused through its journal *Combat*, was influential upon a young Jean-Marie Le Pen. In 1962 the BNP split over Jordan’s Nazi histrionics, and he and Tyndall founded the National Socialist Movement (NSM), which achieved notoriety when Jordan declared that “Hitler was right” at a public meeting in Trafalgar Square. Both men were soon jailed for public order offenses, including wearing political uniforms and raising a paramilitary force, the Spearhead group. Shortly after their release the NSM itself split, with Tyndall leaving to form the Greater Britain Movement (GBM), which sought a distinctly “British” form of National Socialism—leading to the caricature of Tyndall as a “John Bull in Jackboots.”

In 1967 the LEL, the BNP, and the smaller Racial Preservation Society came together to form the National Front, which, while shunning Jordan, was joined by members of the GBM, including (after a brief hiatus) Tyndall himself. Chesterton resigned as NF chairman in 1971, bitterly disillusioned with the party, as the National Socialist core (which he had allowed to join) began to exert its influence over its politics. The primacy of this faction was symbolized by Tyndall’s assumption of the chairmanship in 1972. The foundation of the NF coincided with the infamous “Rivers of Blood” speech by Conservative MP Enoch Powell in April 1968, protesting in the strongest terms what he perceived to be the baleful effects of immigration. For the first time a mainstream British politician had sought to make immigration a political issue. The Conservative prime minister, Edward Heath, dismissed Powell, but his provocative and incendiary speech struck a chord with many. Powell’s speech provided a huge fillip for the NF, which switched from trying to entice into its ranks disillusioned Conservatives to trying to win working-class support, marking a revival in its political fortunes. Across the Channel, the small Front National was one of the first to understand the potentialities of its formula for populist racist anti-immigration politics.

In the wake of Powell’s speech the NF began to acquire strong levels of local support in East London as well as in Leicester and Bradford (places with a high

proportion of Asian immigrants), achieving a considerable crossover of support with the middle-class racism of the Monday Club, a Conservative ginger group vehemently opposed to the “liberal” politics of Heath. In terms of electoral support, however, the NF peaked in 1973, when Martin Webster polled 16 percent in West Bromwich. Despite prophecies that they were on the verge of an electoral breakthrough, NF candidates polled an average of only 3.2 percent in the 1974 general election, leaving the party in the doldrums until a brief resurgence in 1976–1977, following the expulsion of Asians from Malawi and Uganda (many of whom sought a new home in Britain), saw the party poll 199,000 votes in the Greater London council elections. It failed to win a single council seat, however. Unperturbed, during the 1979 general election the NF fielded the largest number of candidates of any insurgent political party since the Labour Party in 1919. Again, the “breakthrough” failed to materialize. On the eve of the poll Margaret Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Party, talked of Britain’s being “swamped” with immigrants, signaling that the Conservatives would take a “tough” line on immigration. With the rug pulled from under them, the NF imploded into warring factions and disintegrated as a national entity. In 1982, Tyndall—who had been made a scapegoat for the failure of the NF—founded another BNP, though his overt Nazism ensured its isolation, barring a brief success in 1993 when it elected a solitary councillor to a local council seat in the Isle of Dogs in London, a seat that it soon lost. Perhaps the most notable development of the 1990s was the formation of the BNP stewards group *Combat 18*, though they soon parted amid bitter animosity to pursue their own course.

Whilst the far Right remained a negligible force in the 1990s (ironically, as Continental fascism was again resurgent), this was a decade of effervescent ideological ferment. Although the BNP remained wedded to National Socialist orthodoxy, the younger cadres of the NF, whose activists included future BNP chairman Nick Griffin, became influenced by Third Position fascism and the “spiritual racism” of Julius Evola, to which they were introduced by a group of fugitive Italian fascists wanted on terrorism charges. The resulting ideological friction ensured that the NF fractured further and was reduced to irrelevancy. Following his dalliance with the “Third Way,” Griffin joined the seemingly moribund BNP and in 1999 ousted Tyndall as party chairman, paving the way for its “modernization.” This approach gradually began to pay dividends and indeed survived the exposure of the fact that London “nail-

bomber” David Copeland was a party member. Although the BNP remains at its core a National Socialist party, the “Nazi” tag has begun to lose its efficacy for antifascist campaigners, as the BNP taps into a deep reservoir of popular hostility toward immigration, leading it to be seen in many quarters as an anti-immigration rather than fascist party—thus aiding Griffin’s quest to forge it into a respectable entity.

In 2001 serious rioting occurred in the northern towns of Oldham, Bradford, and Burnley (where there was a combination of a high Asian immigrant population and unemployment resulting from the decline of the textile industry). In the aftermath of these riots (in which members of the far Right actively participated), Griffin stood as a candidate in Oldham during the general election and received 16.4 percent of the vote, the highest percentage polled by a fascist candidate since Martin Webster in 1973. By the end of 2004, against a backdrop of tabloid hysteria about “bogus” asylum seekers and Islamic terrorism, the BNP managed to win a handful of local council seats, particularly in Burnley, where it briefly held the balance of power. In early 2005 Griffin was arrested and charged with incitement to racial hatred following comments he made to an undercover reporter, but he was subsequently acquitted. It remains to be seen if Griffin can succeed where so many other would-be Fuehrers have failed: to take British fascism from the margins to the mainstream.

Graham Macklin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; BRITISH FASCISTI/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CABLE STREET, THE BATTLE OF; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHESTERTON, ARTHUR KENNETH; COMBAT 18; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; EUROPE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRIFFIN, NICHOLAS; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IMMIGRATION; INDUSTRY; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL; ITALY; JOYCE, WILLIAM; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LEESE, ARNOLD SPENCER; LINTORN-ORMAN, ROTH; LONDON NAIL BOMBINGS, THE; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONAL FRONT, THE (UK); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; PARAMILITARISM; PLUTOCRACY; POSTWAR FASCISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RADIO; SA, THE; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; THIRD POSITIONISM; THIRD WAY, THE; TYNDALL, JOHN; WEBSTER, NESTA; WHITE SUPREMACISM; YOUTH

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GRECE

Officially established in Nice, France, in January 1968, the think tank GRECE (Groupement de recherche et d'étude pour la civilisation européenne (Group for Research and Studies on European Civilization) has clear ideological origins in the French radical Right, pro-colonialist, and ultranationalist milieux. Alain de Benoist doyen of the European New Right, or Nouvelle Droite (ND), is a founding and leading member of GRECE. De Benoist has steered GRECE and the ND in general toward a strategy of “right-wing Gramscianism” that has differentiated them from both the extraparliamentary and parliamentary movements and the political parties of the radical Right. In its heyday in the late 1970s, GRECE was also able to enlist the ideological firepower of prominent intellectuals from around Europe.

Although GRECE originated from an attempt to rehabilitate the radical Right after the horrors of fascism and Nazism, it ultimately modeled itself on left-wing think tanks seeking to reinvigorate socialist doctrines such as the French Club Jean Moulin of the 1960s. GRECE’s purpose was the formation of a “community of work and thought” and the establishment of a coherent ideological corpus for the radical Right. From the early 1970s to the early 1980s, the doctrine of GRECE had a major impact on the ideology of the entire Right. The French National Front (FN) was particularly influenced by GRECE’s ideas on culture, race, and immigration, although the club’s idiosyncratic ideas on religion (it scathingly attacked the Judeo-Christian heritage of the West and supported neopaganism) led the FN as well as the mainstream Right to keep its distance. By contrast, the

Club de l'horloge (Clock Club), an offshoot of GRECE established in 1974 by former members of GRECE, continues to play an extremely important part in the FN and, to a certain extent, in the French Republican Party. The Club de l'horloge has tended to take more orthodox views on religion and to distance itself from the anticapitalist, anti-American, and propagandist positions of GRECE.

GRECE has been repeatedly accused of quasi-fascist sympathies by liberals and the Left, which has weakened the impact of the allegedly "new" message it was purporting to convey. Beginning in the 1980s and 1990s, it sought to broaden its appeal by playing on themes generally associated with the Left and New Left. Historians and political pundits point out that GRECE's elitist, hierarchical, Indo-European, propagandist, Nietzschean, and "neither right nor left" stances were similar to those of the "conservative revolutionaries" and other antiliberal radicals of the interwar period that influenced both the Italian Fascist and the German National Socialist regimes. Yet GRECE claimed that its main goals were to defend European civilization from its primary enemies: globalizing, U.S., hypercapitalist (that is, the Anglo-American New Right), egalitarian, homogenizing, and Judeo-Christian civilization. While GRECE's philocommunist and opening to the Left predated the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the European Left mocked these left-wing positions as mere survival strategies of a radical right-wing think tank that remained committed to the decidedly anti-immigrant notion of a Europe of homogeneous communities within the context of a heterogeneous world. Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s GRECE used race and biology to support the "right to difference" of cultures and communities, in the 1980s and 1990s it switched to more subtle cultural arguments in favor of the "right to difference." GRECE's notion of the "right to difference" was ominously picked up by FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen, who argued into the new millennium for the "right to difference" of the "French French" to close their borders to non-European, Islamic immigrants from North Africa.

Tamir Bar-On

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; CAPITALISM; COLONIALISM; ELITE THEORY; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FRANCE; GLOBALIZATION; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; IMMIGRATION; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; THIRD WAY, THE

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GREECE

Greece experienced something like a fascist regime starting in the summer of 1936—and it was less of a single event than the culmination of a trend inherent in the antinomies of the post-1922 period. On 4 August, General Ioannis Metaxas, a rather marginal political figure in the 1920s and 1930s with an ultraconservative royalist background and fascist leanings, put an end to a period of parliamentary rule and ushered in an authoritarian-fascist regime that was named after the date on which the new regime was inaugurated ("Fourth of August"). In the previous decade or so Greece had painfully oscillated between republicanism and constitutional monarchy, liberal and conservative politics, democratic rule and military *pronunziamentos* (successful or abortive). While Greece had been a republic since 1922, the constitutional issue was never fully resolved, with the liberal establishment (represented by Eleftherios Venizelos, who dominated Greek politics until the early 1930s) maintaining a strict antirestitution policy and their conservative rivals steadily moving from an uneasy acceptance of the republic to a mixture of legal and conspiratorial schemes for the return of the exiled royal family. A coup d'état by the intransigent royalist Kondylis in the autumn of 1935 paved the way for a rigged referendum on the constitutional issue and a dramatic monarchical restoration in November of the same year, thus putting an unceremonious end to the "still-born republic." The retired General Metaxas, untainted by the political infighting of the previous

decade and firmly loyal to the king, was swiftly elevated from political semiobscurity (his party had repeatedly failed to make an impact on pre-1935 Greek politics) first to the position of minister of war and then, in April 1936, to that of caretaker prime minister. While elections were due to take place in early autumn, the palace plotted with Metaxas for the overthrow of the parliamentary system, leading to the declaration of the “Fourth of August” dictatorship.

The regime that Metaxas established until his death in January 1941 gradually accumulated a series of “fascist” elements. The technique of a highly emotive “leadership cult” was imported from Italy and Germany, resulting in an ever-growing glorification of the leader as a powerful legitimizing myth for the dictatorship. At the same time, Metaxas ensured that the new generation of Greeks would be indoctrinated in a decidedly totalitarian manner through the all-pervading nature of his National Youth Organization, EON (Ethniki Organosis Neoleas), which adapted the techniques of the two major fascist regimes to the realities of interwar Greece. His admiration for Salazar and his corporatist *Estado Novo* experiment in Portugal was evident both in his speeches and in many of his political initiatives for social engineering. His disdain for liberalism, his determination not only to break with parliamentary traditions but also to move authoritarian rule in a populist direction by absorbing “fascist” tendencies, his thinly veiled (albeit not always directly imposed) totalitarian schemes, as well as his discourse of national “regeneration” were perfectly in tune with the generic European trends of the period, even if they were evidently less ambitious than the fascist projects pioneered in Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany.

These and other contradictions (for example, Metaxas’s cohabitation with the monarchy, his endorsement of the king’s traditionally pro-British foreign policy, and his strongly religious perspective on Greek national “rebirth”) have resulted in an inconclusive verdict on whether his regime can fairly be labeled “fascist.” Strictly speaking, the Fourth of August phenomenon falls under the category of “parafascist” rule, reflecting the appropriation, imitation, or adaptation of fascist themes in an otherwise conservative-authoritarian context of politics. Although essentially accurate, that description does not mirror Metaxas’s departure from his own ultraconservative background and his experiments with substantially more populist forms of modern dictatorship that brought his regime closer to the fascist experience. His emphasis on EON

(which he often referred to as “my EON,” as his most significant contribution to Hellenic “regeneration”) reflected both a vote of confidence in totalitarian social intervention and an admission that the preconditions for this scheme in interwar Greece had to be created in time. His ideology also emanated from primary myths of Greek nationalism that were largely different from those propagated by Mussolini and Hitler but that at the same time showed a political pragmatism dictated by wider geopolitical considerations: religious identity, a glorification of the country’s “Byzantine” past but also an abandonment of the “Megali Idea,” and a search for security against Italy’s expansionist aspirations in the Mediterranean through alignment with Britain.

In the end, the four and a half years of his rule proved insufficient for the rooting of his Fourth of August political vision. A few months before his death, faced with an Italian ultimatum to accept the occupation of “strategic parts” of Greek territory, Metaxas had courageously opted for war. By the time of his death, the Greek army had expelled Italian troops from Greece and occupied large parts of southern Albania. In an extremely delicate balancing act, Metaxas had struggled to avoid the extension of the conflict through a possible German intervention. With his death the skin-deep “fascistization” of Greek society evaporated and was eclipsed by a new and painful reality of war, occupation by Nazi Germany, and struggle for mere survival.

The failure of the Metaxist project in the long term was revealed by the relative weakness (ideological and political) of the Greek extreme Right in the postwar period. Although Greece by no means enjoyed a stable parliamentary system in the 1950s and 1960s, the period of the “Colonel’s Junta” (1967 to 1974) was a painful parenthesis for the country. Crucially, it also constituted a step backward—away from the Metaxist project of fascist social engineering and toward the traditional model of military *pronunziamento*. Since the restoration of democracy, a variety of small extreme right-wing parties and movements have appeared, some of which (for example, Chrissi Avgi) have barely concealed their *fascisant* tendencies. “National regeneration” discourse has witnessed a modest resurgence in the last decade, with further new organizations (such as the neo-orthodox, hypernationalist LAOS) contesting both the intellectual and the political space, albeit with hitherto limited success.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ALBANIA; AUTHORITARIANISM; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONSERVATISM; CORFU; CORPORATISM; DICTATORSHIP; *ESTADO NOVO* ("NEW STATE"); FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; METAXAS, GENERAL IOANNIS; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAFASCISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PORTUGAL; POSTWAR FASCISM; REVOLUTION; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; STYLE; TOTALITARIANISM; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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GREY WOLVES: See TURKEY

GRIFFIN, NICHOLAS (born 1959)

Leader of the British National Party. The scion of a wealthy far-right family, Griffin studied law at Cambridge University. Rising through the ranks of the National Front, he emerged as a key exponent of "third position" ideas during the 1980s and was subsequently involved with the International Third Position (ITP). Griffin joined the British National Party in 1995 and in 1998, as editor of *The Rune*, received a nine-month suspended prison sentence for inciting racial hatred. Becoming chairman in 1999, Griffin "modernized" the party, presiding over its modest local council gains in 2002–2003.

Graham Macklin

See Also: BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; GREAT BRITAIN; NATIONAL FRONT (UK), THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; THIRD POSITIONISM

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GROUPUSCULES

Small groups pursuing political goals outside party politics and the parliamentary system, usually at one of the extremes of the political spectrum; contemporary fascists often operate in such groups, which focus on spreading their propaganda rather than on political action. Their activities are facilitated by the Internet and by other modern means of communication.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; CYBERFASCISM; POSTWAR FASCISM

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GUERNICA

Basque town in Spain held by forces loyal to the Republic in the first year of the Spanish Civil War, virtually destroyed over three hours of aerial bombardment by some forty-three bombers and fighter planes of the Nazi German Condor Legion (with material assistance from Fascist Italy) on Monday, 26 April 1937. The result was the annihilation of most of the city and many hundreds of, mostly civilian, lives (the highest estimated death toll is 10,000, although the official Basque records from the time are probably a more realistic figure, at 1,650). Anticipating some of the Blitzkrieg tactics later extended during World War II by the Third Reich, the bombing of Guernica is emblematic, insofar as domestic political ideologies and international participation (or refusal thereof) shaped much of the Spanish Civil War. The bombing is memorably

rendered in Pablo Picasso's massive (eleven-foot, six-inch by twenty-five-foot, eight-inch) allegorical masterpiece completed by the summer of 1937, *Guernica*, a painting depicting some of the historical precedents and bloody consequences of the attack on the eponymous city. Although the destruction of Guernica was vehemently denied by Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Nationalist Spain—indeed, the bombing was initially blamed on retreating inhabitants of the Euzkadi, or “Basque Country,” in northern Spain—it is now clear that the operation was endorsed by the Nationalist leadership, quite probably by General Francisco Franco himself. Having taken over leadership of the anti-Republican forces shortly after hostilities erupted in Spain on 17 July 1936, Franco moved quickly to reduce Republican outposts in the semi-independent Basque region. This was because of Nationalist refusal to countenance Basque autonomy, in addition to the strategic importance of cities like Gijón, Guernica, and Bilbao, with respect to Republican communications as well as arms manufacturing and importation.

Guernica had only limited numbers of Republican defenders and had been previously untouched by the Spanish Civil War, despite heavy fighting in many of the surrounding regions. While airplanes had been used strategically in World War I, and civilian targets had already been bombed in the Spanish Civil War, the combination of both on a previously unrivaled scale meant that, over the course of several hours on a market day, a town of some 6,000 inhabitants could be annihilated virtually without risk to the attackers. Such was the destruction of Guernica that the 4th Navarre Brigade was able to occupy the town virtually unopposed three days after the Condor Legion bombing. Here, too, the psychological effects of targeted aerial bombardment—including massive shells, incendiary bombs, and machine gun strafing—coupled with widespread material and human pulverization, indicated that noncombatants were to be increasingly the victims of technological advances in warfare.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ART; BLITZKRIEG; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; ITALY; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MODERNITY; NAZISM; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; WAR; WORLD WAR II

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GÜNTHER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL (1891–1968)

Leading theorist of the “Nordic Race” ideology. He was born in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1891. The enterprising medical and *völkisch* publisher Julius F. Lehmann recruited Günther for his academic stable to write the *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*. Although the finished work earned praise from the university-based racial hygienists Fritz Lenz and Eugen Fischer, other racial hygienists were concerned as to the scientific accuracy of Günther's anthropology. When Max von Gruber, who held a senior position in Munich racial hygiene, voiced his concerns, Lehmann's response was characteristically robust. He explained that he had not commissioned a textbook of anthropology and racial hygiene but a synthesis to enlighten the German people. It was less a question of science and more an issue of awakening racial consciousness of the Nordic blood running in the veins of every German. Günther's *Rassenkunde* was an outstanding success, and in all an estimated 500,000 copies of Günther's works were sold by 1945. The numerous photographs and reproductions of paintings and skulls established a putative Nordic type, as well as outlining how Germans included a number of distinct racial types. Lehmann published six other books by Günther, such as *Rasse und Stil* in 1926 and *Der nordische Gedanke*. Lehmann published his tract on choosing a spouse for marital happiness and fitness, and he warned that counterselective factors damaged the health of white races. In 1930 he published the deeply anti-Semitic *Rassenkunde des jüdischen Volkes* by Günther, as the counterpart to the racial studies of the German *Volke*. With the election of a National Socialist administration in Thuringia, Günther was appointed professor of racial studies at the University of Jena in 1930. By the later 1930s, Günther felt brushed aside by corporate and industrial interests in the Nazi state, and

he withdrew to Freiburg im Breisgau. After the war he continued to publish, claiming—unconvincingly—that he had always been apolitical.

Paul Weindling

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; EUGENICS; GERMANY; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; HEALTH; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SCIENCE; SEXUALITY; UNIVERSITIES; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*

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GYPSIES: See ROMA AND SINTI, THE



HABSBURG/HAPSBURG EMPIRE, THE:
See **AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/
HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE**
HAECKEL, ERNST: See **LE BON, GUSTAVE;**
ORGANICISM; VITALISM

HAIDER, JÖRG **(born 1950)**

Chairman of Austria's Freedom Party (FPÖ) from 1986 to 2000, Jörg Haider is one of the most controversial figures of contemporary Austrian politics. He was born in Bad Goisern (Upper Austria) into a convinced National Socialist family: his father was a member of the Nazi Party, and his mother was active in Hitler's Bund deutscher Mädel. Despite this familial legacy and his numerous provocative statements about National Socialism, it would be wrong simply to consider Haider a neo-Nazi. Actually, his political profile is more complex.

Haider's political career began very early. In 1972 he was elected the leader of the Ring of Freedom Youth (the youth wing of the FPÖ), and in 1974 he joined the party executive. At that time, Haider belonged to the liberal and moderate-leaning wing of the party. Nonetheless, in 1976 he changed his position. Being

appointed party secretary in Carinthia, a province dominated by the other (German nationalist) wing of the party, he became a convinced Pangermanist. Climbing the party ladder (deputy in 1979, party chairman of Carinthia in 1983), he progressively gained the support of the radical nationalist members at the federal level and prepared his conquest of the FPÖ leadership. In 1986, he organized a "putsch" during the Innsbruck Congress and was elected chairman of the party. His victory, which was greeted by bursts of *Sieg Heil!*, led to the end of the governmental coalition between the FPÖ and the SPÖ (1983–1986). Under his leadership, the FPÖ became one of the strongest political forces in Austria. That was mainly the result of the implementation of a catch-all strategy: while adopting a populist anti-establishment discourse and a xenophobic and authoritarian program, Haider did not hesitate, during the 1990s, to abandon traditional German nationalist and anticlerical positions to maximize the electoral support of the party. Thanks to this strategy, the FPÖ obtained 26.9 percent of the votes in the 1999 national elections and, the following year, entered into the government, together with the Österreichischer Volks Partei. After that the behavior of Haider, who was elected governor of Carinthia in 1999, became more and more erratic. Resigning from his post as chairman in 2000, he adopted a very critical position toward the FPÖ members of the government, leading the party into a serious internal crisis. This curious attitude, as well as his provocative meetings with Saddam Hussein and his anti-Semitic statements, largely con-

tributed to disconcert the FPÖ electorate. In 2004, the party obtained only 6.1 percent of the votes in the European elections. Now, Haider seems somewhat discredited, both on the Austrian political scene and within his own party, led since 2004 by his sister, Ursula Haubner.

Alexandre Dézé

See Also: ANTICLERICALISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; HITLER, ADOLF; HUSSEIN, SADDAM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; *SIEG HEIL!*; XENOPHOBIA; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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HAMSUN, KNUT (born Pederson, Knud, 1859–1952)

Norwegian author, 1920 winner of the Nobel Prize in literature (for *Growth of the Soil*, 1917), and prominent representative of literary modernism, whose published works were marked by racism, anti-Semitism, antifeminism, and a phobia about democracy. Before the publication of *Hunger* (1890), he polemized against the liberation of former slaves in *On the Cultural Life of Modern America* (1889), denying them their personhood. Hamsun's fundamentally racist convictions are also reflected in a number of his literary works, in which he denounced the tolerance of "blacks" as a sign of the moral breakdown of the "white" world. At the same time the picture of the Jew as swindler, crook, and betrayer pervades all of his literary oeuvre. Alongside blacks and Jews, Hamsun's third target is the English, whom he pursued as "degenerate" with phobic energy.

During World War I, Hamsun sided with Germany, thereby provoking a newspaper controversy. In 1935 he published an article about the opponent of Nazism and editor of the newspaper *Die Weltbühne*, Carl von Ossietzky, who had been interned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1933. In this article Hamsun



The celebrated Norwegian writer Knut Hamsun, a strong supporter of German Nazism. (Library of Congress)

justified the establishment of concentration camps in Germany and opposed Ossietzky's being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. As a follower of the National Socialists and supporter of Vidkun Quisling's National Unity Party, Hamsun increasingly withdrew from the Norwegian public, in particular from the Norwegian Writer's Association. While his eldest son became a member of the SS and his wife joined Quisling's National Unity Party, Hamsun's regular party membership has never been confirmed, although he wore the party badge on his lapel.

After the Germans invaded Norway in 1940, Hamsun pushed his anti-English agitation still further and called upon his compatriots not to resist the occupying forces. Following a meeting with Joseph Goebbels in 1943, Hamsun presented his host with the Nobel Prize medal that he had been awarded as a token of gratitude. A subsequent meeting with Hitler, however, turned into a fiasco, after Hamsun raised the issue of the brutal regime of the Reich Commissioner for the Occupied Norwegian Territories, Josef Terboven.

Nevertheless, he composed an obituary for Hitler after the collapse of the Third Reich that was published in May 1945.

At the end of the war, Hamsun was placed under house arrest in an old people's home and in the meantime admitted to a psychiatric hospital. In court proceedings for treason in 1947, he was adjudged to be sane and sentenced to a fine. Even in his last book, *On Overgrown Paths* (1949), Hamsun remained true to his political beliefs and to his worship of Hitler. Following a period of boycott his books were reissued in the early 1950s.

Susanne Pocai

See Also: "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; FEMINISM; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; MODERNISM; NAZISM; NORWAY; PACIFISM; QUISLING, VIDKUN; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SS, THE; THIRD REICH; WORLD WAR II

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HANDICAPPED, THE: See EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; HEALTH

HANFSTAENGL, ERNST FRANZ SEDGWICK ("PUTZI") (1887–1975)

Foreign press chief of the German Nazi Party, and a member of Hitler's inner circle before his rise to power. His father was an art dealer and his mother the daughter of a New England family related to Captain John Sedgwick, who was killed in the American Civil War. Hanfstaengl graduated from Harvard University in 1909 and spent the whole period of World War I in

the United States. When he returned to Germany he became acquainted with Hitler and gave him an entree into the Munich art world. Hitler took refuge in Hanfstaengl's villa after the Munich Putsch. Hanfstaengl had contacts in England, including the Mitfords. After Hitler came to power in 1933, Hanfstaengl found himself too much of a "moderate" for the new chancellor. By 1937 he was fearful for his life and fled Germany. He acted as a White House advisor during World War II.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; NAZISM; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM (1881–1962)

Founder in 1933 of the German Faith Movement (Deutsche Glaubensbewegung), a rival movement to that of the German Christians; both of these movements promoted the idea of a "Germanic" religion. Hauer had been a missionary with the Basle Mission in India between 1906 and 1911, and in 1927 he became a professor in Tübingen and associated himself with Rosenberg's Kampfbund für die deutsche Kultur (Association for the Defense of German Culture). He made himself a specialist in the "Aryan worldview." He became a member of the NSDAP in 1937 and liked to portray the German Faith Movement as the true religious expression of Nazism. He expected members of the movement to work together with Catholics and Protestants. In 1945, Hauer was interned, but he was released in 1949.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARYANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PROTESTANTISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED

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HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST (1869–1946)

Reputed in the 1930s to be “the man behind Hitler” on account of his geopolitical ideas, which undergirded Hitler’s foreign policy. Haushofer was born in Munich but spent much of his early professional life in Asia, where he was entrusted with diplomatic missions. After army service in World War I he became professor of geography at the University of Munich in 1921, founding the Institute for Geopolitics there. One of his pupils at the university was Rudolf Hess, who subsequently told Hitler about Haushofer’s ideas. Haushofer argued that the British seaborne empire was in decline and that the time had come for a Continental power to take up the baton of world leadership. Germany needed *Lebensraum* and should expand to the East and make the rural areas of Ukraine a counterpart to the industrial heartlands of Germany. However, Haushofer believed that it was important for Hitler to seek friendship with Great Britain. Geopolitics of the kind preached by Haushofer became very fashionable in Nazi Germany. Haushofer’s son Albrecht was implicated in the July Plot and shot by the Gestapo, and his father committed suicide two years later.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”), THE; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; HESS, RUDOLF; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; JULY PLOT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; NAZISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); TIBET; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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“HAW-HAW, LORD”: See JOYCE, WILLIAM

HEALTH (Germany)

The value of health was central to Nazi racial propaganda. Ideas of leadership were boosted by the concept

of an “iron surgeon” who would ruthlessly cut out any political opposition. Hitler himself favored the careers of SS surgeons like Karl Brandt and Karl Gebhardt, assigning them significant roles within his disintegrating Reich. State power looked to a strong physique, a healthy way of life, and a buoyant birth rate.

Preventive medicine was an important element of racial policy, and, in common with welfare states at the time, the Nazi state encouraged a healthful eating regimen and exercise. But within this agenda, Nazism sought to attain these aims on the basis of selection and destruction of the weak and unfit.

The Nazi state saw efforts to unify health services, notably with the combining of state and municipal health offices. These took a major role in coercive sterilization and in building up databanks on the hereditarily degenerate and on “asocials.” The insurance basis of health provision was also subject to central state control, while the German Red Cross was put under the SS. Industrial health services were seen as a means of increasing output and efficiency. A division remained between the state and the NSDAP health offices. Although the Nazi state involved increasing centralization, factionalism meant that Leonardo Conti’s efforts as Reich health Fuehrer were thwarted by Hitler, who appointed Karl Brandt as commissar of civilian and military medical services in 1943. Brandt managed to open several emergency hospitals as a response to the bombing of cities, but his powers were limited by his small staff and the rapidly deteriorating military situation. Supplies of pharmaceuticals like Salvarsan began to run short, and Nazi Germany was not as innovative as the Allies in deploying DDT and in the large-scale production of penicillin. The SS sought to exert control over military and civilian health services: Himmler sought to influence medical faculties and public health appointments, but effectively there remained a multiplicity of organizations with overlapping competencies.

Public health came under a succession of forceful Nazis, but it remained an arena of personal and political tension. Racial enthusiasts like the genetically trained Karl Astel in Thuringia studied fertility and sought to weed out “degenerate” groups, such as homosexuals, on the basis of hereditary biological databanks. Arthur Gütt developed public health on a eugenic basis but was regarded as too moderate by racial experts in the Nazi Party. Gerhard Wagner, the Reich physicians’ Fuehrer, was critical of Gütt. Their successor, Leonardo Conti, attempted to unify public health and insurance-based services but was unsuccessful. The Reichsgesundheitsamt supported the racialization of medicine. Its di-

rector, Hans Reiter, was a noted Nazi activist and a competent bacteriologist. The Health Office supported numerous racial studies. Robert Ritter took a leading role in studies of Sinti and Roma. This involved genealogical studies, psychological and anthropological assessments, and the sending of many to concentration camps. Those sent to the Gypsy camp in Auschwitz were killed.

The anti-Nazi tract *Heil Hunger!* by the refugee physician Martin Gumpert drew attention to the rise of diphtheria, scarlet fever, and maternal mortality in Germany after 1933. The rise of infectious diseases pointed to a worsening position of women and children, the result of the demands of the war economy for women in industry. During the war the incidence of tuberculosis and cancer rose rapidly, and there were major epidemics of typhus because of the mistreatment of racial victims and prisoners of war. Delousing was a feature both of public health practice and of racial ideology, as well as providing a significant technique of genocide. The loosening of moral strictures contributed to a rise in sexually transmitted disease.

Forced laborers suffered atrociously, and pregnant women among them were subjected to forced abortions. The German health care system required slave labor carrying out menial jobs to function. Foreign laborers were even used as teaching objects. Public health under German occupation varied greatly in different countries. On the whole the occupied East (notably Poland and the Soviet Union) fared worse than the West, but all areas of occupation experienced deportations and privations. Nazi values shaped clinical practice. This can be seen in the registration of patients for having congenital diseases.

Paul Weindling

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ASOCIALS; AUSCHWITZ; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DEGENERACY; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FAMILY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; GHETTOS; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; MEDICINE; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SEXUALITY; SS, THE; UNIVERSITIES; WELFARE; WOMEN

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HEALTH (Italy)

In the field of public health, as in other areas of social policy, the Fascist regime intervened to a degree unprecedented in united Italy's brief history. The regime attempted to reduce the incidence of the "social diseases," boost the number of children surviving to adulthood, and encourage healthy living. These measures were part of Mussolini's demographic campaign to increase and strengthen the Italian population. Mussolini's government focused its propaganda efforts and funding initiatives primarily on social medicine: transmissible diseases, the care of mothers and infants, addiction to drugs and alcohol, and measures to improve general health. Fascism placed a very strong emphasis on improving maternal welfare and lowering the infant mortality rate. One of the centerpieces of the fascist pronatalist campaign was the Opera Nazionale per la Maternità e l'Infanzia (ONMI). This organization was established in 1925 to coordinate the provision of services for pregnant women, mothers, and young children. Centers were opened in which women could receive free prenatal health care and where classes on childrearing and hygiene were offered; female volunteers also visited mothers at home. ONMI was tasked with a vast set of responsibilities. Unfortunately, it was severely underfunded, and its personnel and services were unevenly distributed. Many local ONMI branches existed only on paper, and southern Italy was particularly poorly served. ONMI undoubtedly provided useful medical and welfare assistance to many women, but it fell far short of the ambitious goals set for it.

Alcoholism and drug abuse were recognized as growing problems. The Fascist approach revolved around increasing the legal restrictions and penalties and committing some alcoholics and drug addicts to institutions. The regime dispensed much advice regarding healthy living. Fascist organizations for both adults and children emphasized sport and physical activity. Experts did debate the wisdom of vigorous exercise for women, but generally they approved. Mussolini portrayed himself as physically fit and strong, and a good example to follow.

Meredith Carew

See Also: BODY, THE CULT OF THE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EUGENICS; FAMILY, THE; ITALY; MEDICINE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SEXUALITY; SPORT; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN

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HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH (1863–1951)

Celebrated U.S. right-wing publisher with a large stable of dailies and magazines as well as radio stations who endorsed the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler. In 1928 he called the Italian dictator a man of “astounding ability.” A publisher who intermittently had Winston Churchill, David Lloyd George, and Aristide Briand on his payroll at first felt privileged to add Mussolini as a contributor to his newspapers, even though Il Duce’s columns were in fact ghostwritten by his mistress, Margherita Sarfatti. The arrangement ended in 1936, though Hearst had already expressed his irritation four years earlier, when Mussolini endorsed Italian cancellation of war debts to the United States. In 1931 and 1932, Hearst papers gave Hitler a forum in which to denounce the Versailles Treaty, though the German Fuehrer annoyed Hearst by missing deadlines and withholding promised exclusives. Meeting the German dictator in Berlin in 1934, Hearst solidified an arrangement to incorporate German footage in his own newsreel films. According to some Hearst defenders, who wrote their account years later, the publisher pleaded with Hitler to end persecution of the Jews. Soon, however, after his return to the United States, Hearst praised Hitler as one who had restored “character and courage” to Germany.

In 1932, Hearst endorsed the presidential candidacy of Franklin Roosevelt. His Hollywood studio, Cosmopolitan Pictures, released a movie, *Gabriel over the White House*, which suggested that the United States needed a proto-dictatorship. Based on a novel written by a British writer, the film described a president who felt impelled to usurp congressional power, declare martial law, establish a wide-ranging public works program, and impose disarmament on recalcitrant world powers. The newly installed Roosevelt endorsed the film. When World War II broke out in 1939, Hearst was strongly anti-interventionist, though in September

1939 he denounced the claim of aviator Charles A. Lindbergh that American Jews were prominent among those pulling the United States into the conflict. Once the United States entered the war, however, Hearst supported the U.S. effort.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHURCHILL, WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; FILM; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INTERVENTIONISM; LINDBERGH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; WORLD WAR II

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HEIDEGGER, MARTIN (1889–1976)

Leading twentieth-century German philosopher and dues-paying member of the NSDAP between 1933 and 1945. Despite his well-documented collusion with the Third Reich between about 1933 and 1935 as an outspoken advocate of Nazi policies and ideology, as well as his role as a leading spokesman in the process of *Gleichschaltung*, Heidegger continued to treat his involvement with Nazism as marginal until his death in 1976. In partial consequence, intense scholarly debate persists regarding the depth, degree, and duration of Heidegger's association with fascist philosophy and Nazi practices. Retaining a central place in contemporary philosophy and academia, Heidegger also continues to be championed by various radical right-wing associations, ranging from the European New Right and Alain de Benoist's GRECE in France to Pierre Krebs's Thule Society in Germany and Troy Southgate's National Revolutionary Faction in England.

Heidegger was born and raised in the “antimodern” Roman Catholic town of Messkirch in Baden, southwest Germany. His formative education and experiences included war service at a weather station near Verdun, growing disenchantment with Catholicism, and sustained philosophical studies leading to increasingly senior academic posts, in addition to important relationships with fellow philosophers Karl Jaspers, Hannah Arendt, and Edmund Husserl. Despite studying under the last-named for a decade prior to the 1927 publication of his breakthrough text *Being and Time*, Heidegger gradually turned against his Jewish mentor as he gravitated toward Nazism. Discussion continues over the contributing roles played by Heidegger’s reactionary upbringing, his anti-Semitic wife, Elfride, and the severe socioeconomic crisis in Germany following the Great Depression in 1929—not to mention the extent to which Heidegger’s philosophical texts may be said to anticipate an acceptance of Nazism.

In his notoriously difficult philosophical texts, Heidegger may be understood to develop from the phenomenological critiques of Husserl—that is, inquiring into the “essence” of things and metaphysics—toward what Heidegger called an “existential analytic.” By the occasion of the publication of Heidegger’s celebrated *Being and Time*, in 1927, his derivation of phenomenology was turned toward the concrete structures of individual existence (*Dasein*) as understood through temporality. Crucially, however, the main themes propounded in this work—notably inauthenticity, destiny, resoluteness, and particularly historicity—were soon applied by the philosopher to Germany as a whole, which became in his mind an organic and ethnically based *Dasein* capable of self-renewal through a spiritual revolution. There is no doubt that Heidegger explicitly placed the language of his “existential phenomenology” into the service of the Third Reich. “The National Socialist revolution is bringing about the total transformation of our German *Dasein*”; “[t]here is only the one will to the full *Dasein* of the State. The *Führer* has awakened with will in the entire people and has welded it into one resolve” (Wolin 1993, 50–52). A number of similar statements were made in 1933–1934 by Heidegger in his new position as rector of the University of Freiburg, which dovetailed with his joining of the Nazi Party (party number 3,125,894). Both events were made public in Heidegger’s rectoral address on 27 May 1933, a ceremony flanked by Nazi officials and uniformed paramilitaries, indicating his support for the politicization of German universities and national life generally (although he later denied this, as well as any



German philosopher Martin Heidegger, perhaps the most influential philosopher of the postwar era, was for a limited period an open supporter of Nazism. (Bettmann/Corbis)

active support for Nazism, in a 1966 interview with *Der Spiegel*). The period of Heidegger’s activism during the formative years of the Third Reich have been variously understood as a naive foray into politics by an “apolitical” intellectual, an attempt to limit Nazi influence in German universities from the inside, a hope to “lead the leaders” of National Socialism with a brand of philosophical fascism, or a genuine acceptance of fascist ideology that converged with Nazism to a greater or lesser extent.

As rector, Heidegger denounced Jewish, pacifistic, or democratic colleagues to the Gestapo—including the previous rector of Freiburg—facilitated the Nazi transition to power in the universities, and applied his philosophical ideas and language to Nazism. However, Heidegger’s many supporters also rightly point out that he ceased all activism by 1936 at the latest, as the result of a “turn” in his own philosophy, opposition to the realities of National Socialism, or, following Heidegger’s own defense of his actions, upon realizing that Nazism was incapable of accomplishing the “spiritual” mission

he had projected onto the regime. In various forms, this apologia regarding his relationship with Nazism was advanced during Heidegger's postwar denazification hearings, his interview with *Der Spiegel*, and in various private communications. For example, in 1948, Heidegger responded to entreaties to explain his political behavior by a former student, Herbert Marcuse, with this justification: "I expected from National Socialism a spiritual renewal of life in its entirety, a reconciliation of social antagonisms and a deliverance of Western *Dasein* from the dangers of communism"; he concluded this letter by equating Nazi crimes against the Jews with atrocities committed by the Russians in East Germany (*ibid.*, 61).

Despite worldwide fame brought about by philosophical tracts such as *Being and Time*, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, *Letter on Humanism*, *The Question concerning Technology*, and *What Is Called Thinking?*, Heidegger was never able to explain his allegiance to Nazism fully, or to unequivocally demarcate his "political" activities from his "philosophical" explorations during the 1930s and thereafter. Unresolved questions moved again into public view in 1987, following the publication of Victor Farias's *Heidegger et le Nazisme*; the next decade witnessed scores of texts examining this subject from a number of theoretical and empirical perspectives. Many of the continuing debates concern the level of ideological commitment, degree of political acumen, correspondence (or otherwise) of Heidegger's philosophical texts to his political actions, and later strength of dissent that he demonstrated during this twelve-year association with the Third Reich.

Heidegger's later philosophy stressed the concealment and forgetting of "Being"—literally *Dasein*, or "Being there"—which he claimed had been obscured by the "productionist metaphysics" of later Greek Antiquity (especially after Socrates). By this he meant that utility and progress had effectively overcome notions of beauty, spirituality, and authenticity—whether personal or communal. Where his earlier work had approached individual comportment to "Being," Heidegger's later texts inquired into the communal and metaphysical character of "Being's" absence, as well as the invariably negative consequences testifying to such a loss. This led Heidegger into studies of humanism, technology, and types of "thinking" that contributed to the decline of those positive aspects engendered by proximity to "Being." Ultimately, this critique came to rest on poetry—especially that of the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin—as the best medium in which to make sense of the "flight of the gods" while preparing for their return. By opposing

philosophy to poetry, Heidegger's final writings thereby attempted to transgress the very boundaries delimited by post-Platonic philosophy—itsself the product of the European "decadence" so antithetical to his thinking and, arguably, actions.

During this period of Heidegger's partial rehabilitation in postwar Germany, a self-confessed fascist named Armin Mohler published his doctoral thesis in 1950, *Die Konservative Revolution in Deutschland*. His designation of Heidegger and other intellectuals such as Ernst Jünger, Carl Schmitt, and Gottfried Benn—all of whom also briefly embraced Nazism in the early 1930s—as the "Trotskyites of the German Revolution" was integral to Mohler's attempt to categorize hundreds of creative artists and intellectuals as "conservative revolutionaries." These individuals, disenchanted with the Weimar Republic and longing for a comprehensive spiritual rebirth in Germany, were viewed by Mohler as nevertheless distinct from, and even hostile to, National Socialism. Consistent with Roger Griffin's heuristic interpretation of fascism in the Introduction to the present work, the "Conservative Revolution" can be understood as a form of "non-Nazi fascism," insofar as both arguably share the same ideological nexus—in particular, the longing for total national renewal—but differ on a range of concrete policies to bring it about, especially with respect to the militarization of society and racial cleansing. In that regard, Heidegger's own protestations against the "ceaseless organizing" and racial "biologism" inherent in the Third Reich illustrates the distinction between "vulgar" Nazism and a more "enlightened" (but equally illiberal) fascist variant advocated by various "conservative revolutionary" thinkers.

Mohler's contribution also clarifies much of the postwar appropriation of Martin Heidegger by Third Positionist, radical right, and neofascist groups. A running theme in these texts emphasizes Mohler's concept of an "interregnum," whereby any breakthrough by fascism is indefinitely deferred, given the ascendancy of liberal democracy and popular revulsion at Nazi "perversions" of fascist ideology. Heidegger's own form of "inner emigration" and metapolitical philosophy following World War II is frequently seized upon in the "battle of ideas" engaging contemporary fascists and continues to be championed in publications such as *The Scorpion*, *Nouvelle Ecole*, and *Éléments*. Heidegger's emphasis on the "loss of Being" in his later work, especially on Friedrich Hölderlin and the Presocratics, is frequently read by the extreme Right as a retention of spiritual alternatives to the perceived decadence of Western civilization. Thus, while Heidegger's political

activities in the 1930s continue to challenge scholars, far-right groups find Heidegger a pioneer in understanding the current “interregnum,” or stage of preparation and withdrawal into metapolitics, prior to any possible European spiritual regeneration.

Matt Feldman

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARENDT, HANNAH; BENN, GOTTFRIED; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; CONSERVATISM; DEMOCRACY; DENAZIFICATION; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; GRECE; JÜNGER, ERNST; MILITARISM; MOHLER, ARMIN; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REVOLUTION; SCHMITT, CARL; THIRD POSITIONISM; THIRD REICH, THE; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY); WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR II

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HEIL HITLER!

Formula of greeting (“Hail/Long live Hitler!”) imposed by law on the German people by the Nazi regime; the traditional formula of greeting had been *Guten Tag!* (“Good day!”). The term *Heil* had customarily been employed in acclamations, and the crowds used it in greeting both Hitler and Ludendorff when they were released from the Landsberg Prison. It was adopted in general use by the Nazis in their rallies from 1925 onward. In the Third Reich adults were made to greet each other with the new formula, and children at school used it at the start of each new lesson. It was accompanied by the celebrated right-arm salute.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: DEMOCRACY; HITLER, ADOLF; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; *MEIN KAMPF*;

NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; SALUTES; *SIEG HEIL!*; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM

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HEIMAT: See **ECOLOGY**

HEIMWEHR (“HOME GUARD”), THE

Austrian initially nationalist paramilitary grouping constituted chiefly by World War I veterans that adopted a quasi-fascist program with the Korneuburg Oath in 1930; this rejected parliamentary democracy along with Marxism and the class struggle and favored dictatorship. It was, however, based on Austrian nationalism rather than on Pangermanism. In the 1930 elections the Heimwehr won eight parliamentary seats, but afterward it succumbed to internal conflicts; many members joined the Nazis. Engelbert Dollfuss absorbed what remained of the Heimwehr into the Fatherland Front in 1934.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSTRIA; CLASS; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; KORNEUBURG OATH, THE; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; PANGERMANISM; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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HENLEIN, KONRAD (1898–1945)

Sudeten German Nazi politician. He was a gymnastics teacher by profession and one of the leaders of the German union of gymnasts. He was opposed to the cre-

ation of the independent republic of Czechoslovakia (of which he found himself a citizen), which resulted in 1918 from the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1933 he founded the Sudeten German Home Front; in 1935 it changed its title into the Sudeten German Party. The Sudeten German movement nazified under Henlein's leadership toward the end of the 1930s. This was an important factor in the Munich Agreement in 1938. Henlein became governor of the District of Sudetenland and district leader of the NSDAP. He committed suicide on 10 May 1945, two days after being taken prisoner of war by the Americans.

Miroslav Mares

See Also: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; NAZISM; SUDETENLAND, THE; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR II

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HERO, THE CULT OF THE

Influenced by writers like Thomas Carlyle, Nietzsche, and Michels, interwar fascists turned away from the Marxist notion of human existence as wholly subject to the iron laws of the historical process, and spoke boldly of the crucial role in history of heroic figures. The two kinds of hero that they had in mind were in the first place the charismatic leader, who was invariably also a fighter, like Frederick Barbarossa or Frederick the Great for the Nazis, or the Roman Caesars for the Italian Fascists; significantly, Mussolini himself actively collaborated in the writing of three historical dramas, on Julius Caesar, Napoleon, and the nineteenth-century hero of Italian unification Cavour. Hitler liked to have Carlyle's biography of Frederick the Great read to him. But they also venerated the towering inventive genius who enabled science to make fresh strides. The Nazis gave huge credence to the notion of the genius as the key to technological advance. In this they were true heirs to the Romantic movement, which had promoted the idea of the "great" artist or thinker as not simply a per-

son with special gifts but also a seer or a prophetic genius whose skills made him a medium of divine inspiration. Both Italian Fascists and German Nazis also followed the Romantic lead in assuming that the hero or genius did not need to live by the rules of ordinary morality or "normal" conduct, which he was able to transcend.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; CARLYLE, THOMAS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MARXISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; ROME; TECHNOLOGY; THEATER; TRADITION; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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HERRENVOLK ("MASTER RACE"), THE:
See GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT)

HESS, RUDOLF (1894–1987)

Nazi leader who became famous for his flight to Scotland during World War II with the aim of making peace. Hess joined the antidemocratic Free Corps Epp (1919) and became an early follower of Hitler and of the NSDAP in 1920, later taking part in the attempted coup in 1923. Hess functioned as the private secretary of Hitler and became deputy Fuehrer and the Nazi Party's chief of staff (1933). When he landed in Scotland in May 1941 with the aim of negotiating a separate peace and having British prime minister Winston Churchill dismissed, Hitler pronounced him mad.

After his internment the Nuremberg court found him guilty of planning a war of aggression and conspiracy against world peace, and he therefore received a life sentence. Since his death, neo-Nazis in Germany have organized demonstrations honoring Hess that have attracted as many as 5,000 followers.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; FREIKORPS, THE; GERMANY; HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST; HITLER, ADOLF; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; *SIEG HEIL!*; WORLD WAR II

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HEYDRICH, REINHARD (1904–1942)

German Nazi politician, one of the leading figures in the initiation and realization of the Holocaust. Heydrich was born in Halle. He served in the German navy from 1922 to 1930. In 1931 he joined the NSDAP and also embarked on a successful career in the SS. He attained to the rank of *SS-Obergruppenführer*. He became chief of the Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo), chief of the SD, and chief of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA). Heydrich was responsible for many of the anti-Jewish measures of the Third Reich, including plans for the “final solution of the Jewish question.” On 20 January 1942 he was the main figure at the Wannsee Conference, which played an important role in the realization of the Holocaust. In 1941, Heydrich was designated *ReichsProtector* in the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. Heydrich wanted to stabilize the situation in the protectorate, with its important armaments industry. He began to carry out brutal repression against the Czech resistance while at the same time trying to pacify Czech workers with social benefits. The Czech exile government in London, in cooperation with British Special Operations Executive (SOE), sent several Czech agents to the territory of the protectorate of Bohemia

and Moravia. These agents, with the help of the Czech anti-Nazi underground, wounded Heydrich fatally on 27 May 1942 (he died several days later in hospital). This action led to a wave of Nazi terror (including the obliteration of the Czech villages of Lidice and Ležáky). The assassination of Heydrich still plays a dominant role in Czech antifascist traditions. On the other hand, some contemporary Czech neo-Nazis see Heydrich as a symbol of the friendship linking German and Czech pan-Aryan-oriented National Socialists. One small neo-Nazi group called Rytíři slunečního kruhu (“Knights of the Sun Wheel”) founded the formalized Cult of Reinhard Heydrich in 2000.

Miroslav Mares

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; SD, THE; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; WORLD WAR II

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HIERARCHY: See EGALITARIANISM

HIMMLER, HEINRICH (1900–1945)

Leading Nazi ideologue who presided over the SS and held other key positions of responsibility in the Nazi regime. After World War I, Himmler became a firm believer in the “stab in the back” theory and became involved in paramilitary activities. After joining the Nazi Party in 1923, Himmler took part in the Munich Beer-Hall Putsch, and he subsequently became propaganda leader of the movement between 1925 and 1930. In 1929, Himmler became the head of Hitler’s black-shirted personal bodyguard, the SS, and in 1930 he became the Nazi Reichstag deputy for Weser-Emms. During this time Himmler enlarged the SS, and, along with Reinhard Heydrich, formed the SD. After the Nazis came to power, Himmler became the police president



SS Chief Heinrich Himmler (wearing glasses) inspecting a prisoner of war camp in Russia. A key figure in the Holocaust, Himmler was a leading representative of the mystical/pagan element in Nazism which co-existed with a strong concern for technology and scientific progress. (National Archives)

for Munich in 1933, and by April 1934 he had become head of all German criminal police forces as well the de facto head of the political police force, the Gestapo. The year 1933 also saw Himmler establish the first of the concentration camps, at Dachau. Moreover, because of Himmler's heavy involvement with organizing the purge of 30 June 1934, his personal standing within the Nazi movement received a further massive fillip.

After the outbreak of war in 1939, Himmler's rise continued. Following the invasion of Poland, he was promoted to "Reich commissioner for the strengthen-

ing of Germandom." This gave him overall responsibility for the massive ethnic cleansing programs initiated in that country. Himmler also headed the Waffen-SS, a private army drawn from "Germanic" populations across Europe that, at one point, comprised some thirty-five divisions. The attempted assassination of Hitler in 1944 augmented Himmler's standing as the loyal servant of the Fuehrer. After that he was elevated to "commander-in-chief of the reserve army and the army group Vistula," which fulfilled a lifelong dream of his for military glory that stemmed

from his lack of combat experiences during World War I. By this point Himmler was considered to be the natural successor to Hitler, though this final promotion was stymied after the Fuehrer learned of Himmler's attempts to sign a negotiated peace with the Allied powers. Despite being stripped of his party membership, Himmler survived this betrayal. After the fall of the regime Himmler was captured, though he escaped trial by committing suicide on 13 May 1945 while in the custody of the British.

Ideologically, Himmler was a key player in the Nazi regime and sought to use the race question in order to generate a crucial role for the SS. He contributed to Nazi debates on racial breeding and ensured that the SS would be a "racial elite" within the Nazi system. This stemmed from his belief in the superiority of the Nordic blood race, which he was fearful would die out without drastic interventions. Himmler had an obsession with Germanic religion, which he attempted to inculcate within SS ideology. He wanted to generate nothing less than a new religion and "morality" that was inherently "Germanic," that would be steeped in traditions such as "blood and soil," and that from its base at Wewelsburg Castle would worship German ancestors. This neopaganism viewed SS soldiers as the resurrection of Teutonic knights and sought to create a new *Herrenvolk* aristocracy, all of which necessitated the creation of the Greater German Reich, which would place Germany at the heart of a "higher" international order. Himmler backed this ideology with an extreme "might is right" rationale. During the war he viewed himself as fighting a race war against the Slavs of the East in order to re-create the Germanic peasant communities of the Middle Ages. Of the ethnic cleansing programs of the Holocaust, for which as head of the SS he was especially culpable, Himmler famously claimed: "This is a glorious page of our history which has never been and never will be written." A demonstration of the effectiveness of the ideological vision that Himmler contributed to imprinting on the minds of SS men is revealed by their willingness to exceed all moral barriers in the Holocaust.

Paul Jackson

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARTAMAN LEAGUE, THE; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; ELITE THEORY; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; JULY PLOT, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; MUNICH

(BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; OCCULTISM; PANGERMANISM; PARAMILITARISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RURALISM; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SD, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SS, THE; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); WAFFEN-SS, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON (1847–1934)

Highly popular field marshal in the German army in World War I who in 1925 became president of Germany as the candidate of the parties of the Right. As such he was responsible for the appointment and dismissal of the head of state, the Reich chancellor. Following the massive electoral success of the NSDAP in 1932, the conservative/monarchist-inclined Hindenburg appointed Hitler (though only with some misgivings) as chancellor of a right coalition in January 1933. The idea cherished by Hindenburg that in this way he could curb Hitler and the NSDAP proved to be a fatal misjudgment. Within a few months Hitler had eliminated all political opposition and set up a dictatorship. After Hindenburg's death in 1934, Hitler had a law passed transferring all of the powers of the Reich president to himself.

Michael Schäbitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: CONSERVATISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; WEHRMACHT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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HINDUISM: See *BHAGAVADGITA, THE*; *DECADENCE*; *INDIA*

HIROHITO, EMPEROR (1901–1989)

The 124th emperor of Japan, who presided over Japanese militarization, entry into the Axis, and the outbreak of hostilities against the United States and the Allies. In March 1921, Hirohito became the first crown prince of Japan to go abroad, touring Western Europe. He acceded to the throne on 25 December 1926. The years after his enthronement saw the rise of a powerful new type of nationalism (“the Imperial Way”), based on the idea that the emperor could be regarded as the living embodiment of Japan and a model of excellence. This ideology held that Japan needed to assert her identity over against the political ideas of the West, whose military-industrial might had provoked a sense of inferiority in the nation. Hirohito played an influential role in the development of Japanese foreign policy up to and including the war years. After the war Hirohito’s position was gravely weakened when he was forced by the United States to abandon the traditional imperial claim to divinity in 1946. He never admitted any guilt for Japanese aggression in Manchuria or against the United States at Pearl Harbor. He became “the prime symbol of his people’s repression of their wartime past” (Bix 2000, p. 17).

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AXIS, THE; CULTS OF DEATH; INTERVENTIONISM; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LEADER CULT, THE; MILITARISM; NATIONALISM; PEARL HARBOR

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HISTORICAL REVISIONISM: See *HISTORIKERSTREIT, THE*; *HOLOCAUST DENIAL*

HISTORIKERSTREIT, THE

The West German “Historians’ Dispute” about the singularity of the Holocaust began in earnest in 1986 and lasted for less than a year. The central argument was about whether the crimes committed under Nazi rule were singularly outstanding in their horror, or whether they ought to be seen in context with Stalin’s rule of terror. Almost all prominent German historians participated, while foreign historians of Germany mostly abstained. The main protagonists were the historians Ernst Nolte and Michael Stürmer on the one side, and philosopher Jürgen Habermas and historian Hans Mommsen on the other. Nolte had argued in an article for the conservative daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ) in June 1986 that the historiography of Nazi Germany needed revision. The crimes committed under Hitler, he argued, ought to be seen in relation to the Soviet Union’s genocides. Was not the Gulag Archipelago more original than Auschwitz? he asked. And did not the “class murder” of the Bolsheviks happen before the “race murder” of the Nazis? In embryonic form, Nolte had voiced similar thoughts as early as 1980 (also in the FAZ), where he had called for an interpretation of German history between 1933 and 1945 in the context of the upheavals unleashed by the Industrial Revolution. In July 1986, Habermas answered Nolte’s article with a stinging attack on “neo-conservative” historians like Nolte and Stürmer, rejecting the alleged attempt to relativize German crimes through comparison with other genocides. Habermas used the liberal weekly *Die Zeit* as his platform. Ironically, Nolte had been instrumental in the 1960s in overcoming a rather simplistic model of totalitarianism—that is, the attempt to explain Nazism and Stalinism as two sides of the same coin. His critics were quick to point out in the summer of 1986 that he had now resurrected that very model, and they accused him and his followers of trying to whitewash German history by comparison with other barbaric regimes. Although Nolte had initially stated very clearly in 1980 that Ger-

man historiography did not need revisionism, but merely a revision, he was now accused of attempting a major reinterpretation of German history, rather than just minor adjustments.

In hindsight, the *Historikerstreit* was more a moral and political debate and less a historiographical dispute. Some non-German historians dismiss it as negligible for our understanding of Nazi Germany. It came at a time in West Germany when mainstream conservative politicians were calling for Germany to “step out of the shadow of history”—that is, to begin to understand West Germany as a “normal” Western nation. The *Historikerstreit* did, however, interlink with the historiographical debate about whether Germany had followed a “special path” (*Sonderweg*) toward modernity that might explain the extremely violent upheavals between 1914 and 1945, or whether Germany had instead simply experienced an extreme version of broader European developments.

Christoph H. Müller

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARENDT, HANNAH; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ; BOLSHEVISM; GERMANY; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; NAZISM; PROTO-FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOVIET UNION, THE; SONDERWEG (“SPECIAL PATH”), THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION

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HISTORY: See TRADITION

HITLER, ADOLF (1889–1945)

Leader of the Nazi Party and Reich chancellor between 1933 and 1945. Following the death of President Hindenburg in August 1934, he became sole leader of Ger-



Adolf Hitler receiving flowers on behalf of admirers. The Nazi regime was adept at exploiting the propaganda potential of photo opportunities in the growing world of the mass media in the 1930s. (Bettmann/Corbis)

many. Adolf Hitler was born in Braunau am Inn, Austria, on 20 April 1889. He was the son of a fifty-two-year-old Austrian customs official, Alois Schickelgruber Hitler, and his third wife, a young peasant girl, Klara Poelzl, both from the region of Lower Austria. The young Hitler was hostile to his authoritarian father and strongly devoted to his protective and indulgent mother. He grew up dreaming of an artistic career. After spending four years in the Realschule in Linz, Hitler left school in 1905 at the age of sixteen without taking any final examinations and with a poor school report that drew particular attention to his inadequate command of the German language. In October 1907 he left home for Vienna to seek admission to the Viennese Academy of Fine Arts. Embittered at his rejection by the academy, he returned briefly to Linz after the death of his mother in December 1908. Alone and without an occupation, he left for Vienna again. Living as a vir-

tual “down and out” in the capital, Hitler encountered the demagogic political techniques of Vienna’s Christian-Social Party mayor, Karl Lueger, and came into contact with the eccentric racial theories of the defrocked monk Lanz von Liebenfels and his racist journal *Ostara*; also with the Austrian Pangerman leader Georg von Schönerer. From such sources Hitler developed his pathological hatred of Jews and Marxists, liberalism, democracy, and the cosmopolitan Habsburg monarchy.

Isolated and unsuccessful, Hitler left Vienna for Munich in May 1913 at the age of twenty-four to avoid service in the Austrian army. However, when war broke out in August 1914, he enlisted in the Sixteenth Bavarian Infantry Regiment, serving as a dispatch runner. Hitler proved an able and courageous soldier, receiving first the Iron Cross (Second Class) in 1914 and the Iron Cross (First Class) for bravery in 1918, a rare award for a common soldier in the Imperial German Army. However, Hitler was never promoted beyond the rank of lance corporal (1917). Twice wounded, he was badly gassed in October 1918 and spent three months recuperating in Pasewalk Hospital in Pomerania. When the armistice was declared, Hitler was driven to impotent rage by the abortive November 1918 revolution in Germany, as well as by the military defeat. He discovered, however, an outlet for his frustrations in postwar Munich. In the summer of 1919 he had been assigned by the Reichswehr to spy on extremist groups, and it was in this capacity that he was sent to monitor the activities of the nationalist and racist German Workers’ Party (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei; DAP), led by the Munich locksmith Anton Drexler. In September 1919 he joined the DAP (which had some twenty to forty members), and, on 16 October, he made his first address to the party. With his demagogic style and strident rhetoric, Hitler discovered that he possessed hidden talents for haranguing political meetings. Adolf Hitler was thirty years old, and his political career had just begun. He wrote in *Mein Kampf*: “Generally speaking, a man should not take part in politics before he has reached the age of thirty.”

In February 1920, the German Workers’ Party changed its name to the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei; NSDAP) and set out its twenty-five-point party program. Hitler imposed himself as party chairman with unlimited powers in the summer of 1921, and having given the new party its symbol—the swastika, and its greeting *Heil!*—he managed with the help of his oratorical and organizational skills to increase membership to more than 3,000 by November

1921. Following his takeover of the party leadership, the personality cult around Hitler became more noticeable as his followers began referring to him as Fuehrer. Hitler, in turn, boosted his personal power by organizing strong-arm squads to keep order at his meetings and break up those of his opponents. Out of these squads grew the storm troopers, organized by Captain Ernst Röhm, and Hitler’s black-shirted personal bodyguard, the SS, which became the most powerful organization within the Nazi Party and the Nazi state under the leadership of Heinrich Himmler. Hitler focused his propaganda against the humiliation of the Versailles Treaty, the “November criminals,” and Judaism and Marxism, which he tended to regard as amounting to much the same thing. Most of Hitler’s ideas were not new, but he disseminated them with extraordinary showmanship, passion, and eloquence.

By November 1923, Hitler was convinced that the Weimar Republic was on the verge of collapse; together with disaffected war hero General Ludendorff and local nationalist groups, he led an unsuccessful putsch to overthrow the Bavarian government in Munich. He was arrested and sentenced to five years’ imprisonment for high treason in February 1924. Hitler was released after only nine months in Landsberg Prison, during which time he dictated *Mein Kampf* to his loyal followers Rudolf Hess and Emil Maurice (1897–1945). First published in 1925, it became National Socialism’s main ideological tract and stands as testimony to Hitler’s primitive Social Darwinist ideas and prejudices. These can be summarized as the struggle to destroy the power of international Jewry, the struggle to annihilate Marxism, and the struggle to obtain “living space” (*Lebensraum*) for Germany at the expense of Russia. *Mein Kampf* is a turgid piece of political demagoguery in prose, but it eventually became a best-seller. By 1939 it had been translated into eleven languages and sold more than 5 million copies. (The extent to which *Mein Kampf* constituted a blueprint that the Nazis systematically implemented when they came to power in 1933 remains a source of intense historiographical debate.) The Munich Putsch episode and his period of imprisonment elevated Hitler from an obscure provincial right-wing politician into a national figure, a symbol of implacable opposition to the republic. In January 1925 the ban on the Nazi Party was lifted, and Hitler regained permission to speak in public. At the Bamberg meeting (February 1926), Hitler re-established his absolute leadership by outmaneuvering the “socialist” North German wing of the party under Gregor Strasser. The ensuing reforms enabled the party to widen its appeal and exploit more

effectively the popular disaffection that sprang up during the Depression.

Support for the Nazis in national elections between May 1928 and September 1930 rose from 810,127 (2.6 percent of the total) to 6,379,672 votes (18.3 percent)—an eightfold increase. With unemployment exceeding 6 million and the Weimar Republic sinking into its death throes, the 1932 elections in July and November were fought in an atmosphere of growing political violence and disorder. In July, the Nazis emerged as the largest party in the Reichstag, with 37.3 percent of the total vote, while in November they suffered a minor setback when their percentage was reduced to 33.1 percent. However, by January 1933, Hitler had obtained the support of the army and sections of industry, and on 30 January he was constitutionally appointed chancellor by President Hindenburg.

Hitler talked of a “German Revolution” and promised that the Third Reich would last for 1,000 years. Once in power, therefore, he had no intention of becoming a prisoner of the governmental system, and he moved swiftly to establish and consolidate an absolute dictatorship. The Reichstag fire of 27 February 1933 provided Hitler with the pretext to begin consolidating the foundations of a totalitarian one-party state, and the “enabling laws” forced through the Reichstag legalized the regime’s intimidating tactics and suspended civil rights in Germany. The extraordinary achievement of Hitler and the Nazis, compared with other fascist and authoritarian regimes of the period, was the speed with which they eliminated opposition. Within eighteen months of coming to power, Hitler had erased all forms of political opposition and incarcerated political opponents; within a year the quasi-autonomy of the regions had been crushed, and in June 1934 the potential threat posed by the strength and unreliability of the SA had been brutally eliminated in the “Night of the Long Knives.” On 30 June, numerous SA leaders—on the pretext that they were preparing a coup against the government—were arrested by the Gestapo and SS and immediately shot. The Night of the Long Knives claimed, in all, around eighty-five victims, including Ernst Roehm, Gregor Strasser, and former chancellor General von Schleicher. The main beneficiary of the SA’s loss of power was the SS, Hitler’s praetorian guard, utterly loyal to the Fuehrer. The power shift within the regime had considerably enhanced Hitler’s own position. For individuals and groups that remained, a process of *Gleichschaltung*—by which all political, economic, and cultural activities were forcibly assimilated within the state—ensured that a sufficient degree of

conformity would sustain the regime in power until 1945. In August 1934, following the death of Hindenburg, Hitler further consolidated his own position by merging the offices of president and chancellor into the new office of Fuehrer. The “Party of the Fuehrer” would now be extended to become the “Fuehrer state.”

By the time Hitler was appointed chancellor in 1933, the edifice of his *Weltanschauung* was in place. It had been constructed as a result of a series of formative and overlapping experiences. Hitler had successfully imposed on his party his racist vision and the need to remove Jews from Germany, as well as for territorial expansion in the East for a German *Herrenvolk*. It would be no exaggeration to use the metaphor of feudal anarchy to describe the system of government during the Third Reich. Invoking Hitler’s name was like opening a door—a gateway to power. By delegating power downward but in a random fashion based on access to himself, Hitler was able to outflank the traditional bureaucracy of government and civil service. Provided that they did not threaten his own position as Fuehrer, Hitler allowed subordinates like Himmler, Goering, and Goebbels to mark out their own domains of arbitrary power while multiplying and duplicating offices to a chaotic degree. The traditional view of the Nazi regime as being a monolithic power structure has been largely rejected by later historians and replaced by a more critical, polycratic model, based on the shapelessness, lack of clear direction, and improvisation of Nazi rule. Nevertheless, in the years leading up to war, Hitler enjoyed considerable success both domestically and internationally.

A recurring theme in Nazi propaganda before 1939 was that Hitler was a man of peace, but one who was determined to recover German territories “lost” as a result of the Treaty of Versailles. The Nazi slogan *Deutschland Erwache!* was intended to be a rallying cry for a humiliated and weakened nation to rediscover its glorious past. The signing of the Reich Concordat with the Vatican on 20 July 1933 and the nonaggression treaty with Poland (1934) appeared initially to confirm that view. However, in October 1933, Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and the Geneva Disarmament Conference. Moreover, in the summer of 1934 he attempted to move into Austria but retreated when the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini sent troops to the frontier to safeguard Austria’s independence. In March 1935, Hitler announced that Germany would introduce conscription, with the aim of building a peacetime army of thirty-six divisions, in direct violation of the Treaty of Versailles. From 1936, when Hitler ordered German troops to

reoccupy the demilitarized Rhineland—in direct breach of the Versailles (1919) and Locarno (1925) treaties—until the Munich Settlement in 1938, which gave the Sudetenland to Germany, Hitler successfully carried out a series of audacious foreign policy coups that won him widespread support and popularity within Germany. When, in July 1936, civil war broke out in Spain, Hitler gave aid to General Franco. He sent his Luftwaffe to Spain to gain experience in what amounted to a dress rehearsal for World War II. In the Rome-Berlin Pact of October 1936, Germany and Italy joined in a common front against Bolshevism and the Western powers. In March 1938, Hitler achieved the *Anschluss* with Austria by engineering a crisis in Austro-German relations and then sending German troops across the frontier into Austria. The German invasion of Austria was Hitler's first move outside German territory in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. Shortly afterward, a plebiscite was manipulated so effectively in both Germany and Austria that 99 percent of those voting supported Hitler's actions. Austria was relegated to a mere province of the Greater German Reich. "This is the proudest hour of my life," said Hitler. The concentration camps, the loss of trades union rights, the Nuremberg Laws against the Jews, the persecution of the churches and political dissidents were forgotten by many Germans in the euphoria of Hitler's territorial expansion and bloodless victories. Not only was Hitler now Europe's most powerful dictator but, in addition, he was regarded by his people as a consummate statesman, greater even than Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898).

By mid-1938, Hitler had sufficiently weakened potential opposition from conservative elites and could now initiate an expansionist foreign policy in pursuit of German hegemony. Having dismantled the Czechoslovakian state in March 1939, he took Poland as his next designated target. German grievances against Poland stemmed from the 1919 peace settlements and the loss of the Polish corridor, which now separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany; also, the former German port of Danzig had been made an "open city" under the jurisdiction of the League of Nations. Following the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Britain and France, perceiving Hitler as a persistent aggressor, announced that they would guarantee Poland's independence. Seeking to avoid a war on two fronts, Hitler signed a pact of nonaggression with Soviet Russia on 23 August, with secret clauses on the partition of Poland. When Germany invaded Poland on 1 September, the British government issued an ultimatum to Germany that expired on 3 September. First Britain

and then France declared war on the same day, and thus World War II began.

Thenceforth, Hitler devoted his energies to a war that he had unleashed in the pursuit of "living space" (*Lebensraum*) for Germany and the domination of Europe. Hitler put on his soldier's tunic and announced that he would not remove it until Germany was triumphant. The astonishing advance by means of Blitzkrieg of German forces through the Low Countries culminated in the fall of France in June 1940. Intoxicated by the dazzling Blitzkrieg victories, Hitler refused to listen to the warnings of his military and economic advisers that in the long run the war could not be won. His next step was to subjugate Britain by means of aerial bombardment, to be followed by invasion in Operation Sea Lion. The anticipated surrender of Britain failed to materialize when the Royal Air Force prevented the Luftwaffe from securing aerial control over the English Channel. On 22 June 1941, having postponed indefinitely the invasion of Britain, Hitler took possibly the biggest gamble of his career and launched Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union on a front from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Anticipating a similar victory in the East to that achieved in the West, Hitler had underestimated Russia's resources and resolve. The error of judgment was compounded by Germany's declaration of war on the United States after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941.

The Barbarossa campaign provided Hitler with the context for the "final solution to the Jewish Question," which had been under consideration since 1939. The leap into genocide was taken in the spring of 1941, when the planning of the invasion of Russia began to be worked out in detail. By late summer of 1941, the dynamics of a war of annihilation in the East and the fate of European Jewry became inexorably linked. At first the German armies carried all before them, encircling Leningrad and reaching within striking distance of Moscow, but by the beginning of 1942, Hitler had begun to lose control of the military situation. In October he prematurely proclaimed that the Soviet Union had been smashed and that she would never rise again. Underestimating the determination and resilience of the Russians, Hitler's final desperate assault on the Caucasus was a disastrous failure. The catastrophe before Moscow in December 1941 led him to dismiss his commander-in-chief, Field Marshall Walther von Brauchitsch (1881–1948), and many other commanders and assume personal control of all military operations himself. Convinced that his own general staff were vacillating—even treacherous—Hitler refused to counte-

nance military defeat or strategic withdrawals and increasingly became prone to hysterical outbursts and misanthropic brooding. With the entry of the United States into the war in December 1941, Hitler's huge military gamble was effectively lost. But he was also engaged in another war—the systematic genocide of the Jews. Within a few months of the launch of Operation Barbarossa, what had been thitherto a hesitant and improvised campaign of mass murder was placed even more firmly under the central control of the SS, directed by Himmler and his deputy Reinhard Heydrich. In December 1941 the first killing installations using mobile “gas vans” were operating at Chelmo in the Warthegau (a part of western Poland annexed to the Reich). However, the “final solution” to the “Jewish question” was not implemented until the Wannsee Conference of 20 January 1942. By the end of March 1942 the mass extermination of Poland's Jewish population was under way in camps such as Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. The most notorious extermination camp of all, Auschwitz-Birkenau, began its systematic mass gassing of Jews in June 1942.

As the extermination of Jews intensified, Germany's military fortunes began to plummet. General Erwin Rommel's defeat at El Alamein and subsequent loss of North Africa was overshadowed by defeat at Stalingrad, where General von Paulus's Sixth Army was cut off and surrendered to the Russians in February 1943. This military disaster was a devastating blow to Hitler and to his prestige in the eyes of the German people. Unwilling to concede defeat, he ordered a total mobilization of the German economy under Albert Speer, in a final effort to reverse the tide of war. Allied bombing, however, was having a telling effect on German industrial production and was beginning to undermine morale. A series of defeats after Stalingrad were followed on 6 June 1944 by Operation Overlord, the Allied invasion of France. Soon a million Allied troops were driving German forces back to their own frontier, while in the East, Soviet troops were advancing relentlessly. Convinced that the war was lost, and disillusioned with Hitler's leadership, a number of high military and civilian officials attempted to assassinate him on 20 July 1944. The plot failed, and Hitler took vicious revenge on the conspirators. He now retreated to his bunker under the Reich Chancellery in Berlin and was rarely seen in public again. Although Hitler was only fifty-six, his health had deteriorated for some time under the impact of drugs prescribed by his quack physician, Dr. Morel, but his resolve to fulfill his ideological objectives remained undiminished. The same hatred and fear that had led to mass extermination was now turned on his

own people. In the last weeks of the war, Hitler's vindictive and senseless “Nero Order” for a “scorched earth” policy in the face of the advancing Allied armies descending on Berlin was prevented only by Albert Speer's successful sabotage. On 29 April 1945, Hitler married Eva Braun, his mistress for twelve years, and immediately afterward he dictated his last will and political testament, in which he justified his ideas and actions.

The translation into policy of Hitler's grandiose fixation with territorial expansion led to World War II and untold misery for millions. Hitler's all-consuming anti-Semitism resulted in a process of “cumulative radicalization” that started in Germany with intimidation and persecution and culminated in a network of extermination camps (all outside Germany in occupied Poland) and the slaughter of 6 million Jews (and more than a quarter of a million Gypsies). Similarly, his obsessive anti-Bolshevism culminating in his “war of annihilation” led to the deaths of some 3 million Russian POWs—mostly of disease and starvation. Hitler referred to himself as a man called by Providence to restore Germany to greatness, but he chose not to survive the defeat of his people and committed suicide in the bunker of the Reich Chancellery on 30 April 1945. At the end he complained that the German people had let him down, that they were not worthy of their destiny.

David Welch

See Also: INTRODUCTION; *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; AUTOBAHNS, THE; AXIS, THE; BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BATTLE OF BRITAIN, THE; BAYREUTH; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BLITZKRIEG; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BOLSHEVISM; BORMANN, MARTIN; BRÜNING, HEINRICH; CARLYLE, THOMAS; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; COMBAT 18; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; *DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE!* (“GERMANY AWAKE!”); DICTATORSHIP; DOENITZ, ADMIRAL KARL; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”), THE; DREXLER, ANTON; EL ALAMEIN; ENABLING ACT, THE; EUGENICS; EXPANSIONISM; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; FREEDOM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GOERING, HERMANN; HAMSUN, KNUT; HANFSTAENGL, ERNST FRANZ SEDGWICK (“PUTZI”); HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST; HEALTH; HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; *HEIL HITLER!*; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HESS, RUDOLF; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLY

ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; HUGENBERG, ALFRED VON; INDUSTRY; INFLATION; ITALY; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; LEADER CULT, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; LUEGER, KARL; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; MODERNITY; MÜLLER, BISHOP LUDWIG; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAN; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; NUREMBERG; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PANGERMANISM; PAPACY, THE; PAPAN, FRANZ VON; PEARL HARBOR; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RAUSCHNING, HERMANN; REICHSTAG FIRE, THE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SA, THE; SCHLEICHER, KURT VON; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SCIENCE; *SIEG HEIL*; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPEER, ALBERT; SS, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STALINGRAD; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUDIUS SCHENK GRAF VON; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; SUDETENLAND, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAGNER, WINIFRED; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE

Totally unexpected agreement between the German Reich and the Soviet Union signed out of the blue on 23 August 1939 as a preliminary to Hitler's planned assault on Poland. Signatories to the pact were Soviet commissar for foreign affairs Molotov and German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. According to the terms of the pact, neither state would support any third state in the event of its attacking one of them; they would consult in matters of common interest; and neither would have anything to do with any alliance of powers aimed at the other. There was, in addition, a secret protocol that did not come to public notice until 1948: this divided Eastern Europe into German and Soviet spheres and handed territorial gains to each state in the areas between the spheres.

The pact was stunning for Germans and Soviets alike. Hitler and Stalin had been conducting ideological warfare against each other throughout the 1930s. Even for the most devoted Nazis it was very strange that suddenly the Bolsheviks, whom they had been trained to regard as bestial enemies of civilization, should now be their allies. They had been schooled to think not merely of the Soviets as political enemies but also of the Slavs as nothing more than an inferior race of *Untermenschen*. Of course Hitler never planned for the pact to be permanent, and it is highly revelatory of his Machiavellian political strategy. For him it was a necessary evil, preventing any possible intervention from the East during his planned military drive, starting with the assault on Poland just over a week after the pact was signed. It meant that Germany did not have to fight on two fronts, as she had had to do in World War I. Strangely, Stalin seems to have taken it seriously, since it is well known that he was not merely highly reluctant to prepare for a German invasion in 1941 but also, in fact, reluctant to believe the early reports arriving from the border when Operation Barbarossa was launched.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; CIVILIZATION; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; *LEBENSRAUM*; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; NAZISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS")

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HITLER YOUTH, THE: See **YOUTH MOVEMENTS: (GERMANY)**

HLINKA, MGR. ANDREJ: See **SLOVAKIA**

HOLLAND: See **NETHERLANDS, THE**

HOLOCAUST (“SHOAH”), THE

Roughly translates as “burnt offering” from Hebrew via Greek and Latin to English; usually indicating the mass murder by the Nazis of 6 million Jews between 1941 and 1945. Additional terms to describe the murder of some 10 million “undesirables” under Nazi domination include the “final solution” (of the Jewish Question), genocide, extermination, and the *Shoah*. The murder of other “undesirable” groups, such as Jehovah’s Witnesses or Roma and Sinti travelers, anti-Semitic pogroms undertaken by Nazi allies or collaborators, and the development of the “ethanasia” program in Germany and Poland between 1939 and 1941 have also all been historically understood as parts of the “Holocaust.” From the Jewish perspective the genocidal attack on them by Hitler and his allies constituted a unique event because of its relation to the millennia-old history of Israel and her struggles with her enemies, and because of the biblical accounts of Israel’s role in world history. The term *Holocaust* has a particular resonance for readers of the First (Old) Testament, from which it is derived. For Jews there can be only one “Holocaust.”

Already in *Mein Kampf*, Hitler had given voice to his hatred for Jews, declaring: “If at the beginning of the [First] War and during the War twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas, as happened to hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers in the field, the sacrifices of millions at the front would not have been in vain.” For some “intentionalists,” these and other declarations of vehement anti-Semitism on the part of Nazi functionaries, primarily Hitler, consti-

tutes evidence—and perhaps even prophecy—of a long-term genocidal agenda. Still, the context for such early declarations during the Weimar Republic was political marginality for the Nazis, a fact subject to drastic change only after 1929. Thereafter, much of this racial venom was diluted in a bid for electoral success, and the courting of more mainstream conservative groups in business, the churches, and other political parties ensued. From 1933, however, much of the Nazis’ anti-Semitic rhetoric was reflected in actions initiated by the Third Reich: the first anti-Jewish boycotts took place on 1 April 1933; the 1935 Nuremberg Laws defined Jews as “aliens” in Germany; and pogroms on the night of 9–10 November 1938, called *Kristallnacht*, resulted in widespread destruction of property, scores of deaths, and the internment of many thousands of Jews in concentration camps. Given actions like these, some historians understand the Holocaust to have commenced with Hitler’s assumption of power on 30 January 1933, reflecting the intent of Nazi elites (and, more contentiously, supported by many “non-Nazi” sectors of the German populace). In contrast, other scholars have emphasized the technological and bureaucratic underpinnings of German society at the time; the intrinsic radicalization and opportunism of the Nazi regime; and the competitive institutional structure of governance (relating to ideas of “social Darwinism” or “working toward the Fuehrer”)—suggesting that the internal functioning of the Nazi state was more decisive in the onset of the Holocaust than any underlying Nazi worldview. This perspective, variously called “functionalist” or “structuralist,” attributes a central importance to the progressively extreme Nazi policies, expansionism, and fractious organizational features—especially during World War II—rather than the earlier writings and ideological aims of Nazi functionaries. To some degree, the fruitful “intentionalist-functionalist” debate has abated in favor of what has been termed “moderate functionalism”—that is, a recognition that earlier Nazi intentions may have prefigured later actions by perpetrators of the Holocaust, without necessarily meaning that such objectives demonstrate an unalterable program or ideological blueprint.

The installation of the Third Reich in 1933 marked a decisive, arguably revolutionary shift in treatment of those defined as outside the *Volksgemeinschaft*. That is exemplified above all by persecution of Jews as the 1930s progressed: first marginalized and actively humiliated, their initial experience of painful and humiliating harassment then gave way to an active campaign of elimination from German society. Other minority

groups to suffer under Nazism—in ways including the imposition of enforced sterilization and internment in the growing networks of concentration camps—were “asocials,” Jehovah’s Witnesses, Eastern Europeans (especially the Russian “Asiatic horde”), and travelers (or Gypsies). However, the first group to be systematically targeted for destruction were German asylum patients considered “useless eaters” in the increasingly intolerant, pseudo-scientific targeting of the most vulnerable members in German society.

The so-called Euthanasia Campaign, labeled “T-4” for secrecy by participating Nazi doctors and bureaucrats, has sometimes been viewed as the onset of the Holocaust. In early 1939, Philippe Bouhler, the head of the chancellery of the Fuehrer (KdF), devised a scheme whereby institutionalized German children were murdered if judged to be “life unworthy of life” by doctors. By August, this program had been extended to mentally and physically disabled adults, with authorization from Hitler in early October backdated to 1 September 1939. By 1941, at least 70,000 victims had perished in asylums—cum—gas chambers at the institutions of Brandenburg-Gorden Hartheim, Sonnenstein, Bernberg, Hadamar, and Grafeneck. But whereas no directive by Hitler in the wider development of mass murder exists—especially sanctioning genocide against European Jewry undertaken in 1942—a number of precursors found in the Euthanasia Campaign were nevertheless extended to the later industrialized destruction of human beings in extermination centers. For example, shared attributes encompass: attempted secrecy and deception of victims; interagency cooperation and bureaucratic coordination by the Nazis (for identification, transportation, and so on); criteria for selections and mass gassings; collaboration and examination by “ordinary” perpetrators, as well as “unfitness for work” and perpetual humiliation for victims; pillage and disposal of bodies through mass graves or cremation—in short, increasingly effective methods for the assembly-line production of death.

The onslaught against Poland that launched World War II marked an intensification and brutalization of conditions for designated enemies of the Nazi state. From the start, the cultural differences and the sheer number of Jews (some 2 million), as well as progressively unrestrained anti-Semitism, all meant that Nazi policy toward Polish Jewry and other “undesirables” from September 1939 acted as an important catalyst in the development of the Holocaust. The radicalization of population policies geared toward Aryan *Lebensraum* together with the Third Reich’s effective colonization of Poland also suggests a policy of “palin-

genetic ultranationalism” in autocratic practice: the identification and the ghettoization of Jews, the transfer of ethnic Germans westward, and, increasingly, the murder of those declared *Untermenschen*, or “subhumans.” By the end of 1939, perhaps 50,000 Poles had been murdered, and by the spring of 1940, the Eimann and Lange battalions of Heinrich Himmler’s SS had murdered thousands more asylum patients in Poland. Indeed, between the autumn of 1939 and the summer of 1941, Poland became the testing ground for the implementation of industrialized genocide; in the following years roughly 3 million Poles and a further 3 million Polish Jews died under Nazi occupation. As the military conquests of 1940 and 1941 over France and the Low Countries, as well as Norway, Greece, and Yugoslavia, consolidated Nazism’s domination over much of Europe, grandiose designs for a murderous millennial “New Order” under German hegemony became steadily clearer, as indicated by an SS handbook of 1941: “The *new ordering of the space of the East* not only affects the *German-Polish problem* and that caused by other ethnic minorities but, because in the East Jewry can be found in its most concentrated form, also raises the *Solution to the Jewish problem*” (Dwork and van Pelt 1996, 22).

Particularly in recent historiography, 1941 is usually recognized as the watershed year in genocidal preparation and initiation of the Holocaust; thereafter, Nazi willingness to murder millions in an ever more comprehensive attempt to “solve” self-imposed problems is unmistakable. With the onset of an ideological war of annihilation against the “Judeo-Bolshevik menace” in the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941, previous “solutions” to socio-racial obstacles impeding the construction of a pure “Aryan” community—persecution, ghettoization, enforced emigration, and ultimately, selective killings—were immediately superseded by mass shooting. Four Einsatzgruppen units (special mobile formations whose job it was to implement the liquidation program in occupied territories) operating from the Baltic in the north to the Ukraine in the south, each initially comprising no more than a thousand men, were primarily responsible for the execution of some 1.5 million noncombatants, especially Jews, in a steadily expanding program of murder. In three respects, this was generally in keeping with the Holocaust as a whole. First, the staggering number of victims is indicative of an operation centrally planned from Berlin, substantiated by meticulous Einsatzgruppen reports, as well as vital documents such as the commissar order, essentially sanctioning military warfare on civilian populations in Eastern Europe. Sec-

ond, the Einsatzgruppen's steadily growing range of targets, initially focused on partisans and Jewish men, but by late summer 1941 extending to, principally, Jewish women and children of all ages. Finally, like the Holocaust as a whole, the attempted secrecy, bureaucratic efficiency, radicalizing techniques and agendas, fragmentation of control and responsibility below Hitler, and, above all, sole consideration for the perpetrators were all evident in Einsatzgruppen killing operations in 1941; they later constituted features replicated on a larger scale in the extermination centers, overwhelmingly located in Poland.

As to the last of these points, the profile of Einsatzgruppen shooters proved notably decisive in the development of the Holocaust. Sensitive to the psychological burdens of shooting innocent people in the nape of the neck day after day, by the autumn of 1941, Nazi planners looked for a better method of systematically exterminating state enemies—again particularly European Jewry (a decision most likely taken in October 1941 and later streamlined at the 20 January 1942 Wannsee Conference, a meeting chaired by Heydrich and organized by his deputy, Eichmann). This was ultimately addressed through the reassignment of more than ninety “T-4” personnel and the widespread adoption of poison gas for killing—first in mobile gas vans designed to murder scores at once with carbon monoxide (used earlier in the “Euthanasia Campaign”), then in extermination camps for hundreds of simultaneous victims through purpose-built carbon monoxide death chambers at the Aktion Reinhard death camps: Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka. Finally, the pesticide Zyklon-B was used almost exclusively at Auschwitz. These camps and the facilities accompanying them—death chambers and crematoria, enormous compounds and human vivisections by doctors as well as guards, horrific conditions and nigh-impossible work quotas for those few not “selected” for murder—were collectively responsible for about 2.8 million victims in these four main killing institutions from the spring of 1942 to the winter of 1944. The extermination centers at Chelmo, Majdanek, and elsewhere are frequently viewed as emblematic of the process understood as the Holocaust, yet millions more victims were shot, and many hundreds of thousands of others died through lethal injection, starvation, disease, undocumented killings, and the so-called “death marches” of 1945 toward Germany at the end of World War II. Reflecting this, the postwar Nuremberg Trials adopted legal principles—indeed, the term *genocide* itself—to prosecute a wide range of perpetrators responsible for the planning, management, and operation of the Holocaust.

Energetic discussion continues between scholars over the progression and direction of the Holocaust, especially regarding the intent, evolution, implementation, and bureaucratic depth of population policies undertaken by the Third Reich. Such discussion is part of a wider debate among historians about how to conceptualize events in Europe before and during World War II. While the historical evidence remains indisputable, contentious historiographical issues include the precise dating of the moment when the decision was formally taken by the Nazi leadership to proceed with the “final solution”; the dating of the onset of the Holocaust more generally (the start of the Third Reich in 1933? the invasion of Poland in 1939? the 1941 invasion of the USSR?); the depth and ideological commitment of “ordinary” perpetrators; the extent of European collaboration and resistance, both inside and outside the camps; and the classification of genocide (for example, should non-Jews—such as the disabled, homosexuals, Roma and Sinti travelers, Eastern Europeans, and political opponents—be included together or separately among victims of the Holocaust?). Yet, as a group, none of these historians dispute the essence of the Holocaust: Nazi “racial imperialism” (Browning 2004) directly culminated in violent death for millions of targeted religious, ethnic, and sociopolitical groups, the majority of those European Jews. Disputing this actuality is left to advocates of so-called Holocaust revisionism—frequently a fig leaf for anti-Semitism—fascist ideologues, a particular racist philosophy, or those indifferent to historical evidence.

Insofar as it was planned solely by the German Nazis and implemented by themselves and their allies, the Holocaust cannot be considered a defining feature of generic fascism. Anti-Semitic measures were implemented in Italy only toward the end of the 1930s, after Mussolini had been in power for more than fifteen years, and they did not form a part of the political platform on which he originally campaigned, nor of his program when he came to power. It appears that his acceptance of anti-Semitic ideology was a by-product of Mussolini's later desire to cooperate with the increasingly powerful Nazi state, whose expansionism he had earlier managed to block. It was only under the Salò Republic that Italian participation in the Holocaust developed, and by that point Mussolini had become little more than a puppet of the Germans. The Holocaust was an outcome of the racial doctrine that was one of the distinguishing marks that set German Nazism apart from Italian Fascism, rather than a manifestation of generic fascism.

Matt Feldman

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CHAMBLERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GERMANY; GHETTOS, THE; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; HOMOSEXUALITY; IG FARBEN; INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL; ITALY; JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES; *KRISTALLNACHT* (NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS); *LEBENSRAUM*; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MEDICINE (GERMANY); *MEIN KAMPF*; MENGELE, JOSEF; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; ZYKLON-B

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HOLOCAUST DENIAL

Holocaust denial is the most radical aspect of historical revisionism, which tries to rewrite the history of National Socialism in order to shed positive light on that regime in Germany. The denial of the National-Socialist mass murder of Jews is inseparably linked with neo-Nazism, but it has developed strong connections to the

Islamist movement as well. The political aim of internationally active Holocaust denial is defamation of the Jews and the subversion of the state of Israel. In the late 1940s the first so-called revisionist books were published in France by Maurice Bardèche and Paul Rassinier, the latter becoming the ideological ancestor of the later generations of "revisionists" who first tried to minimize the extent of National Socialist crimes by doubting the number of victims of the Holocaust. In the late 1970s, alongside growing scientific and public interest in the history of Nazism, "revisionists" began to propagate the denial of the Holocaust as a whole. They produced a great number of publications, most of them camouflaged as the products of a "scientific" concern for historical truth. All of this is based on a rabid anti-Semitism and belief in a worldwide Jewish conspiracy, for it is supposed that documents, witness statements, and concentration camp sites have been tampered with and falsified in order to blackmail the German people into paying enormous sums of indemnification to Israel and the Jews, to force the world to accept the state of Israel, and to defame National Socialism.

Although the first publications on Holocaust denial appeared in Europe, later on the most important centers developed in the United States and Canada, and only recently again in Great Britain, because of the legal situation in those states which does not ban Holocaust denial by law, as do other European countries. Holocaust denial also has a following in Eastern Europe and in the Arab world, where it is explicitly used to question Israel's right of existence.

"Revisionism" and Holocaust denial have developed their own way of arguing. The deniers pick up single details in historical records that are either disputed or actually wrong, and on the basis of such matters of detail they declare the whole of the history of the Holocaust to be a fake. While the first "revisionists" simply invented their own history, the representatives of Holocaust denial often use actual historical documents and scientific literature that they quote either incorrectly or out of context—as the British writer David Irving does. Since the late 1980s, a new kind of pseudoscientific argumentation has been trying to make use of popular belief in the precision of the natural sciences. Typically, it is claimed that it was technically impossible for the Nazis to have murdered people in the gas chambers in the manner stated by official accounts, or that chemical tests have proven that no poisonous gas was used in the relevant buildings in the former extermination camps.

Brigitte Bailer-Galanda

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BARDECHE, MAURICE; CANADA; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FREY, DR. GERHARD; *HISTORIK-ERSTREIT*, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL; KÜHNEN, MICHAEL; MIDDLE EAST, THE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PALESTINE; POSTWAR FASCISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; REMER, OTTO-ERNST; SCHÖNHUBER, FRANZ; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR)

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HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE

From the eleventh century onward, the official title of the German kingdom or empire that existed from 911 to 1806 and that saw itself as the lawful successor to the Roman Empire; its earlier period was much venerated by certain Nazi ideologues. Alfred Rosenberg recalled that Emperor Otto I (936–973) had been the founder of a “Germanic national church” and had brought the papacy into subjection to himself: “The German Emperor dragged the Papacy out of the mire, raised the Church to honour and ennobled her servants.” Rosenberg saw in the Saxon lords the forerunners of the Germanic colonization of territories to the east, which was subsequently driven forward by the German Knightly Orders. A new “German Order” must arise to create a “Holy Germanic Reich of the German nation through absolute obedience to a Germanic leader” and “must define the type of the German of the future.” The most bizarre cult of the Saxon lords as colonizers of the East was fostered by Heinrich Himmler, who developed an effusive reverence for King Henry I (919–936) as “the Civilizer of the barbarian Slav peoples.” In July 1937 he had the bones of Henry I in Quedlinburg exhumed and solemnly reburied, proposing that he himself be eventually buried next to the honored ruler. Under the influence of astrologists and *völkisch* fantasists close to the SS, whose advice he increasingly sought, Himmler eventually saw himself as the “reincarnation” of Henry I, who was to complete his work of the subjection of the East. In a pretentious celebration of the 1,000th anniversary of Henry’s death on 2 May 1936 in Quedlinburg, Himmler celebrated him as forerunner of Ger-

man expansion to the East and representative of a powerful rule that did not tolerate the Church getting involved in political events. Henry I as founder of an empire had never forgotten “that the strength of the German people lies in purity of blood.”

In a speech of 13 September 1937, Hitler stated that in 1933 “the Germanic Reich of the German nation” had been established, and said that his intention was to unite all countries of Germanic race, even Scandinavia and The Netherlands, under one leadership. While admiring the achievement of the great Frankish emperor Charlemagne, his “cultural creativity,” his powers of organization, and his renunciation of the freedom of the individual, Hitler reproached the Medieval Holy Roman emperors in general for having been oriented exclusively toward the south and for failing to pursue an *Ostpolitik* comparable to his own.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: BLOOD; COLONIALISM; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”), THE; EXPANSIONISM; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROME; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITION; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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HOLY SEE, THE: See PAPACY, THE

HOMOSEXUALITY

The attitude of fascist movements and regimes was extremely hostile toward (male) homosexuality, and in the 1930s both Italian Fascism and German National Socialism carried out persecutions of homosexuals that, in the latter case, resulted in the murder of tens of thousands. Fascist attitudes toward homosexuality must be seen in the context of a climate of generally fierce social disapproval and the existence of legislation

criminalizing homosexual acts in most European and North American states. Thus the German Nazis were able to use Article 175 of the existing criminal code as an adequate tool with which to persecute homosexuals. It should also be said that both major fascist regimes ignored lesbianism: presumably, like Queen Victoria, they thought that it did not exist. The Nazis publicly condemned homosexuality even before the “Roehm Putsch” of July 1934: indeed, as early as May 1933, National Socialist students ransacked Magnus Hirschfeld’s Institute for Sexual Research, and it was closed down. But the fact that SS death squads sent to murder SA leaders for allegedly threatening rebellion against Hitler found Roehm and some of his lieutenants in bed with other men undoubtedly intensified Nazi resolve to eliminate the “abominable vice.” The roots of Nazi hostility lay in racial ideology, in the belief that homosexuals were a threat to the health and strength of the race because of their failure to carry out their reproductive duties and the danger that their behavior would spread and subvert the racial virility of other men. They were thus counted among other racial and social “undesirables,” like Jews, Gypsies, inveterate criminals, and political opponents of Nazism.

The legal basis of the Nazi persecution of homosexuals was Article 175 of the criminal code criminalizing homosexual behavior, which was eventually reinforced by additions to bring any behavior that could be remotely described as “criminal indecency” within its remit. Repeated raids on public places and private homes led to the roundup of many homosexuals in successive waves after 1933. The intensity of Nazi antihomosexual activity may be deduced from the statistics: whereas between 1931 and 1933 only 2,319 convictions had been obtained in the courts under the terms of Article 175, between 1937 and 1939 there were ten times as many (Heger 1986, 7–9). In 1936, Himmler set up a Reich Central Office for Combating Homosexuality and Abortion. Men who were identified as homosexuals, even if not convicted in the courts, were sent to concentration camps. Homosexuals were forced to wear a pink triangle badge and suffered forced labor, inadequate dietary and sanitary conditions, beatings, and death. In 1936, Himmler made a speech pledging to “eliminate” homosexuality from Germany altogether, and in 1942 the death penalty was introduced for homosexual acts.

Fascist Italy had no law criminalizing homosexuality, and an attempt to introduce sanctions against it in the Rocco Code of Criminal Law in 1932 foundered on the argument that such a provision would only “publicize” homosexuality. There was a belief com-

mon in Fascist circles that Italians were naturally “manly” and that, consequently, homosexuality hardly existed. Nevertheless, Fascist officials saw the homosexual “threat” in very similar terms to their Nazi counterparts: long before the introduction of the Racial Laws in 1938, homosexuality was classed alongside abortion and birth control as a serious threat to the health of the Italian people. The result was that the persecution of homosexuals was fairly constant from the mid-1930s onward and generally intensified at the beginning of the war (though its level varied from province to province, some prefects—that is, provincial governors—and police chiefs being more zealous than others). Sent into “internal exile,” some homosexuals died of poor diet and health conditions on the Tremiti islands. There is clear evidence that Mussolini, as minister of the interior, knew of the police campaign against homosexuals and approved of it.

Modern far-right movements have sometimes echoed the hostility of interwar fascists to homosexuality, and that attitude can be found in virulent form in the lyrics of neo-Nazi rock bands. However, they have also been liable to divide over the issue, which has been known to cause splintering of far-right factions, as in the case of neo-Nazi Michael Kühnen, whose overtures toward homosexuals led to his marginalization within his own movement.

John Pollard

See Also: ASOCIALS; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FAMILY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; HEALTH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; KÜHNEN, MICHAEL; LAW; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROCCO, ALFREDO; ROEHM, ERNST; SA, THE; SEXUALITY; SS, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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HONOR: See *EHRE*

HOORNAERT, PAUL (1888–1944)

Leader of Légion Nationale/Nationaal Legioen (LN/NL), a Belgian fascist militia (1923–1941). During World War I, Hoornaert, a lawyer, served as lieutenant in the Belgian army. He opposed the democratization of Belgium, the organized labor movement, and Flemish nationalism. In 1925 he took over the leadership of the LN/NL, which had a few thousand members throughout Belgium. He was hostile to Léon Degrelle and his party Rex, which he condemned as demagogic and lacking in Belgian patriotism. After the German invasion in May 1940, the LN/NL was tolerated initially by the occupation authorities but eventually banned in August 1941. In June 1941, Hoornaert joined the Légion Belge (Belgian Legion), a resistance movement with an extreme-right ideology. In 1942 he was arrested and imprisoned in a German concentration camp, where he suffered great hardship and finally died on 2 August 1944.

Bruno de Wever

See Also: BELGIUM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DEGRELLE, LEON; DEMOCRACY; GERMANY; NATIONALISM; REXISM; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS (1868–1957)

Right-wing naval officer and governor of Hungary between 1920 and 1944, Horthy came from a well-to-do family from the northeastern part of Hungary. After finishing naval academy he quickly advanced in rank and served in World War I as a captain of various bat-

tlehips. He was appointed minister of military affairs in the Károlyi government. In 1921 the national assembly elected him to the position of regent with the proviso that the monarchy stayed intact, but Horthy blocked the attempt by Charles V to regain his throne. In 1926 he allowed the formation of a parliament with both upper and lower houses. Not being of royal descent he was not allowed to give noble titles, and for that reason in 1921 he created his own brand of Order of Heroes (*Vitézi Rend*) for those serving in World War I. He extended his power in 1942 when he forced parliament to nominate his own son to the post of deputy governor. From a gentry family himself, he used the upper classes and big business to support his policies. He managed to be on good terms with Italy and Germany, but although he initially entered the war on the side of the Axis, in 1943 he started to take steps to withdraw Hungary from hostilities. At the same time, he was wholly indifferent when the parliament passed anti-Jewish laws leading eventually to mass deportations of Jews in May–June 1944. When the German army occupied Hungary on 19 March 1944, Horthy was pressured to nominate a Nazi-friendly government. After the Arrow Cross takeover, Horthy was forced to resign and was taken to Germany. He was a witness at the Nuremberg Trials but was then allowed to emigrate and lived until his death in Portugal.

László Kurti

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS, THE; AXIS, THE; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; ITALY; MONARCHY; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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HUGENBERG, ALFRED (1865–1951)

Industrialist and chairman of the German Nationalist People's Party who helped Hitler to gain power but who very soon became alienated from the Nazi regime. Hugenberg was one of the founders of the Pangerman League and in 1894 was involved in a plan to settle Germans in Poznan, Poland, on land purchased from

Poles. He held the chairmanship of the board of Krupp between 1909 and 1918 and in the 1920s became the leading German media magnate, with a stable of newspapers and publishing companies under his ownership. He opposed parliamentarism and the Weimar Republic constitution and eventually came round to supporting Hitler, who in return made him minister of agriculture in 1933, but he resigned within months.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BOURGEOISIE, THE; FINANCE; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED; NATIONALISM; PANGERMANISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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HUMAN RIGHTS: See ABSTRACTION
HUMANITARIANISM: See ABSTRACTION
HUNGARISM: See ARROW CROSS, THE;
HUNGARY; SZÁLASI, FERENC

HUNGARY

The roots of Hungarian fascism were firmly anchored to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, with its disillusioned military officer corps, and to the counter-revolution following 1918. This military class—consisting both of career officers and aristocratic families—was entrusted with restoring Hungary’s greatness and racial purity. Starting in 1919, they organized several racist and anti-Semitic associations, among which the most important were: MOVE (the Hungarian Association of National Defense), Awakening Hungarians (Ébredő Magyarok), the Irredentist Association, the Association for Territorial Defense, the Hungarian Society for the Defense of Racial Purity (Magyar Tudományos Fajvédo Egyesület), the Etelköz Association (or EX, for short), the Society of the Double-Cross (Kettos-Kereszt Szövetség), and the Christian National Association’s secret group “Resurrection” (Feltámadás). The political socialization of Hungarian youth took an extreme form in Levente (Youth Associa-



Hungarian Ferenc Szálasi formed the Hungarian National Socialist Party in 1937 in conscious imitation of German Nazism. It was one of a number of fascistic movements in interwar Hungary. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

tion), a paramilitary group able to retain weapons and legalized to train Hungarian youth in military affairs. Both MOVE and Levente were led by the anti-Semitic officer-turned-politician Endre. MOVE was rumored to be planning a coup d’état in 1937. In 1943 a Race Defenders’ College opened under its tutelage, an institute that was connected to the racist National Jewish Research Institute.

The first National Socialist party, Nemzeti Szocialista Párt, was founded by two minor figures—Béla Szász and Miklós Csomós—in 1928. They did not use the swastika but the double-cross and a sword; they did, however, import the green shirt as a party uniform to Hungary. Their slogan was “Courage” (*bátorság*), a play on the greeting of the Social Democrats (*barátság*—friendship). Szász’s party was fused with Zoltán Meskó’s National Socialist Agrarian and Workers Party in 1933. By the early 1930s there were in fact four fascist parties in Hungary extolling national socialist ideology: the National Socialist Agrarian and Work-

ers Party; the Hungarian National Socialist Workers' Party (1931–1936), led by Zoltán Böszörmény; and the Hungarian National Socialist Party (1933–1938), led by an aristocrat, Count Sándor Festetics. Another aristocrat who was converted to national socialism was Count Fidél Pálffy (1895–1946), who in 1933 founded the Hungarian National Socialist Party, a party that managed to operate under various guises until 1944 but that also utilized the arrow cross as its symbol. This movement was a comprehensive adaptation of the German model, with its own storm troops, SS, and a youth organization. In 1934 the three leaders (Meskó, Pálffy, Festetics) formed a directorium and agreed to adopt the brown shirt and the arrow cross as an accepted symbol.

After meeting Hitler in Germany in 1931, Böszörmény published propaganda extolling the virtues of national socialism. Among his favored ideas were the return of Hungary's borders to their pre-1918 forms, the formation of a "healthy" Hungarian middle class, the limitation of the size of large landholding to 500 hectares, the designation of citizens as "fellow citizen," and the restriction of citizenship to those of Aryan racial stock. In the propaganda of the 1930s, Böszörmény was referred to as "the Hungarian Hitler." The fascist parties' programs closely followed that of Hitler's—racism, anti-Semitism, and militarization—but with an added flavor combining a Hungarian extreme form of nationalism infused with mystic Christian fundamentalism. None of these parties were able to garner enough votes during the 1935 national elections to enter parliament. They were, however, successful in preparing the entrance of Ferenc Szálasi, the only fascist leader with a vision for world domination under the leadership of the Hungarian people. He had already in 1933 published his "Plan for the Construction of the Hungarian State," an ideological program followed two years later by "Goal and Demands." Szálasi planned a complete makeover of the Hungarian state in three years that would be followed by a systematically planned economy. In "Goal and Demands" he proposed the expulsion of all Jews from Hungary and the creation of the Hungarian United Lands, a loose confederation of all pre-1918 territories. In 1935, Szálasi formed his own Party of National Will (Nemzeti Akarat Pártja, NAP), together with Sándor Csia, a fellow fascist. Szálasi launched his Hungarist movement in 1936 based on nationalism, mystic Aryan-Turanian racism combined with anti-Semitism, Christian fundamentalism, and the leadership principle. With all this, it is "perfectly clear that his real preoccupation [was] with the place of Hungary in the world" (Macartney

1957, 161). But that meant not Hungary as she was, but the Great Hungarian dream-state with Magyars as the dominant race leading the others.

Szálasi and Gyula Gömbös (his fellow extreme nationalist, who became prime minister in 1932) were no great friends; the former did not trust Gömbös fully and decided not to run for a seat with his help during the 1935 elections. One year later, at the local elections, Szálasi and other fascist leaders were all defeated at the polls. The government was able to mount a successful, but not very efficient, attack on the extreme right, whose main movements were all disbanded. None of the leaders, however, received jail sentences. But by the fall of 1937 a new and more extreme leadership appeared with such names as László Endre and Kálmán Hubay. With them Szálasi formed another party: the Hungarian National Socialist Party. Their slogan was: God, Homeland, Nation, and "Hungarianness." Endre successfully mounted a political campaign and in 1938 was elected to the post of county deputy governor of Pest county. At this time Hungary's German minorities joined Szálasi's movement: their leader, Ferenc Rothen—a spy for the German Foreign Ministry—became Szálasi's foreign policy advisor. When the Hungarian National Socialist Party was illegalized, new factions formed; by August it reappeared as the Arrow Cross Hungarist Movement, a party supported by the smaller but equally extreme National Front.

Szálasi claimed that his Hungarist idea was not anti-Semitic but "a-Semitic": simply disregarding the Jewish people. He held the view that Hungary and the Hungarians were especially well situated to be a leading race in the world. In order to achieve this, all colonial and imperialistic great powers—the "Judeo-plutocracies" of England, France, the United States, and the Soviet Union—had to be dissolved. Instead, the Latin, German, Slavic, Islamic, and Hungarist political nations should be allowed to form their own *Lebensraum*.

By the late 1930s the extremists were openly organizing rallies and publishing pamphlets and newspapers. In early 1939 they planned a bombing of the Jewish synagogue on Dohány Street in Budapest. Figures like László Bakó and Emil Kovarcz, both officers in the gendarmerie, were also involved with the Hungarist Movement. Although the rank-and-file members were workers, lower-middle-class merchants, and public servants, aristocrats such as Lajos Széchenyi and Miklós Serédy also played central roles. Most of Hungary's ethnic Germans, united in the Volksbund and led by Franz Basch (1901–1946), were supporters of the Germanization of Hungary, and soon after Hungary's entrance into the war they began to enlist into the SS.

Secret SS storm troops, the Black Front, and the Order and Defense association were also formed, but they were infiltrated by the police and the leaders arrested. The militarization of Hungary went hand in hand with the anti-Jewish law of 1938. On 2 April the Darányi government announced its Gyor program—a five-year program to rebuild Hungary’s military hardware and communications—and the same day the First Jewish Law went into effect. The end of 1938 saw the first open Hungarist rally, with tens of thousands marching on the streets of Budapest. Under this kind of pressure the Teleki government legalized the Arrow Cross Party. During the May 1939 parliamentary elections, the Arrow Cross and other national socialist parties were able to send forty-eight MPs to the parliament. This figure meant that altogether about 900,000 people across the country voted for the fascists. In Budapest and Pest County alone, more than 40 percent of voters opted for Arrow Cross and other fascist candidates. In Budapest the party received 72,383 votes, compared with 95,468 for the government party, and it became the single most important oppositional force to the government.

Because of infighting and personal conflicts, however, many Arrow Cross candidates lost their mandates, and at municipal elections they did not manage to gain enough votes. At the end of 1940 the leaders of various fascist factions agreed to unite and form a single Arrow Cross Party to represent Hungarian national socialism. But the Imrédy government’s shift toward Germany created a powerful position against the Arrow Cross by marginalizing its leaders. Many were jailed, while others were forced to immigrate to Germany. By 1942, the National Socialists and the Arrow Cross were also at loggerheads; by 1943 many factions in the countryside were inactive, and the movement—no doubt because of Hungary’s tremendous losses on the Eastern Front—counted fewer than 100,000 members nationwide. However, Szálasi and his closest allies did not remain quiet: in 1943 they planned a military coup. By the fall of that year, the German military high command was convinced that the conservative government of Miklós Kállay (installed in power at the behest of Regent Horthy in March 1942 and not sympathetic to Nazism) was incompetent and that a military occupation of the country was inevitable. Before that date, however, military actions were ordered against the Jewish population. During the summer of 1941 almost 16,000 Jews were deported to Galicia and massacred in Kamenec-Podolski. This was the first massacre of the Holocaust to be legitimated by the Hungarian leadership. It was followed by the second massacre, which took place in January 1942 in Délvidék, a region occupied by the

Hungarian military and police. They murdered nearly 3,500 people, among them at least 800 Jews.

On 19 March 1944, Hungary was occupied by the Germans. All the national socialist leaders who had immigrated to Germany now returned and actively organized for total war in Hungary, even though the German puppet government of Sztójay did not include any Arrow Cross members. In April, Edmund Veessenmayer, Hungary’s Nazi “governor,” met Szálasi for the first time. Veessenmayer was able to convince Hungary’s ruler, Horthy, to meet Szálasi in May, a meeting that sealed Hungary’s fate during the tragic remaining months of the year. All fascist and paramilitary groups were united under MOVE, including the semisecret Association of Fighters of the Eastern Front (KABSZ) and the Turanian Fighters’ Association. When, on 15 October 1944, Horthy announced a ceasefire, the Arrow Cross units, armed by the Germans, mounted a successful military coup d’état. In October 1944, Szálasi issued his Program for National Reconstruction, and he was so taken with Hungary’s leading role in the world that he gave a lecture on Japan while the Red Army was approaching Budapest. This was also when his “first book of Hungarism,” with the title *The Goal*, was published, in December 1944. He was not, however, directly involved with the mass deportation of Jews in early 1944, and after October, when in office, he did not directly order any executions or deportations. In the spring and early summer, Eichmann and his Sonderkommando deported Hungarian Jews from the provinces to Auschwitz. The deportation of almost a half-million people was actively helped by Hungarian clerks, policemen, and soldiers. It was Endre who supervised the ghettos and the deportation to the death camps; his colleagues were Zöldi, Baky, and other chief police officers.

After World War II, and with the establishment of state socialism, fascist ideas persisted among Hungarian military and police officers in expatriate communities in North America, Australia, and Western Europe. Many publications and journals were published extolling the virtues of Hungarian racial purity and excusing Hungary’s role in the Holocaust. Neo-Nazi and neofascist ideas began to appear in Hungary after the fall of communism in 1989. Skinhead groups and neo-Nazi slogans had in fact already appeared in the small and marginal rock music subculture under the communist regime in the early 1980s, only to be banned. After 1990 new leaders and names appeared, and World War II insignias and songs began to make the rounds. Anti-Semitic and extreme nationalistic rhetoric also reappeared, with swastikas and acts of vandalism in Jewish

cemeteries and synagogues across the country. Albert Szabó, Isván Györkös, and György Ekrem Kemál formed the far-right Hungarian Welfare Association, but the party was illegalized, forcing its ideologues to remain silent or to leave Hungary. Characteristic of the 1990s was a demonstration by nationalist skinhead youth in the Castle District of Budapest to commemorate Szálasi's attempt to break out from the Soviet attack on Budapest. The alternative subculture milieu rose again after 2000, with skinhead nationalist groups organizing white power demonstrations and white Christmas concerts. At the beginning of the third millennium a new group surfaced, called Blood and Honor, but its nationalistic and fascist ideology was soon exposed and court action was swift.

László Kürti

See Also: INTRODUCTION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS, THE; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BLOOD; BÖSZÖRMÉNY, ZOLTÁN; CHRISTIANITY; COMMUNITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; ENDRE, LÁSZLÓ; EXPANSIONISM; FESTETICS, COUNT SÁNDOR; GERMANY; GHETTOS; GÖMBÖS, GYULA; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; IMPERIALISM; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; MESKÓ, ZOLTÁN; MILITARISM; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; PARAMILITARISM; PLUTOCRACY; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REVOLUTION; ROCK MUSIC; SA, THE; SKIN-HEAD FASCISM; SS, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; SZÁLASI, FERENC; TURANISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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HUSSEIN (or HUSAYN), SADDAM (born 1937)

Former president of Iraq and leader of the Iraqi wing of the Ba'th Party; regarded by some as resembling Hitler in his philosophy. Saddam was born in the village of al-Auja, near the town of Tikrit, 175 kilometers north of Baghdad, officially on 28 April 1937. His father disappeared under mysterious circumstances before his birth, and he was brought up by his uncle, an army officer, Khairallah Tulfah. After the July 1958 coup headed by Brigadier Abdel-Karim Qasim, the Ba'th Party faced persecution, and one of those involved in an assassination attempt on Qasim's life, organized by the party in October 1959, was the youthful Saddam Hussein. After the failure of the coup he fled to Syria and then moved to Egypt (both countries were then members of the United Arab Republic). Another attempt to seize power by the Ba'th Party proved successful, enabling it to govern the country by means of ruthless methods from February to November of 1963. During that time Saddam sometimes appeared among the Ba'th hierarchy, although not among the high-ranking leaders. After a period of persecution during which he was jailed and then managed to escape and carry out underground activities, Iraq came under the rule of the Ba'th Party for a second time in July 1968. Saddam Hussein now became formally second-in-command (the so-called strong man), until in July 1979 he assumed unlimited powers (formally as president and head of the Supreme Council of the Revolution).

The Ba'th Party had been established in the 1940s by Syrian, Lebanese, and other Arab nationalists. Its major thinker was Michel 'Aflaq, who attempted to reinterpret Arab history in terms of a new ideological category. "Unity, Freedom and Socialism" were chosen as the main goals of the party. The party was to fight against foreign domination and the Israeli state and to solve class and economic problems in the spirit of the socialist model. All that was to lead to the establishment of the united "Arab Homeland." In 'Aflaq's basic ideological categories we can trace: faith (*iman*) in Arab cultural identity, confrontation with the "imperialist, reactionary and feudal conspiracy," and the downfall of the existing order (*inqilab*).

Saddam Hussein took over 'Aflaq's ideological proposals, adding to them practices and "theories" suited to his own role both as strongman and as president of

Iraq. Arab politics after World War II focused on such leading personalities as Nasser of Egypt, Qasim of Iraq, Boumedienne of Tunisia, and Gaddhafi of Libya. History, ideology, official organizations, and the state apparatus and institutions became instruments of the authoritarian individual. Saddam was an extreme example of this. His cult was crafted with care: newspapers published his image every day on their first pages, and his portraits and statues were in every public place. The cult was so exaggerated that the anniversary of the Ba'th Party foundation in late April was celebrated together with Saddam's alleged birthday. On such occasions newspapers had to hail him as "Saddam the Great," "Hero of the Arab Nation," or "Knight of the Arabs." His vision of Arab history declared that the nation had always had heroes, of whom one was Prophet Muhammad. The implicit idea was that the contemporary hero was Saddam himself. In this intellectual atmosphere, and in the absence of any opposition—even within the Ba'th—objective, rational, and historical arguments were swamped by totalitarian perceptions. History came to be treated in a selective manner, and the science of history was transformed into an instrument serving the political and doctrinal needs of the regime.

The unfavorable result of wars with Israel, and generally speaking of the Palestine question, was at different times interpreted and justified as the effect of the activities of colonialists, imperialists, traitors, feudal landlords, intelligence networks, or the low quality of

Soviet armament supplies. The war against Iran (1980–1988) was presented in the news media, official documents, and publications as a series of heroic victories over the "eternal enemy." In March 2003, Iraq was invaded by the forces of a coalition of states headed by the United States, and on 13 December 2003, Saddam was taken into captivity by U.S. forces.

Hassan Jamsheer

See Also: BA'THISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; IRAN; IRAQ; MIDDLE EAST, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; QADHAFI (GADDHAFI), MU'AMMAR; PALESTINE; SOCIALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; ZIONISM

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HYPERNATIONALISM: See
INTRODUCTION; NATIONALISM



ICELAND

Iceland received its political autonomy from Denmark only in 1918, and cultural nationalism with its romanticization of rural life flourished in Icelandic society during the interwar years. But it did not translate into a far-right political agenda until the early 1930s. An Icelandic Nationalist Movement was created in 1933 by a group of young activists under Nazi influence and by members of the conservative Right on the basis of a common anticommunist agenda. These political forces openly collaborated in the municipal elections in 1934, but the alliance was totally controlled by the conservative Right, or the Independence Party, the largest party in Iceland. It soon became clear that the movement was unable to resolve the tension between a nationalist/conservative agenda and radical/foreign (Nazi) influences. When the Nationalist Party was founded in 1934 many moderate party members returned to the conservative fold.

As a result, the Nationalist Party became radicalized, incorporating corporatist and racist ideas which were imported from Nazi Germany into its program. It not only openly favored the abolition of the parliamentary system and the suppression of the Social Democratic and Communist parties but also harbored some anti-Semitic sentiment. While its social composition is mostly unknown, it pointed in the beginning,

at least to a traditional fascist constituency: the lower middle class, including shopkeepers, artisans, and clerks. Its leaders, however, were educated young men who studied in or had some professional dealings with Germany. But as a sign of its marginalization, the party received only 0.7 percent of the vote in the 1934 parliamentary elections, and even less, 0.2 percent, in 1937. By the outbreak of World War II it had ceased to function as a political party. When the British occupied Iceland in 1940, and with the subsequent U.S. military presence during World War II, this minuscule organized form of fascism was totally suppressed. Despite some evidence of cultural and political admiration for Germany, the Icelandic version of fascism never had any impact domestically. Indeed, what has characterized the political system in Iceland since the 1920s is the absence of any far-right party espousing racist or fascist values.

Valur Ingimundarson

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; DENMARK; GERMANY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RURALISM; SOCIALISM; WORLD WAR II

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IG FARBEN

German chemical combine notorious for its association with Zyklon-B, used in the mass gassing of Jews in the Holocaust. In December 1925 seven German enterprises merged into IG Farben to become the biggest chemical company in the world. Some of its top managers had contacts with the NSDAP before 1933, but after the takeover by the Nazis collaboration grew rapidly. IG Farben with its production of synthetic rubber and oil had been the driving force behind the Four-Year Plan by which Germany was to be made ready for war. Close cooperation between the company and the Wehrmacht and the SS was practiced in the exploitation of forced labor. The Degesch subsidiary produced huge amounts of Zyklon-B, the poison used in the gas chambers. Twenty-four managers of the IG Farben combine were tried by the Nuremberg court in 1947–1948. The maximum penalty was eight years, but all had been released by 1951.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FORCED LABOR; HOLOCAUST, THE; INDUSTRY; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; ZYKLON-B

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IMMIGRATION (pre-1945)

Whereas in the postwar era European fascists have exploited the tensions arising from the arrival of many nonwhite immigrants from outside Europe, in the earlier decades of the twentieth century and the last decades of the nineteenth, it was the movement of Jews from Eastern Europe into the countries of Western Europe that provided fuel to fan the flames of fascist agita-

tion, and “immigration” and anti-Semitism amounted to the same issue. The latter part of the nineteenth century saw waves of Jews making the westward trek out of Russia and Eastern Europe, mainly as the result of pogroms, and the dramatic increase in the population of Jews in countries like France and Austria provided a ready opportunity for anti-Semitic agitators to fasten on the Jews as scapegoats for the ills of the day. In the interwar years there was in addition a particular issue with Jewish immigration from Europe into Palestine (see MIDDLE EAST, THE). The anxieties this aroused in the indigenous Arab populations were exploited by the Nazis. While expelling their own Jews they did not wish to see the creation of a Jewish homeland (though they had initially favored the idea). The conflict whose flames they helped to fan in Palestine has persisted down to the present.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; DREYFUS CASE, THE; DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE; EXPANSIONISM; IMMIGRATION (POST-1945); LUEGER, KARL; MIDDLE EAST, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALESTINE; POSTWAR FASCISM; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON

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IMMIGRATION (post-1945)

Postwar fascists have used the issue of immigration to emphasize the importance of maintaining the cultural integrity of a country, arguing that immigration should be halted, immigrants should be deported, or that benefits such as social security and other political rights should be withheld from foreigners. Nationalists not only want to exclude foreigners; they may also want the actual territory of the nation to be extended to include those who are considered part of the nation, as in Germany, in which the *Republikaner* have called for the return to pre–World War II boundaries. After World War II the economic boom experienced in many European countries led to the importation of labor, originally from other European countries but also eventually

from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, and Turkey. France, the United Kingdom, and The Netherlands encouraged immigration from their former colonies to provide manpower for their industries. In recent decades, immigration has increasingly become a movement of people from the developing to the developed world; it has been driven by the desire to escape from poverty, social instability, and war. A large proportion of these immigrants are arriving from Muslim countries, and several of the host nations in Western Europe have experienced an increased identification with Islam among ethnic minority citizens. Fascists in Europe have seen this more recent immigration as a threat to the cultural homogeneity and national traditions of their countries. They have often exploited increases in the numbers of Muslims to claim that they are defending Christianity against Islam. Opposition to immigration has been one of the common threads within various fascist movements, and it is arguable that it plays the same role for such movements today as anti-Semitism did for interwar Nazism and its imitators.

Family reunification policies and flows of asylum seekers have kept the overall number of immigrants at fairly high levels in Europe, North America, Australia, and other developed countries. Neofascists have responded by calling for the deportation of immigrants, particularly asylum seekers, whom they often claim to be exploiting the system rather than meriting the status of true refugees. Fascists have also opposed changes in citizenship policies that are designed to make it easier for immigrants to naturalize. At the more extreme end of the spectrum, neo-Nazis, particularly skinheads, have been known to target immigrants with violence, and many countries have experienced serious increases in hate crimes toward foreigners and ethnic minority citizens.

Terri Givens

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BLOOD; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FRANCE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; GRECE; IMMIGRATION (PRE-1945); IMPERIALISM; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; MULTICULTURALISM; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE); NATIONAL FRONT (UK); NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; SKINHEAD FASCISM; XENOPHOBIA

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IMPERIALISM

Territorial expansion became one of the trademark elements of the fascist experience in interwar Europe. Both Mussolini and Hitler sponsored ambitious expansionist ventures, initially in a piecemeal and cautious manner but from the mid-1930s with a dynamic unilateralism that defied embedded standards of international law and order. With the formation of the Axis alliance (1936) the project of fascist expansionism became entangled in the growing opposition of the fascist forces to the Western democracies but also in specific patterns of rivalry between Mussolini and Hitler for the kudos of the most radical regime in Europe. Their efforts and visions—theoretically compatible and complementary, as Hitler had stated in *Mein Kampf*, but often uncoordinated and openly antagonistic—culminated in the territorial reorganization that took place during World War II.

While fascist ideology did not clearly establish imperialism and territorial expansion as primary derivations and priorities of the fascist vision, its radical nationalist core often associated the overriding emphasis on national rebirth with the aggrandizement of the state's territory, in Europe and abroad. The strong belief in the elite qualities of the fascist nations, coupled with historical references to an idealized past, appeared to prescribe expansion through force, thus legitimizing Mussolini's and Hitler's ambitions for political, military, and cultural hegemony over the continent. At the same time, the path to fascist imperialism passed through considerations of increase of national population, economic self-sufficiency, and agricultural productivity—all of which had been adopted by the fascist regimes and pointed to the need for the acquisition of vast space resources. The need for "living space" was articulated in emphatic terms by both Hitler (*Lebensraum*) and Mussolini (*spazio vitale*) throughout the interwar period, providing the legitimacy for territorial claims that went far beyond the narrow scope of anti-Versailles revisionism and of traditional irredentist aspirations.

While on the level of political practice fascist imperialism remained the exclusive preserve of the two established fascist regimes in Italy and Germany, in intellectual terms it also informed the ideological discourses of a plethora of other movements in interwar Europe. In Hungary, the leader of the Arrow Cross, Ferenc Szálasi, articulated a holistic vision of "Hungarism" that predicated the establishment of a

Hungarian political and cultural hegemony over the whole Carpatho-Danubian area. A similar territorial-cultural project was propagated—though with noticeably less vehemence—by the Romanian Iron Guard leaders, contesting the Hungarian claims for their historical predominance in the region. The Belgian radical nationalist movement Verdinaso associated the goal of national rebirth with the territorial reconstitution of the medieval kingdom of Burgundy, thus advocating the need for a wider reorganization of boundaries. For all of these movements imperialism originated from already existing extreme nationalist claims—claims that were subsequently incorporated into the fascist pursuit of national rebirth.

This point may help us to understand why imperialism became an ideological and political priority for some but not for all fascist movements in interwar Europe. Fascist ideology's connection to territorial expansion was conditional and context-specific, not directly causal and deterministic. Only in those cases in which national revival had traditionally been associated with territorial aggrandizement did fascism adopt and subsequently radicalize or extend the claim for territory as an economic, political, or historical resource. By contrast, the ideological discourse of the British Union of Fascists evolved in an intellectual space in which further imperialist pursuits were irrelevant, with the emphasis placed instead on the preservation of Britain's world-hegemonic role rather than on its extension. In a similar vein, the ideology of the Spanish Falange showed little inclination to prescribe territorial expansion, focusing instead on the domestic prerequisites of national regeneration. Even in those cases in which a more-or-less specific territorial vision did exist as a mobilizing myth of indigenous nationalism—such as in Greece and Bulgaria—considerations of feasibility, international balance of power, and political conduct played a crucial role in toning down or even eliminating such expansionist aspirations.

The case of Greece is interesting in that context: while generations of Greek nationalists had consistently advocated a large territorial vision based on the so-called Megali Idea (a partial reconstitution of the Byzantine territorial map at the expense of the Ottoman Empire), the painful defeat of the Greek armies in Anatolia in 1922, coupled with the alignment of interwar Greece with British foreign policy and the lack of military and economic resources for an aggressive pursuit of this agenda, eliminated imperialism from the core of the fascist regeneration discourse of General Ioannis Metaxas's Fourth of August regime (1936–1941).

Therefore, in ideological terms, imperialism remained a by-product of fascist regeneration discourse in those cases in which it dovetailed with autochthonous radical nationalist traditions. On this basis—subsequently strengthened by historical, irredentist, geopolitical, and economic considerations—a number of fascist movements propagated the need for territorial expansion. But only two of them (Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany) did actively pursue such a vision with all its aggressive and destabilizing implications. By the end of 1941 (the short-lived peak of the fascist “new order”), the territorial map of Europe had been vastly reorganized on the basis of a combination of historical, geopolitical, and racial-anthropological principles. This type of fascist expansionism reflected the dynamism and transient triumph of National Socialist conceptions of space in Europe, only to disintegrate and perish in tandem with the regime's military fortunes in the 1942–1945 period.

In the postwar political environment an overwhelmingly discredited and debilitated (in intellectual terms) fascism sought to realign itself with new visions of regeneration. If territorial expansion as a political claim was bolstered in the interwar period precisely because of the immense territorial changes that followed World War I and the very transient nature of the Versailles settlement, no such opportunities existed after 1945. In fact, not only were there no large-scale territorial redistributions in the aftermath of the Axis defeat but the stability of border arrangements was further fostered by two factors: the forced population transfers with a view to creating more homogeneous nation-states, and the onset of the Cold War. Given that fascism in and of itself did not have an autonomous core of territorial values but acquired them largely by proxy (through indigenous models of nationalism and rebirth), a general postwar consensus on the permanence of the territorial status quo militated against the revival of a new expansionist doctrine among the ranks of the European extreme Right. Postwar fascist ideologies, still in search of a firm intellectual realignment, have pursued very different avenues for conceptualizing their regeneration motto.

Of course, old nationalist utopias die hard. Whimsical irredentist visions (for example, the notion of *Deutschland* in The Netherlands; Vladimir Zhirinovski's vision for a revived Russian empire) continue to underpin a relatively small number of new ideologies of the extreme Right. The gap, however, between utopian visions and political practice or priorities is growing larger, banishing the former to an imaginary sphere that remains divorced from concrete political action. Postwar fascist ideologies appear significantly more in-

tent on exploring possibilities for domestic regeneration (for example, the anti-immigration platform common in many movements and parties) than on engaging with territorial utopias. Some movements have revived territorial debates in order to promote the goal of secession from traditional states and “national” autonomy (for example, Umberto Bossi’s notion of “Padania” in northern Italy; the Flemish bloc in Belgium). Overall, however, ethnocentric, or rather ethno-exclusive hypernationalism in the postwar period appears to be seeking a new period of hegemony through more subtle, systemic means, perhaps in anticipation of a more auspicious intellectual and political milieu; in that context, territory matters very little.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: ARROW CROSS, THE; AXIS, THE; BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BELGIUM; BULGARIA; COLONIALISM; DEMOCRACY; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”), THE; ELITE THEORY; EXPANSIONISM; FALANGE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; GREECE; HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; HUNGARY; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; METAXAS, GENERAL IOANNIS; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROMANIA; ROME; RUSSIA; SPAIN; SZÁLASI, FERENC; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; VLAAMS BLOK; WORLD WAR II

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INDIA

Fascism with “Sanskrit characters” differs from that associated with Mussolini’s Italy or Hitler’s Germany. It assumed a “modern” organizational form with the cre-

ation of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) in 1925. There is evidence that leaders had contacts with Mussolini and appreciated features of what was occurring in Europe at the time. But the real spur to action was Mohammad Ali Jinnah’s advocacy of a two-nation theory and his demand for a separate Muslim state. In response, leaders of the RSS called for the formation of a Hindu nation (Hindu Rashtra) and for a society based exclusively on Hindu culture (Hindutva). Madhv Sadashiv Golwalkar’s view that assimilation is virtually impossible has been interpreted widely as advocacy of something approaching an ideology of racial purity. In fact, Golwalkar and other intellectuals in the RSS have contended that India’s problems are not due to the forms of worship of Islam or Christianity but to the separate identities that they foster. Golwalkar has written of “the Hindu Race, united together by common traditions, by memories of common glory and disaster, by similar historical, political, social, religious and other experiences.” The “fascist” label is applied both because of the goal of racial and cultural purity and because of the means proposed to achieve it.

The assassination of Gandhi in early 1948 by Nathuram Godse, a former RSS member, led to a brief ban on the RSS. Nevertheless, the organization persisted and grew. Today it is the principal proponent of the ideology of *Hindutva*. A variety of associated organizations have been created over the years, collectively known as the Sangh Parivar. In 1951 the Bharatiya Jana Sangh (BJS) was formed as a political party to challenge Congress; in 1966 the Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) and its youth wing, the Barjrang Dal, were formed; in 1980, after the demise of the BJS, when it merged into the Janata Party, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) came into being. A wide range of other organizations catering to different sections of the population, but sharing the core views of the RSS, developed over the years. These organizations have been involved in a variety of actions that many have labeled fascist. Two of the most significant were the destruction of the Babri mosque in Ayodya in late 1992 and the Gujarat riots, sparked by the killing of several *saevaks* (RSS members claiming to be engaged in service to the nation or the people) returning from Ayodya at Godhra in early 2002. The former was symbolically important because it involved the removal of a mosque built hundreds of years ago supposedly at the site of a temple honoring the place of birth of Ram. The latter was significant because it involved the killing and injury of thousands of Muslims. In both cases, governments did not intervene immediately to stop the destruction, implying complicity. These events symbolized the Sangh Parivar’s efforts to

purify the country of its “cultural imperfections”—a recurring motif in other fascisms.

This image of “fascism” in India is disputed. Apologists have attributed incidents like the 2002 Gujarat killings to a misunderstanding of the ideals taught by RSS-linked organizations that do not include the elimination of mosques and Muslims. The BJP-dominated government of India from 1999 to 2004 did not engage in behavior characteristic of fascists, though many of its top leaders were members of the RSS. When it was voted out of office in 2004, it abided by the secular constitution and stepped down. Furthermore, a close look at the Sangh Parivar organizations shows considerable pluralism with regard to both means and ends. Those critical of the dominant interpretation of fascism in India contend that fear of a “saffron tide” is politically generated by the secularists to discredit a movement merely seeking to build a nation.

Dean McHenry

See Also: ARYANISM; BHAGAVADGITA, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE

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INDIVIDUALISM

Term with very negative connotations in Italian Fascism and National Socialism; it was made responsible for modern “symptoms of decline” associated with ideas such as the “unheroic,” “materialism,” “egoism,” the “subversive,” and “rootlessness.” National Socialism saw in it an ideology that overvalued the life of the individual, feared any sacrifice for “the whole,” and made

the individual forget his roots in race, *Volk*, blood, and homeland. Italian fascism understood individualism as an obstacle to the subordination of the individual to the “general will” of the people and the state and to membership of the individual in Fascist organizations. In a speech of 1 December 1921, Mussolini stated that “a centralized, unified state is necessary which subjects the individual to an iron discipline.” On the Nazi side, Rosenberg wrote that “race and *Volk* represent not only the very ground of the individual’s existence but also the only possible means by which he can be improved.” The teaching of “mechanistic individualism,” whereby the individual stood by himself and the people were first formed through “coming together,” must be overcome through an awareness of rootedness in nation and race (*Volkstum und Stammestum*). But universalism could also be misunderstood in terms of a “supranational construct” or “bloodless combinations of humanity,” as taught by the Catholic Church in order to control the peoples from the center through the priests. What was needed was therefore “that the myth of blood and the myth of the soul, race and self, *Volk* and personality, blood and honor, must solely and exclusively permeate, support, and determine the character of the whole of life.” True “personality”—understood by the Nazis as the opposite of “rootless individuality”—was possessed only by the person who understood himself as rooted in his race.

In *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler made individualism responsible for “degenerate thinking” and contrasted it with the “readiness to give one’s life for the existence of the community.” “The state of mind, which subordinates the interest of the ego to the conservation of the community, is really the first premise for every human culture.” He called this attitude “true idealism,” as a person’s readiness to “give his young life for the ideal of his nationality,” obeying “the deeper necessity of the preservation of the species, if necessary at the cost of the individual.” This quality was marked with the Aryans, while with the Jews individualism was more strongly developed; the Jews were therefore not a “cultured people” but a “parasitic people,” because their will and action “did not go beyond the individual’s naked instinct of self-preservation” (*Mein Kampf*, ch. 11).

In his later years, Hitler reverted to his attack on an “overvaluation of the individual” again and again: “The life of the individual must not be set at too high a price. If the individual were important in the eyes of nature, nature would take care to preserve him. Amongst the millions of eggs a fly lays, very few are hatched out and yet the race of flies thrives” (*Table Talk*, 1–2.12.41). And he took as his starting point the social chaos to

which individualism led: "If men were given complete liberty of action, they would immediately behave like apes. No one of them could bear his neighbour to earn more than he did himself. . . . Slacken the reins of authority, give more liberty to the individual, and you are driving the people along the road to decadence." The limitations of human freedoms "within the framework of an organization which incorporates men of the same race" was by contrast "the real pointer to the degree of civilization attained" (*Table Talk*, 11.4.42).

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTUALISM; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ARYANISM; BLOOD; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDUSTRY; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROOTLESSNESS; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOCIAL DARWINISM; STATE, THE; TRADITIONALISM; *VOLK*; *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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INDUSTRY

The role of industry in the advancement of fascist regimes is complex, and has received much scholarly attention in recent years, especially in relation to Nazi Germany. In general, fascists saw the economic structures that had been created by the dominant liberal and laissez-faire ideologies of the industrial era as failing to serve the national interest. In their place they proposed a range of solutions that centered on a binary opposition which argued that a nation's industries must work for what fascists perceived as the national interest, instead of for the private profit of financiers and bankers. The latter were believed by fascists to be corrupting in-

fluences on the national body politic; yet, for the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany at least, they would remain a necessary factor to contend with in order for the state to develop working relationships with capital in the context of the economic realities of managing a nation-state. This was especially important for the two regimes, because they both saw a strong and productive industrial sector as a necessary part of a modern fascist nation-state. Fascists in other countries, who largely failed to move beyond opposition movements, were less constrained in their practices by such concerns. In sum, through a fascist's ideological lens, the ideology sought to create new industrial realities whereby the state, somewhat parasitically, would impose its will on the direction and management of industry, though not via the complete state ownership of the industrial sector; further, the fascist state expected industry's first loyalty to be to the fascist nation and only secondly to private profit.

In Italy, after a period of economic growth in the early to mid-1920s that was favorable to the development of good relations between Fascism and industry, the industrial sector had become weary of the regime by 1925. Around the time of the Matteotti crisis, the poor relationship between industry and the state was indicated not only by the fact that some industrialists were close to defecting from the regime but also by the fact that Fascist unions were becoming increasingly militant toward industry—Fascists even led a strike in Brescia in 1925. Furthermore, industrialists were deeply concerned over the declining lira. As a consequence, Mussolini appointed the industrialist Giuseppe Volpi as finance minister and the banker Giuseppe Belluzzo as the minister for the national economy; in their new roles Volpi and Belluzzo increased foreign (especially U.S.) investment and pursued deflationary and protectionist economic policies. Also, Mussolini struck a new deal between industrialists and the Fascist unions whereby the unions' powers of negotiation were weakened in return for the industrialists' acceptance of exclusive bargaining rights for the Fascist unions.

In the wake of the Wall Street Crash, financial pressures put strains on the liquidity of financial institutions in Italy, and in response to that the Istituto Mobiliare Italiano (IMI) was formed on 4 December 1931. It was not, however, a powerful enough organization to resolve the deepening economic predicament in Italy because, although well funded, it nevertheless lacked sufficient capital to invest in the ailing sectors of Italian industry. Consequently, on 23 January 1933, the regime formed the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (INI). The establishment of the INI fundamentally altered

the relationship between the state and industry. The INI took over the stocks of large corporations as well as companies that were heading toward bankruptcy, leaving only highly profitable sectors outside of effective state control. By the outbreak of the war, state ownership extended to 80 percent of naval construction, 45 percent of steel and 77 percent of pig iron production, 90 percent of shipping, as well as large sectors of telecommunications and electricity (De Grand 2000, 107). The relationship between industrialists and the state was thereby marked by the influence of Fascist ideology's reading of how industry should serve the national ends, and in effect turned the various sectors of industry into national cartels. The relationship was also marked by a growing military influence, and industrialists became increasingly concerned with this development after the invasion of Ethiopia, especially because their interests were tied so closely to the state, which was, in turn, drifting toward Germany's sphere of influence. Further, by 1939 industry was so entwined with the state through the corporate state system that it could not rebel against the Fascist regime.

As in the case of Fascist Italy, in Nazi Germany industry was marked by a mixture of willingness and reluctance with regard to its cooperation with the fascist regime. The rhetoric of the Nazi movement had not opposed capitalism in principle, merely its international and excessive aspects, and Nazism itself operated broadly in the well-established German convention of statist economics that stretched back to the nineteenth century and the development of the nation as a modern economic power. Further, as a Social Darwinist, Hitler was a strong believer in the principle of competition, and felt this to be as applicable to the sphere of industry as any other. Therefore the socialism of the ideology was largely a rhetorical gesture rather than a meaningful description of economic objectives. Despite earlier scholarly assumptions, it is now thought that before the movement came to power Nazism was not heavily supported by industry, at least not until its electoral breakthrough in 1930. Such a conclusion seems legitimate, given that there is a lack of evidence of interest among German industrialists in Nazi overtures before that point. Furthermore, experts in the field, such as Peter Hayes, claim that additional research is needed to develop a more nuanced understanding of this relationship.

Once in power, in order to ensure that its political agenda was served by the private sector, the Nazi regime introduced increased state regulation of industry, but it did not attempt to carry out any sort of eco-

nomie revolution—though it is likely that business elites, whom Hitler held in low regard, would have been largely eliminated after the war. However, in terms of designs for industry, exactly what Hitler and other Nazis planned after the war is open to much speculation, and evidence in regard to this aspect of the Nazi project is often sketchy and contradictory. From 1936, the armaments industry was augmented by the huge state-owned Herman Göring Reichswerke, a recipient of the massive new investment in armaments under Nazism. Also, private concerns, such as the chemical giant IG Farben and Degussa corporations, found that by cooperating with the state and “working toward the Führer,” they could tap into a series of incentives that proved irresistible in the new economic climate in Germany after the Depression and within a dictatorial regime. Through the procurement of government contracts, helping to “Aryanize” business, meeting the requirements for the militarization of the regime, benefiting from forced labor during the Holocaust, and responding to the industrial needs generated by the Holocaust, both firms were typical in being active agents complicit in the regime's atrocities in order to maintain their dominant positions within the economy. The SS also benefited from slave labor. Initially the SS used slave labor merely as a form of punishment, but it later developed the practice more widely at such camps as Auschwitz, Majdanek, and Stutthof, and by the end of the war the SS had become a major supplier of slave labor both to private industry and for the national armaments industry, thereby manifesting a nexus between the needs of private commerce, a racist ideological vision, and the requirements of total warfare. Also, in recent years it has been demonstrated that foreign corporations such as IBM-Germany and Ford-Werke were participants in the atrocities of the regime. The American Military Tribunal at Nuremberg prosecuted representatives of German industries such as Krupp and IG Farben between 1946 and 1949. That was because of their culpability as leading figures who had allowed themselves to be coerced by the regime into helping it to commit war crimes.

Paul Jackson

See Also: ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ; AUTARKY; AUTOBAHNS; BANKS, THE; CAPITALISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; EMPLOYMENT; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINANCE; FORCED LABOR; FORD, HENRY; GOERING, HERMANN; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUGENBERG, ALFRED; IG FARBEN; INDIVIDUALISM; INFLATION; ITALY; KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED; LIBERALISM;

MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MILITARISM; MODERNITY;
 MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM;
 NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; RACISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM;
 SOCIALISM; SS, THE; STATE, THE; TECHNOLOGY;
 THYSSEN, FRITZ; TRADES UNIONS; U.S. CORPORATIONS;
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INFLATION

A period of hyperinflation in 1923 caused by financial issues relating to war reparations traumatized the German people and undoubtedly made some of them susceptible to the appeal of Nazism. Many middle-class and lower-middle-class people gravitated toward the Nazis because they had been destroyed economically by the “great inflation” of the post-1918 years. The inflation rate had risen from 1 percent to 32 percent, and in 1918 the German mark had lost 75 percent of its pre-1914 value. In the summer of 1923 hyperinflation reached fantastic levels, and at one point the German mark was trading at 622,000 to the pound. A single

egg cost more than 800 marks, and children played with bundles of banknotes that had become worthless.

In his speeches, Hitler invariably made reference to the economic crisis that helped propel him into power. On 15 February 1933, in Stuttgart, he castigated the “fourteen years” of mediocrity that Germany had been forced to endure since 1919 and, at the same time, he ridiculed the supposed “Christianity” of the country’s postwar leaders: “I would ask whether the economic policy of this now superseded system was a Christian policy. Was the inflation an undertaking for which Christians could answer, or has the destruction of German life, of the German peasant as well as of the middle classes, been Christian? . . . When these parties now say: we want to govern for a few more years in order that we can improve the situation, then we say: No! Now it is too late for that! Besides, you had your fourteen years and you have failed.” Typically, he blamed inflation on the Jews.

P. J. Davies

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BANKS, THE; CHRISTIANITY; ECONOMICS; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE

Pseudo-academic think tank based in California that is one of the main channels for the distribution of English-language literature questioning the assumption that the mass murder of Jews in World War II was part of a deliberate attempt by the Nazi regime to destroy the Jews of Europe: it calls this “historical revisionism.” It also publishes the *Journal for Historical Review* (established in 1980).

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; WORLD WAR II

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INTEGRAL NATIONALISM

The term *integral nationalism* is most closely associated with the protofascist French monarchist Charles Maurras. It represents a form of nationalism that was both “capable of being fully expressed only within the framework of the traditional institutions whose revival he advocated,” and that admitted of no higher claims than the nation, seen as a “prior condition of every social and individual good” (Pierce 1966, 12–13). The nation, argued Maurras, “occupies the summit of the hierarchy of political ideas. . . . Subsuming all other large common interests, and making them dependent upon it, it is perfectly clear that all, *in case of conflict*, all interests must yield to it” (Maurras, *Revue d’Action française*, 1901, cited Girardet 1983, 198). The survival of the nation is best assured, argued Maurras, by a traditional hereditary monarchy: “Intelligent nationalists will not hesitate to see it. Hereditary monarchy is the natural, rational constitution in France, the only possible constitution of the central power. Without a king, everything which the royalists wish to conserve will first weaken, then subsequently will necessarily perish” (Maurras, *Le Soleil*, 2 March 1902, cited in *ibid.*, 202).

Integral nationalism was therefore hostile to democracy, the maintenance of which was claimed to lead “inevitably to the dismembering of the nation” (Maurras, cited in *ibid.*, 203): “The Polish Republic and the Athenian Republic, our experience of 1871 and our experience of 1895 are eternal witnesses of it: there is no good democratic republic” (Maurras, *Kiel et Tanger*, cited in *ibid.*, 204). Attacking the French Revolutionary slogan *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*, Maurras argued that revolution and romanticism had brought about a cult of the self that marked a break with an eternal order expressed in the idea of the true France, the *pays réel* (“real country”) as against the artificial France produced by liberal democracy and universal suffrage, the *pays légal* (“legal country”), which was subject to subversion by Jews, Freemasons, Protestants, and foreigners: “From

above, from below, the Frenchman is blocked. He no longer loses much time complaining because, no matter how high his complaint might go, he sees that it is submitted, before being heard, to some delegates of the four confederal Estates—Jew, Protestant, Mason, foreigner—with which real power is necessarily identified” (Maurras, 6 July 1912, cited in *ibid.*, 210).

A further feature of integral nationalism was support for the decentralization of power to the provinces, to natural communities, and to professional organizations—“The military excepted, all degrees of all orders of the political, administrative, juridical and civil hierarchy must be decentralized” (Maurras, cited *ibid.*, 212)—this latter aspect forming part of a proclaimed synthesis of nationalism with syndicalism that would integrate workers into the national community through the formation of a corporate system breaking with economic liberalism.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COUNTER-REVOLUTION; DEMOCRACY; EGALITARIANISM; FRANCE; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; LIBERALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM; NATIONALISM; PROTOFASCISM; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; TRADITIONALISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE

Composed of volunteers (intellectuals, workers, journalists, writers, and so forth) of different nationalities who flocked to Spain after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War to fight against the Nationalist forces of General Franco, which they equated with fascism. The origins of the Brigades lie in the Comintern meeting in Prague of 26 July, when it was agreed to recruit Euro-

pean communist militants. That initiative bore fruit on 22 September, on the occasion of a journey to Moscow by the leader of the French Communist Party, Maurice Thorez. The first *Brigadistas* traveled to Albacete, where the headquarters was established. There are said to have been 60,000 *Brigadistas* from different countries who came to Spain united under the cry “Spain will be the graveyard of fascism.” From the start they were integrated into the republican army, but their organizational structure was autonomous under the leadership of their own officers. There was a subdivision into battalions that brought together all those of one nationality, but with the passing of time many *Brigadistas* were integrated into Spanish battalions, remaining there even after the Brigades officially withdrew at the end of 1938. From the summer of 1936 all those left-wing writers, artists, and intellectuals who wanted to make a political commitment in the war joined the Alliance of Anti-fascist Intellectuals led by José Bergamín; that became a public manifestation of the political and ethical commitment of many foreign intellectuals. Celebrated writers of the time such as Dos Passos, Malraux, Hemingway, Stephen Spender, Tristan Tzara, George Orwell, and others actively sought to reinforce international opinion in favor of the republican cause.

Marta Ruiz Jiménez

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; BOLSHEVISM; COMINTERN, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; ORWELL, GEORGE; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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INTERNATIONAL FASCISM

It took some time for fascism to be seen, except by the extreme Left, as anything other than an Italian phenomenon. By the early 1930s, however, a consensus started to appear among the Right also, that fascism

had an international dimension—and even movements that we would now see as not intrinsically fascist became convinced of their role in this new internationalism. In the 1920s there was little sense of an international movement being formed on the Italian base, and Mussolini does not at this stage seem to have seen Italian Fascism as exportable. The only body devoted to “international fascism,” the CINEF (Centre International des Études Fascistes) based in Lausanne under the British enthusiast James Strachey Barnes, consisted mainly of academics; though its name suggests that it was devoted to the wider study of fascism, it served mainly as an apologist for the Italian regime. The only people who seem to have perceived fascism as an international phenomenon (and a dangerous one) were the far Left, with their concept of democratic politicians being “social fascists” who served to pave the way for a fascist takeover.

By the early 1930s, however, all had changed. The rise of antidemocratic forces throughout Europe led to a conviction that they all stemmed from the same source, and enthusiasts began to portray a “new Renaissance” in which “fascist man” would play his part. Even if foreign supporters of Italian Fascism drew serious distinctions between that movement and what they saw as the dangers of “pagan” Nazism, many shared the views of such people as Robert Brasillach in France and Oswald Mosley in Britain, that what had appeared was what the British fascist Sir Oswald Mosley called “the majestic edifice of a new world idea.” Mussolini himself, in articles published in the early 1930s, was clearly won over to this new internationalism, while stressing that every country, because of differing circumstances, created a different form of fascism. This was later echoed by Spain’s Franco, who—though in reality he was simply an old-style military reactionary—saw himself as “Fascist . . . since that is the word that is used” (Massis 1939, 150). The result was a polarization of Left and Right in Europe, each side seeing the other as a coherent bloc. The Spanish Civil War is a good example of this. Into an essentially Spanish conflict the international Left sent many volunteers to the Republican side, while from as far as Romania came volunteers for the cause of “international fascism,” and Italy and Germany gave significant aid. The extent of this polarization, in the eyes of the public, meant that it became more and more difficult for the democratic regimes to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with Italy, which willy-nilly gravitated toward alliance with Germany.

Richard Griffiths

See Also: INTRODUCTION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; AXIS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; BRASILLACH, ROBERT; DEMOCRACY; EUROFASCISM; EUROPE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; INTERNATIONAL FASCIST CONGRESSES, THE; ITALY; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ROMANIA; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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INTERNATIONAL FASCIST CONGRESSES, THE

By the early 1930s Mussolini's attitude toward fascist internationalism had changed from viewing Italian Fascism in the 1920s as "not merchandise for export" to appreciating the merits of fostering a "Fascist International." To reach that end, Mussolini set up the Circolo Filologico Milanese Centro di Studi Internazionali sul Fascismo in 1932, which propagated a body of literature that detailed Fascism's universal mission for Europe. This sort of discourse was also disseminated in Italian journals such as *Universalità Fascista* and *Anti-Europa*. November 1932 saw the Volta Conference held in Rome on "Europe." Various fascist and other right-wing European ideologues and intellectuals, who were sympathetic both to the Italian regime and the "fascistization" of Europe, attended the conference, including Hermann Goering and Alfred Rosenberg from Germany. Notably, the Nazi delegates disagreed with the Italians over the race issue at Volta, and Nazi representatives took no further part in the attempt to form an Italian-based Fascist International. Following this conference, Mussolini formed the Comitati d'azione per l'Universalità di Roma (CAUR) in 1933 under Eugenio Coselschi, in order to organize the strategic developments of the proposed international. The CAUR organized several international conferences, most notably the Fascist International Congress at Montreux

in December 1934. These conferences lacked consensus on the "fascist minimum" needed to decide who should attend, and they were open to all who had "their spirit oriented towards the principles of a political, economic, and social renovation, based on the concepts of the hierarchy of the state and the principles of collaboration between the classes." Representatives included Marcel Bucard, Georges Mercouris, Vidkun Quisling, Ion Moța, and General Eoin O'Duffy.

Despite being organized by the Fascist Party, the Montreux conference had, however, no official representatives from the Italian state. This highlights a key failing of the movement to generate a "Fascist International" from these conferences: the lack of a coherent state-based framework for exporting Italian Fascism. Furthermore, many of the delegates were primarily motivated by the prospect of receiving funding from the Italian regime. What emerged from the conference was a committee for coordinating the development of international fascist projects. This held its first meeting on 30 January 1935 and made its last public announcement on 1 April of that year in Amsterdam. To compound this failure, the formation of the Berlin-Rome Axis in October 1936 thwarted attempts by Italian Fascism to promote its role as the leading nation in the development of continental fascism. In addition, many of the adherents to the international project in Italy were alienated by the imposition of Nazi racial ideals on the dynamic of Italian Fascism, and by 1938 the CAUR had descended in status to a center for the dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda.

Paul Jackson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; BUCARD, MARCEL; GERMANY; INTERNATIONALISM; ITALY; MOȚA, ION; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; O'DUFFY, EOIN; QUISLING, VIDKUN; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REVOLUTION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED

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INTERNATIONALISM: See COSMOPOLITANISM
INTERNET, THE; See CYBERFASCISM

INTERREGNUM, THE: See
NATIONALISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH;
POSTWAR FASCISM; REVOLUTION

INTERVENTIONISM

I. ITALY

Italy and World War I

The key issue that swung Mussolini away from radical socialism and toward a new synthesis of socialism with nationalism was the issue of Italy's response to World War I. Initially opposed to Italian intervention in the war, Mussolini came to regard such an intervention as a means of provoking a situation of revolutionary crisis in his country. His decision to call for intervention both alienated him from classic socialism and his existing socialist allies, and constituted the first stage in his journey toward the creation of the new kind of "national" socialism or Fascism. Some of his enemies accused him of being in the pay of the Allied powers, but that has never been proved. His change of heart then led him to volunteer himself for the war and to experience for himself the carnage of the trenches and the deficiencies in the national leadership. This strengthened his animosity to the existing establishment in Italy. After the war it gave him sympathy with the feelings of the war veterans and the ability to rally them to his cause. The new Fascist movement was proclaimed to be the vehicle for all who desired to make the terrible suffering of the war worthwhile by restoring Italy's greatness.

Italy and World War II

The issue of Italian intervention in a world war arose a second time in 1939 with the outbreak of hostilities between the Axis and Allied powers. Mindful of his military weakness and seeing Hitler perhaps more as a rival than as an ally, Mussolini kept Italy neutral until 1940. It was only when he saw that the tide of war seemed to be running Germany's way that Mussolini threw in his lot with Hitler, not wanting to lose out on potential advantages from being on the winning side; that decision aroused great hostility in the Fascist Party leadership—most of whom were not particularly sympathetic to German Nazism—and particularly from Galeazzo

Ciano and Dino Grandi. The bitterness it aroused undoubtedly contributed to Mussolini's downfall when the Grand Council of Fascism voted to unseat him in July 1943.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION, *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; AUSTRIA; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRANDI, DINO; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PACIFISM; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SOCIALISM; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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II. UNITED STATES

In the United States at the start of World War II, anti-interventionism was the gospel of far-right sympathizers with Hitler or Mussolini or both. U.S. neutrality was a highly popular stance domestically until the completely unexpected catastrophe of Pearl Harbor, which precipitated U.S. intervention in the war. Anti-interventionism was sometimes also referred to as isolationism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: COLLINS, SEWARD; DENNIS, LAWRENCE; GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LINDBERGH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PEARL HARBOR; PELLEY, WILLIAM DUDLEY; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); VIERECK, GEORGE SYLVESTER; WINROD, GERALD BURTON; WORLD WAR II

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IRAN

In February 1921, army chief Reza Khan (1878–1944) took power in Persia (as Iran was then known) in a military uprising and in 1925 (as Reza Shah) founded



Reza Shah Pahlavi, interwar ruler of Iran, sometimes referred to as 'the Mussolini of Islam'. He was an admirer of Hitler and an anti-semitic who strove to cleanse the language and culture of his 'Aryan' land from anything alien. (Corbis)

the dynasty of the Pahlavi. Soon after Mussolini's March on Rome, the Persian press was calling him the "Mussolini of Islam." Among all the regimes of the Middle East, that of Reza Shah, who welcomed Hitler's rise to power in 1933, bore the strongest outward resemblance to fascism. He undertook a rigid and propagandistically prepared nationalization campaign, made the state and the army swear allegiance to his own person, was a militant anticommunist, and built up a comprehensive secret police apparatus. As a part of his nationalization campaign he officially changed the name of his country from Persia to Iran—or "Land of the Aryans." In 1936 he welcomed the Nuremberg Race Laws; in 1938 there were sporadic pogroms against the Jews in Iran, and the shah sought to cleanse the language and culture of his "pure Aryan land" from everything "alien."

Reza Shah was a huge admirer of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and its orientation to the West. After Turkey concluded an economic treaty with the German Reich in August 1933, relations between Germany and Iran, which had been delicate for a while, improved. The influence of Great Britain—which until

then had been dominant in Iran—was reduced, and Germany sought to acquire a large part of the trade in oil for itself. In November 1936 the Reich finance minister, Hjalmar Schacht, visited Iran, and in December 1937 he was followed by the Reich youth leader, Baldur von Schirach, who arranged an exchange between German and Iranian youth organizations; the shah was increasingly enthusiastic for a national mobilization of the young. Relations between Iran and the USSR and Great Britain quickly deteriorated.

On 8 July 1937, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan concluded the "Saadabad" Friendship Pact, which favored the German Reich economically. Germany gained access to Iranian raw materials in return for credit and concessions. In 1938, Germany began to provide Iran with weapons and military aircraft. The Hitler-Stalin Pact of 23 August 1939 was followed on 8 October 1939 by a secret agreement between the German Reich and Iran: Iran provided food and raw materials to Germany, which by now found itself at war; in December 1939, Iran also concluded a Treaty of Friendship with the German ally Japan. However, Iran refused to enter the war on the side of the Axis and officially maintained its policy of neutrality, so that between 1939 and 1941, Germany, Great Britain, and the USSR all wooed the shah to be allowed military bases for a possible extension of the war into the region.

The shah's family were convinced that there would be a military victory for Germany, and there was a great deal of pro-German feeling in Iran. At the same time, Erwin Ettel, since autumn 1939 the German ambassador in Teheran, began to infiltrate German spies into the country. The propaganda of the German regime was supported by radio campaigns from the Deutschen Orientverein. The Orientverein worked on the Shi'ite clergy whom the shah had oppressed; they claimed that Hitler was the twelfth imam of the Shi'ites who had returned, sent by God to the world, in order to destroy Jews and communists. Hitler's struggle was compared with the struggle of the Prophet Mohammed against the Jews. In Teheran, 900 of the 1,200 resident Germans worked actively for National Socialist propaganda, and by May 1940 there were about 4,000 Nazi agents across the country.

The shah welcomed Hitler's invasion of the USSR in June 1941 but experienced difficulties as a result of the alliance of the Soviet Union with Great Britain. Since the British feared German acts of sabotage against the British oil supply and an eventual pro-German putsch, on 14 August 1941 Great Britain and the USSR demanded that the shah expel all Germans, threatening him with military intervention. On 25

August 1941 the British initiated an invasion in the south, while Soviet troops were invading the north of Iran. On 17 September 1941 the shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and go into exile. In March 1943, German SD agents parachuted into Iran (Operation Franz) and a “Nationalist Organization of Iran” in exile in Germany worked with radio propaganda on behalf of Fascism; however, the new Iranian regime concluded a pact with the Allies on 29 January 1942, and on 9 September 1943 it entered the war against Germany on the side of the Allies.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AXIS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; IRAQ; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LEADER CULT, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; PALESTINE; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RADIO; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SOVIET UNION, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TURKEY; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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IRAQ

Of the Arab states it was Iraq that was for a short period the closest to the Axis Powers. Germany exploited nationalist feeling there (resentment against the mandate power of Great Britain and Iraqi opposition to a Jewish settlement of Palestine); also, Iraq was the most significant trading partner of the Arabs in Palestine and Jordan. The leading advocate of a rapprochement with fascism was Rashid Ali al-Gailani (1892–1965), who after 1924 was several times justice and interior minister of Iraq and who had emerged as leader of the pan-Arab nationalists in 1930. He was prime minister from 1933 to 1935 and also head of the royal council before again becoming president and interior minister in March 1940. Gailani filled his cabinet with extreme nationalists and sought direct contact with the German regime in August 1940 via the mediation of Italy. Gailani was

fascinated by the nationalistic organization of the masses in Italy and Germany. Between 1933 and 1935 he had done intensive propaganda work among the tribes to get them to forget internecine differences and to sign up to the greater cause of nationalism and pan-Arabism, as well as to stir up dissatisfaction with Great Britain over the Palestine question. In 1940, under the government of Gailani, who was supported by the leader of the Palestinians, the grand mufti of Palestine, Amin Al-Husseini, who had taken refuge in Iraq, there were state-sponsored pogroms against the large Jewish community in Iraq. In response, the British threatened to implement a trade blockade and forced the dismissal of Gailani as prime minister by the regent on 31 January 1941.

On 3 April 1941, Gailani seized power again with the help of the military and imposed a state of emergency, while civil war-type conditions prevailed in the country. The German government now decided in favor of actively providing armaments and military support for Gailani's armed struggle, and on 2 May the British attacked Iraq. On 30 May 1941, Gailani and the grand mufti fled to Teheran and from there in 1942 to Berlin. On 15 February 1942, Gailani had a meeting with Mussolini in Rome to talk about an enlargement of Iraq as the center of Pan-Arabism on the side of the Axis. From Germany, Gailani and the grand mufti called the Arabs to rise up against the Allies on several occasions; in the event of a victory, Germany planned to set up both of them at the head of their countries under a German protectorate. At the end of the war, Gailani fled to Saudi Arabia and returned to Iraq in July 1958 after a putsch as a popular national hero. In the latter decades of the twentieth century, Saddam Hussein headed up a brutal and dictatorial regime in Iraq based on a personality cult and a philosophy that some have compared to Hitler's.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; BATHISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HUSSEIN, SADDAM; IRAN; ITALY; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PALESTINE; PROPAGANDA

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IRELAND

The major Irish flirtation with fascism came in the early to mid-1930s in the form of the Blueshirts. An organization naming itself the Army Comrades Association (ACA) had been formed in January 1932 to serve the needs of army veterans who were alarmed at the threatened loss of their privileges given the successful rise of their former civil war enemies to power. The ACA was moderately successful and attracted many leading politicians from the *Cumann na nGaedheal* Party, which had been voted from power in 1932 and replaced by a *Fianna Fail* government led by Eamon de Valera. The ACA was transformed in July 1933 by the arrival of General Eoin O'Duffy. The former head of the national police force had been sacked by de Valera, as he was seen as favorable to the former government. O'Duffy accepted an invitation to lead the ACA, renamed it the National Guard, and moved its whole ideology toward an open embrace of contemporary European fascist thinking. O'Duffy encouraged leading authoritarian Irish thinkers of the period—namely, Michael Tierney, J. J. Hogan, and Ernest Blythe—to develop policies for the party, and for a brief period he courted the support of W. B. Yeats, who famously penned a series of marching songs for the Blueshirts.

The Blueshirts under O'Duffy successfully combined a series of domestic policies aimed at undermining de Valera and *Fianna Fail* (opposition to the Anglo-Irish economic war, support for farmers, and demands for free speech) with ideologies aimed at transforming and modernizing Irish society. These latter ideas, the work of Tierney, Hogan, and Blythe, were based on an Irish reading of the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* and the corporatist policies of Mussolini. The central thrust of Blueshirt ideology was that the country had to resist communism vigorously, embrace a new political and social order based around corporatist and vocational structures, and develop an agricultural and industrial base centered on Catholic social action.

In the course of 1933 the movement under O'Duffy grew rapidly and drew the organization into an increasingly violent series of clashes with the agents of *Fianna Fail*. In September 1933, the siege mentality that had built up around the Blueshirts and its ability to mobilize popular support led to a new party being formed. *Fine Gael* was a merger of the Blueshirts, the former party of government, *Cumann na nGaedheal*, and the party of farmers, the National Centre Party. Despite

not holding a parliamentary seat, O'Duffy was appointed leader of the party. By mid-1934 the Blueshirts claimed nearly 50,000 members, and it appeared that the new *Fine Gael* party would challenge *Fianna Fail* at the polls. In the event, the Blueshirts suffered a rapid and ignominious collapse. Despite O'Duffy's claims of a new political dawn, the *Fine Gael* candidates did not perform well in the 1934 local government elections, and by August of that year a series of resignations by leading figures had begun. Those who resigned claimed that O'Duffy's leadership was antidemocratic and that there was no support for fascism in the country. O'Duffy was forced to resign at the end of August 1934. The Blueshirts struggled on with ever-diminishing numbers until they were closed down by *Fine Gael* in 1936. In the meantime O'Duffy had gone on to form the National Corporate Party in 1935. This short-lived movement openly embraced fascism but received little popular support; it lasted a matter of only months. The final act in the history of Irish interwar fascism was O'Duffy's excursion, with 700 other supporters, to fight for Franco in Spain.

In Northern Ireland the British Union of Fascists organized in the 1930s but achieved little popular support as a result of the strong particularities of politics there. With the outbreak of the modern troubles in the late 1960s, there were parallels drawn between the workings of Loyalist paramilitary groups and fascism, and there were documented cases of alliances between such groups and British organizations such as Combat 18.

Mike Cronin

See Also: BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMBAT 18; CORPORATISM; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GREAT BRITAIN; INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; O'DUFFY, EOIN; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER

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IRON GUARD, THE: See **LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE**
IRRATIONALISM: See **RATIONALISM**

IRREDENTISM

A term originating in late-nineteenth-century Italy to describe the program of those Italians who claimed for their newly unified state areas regarded as “Italian” that were still outside the national territory. The term was then applied to any similar claim to “redeem” national territory from foreign rule. Irredentism was the near-inevitable outcome of national-ethnic tensions in Central and Eastern Europe where the post–World War I peace settlement saw the emergence of new or restored states as multinational as the old empires they replaced. It was an integral component of the aims and appeal of interwar nationalist and fascist movements in some Central and Eastern European countries, notably Germany and Hungary.

Philip Morgan

See Also: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; EXPANSIONISM; FIUME; IMPERIALISM; PANGERMANISM; ROME; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); WORLD WAR I

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IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL (born 1938)

Self-taught historian of World War II who began openly to involve himself with neo-Nazi groups in the mid-1980s. Prior to that he had a long history of association with far-right views. Having established an early reputation for serious scholarship, Irving joined the camp of the Holocaust deniers, to whom this reputation made him something of an icon. He subsequently denied that he held that view and actually sued Holocaust historian Deborah Lipstadt in a London court for attributing the label to him, but he lost the case and has been barred from several countries. In his judgment, British judge Charles Gray described Irving’s writing on the Holocaust as “a travesty.” In November 2005,

Irving was detained by police in Austria, where a warrant for his arrest had been issued in 1989.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE; NEO-NAZISM; POST-WAR FASCISM

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ISLAM, ISLAMIC WORLD, THE: See IRAQ; IRAN; MIDDLE EAST, THE; PALESTINE ISOLATIONISM: See INTERVENTIONISM ITALIAN SOCIAL REPUBLIC, THE: See SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE

ITALY

It was only with the end of World War I that were created the material and objective but also psychological and mental conditions that allowed Fascism to make its appearance on the historical stage in Italy. The war, costing 600,000 dead and massive material damage, had produced traumatic and irreversible changes in the country. It had familiarized an entire generation with blood and violence. It had altered the traditional equilibrium of the social classes. It had determined the appearance on the national political scene of new collective social subjects: young persons, women, former soldiers. It had accentuated the distrust of the popular masses with regard to parliamentarism, traditional political parties, and the liberal ruling class. It had sharpened the ideological conflict between those who had waged the war inspired by patriotic sentiment and those (for example, the socialists and part of the Catholic world) who instead had opposed the intervention of Italy in the conflict. It had ultimately produced a grave economic crisis, from which the only ones to benefit were the speculators and the representatives of the great industrial groups involved in war commissions.

Benito Mussolini had agitated for Italy to enter the war, and indeed for that very reason he had broken his



The Villa Rosa Maltoni in Calambrone, a typical specimen of architecture from the Fascist period in Italy. It was designed by Angiolo Mazzoni as a holiday residence for the children of rail and postal staff. (Alinari Archives/Corbis)

relations with the socialist tradition in which he had been brought up. His political intuition in the midst of the prevalent postwar political and social chaos was to give a voice to all of those who, in the light of the experience of interventionism, the myth of war, and widespread anxieties about a potential Bolshevik-style social revolution, maintained the need for a “national revolution.” By this they had in mind a “new state” that would bring to power a new ruling class composed, according to a slogan coined by Mussolini himself for his daily *Il Popolo d'Italia*, of “fighters and producers.” Fascism, unthinkable without the social and political chaos of the postwar moment, was thus the politico-ideological movement in which the former soldiers and so-called middle classes (small landowners, professionals, public servants, shopkeepers) eventually joined forces. The war veterans believed themselves legitimated in guiding the country out of consideration for

the sacrifices they had had to make in the course of the war: they considered themselves a social aristocracy born in the trenches. The urban and agrarian petty bourgeoisie, hostile at the same time to socialism and to great capital, looked rather for a party that could embody their own social aspirations and that recognized their dynamic role not just on the economic but also on the political level.

Fascism was born officially in Milan on 23 March 1919, in the course of a public meeting in which participated, under the leadership of Benito Mussolini, a hundred or so individuals, coming mainly from the interventionist Left: republicans, former socialists, former soldiers, Futurists, revolutionary syndicalists, anarchists, and students. The original program of the Fasci still smacked of libertarian, syndicalist, and democratic-radical proposals typical of the politico-intellectual formation of their founder: it declared itself in fa-

vor of a work week of eight hours, a minimum wage, the expropriation of uncultivated land, the confiscation of war profits, and the participation of workers in the technical functioning of industry. On this basis the new movement presented as an antiparty and proclaimed itself pragmatic and hostile to ideologies, progressive in inspiration but clearly anti-Bolshevik, patriotic but not nationalist, anticapitalist but advocating industrialism and technical progress. It was a programmatic anticapitalist platform destined very soon to be modified, especially after the noisy failure registered by the Fascists at the elections of 16 November 1919, which had demonstrated the difficulty for the new movement of tuning into the popular masses and the world of labor, which were much more responsive to the revolutionary preaching of the socialist party. The real change in Fascism took place from the middle of 1920, when, having been born with a predominantly urban caste of mind and with a Jacobin-revolutionary core, it began to acquire support from among the small landowners in conflict with the agricultural laborers and with the peasant syndicates; that led it to move toward conservative right-wing positions. In organizational and ideological terms, this qualitative leap was embodied in particular in the birth of *squadristo*: armed groups, composed mainly of former soldiers and young unemployed, financed and supported by the world of the bosses, which impressed a completely new character on the Italian political struggle through their recourse to violence against their political adversaries, in particular socialists and Catholics. Within a few months, thanks to the power of *squadristo*, Fascism became a mass political movement, rooted above all in the country areas of the Po Valley and Tuscany, consciously orientated toward the conquest of government on the basis of a political program of nationalist authoritarian stamp, which openly rejected liberal democracy and party-political pluralism.

Notwithstanding the choreography of the March on Rome that led to Mussolini's assumption of power, with thousands of men ready to take power by armed violence, Fascism's appearance in government in October 1922 represented a properly "legal revolution": without violation of the forms of the existing constitution, Mussolini was entrusted by the king with forming a new government only when all other attempts to give life to a politico-parliamentary accord had failed. In reality, this amounted to the mandatory result of a profound politico-institutional crisis that was itself in large part imputable to the climate of "civil war" generated by Fascism. Fascism had managed to impose on the country and on all the institutional actors present on

the scene (from the monarchy to the parties) a political style based not on electoral competition nor on a comparison of rational manifestoes and respect for individual political opinions, but on the systematic use of force, on the cult of the charismatic leader, on the principle of hierarchy, on the exaltation of patriotism, on the ethic of battle, and on contempt for adversaries.

The first Mussolini government was born, formally, as a "coalition government," in which the Fascist ministers were in a definite minority. It included independents, nationalists, liberals, and Catholics from the Popular Party. There were also the two army and navy chiefs: General Armando Diaz and Admiral Paolo Thaon di Revel. This explains the attitude taken at the time by many representatives of liberal, democratic, and socialist antifascism, such as Giovanni Giolitti, Giovanni Amendola, or Filippo Turati, who saw in Mussolini's rise to power not the beginning of a stable political dictatorship but the only solution to save democratic legality and to put an end to violence, taking the country back to normality. It was thought that the Fascist regime would in the worst case be a painful authoritarian parenthesis that would save Italy from chaos and lay the foundations for a return to the democratic dialectic. What most observers failed to grasp was the deeply subversive and revolutionary nature of Fascism, its substantial incompatibility with the rules of liberal democracy and parliamentary politics, and its determination to use the institutions of the liberal state to change the structure of political relationships and give life to a new form of constitutional order. Emblematic from that point of view was the first speech that Mussolini gave to the Chamber of Deputies on 16 November 1922. It was a harsh and threatening speech, in the course of which he reminded the deputies that the real strength of Fascism derived from its autonomous military force: 300,000 "armed youth" ready for anything, even ready to occupy parliament and chase out the enemies of Fascism whether properly elected or no. Mussolini was in effect the head of an "armed party" composed of militiamen accustomed to military conflict and fanatically devoted to their leader, a party whose political objective was not simply the conquest of power but also the destruction of the liberal state, the disbanding of the parties and trades union organizations, and the construction of a "new order" oriented to political values like order, hierarchy, and authority.

But how, and by what stages, did this revolutionary transformation of the Italian political system take place, a transformation that ended in the construction of a totalitarian state whose foundations were the single party, the cult of the leader, the corporatist economic order,

and the militarization of the masses? For the purposes of argument, three phases can be distinguished in the twenty years of Fascism. The first ran from 1922 to 1926: from the conquest of power to the definitive dismantling through legal channels of the politico-constitutional structures inherited from the liberal order. It was the *authoritarian* phase of Fascism, in the course of which—thanks to the work of the jurist Alfredo Rocco, the architect of the Fascist state—the parliamentary regime was progressively emptied of powers and competencies in favor of the executive power, wholly concentrated in the hands of Mussolini. In this period a key date is the institution in December 1922 of the Grand Council of Fascism, an essentially consultative political organ destined to play a central role in the “new state” (in December 1928, in fact, the Grand Council became the supreme constitutional organ of the regime, and among its powers there was even that of choosing Mussolini’s eventual successor); the constitution in January 1923 of the *Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale*, a kind of parallel army of Fascism, within which the paramilitaries and *squadristi* were incorporated; the approval in July 1923 of a majoritarian electoral law (the so-called Acerbo Law), which in the next election, on 6 April 1924, was to enable the Fascist Party and the parties associated with it to obtain a crushing parliamentary majority (374 seats out of 535). At this period, too, the first attempts were made by Fascism to give itself a solid cultural base, so as to legitimate itself on the ideological level. On this terrain the contribution of the philosopher Giovanni Gentile was crucial; in 1925 he organized in Bologna the Fascist Cultural Convention, from which emerged a “manifesto” of support for Mussolini and the new regime signed by numerous men of culture and scholars. Again, it was Gentile—already the author in 1923 (wearing his hat of minister of public instruction in the first Mussolini government) of a fundamental reform of the schools—who, in 1925, produced the definitive plan for the *Enciclopedia italiana*, destined to represent the most ambitious initiative of Fascism in the field of culture. This phase concluded, after the political crisis created by the murder of the socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti in June 1924, with the publication between January 1925 and November 1926 of a series of repressive measures (the so-called *leggi fascistissime*) that brought about the abolition of freedom of organization, the outlawing of all political parties with the sole exception of the Fascist Party, the introduction of the death penalty for offenses against “the security of the state,” and the creation of a special tribunal to judge of-

fenses against Fascism and the state. It was the beginning of the Fascist regime, true and proper.

The second phase, from 1927 to 1936, was the *Caesaristic-dictatorial* one, and it was marked essentially by the progressive fascistization of Italian society, by the affirmation of the cult of Mussolini, by a growing adherence of the masses to the regime, and by its first bellicose undertakings: the conquest of Ethiopia and the proclamation of the empire (1935–1936), and the involvement in the Spanish Civil War on the side of Franco in 1936. A fundamental date in the process of construction and consolidation of the new system of power was in 1929: on 11 February of that year, the Lateran Accords were finally signed, which marked the historic “reconciliation” between the Catholic Church and the Italian state and turned into a great political and propagandistic success, given that the Catholic masses drew definitively close to the regime. On 24 March, in the elections for the renewal of the chamber, the “single” list of 400 deputies set up by the Fascist Grand Council was approved by the Italians by an almost unanimous vote (8.5 million votes in favor, and a mere 100,000 against), which demonstrated how Fascism no longer had any enemies within the country. These two events—the concordat and the “plebiscite”—obviously contributed to build up the charismatic role of Mussolini, who became increasingly the object of a public political cult with mystico-religious echoes. The “Mussolini myth” began to spread among the Italians, and especially among the poor. As for Fascism, it increasingly assumed the form of a real “political religion,” based on the mobilization of the masses, on the military education of the young, and on great collective liturgies, and aimed at the construction of a “new Italy,” wholly molded to the martial combative spirit of Fascism. It was an objective that obviously called for a state that in its turn was integrally Fascist, from the doctrinaire and organizational point of view. Something that may be considered particularly significant was the approval in April 1927, thanks to the work of Giuseppe Bottai, of the Charter of Labor: this represented the ideological basis of the corporative system that Fascism began to construct in 1930 (with the establishment of the Ministry of Corporations) and that Mussolini considered an original alternative on the level of economic-productive organization both to communist collectivism and liberal/capitalist individualism. It was at this period that power was given to the great mass organizations destined to involve militarily Italians of every class: the *Opera nazionale dopolavoro* (OND), founded in 1925 and intended to promote

initiatives in the areas of welfare, recreation, culture, and sport for the benefit of the workers; and the Opera Nazionale Balilla, which was founded in 1926 and aimed at the welfare and the moral and physical education of young people between the ages of six and eighteen. It was in this period, too, that measures were adopted to fascistize teaching and guarantee for the regime the monopoly of education: in 1928, for example, the decision was taken to introduce the “single state book” for elementary schools; in 1929, it was made obligatory for teachers at every level to swear allegiance to the regime.

The third phase of the Fascist regime, from 1937 to 1945, was the wholly *totalitarian* phase, marked by the politico-military and ideological alliance with Nazi Germany (officially ratified in May 1939) and by the integral fascistization of Italian society at all levels, pursued by Mussolini with the express objective of transforming Italy into an imperial power that could revive on the military level the glories of Ancient Rome. This was a phase destined to culminate in the disastrous involvement in World War II and the “civil war” of 1944–1945, which signaled the traumatic collapse of Fascism and the violent disappearance of the majority of those who had had a role in it. The behavior and the choices that characterized the totalitarian evolution of the regime were varied. Among the most traumatic in terms of its immediate consequences and the wounds it left in the civil fabric and in the public memory of the Italians, was the adoption in November 1938 of the racial anti-Semitic legislation, which had been preceded in July of the same year by the publication of a “manifesto on race” signed by various scientists. With these laws Fascism drew closer to Nazism in discrimination against Jews. Equally eloquent in that same year was the accentuation of a grave diplomatic crisis between the regime and the Holy See, which Fascism intended to block from any activity in the area of education and the formation of the young.

At the moment of the outbreak of World War II (September 1939), Italy opted for neutrality (so-called nonbelligerence): Mussolini did not believe that his country was yet ready to face a war effort that would require, in his judgment, at least two to three more years of preparation. The rapid advance of the Germans on several fronts and a fear of being excluded from peace negotiations induced him to a drastic change of opinion: on 10 June 1940, Italy entered the war, in spite of the opposition of the military chiefs, the hostility of the Church, and the perplexity of many Fascist chiefs—not least Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano. Mussolini’s

idea, when he attacked France, the English in North Africa, and then Greece, was to wage, as he explicitly stated, a “parallel war” to that of the Third Reich—a war that he hoped would last not more than two years and that, once over, would consecrate Italy as the hegemonic power in the Mediterranean and in the southern Balkans. The military catastrophes of the Axis after the autumn of 1942 produced grave domestic repercussions in Italy: they increased the economic distress of the people and intensified anger with Fascism and its chief. On the night of 25 July 1943 the Grand Council of Fascism voted to restore to King Victor Emmanuel III “the supreme decision-making power,” and that in fact marked the collapse of Fascism and its institutions and the political defeat of Mussolini. It was therefore welcomed by the Italians as a liberation, and with the subsequent signing of an armistice (8 September 1943), they thought that they could escape definitively from the conflict. But it was a delusion. Mussolini had been imprisoned but was rescued by the Germans, and he returned to Italy to lead the Salò Republic in the north, the part of the country that had been under military occupation by the Germans; this signaled the beginning of a bloody civil war that for about two years set the “Republican Fascism” of Mussolini and his supporters against the Allies and the fighters of the Italian anti-Fascist resistance. The civil war was ended only in April 1945, with the “liberation” of the main cities from Mussolinian control and the capture and shooting of the leading Fascist chiefs, from Mussolini himself down.

With the end of World War II, Fascism did not disappear from the Italian political scene. In 1947 the veterans of the experience of the Salò Republic established a political party, the Italian Social Movement, that became the politico-electoral rallying point for those who were “nostalgic” for Mussolini. The existence of a neo-Fascist party that was a small but stable presence in the parliamentary-democratic dialectic represented a case unique in Europe for some fifty years. It was an anomaly that eventually finished formally in January 1995 with the dissolution of the Italian Social Movement and the birth of the Alleanza nazionale (An), a political formation led by Gianfranco Fini and programmatically oriented in a national-conservative and post-Fascist direction, now fully integrated, even from the point of view of values, in the democratic life of the country. In the Italy of today the heritage of Fascism is claimed only by small extraparliamentary groups, which have found in Alessandra Mussolini, niece of Il Duce, their point of reference: the ultimate symbol, pathetic and

sentimental, of a past that no longer affects political life but that continues nonetheless to weigh on the historical memory of the Italian nation.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACERBO LAW, THE; *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; AUSTRIA; AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; AXIS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; BOTTAI, GIUSEPPE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; CORPORATISM; CROCE, BENEDETTO; CULTURE; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; ECONOMICS; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; EDUCATION; ETHIOPIA; FARINACCI, ROBERTO; FARMERS; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEDERZONI, LUIGI; FIUME; FOOTBALL/SOCCER; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FUTURISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; GRANDI, DINO; GUERNICA; HITLER, ADOLF; INTERVENTIONISM; LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MILITARISM; MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA SICUREZZA NAZIONALE (MVSN); MONARCHY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; MUSSOLINI, ALESSANDRA; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; PAPAcy, THE; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POSITIVISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRODUCTIVISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RAUTI, GIUSEPPE ("PINO"); RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROCCO, ALFREDO;

ROME; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SKORZENY, OTTO; SOCIALISM; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPORT; *SQUADRISMO*; STRATEGY OF TENSION, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADES UNIONS; WAR VETERANS; VICTOR EMMANUEL III/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS (ITALY)

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JAPAN

Interwar Japan felt the influence of fascism as much as any country outside Western Europe. This influence derived mainly from the emulation of German and Italian models, but the Japanese borrowed from those models selectively, and their knowledge of European fascism was partial. Rather than traveling to Japan as a package, the influence of fascism was uneven. Fascism had its slightest impact on Japan's political movements, a secondary impact on political thought, and its greatest impact on state policy. The Japanese had patterned their country's development after that of the leading Western states since the mid-nineteenth century, and the emulation of German and Italian models in the 1930s continued this practice. In the eyes of some Japanese, Germany and Italy had outdone the liberal democracies in coping with the Great Depression. Moreover, there was a natural confluence of foreign policy interests between Japan, Germany, and Italy. Whereas Japanese imperialism clashed with the imperialism of the Western democracies in interwar Asia, Germany and Italy had no colonies in the region. After Hitler's rise to power in 1933, there was a growing perception in Japan that Nazi Germany represented a new, superior form of society. The Japanese took no interest in fascism anywhere outside Germany and Italy.

Rightist political groups played a big part in Japanese politics in the 1930s, but few adopted the tactics or goals of Europe's fascist movements. Ultranationalist groups dated back to the turn of the century in Japan. They underwent rapid expansion in the early 1930s, when rightists celebrated Japan's military incursion into Manchuria and assassinated several leading politicians. But this expansion occurred before Hitler's rise to power, at a time when European fascism had little visibility in Japan. Most of Japan's right-wingers differed in fundamental ways from the fascist prototype. Most rightist groups in interwar Japan belonged to what Stanley Payne calls the "conservative authoritarian right." Unlike fascists, they eschewed violent tactics and embraced traditional concepts of political legitimacy. Most sought a return to the oligarchical form of constitutional monarchy that had predated Japan's party governments of the 1920s. Some of these groups had respectable and indeed elite support. Fewer in number but no less consequential were adherents of what Payne labels the "radical Right." These were mainly young military officers who conducted a rash of assassinations in the early 1930s. Their final defeat came with the suppression of an attempted coup d'état in 1936. Although they matched the violence of fascist movements, these radical rightists made no effort to develop a mass base. Moreover, they advocated the return to an obscure, mythical past rather than any new form of authoritarian state. Neither the conservative

authoritarian Right nor the radical Right modeled itself on European fascism.

The nearest attempts to build a fascist movement in Japan occurred in the late 1930s. The most successful of them was Seigo Nakano's Eastern Way Society (Tohokai), founded in 1936. Nakano, sometimes called the "Japanese Hitler," traveled to Europe to meet fascist notables, and his followers wore black shirts. However, even this group rejected violent tactics and embraced the traditional doctrine of imperial sovereignty. Although the Eastern Way Society won 2.1 percent of the vote in the 1937 election, that was as close as any right-wing movement came to taking political power in Japan.

Why were rightist movements in general, and fascist movements in particular, not stronger in Japan? Japan had been only a minor participant in World War I, so that the disaffected veterans that provided European fascism with its rank and file were absent. Mass politics was less developed overall than in Western Europe, making it hard to organize a mass movement of any type. Traditional values, based upon loyalty to the emperor, dissuaded most rightists from embracing the secular, voluntaristic norms of fascism or overtly flouting the constitution that the emperor had bestowed upon the nation in 1889. Finally, the police kept extreme rightist elements in check, especially after 1935.

Fascism, however, had a substantial impact on elite political thought in interwar Japan. The main conduits for fascist ideas were bureaucrats, military officers, and intellectuals known as the *kakushin*, or renovationist Right. They included members of the army's Control Faction and officials serving in new interministerial agencies such as the Cabinet Planning Board, which handled planning for total war. Civilian intellectuals of the Showa Research Association, the brain trust of *kakushin* statesman Fumimaro Konoe, also studied fascist thought. *Kakushin* thinkers believed that the world was undergoing a great historical transformation. The era of freedom, which had begun with the French Revolution, had run its course. In its place was emerging a new society that they identified variously as the "national defense state," "totalitarianism," or the "new order." All of these terms originated in contemporary European rightist thought. In the new era, the national community would triumph over individualism, state planning would supersede market competition, and a single political organization of some kind would replace the established political parties. Like the German and Italian fascist thinkers they

studied, *kakushin* elements rejected the institutionalization of conflict characteristic of liberal society. *Kakushin* thinkers ignored fascist movements and focused instead on the economic and military achievements of the German and Italian regimes. They saw the state rather than a movement from below as the main instrument of historical change. Unlike a reticent liberal state or a class-based socialist state, theirs would be an interventionist state standing above classes as the embodiment of the national interest. It would mobilize its subjects for a common purpose, thereby creating a superior new order to replace the wasteful competition of liberal society. *Kakushin* thinkers thought it inevitable that the rising national defense states of Germany, Italy, and Japan would triumph militarily over the declining societies of freedom. When the German army easily swept through Western Europe in the spring of 1940, that world view seemed completely vindicated.

Japan's form of government never came to resemble that of Germany or Italy. No rightist party took power; there was no charismatic leader like Hitler or Mussolini; and the political elite pursued an orderly and at least formally legal transformation from above. It was the military and the bureaucracy that gradually came to dominate Japanese politics in the 1930s, while the influence of political parties waned. But despite the differences in regime structure, the influence of fascist models on Japanese decision-makers soon became evident in every sphere of public policy. Emulating Europe's fascist regimes, the Japanese state pressed social organizations of many types into officially regulated cartels called control associations (*to-seikai*). Officials dissolved hundreds of thousands of businesses, including mass media organs, and herded the survivors into these cartels, which were subject to bureaucratic control. The State Total Mobilization Law of 1938, which sanctioned this reorganization, was patterned after a German statute of 1934. To mobilize individuals, the Japanese again mimicked fascist policy. They created a vast complex of monopolistic, state-controlled mass organizations, known collectively as the Imperial Rule Assistance Movement. These organizations targeted people according to their gender, age, occupation, workplace, and place of residence. The state dissolved autonomous trades unions, political parties, youth clubs, and women's interest groups, and forced their members to join the new mass structures. Access to employment, food rations, and other essential goods and services was contingent upon membership. Although there were some

modest Japanese precedents for these bodies, German models were paramount. For instance, Japan's Industrial Patriotic Society for industrial workers represented a conscious effort to emulate Hitler's German Labor Front. Whereas party cadres managed these mass organizations in Germany and Italy, military officers and bureaucrats did so in Japan.

The study of fascist models thus led to a statist revolution in wartime Japan. The instigators of change were military-bureaucratic elites rather than cadres of a fascist party. The process of change was an orderly imposition from above rather than a violent uprising from below. And while borrowing much of fascism's condemnation of liberalism, Japan's leaders used traditional, monarchical values to legitimize their new order. Yet the changes they wrought, such as the official cartels and mass organizations, were patterned directly on the policies of the German and Italian fascist regimes. Scholars have used terms such as "military fascism," "Emperor-system fascism," "fascism from above," or simply the term *kakushin* to capture the partial but momentous influence of fascism in Japan.

Gregory Kasza

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUTARKY; AUTHORITARIANISM; AXIS, THE; CHINA; CLASS; COMMUNITY; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; CULTS OF DEATH; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; HIROHITO, EMPEROR; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LABOR FRONT, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MISHIMA, YUKIO; MONARCHISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RADIO; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; STATE, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; VOLUNTARISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II

What gave Japan the image of being a fascist regime in the West was above all her alliance with Germany and Italy in the Axis and her subsequent provocation of war with the United States. This gave rise to the assumption that Japan, too, must be a fascist power. But the origins of Japanese involvement in World War II were not necessarily related to fascism. Historians use the label "the Washington Conference system" to denote the framework of international relations in East Asia in the interwar years. Japan was a signatory to treaties made during the Washington Conference of 1921–1922 that were part of the project to stabilize the world after the conflagration of World War I. Underlying this system was an economic accord that involved the signatories agreeing to accept gold as the medium of international transactions, to link their own currencies to gold, and to uphold currency convertibility. One of the aims of the Washington Conference system was to integrate China into the global economic order, and during the 1920s this process of integration was under way. China's stability was seen as a key to peace in the region, and the signatories to the Washington Conference treaties pledged themselves not to pursue expansionist policies at the expense of China. In the late 1920s foreign capital flowed into China, especially from the United States, to help build the country's infrastructure. Such developments aroused anger among certain elements in Japan, who feared that it was China that was the real beneficiary of the Washington Conference system. They also believed that the system was damaging Japanese interests by binding its national well-being to fluctuations in trade balances and exchange rates.

When Britain and the United States attempted to alter the balance of naval power in the Pacific to Japan's disadvantage in the London Naval Conference of 1930, it caused a domestic political crisis in Japan. Although the minister of the navy supported Japan's ratification of the treaty, the admiralty was strongly opposed. It claimed that the civilian government was violating the navy's constitutional "right of supreme command," and the naval chief of staff reported his objections formally to the emperor. Although Japan finally approved the new treaty, the controversy gave rise to many acts of political terrorism by junior officers in the months that followed. An important shift occurred in the nature of



The USS Arizona on fire in Pearl Harbor as the Japanese Airforce launches a surprise attack on the unsuspecting American fleet based there. Japan's entry into World War II had much more to do with her imperialistic designs in Asia than with a sympathy for German Nazi or Italian Fascist ideology. (National Archives)

Japanese imperialism between the London Naval Conference and Japan's military expansion into Manchuria that began in September 1931. Until that time, the Japanese had respected the Western empires in Asia and restricted themselves to seizing territories that the Western powers had neglected to occupy, such as Taiwan and Korea. From that time forward, Japanese policy challenged the Western position in Asia. In domestic politics, the civilian party government's reluctance to push Japan's advantage in Manchuria exacerbated political violence and finally resulted in the assassination of the last party prime minister in 1932. This opened the door to growing military interference in the government. It was these events, which occurred before Hitler's rise to power in Germany and before European fascist models had had much influence in Japan, that put Japan on the road leading to World War II.

The China Incident of 1937 finally involved Japan and China in a total war. Although sparked by a chance encounter between Japanese and Chinese troops, the

rapid spread of hostilities was a logical outcome of Japan's Manchurian invasion earlier in the decade, which had led to continual friction with China's Nationalist government. By 1939 the Japanese front in China covered more than 2,000 miles, and the conflict became a huge drain on the Japanese economy. In July 1939 the U.S. government informed Japan that it planned to abrogate the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, which had been in force since 1911, as of 1940; it was clear that the United States was intending to apply economic sanctions against Japan. The fear of such sanctions was one of the factors that motivated Japan to cast an eye on the abundant natural resources of Southeast Asia. The United States had already looked with anxiety on Japan's decision to send a further three divisions to China in the summer of 1939, and in the early months of 1940 the Japanese decided upon yet another increase in their military presence in China. The spectacular German military successes of that year further emboldened the Japanese, who attributed these victories to

Germany's superior national spirit and to its system of total war mobilization. It was at this point that Japanese statesmen began to pattern many of their mobilization policies after German models, though it was always the military, not any fascist political party, that held the reins of power in Japan.

Japan's acceptance into the Axis alliance with Germany and Italy soon followed. The supporters of this move in Japan argued that it would deter the United States from interfering with Japan's building of a new order in East Asia. Some in Japan saw the country's entry into the Axis as simply a prelude to the expulsion of the European powers from Asia and the seizure of their colonial possessions. While appealing to Japanese nationalists who believed in their country's destiny to be the leading power of the region, entry into the Axis also seemed a solution to the shortage of resources needed to sustain Japan's military operations in China. Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yosuke handled Japan's negotiations with Germany and the Soviet Union. In Moscow he concluded a pact of neutrality with the USSR, mindful of the danger that it might pose to Japanese forces in China. On their side the Soviet leadership were aware that Japan was interested in Southeast Asia and would not wish to provoke conflict with themselves. When Hitler invaded Russia in June 1941 it came as a shock to Matsuoka, in whom Hitler had not confided his intentions. In July the Japanese decided to proceed with their planned move into Indo-China and not to take advantage of the USSR's predicament unless it was clearly defeated.

The reaction to Japan's advance into Indo-China in the West was that the United States and Britain froze Japanese assets. The British and the Dutch agreed that the United States should represent the combined interests of the Western colonial powers in dealing with Japan. But for the United States, any reconciliation with Japan required Japanese withdrawal from China, to which Japan had by now committed around 850,000 troops. At this point it seemed that only a Japanese expansion to the south would make possible Japanese hegemony over the region, making it possible to acquire the requisite natural resources and also cutting off supply routes to the Chinese enemy. The option seemed all the more attractive in the light of the complete cessation of oil shipments from the United States from August of 1941. Many in the Japanese government hoped to achieve economic self-sufficiency in a putative "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." The war in China had stimulated the growth of Japanese heavy industry and her import/export trade within the East Asia region had greatly increased, but this autarkic

policy was never very realistic. It was thought that the United States was not prepared for war, and the opinion gained ground in Tokyo that if expansion in the region were contemplated, an early strike against the United States was imperative. A strike in winter was also considered vital, in order to reduce any likelihood of a Soviet move from the other direction. The increasing power of the military in Japanese policy-making meant that the possibility of withdrawing from China to placate the United States was never really an option at all, after so many years of sacrifice. Military planners reported that a strike would have to be made by December 1941 or else postponed to the following spring, by which time the navy's oil stocks would be so depleted as to render it impossible. On 26 November the U.S. government once again notified Japan that an accommodation could not be reached between the two countries unless the Japanese withdrew from China, and that was the last straw for the Japanese military. The decision was taken to launch a pre-emptive strike at U.S. naval power via an attack on its fleet.

After the Pearl Harbor attack of 7 December 1941 on the U.S. fleet, things seemed to be going Japan's way, and the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was duly established, with the Japanese soon in control of the European powers' former colonies. However, the United States quickly recovered from the dramatic losses to its navy sustained at Pearl Harbor, and already by the Battle of Midway in mid-1942 the balance of military power had begun to shift in favor of the United States. Meanwhile, Hitler had made the mistake of declaring war on the United States in support of Japan, and that was to prove an expensive error, with huge U.S. resources now committed to the European front as well. Still, a long struggle lay ahead, with the defeat of Japan not being achieved until the dropping of the atomic bombs in August 1945. Japan formally surrendered to the Allied forces on 2 September 1945.

Cyprian Blamires and Gregory Kasza

See Also: AUTARKY; AXIS, THE; CHINA; COLONIALISM; CULTS OF DEATH; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HIROHITO, EMPEROR; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; JAPAN; MILITARISM; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; PEARL HARBOR; SOVIET UNION, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES

The Jehovah's Witness Movement, founded in the United States in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, came into conflict with the Third Reich when Witness beliefs on the nature of the world and its meaning came sharply into conflict with the tenets of National Socialism. Members of the movement believe that the world is in its last days and under the rule of Satan. They are witnesses to their God, Jehovah, on the stage of history while awaiting the end of the current order, and they are dedicated to spreading knowledge of Jehovah and His plans. Members of the organization see their allegiance as being to their God rather than to the political regimes of Satan's world, although they are law abiding and good citizens where their faith allows. They will not swear on oath, vote, bear arms for a civil state, or belong to a political party. In Nazi Germany this stance led members of the group most dramatically to refuse to enlist or to give the *Heil Hitler!* salute. A bitter conflict with the authorities swiftly followed. The Nazis banned Jehovah's Witnesses meetings and missionary work, and some lost their jobs as civil servants; others had their children taken away to be brought up in Nazi homes. Of the 20,000 or so members active in Germany under Hitler's regime, many found themselves or saw their families and cobelievers in prison or concentration camp. Jehovah's Witnesses were among the first Germans to be placed in the camps, where they were often tortured and murdered.

Christine King

See Also: AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CONCENTRATION CAMPS; *HEIL HITLER!*; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; RELIGION; THIRD REICH, THE

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JESUITS, THE

Among Roman Catholic priests, those of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) appear to have been the object of particular hostility on the part of members of the Nazi hierarchy. That was not, however, the case in Fascist Italy, where Mussolini actually used a Jesuit, Fr. Pietro Tacchi-Venturi, as a go-between with the Vatican in the early stages of the negotiations for the Lateran Pacts of 1929, and during subsequent crises in church-state relations in 1931 and 1938–1939. Both Himmler and Rosenberg seem to have had a particular aversion to the Jesuits. In the case of the former, a certain element of admiration and envy is also discernible. If Himmler sought role models for the SS in the medieval Teutonic knights, the Society of Jesus, given the caliber of its members and the rigor of their training, its efficient, centralized organization, its information network, and the Jesuits' role as spiritual "shock troops" under the direct allegiance of the pope, might also have seemed an ideal role model. Indeed, Hitler once described Himmler himself as "the Ignatius Loyola" of the SS (St. Ignatius Loyola was the founder of the Jesuits). On the other hand, it was precisely those qualities of the Jesuits that aroused anxiety and hostility in Nazi circles. Additionally, the tightly knit and secretive operations of the Jesuits aroused suspicion: the German Faith Movement, which was allied with the NSDAP, excluded from the ranks of its prospective members Jews, Freemasons, and Jesuits. The presence of a German Jesuit, Fr. Robert Leiber, in the Vatican as a confidential adviser of Pius XII also aroused profound suspicion in Nazi government circles.

During the life of the Nazi dictatorship the Society of Jesus came under growing persecution from the authorities, with a disproportionate number of its priests ending up in concentration camps. In 1937, after the publication of Pius XI's encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge*, condemning Nazi violations of the *Reichskonkordat*, the Gestapo intensified its campaign against the Roman Catholic Church in general and the Jesuits in particular, calling upon local branch offices to place the Society under special surveillance, while a nationwide card index was compiled to assist in the battle against the Jesuits. After the Austrian *Anschluss* in 1938, the Jesuit-run college in Innsbruck was closed down because it was regarded as a center of resistance to Nazi rule. During the various phases of the campaigns to seques-

trate ecclesiastical properties, those of the Jesuits were a particular target. There is even evidence that the Gestapo contemplated a “final solution” for the Jesuits. The Munich Gestapo chief suggested that, “[at] the latest by 1942, the Jesuits will be sent Eastwards to the camps.” It is, of course, no accident that this remark should have been made in Catholic Bavaria, where the Jesuits were believed to wield an especially powerful influence.

The role of some Jesuits in opposing National Socialism in Germany also played its part in triggering these persecutions. Although the influential Jesuit journal *Stimmen Der Zeit* followed the usual German Catholic path from opposing National Socialism in early 1933 to acquiescing in the Nazi dictatorship by the year’s end, some Jesuits later became prominent in resistance to the regime. Franz Reinisch, a former editor of the journal; Augustinus Roch, father-provincial of the Jesuits in Bavaria; Hermann Wehrle; and Alfred Delp all suffered death for their links with either the Kreisau circle or the instigators of the July Plot. Given the hostility of the Nazi leadership toward the Jesuits, it is entirely appropriate that another Jesuit, the American John Lafarge, was the author of the unpublished encyclical *Humani Generis Unitas* of 1938, which systematically condemned Nazi racial theory.

There was also an ideological reason why the Nazis made the Jesuits a particular target of their venom. The Jesuits represented the most ultramontane, papalist version of Catholicism; they were known for their particular devotion to the papacy; and they therefore supremely embodied the international nature of the Catholic Church, which stood at the opposite pole to fascist hypernationalism. Moreover, they had spearheaded the Counter-Reformation, which had effectively stemmed the flood of escapees from the Catholic Church to the Reformed congregations. Their very existence and ethos represented the most intransigent opposition to the philosophy of Nazism.

John Pollard

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; ANTIFASCISM; AUSTRIA; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; COSMOPOLITANISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA AMILCARE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; ROME; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SS, THE; THEOLOGY

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**JEWRY: See ANTI-SEMITISM;
 HOLOCAUST, THE; ZIONISM**
**JEWS, THE: See ANTI-SEMITISM;
 HOLOCAUST, THE; ZIONISM**
**JORDAN, COLIN: See GREAT BRITAIN:
 LEESE, ARNOLD SPENCER**

JOYCE, WILLIAM (1906–1946)

Director of propaganda for the British Union of Fascists who fled to Germany in 1940, achieving infamy in the United Kingdom thenceforth as the Nazi radio broadcaster “Lord Haw Haw.” Despite not officially being a British citizen (he was born in the United States to Irish parents who had taken U.S. citizenship, and he did not come to the United Kingdom until he was in his teens), Joyce was executed for high treason in 1946, the last person to be hanged as a traitor in Britain. His activities continue to arouse interest in more recent times, and recently published biographical works reflect a fascination with his case.

Graham Macklin

See Also: GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; PROPAGANDA; RADIO; WORLD WAR II

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**JUDAISM: See ANTI-SEMITISM;
 HOLOCAUST, THE; ZIONISM**

JULY PLOT, THE

Given the cover name *Operation Valkyrie*, the July Plot marks the only significant act of resistance aimed at toppling the Nazi dictatorship (organized by national-conservative forces) during the whole period from 1933 to 1945. On 20 July 1944, Colonel Claus Graf Schenk von Stauffenberg detonated a bomb during a discussion in Hitler's headquarters in East Prussia. This attempted assassination was supposed to signal the beginning of a putsch, but it did not succeed: Hitler was only lightly wounded, the conspirators failed to get control of the radio stations, and the top Wehrmacht generals were indecisive, compared with the reactions of Wehrmacht and Waffen-SS units loyal to Hitler. The July Plot was organized mainly by Wehrmacht officers associated with imperialistic and national racist Nazi policies who had begun to feel moral scruples or who were afraid that in the end Germany would be totally ruined. Their political program comprised an immediate end to the war, a corporate state, and the retention of territories occupied by Nazi Germany. In consequence of the plot, some 600 to 700 people were arrested and more than 180 of them were executed.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; CANARIS, ADMIRAL WILHELM; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; HITLER, ADOLF; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; NAZISM; REMER, OTTO-ERNST; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUD SCHENK GRAF VON; TROTT ZU SOLZ, ADAM VON; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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JUNG, CARL GUSTAV (1875–1961)

Celebrated Swiss psychiatrist and founder of analytical psychology, Jung was concerned for the regeneration of

the Aryan race and enthusiastic for *völkisch* ideology. In a famous essay of 1936 he argued that Germany was possessed by Wotan, the true God of the German peoples, but that few of them were conscious of the fact. He sometimes expressed himself in ways that suggested he was anti-Semitic, but debate about that aspect of his thinking continues to the present time. He certainly followed Nazi ideologues in regarding Christianity as a "foreign growth" that had been harmfully grafted onto the Germanic stem. His *völkisch* utopianism and Aryanist mysticism reflected the intellectual atmosphere in which he grew up at the end of the nineteenth century. One of his closest disciples (Jolande Jacobi) recorded that he regarded Nazism as "a chaotic precondition for the birth of a new world." It was not to be rejected even if evil, because it was a necessary precondition for the spiritual rebirth of Germany.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; FREUD, SIGMUND; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*

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JÜNGER, ERNST (1895–1998)

Prominent German writer whose extreme right-wing nationalistic views brought him close to the Nazis before their advent to power, but whose relationship to them thereafter became more distant. Jünger fought on the Western Front in World War I and was very highly decorated. His postwar writings combined contempt for democracy and for the people with a conviction that through action and heroism (and dictatorship) society could be revolutionized. In 1923 he left the army, becoming editor of the right-wing Stahlhelm newspaper *Die Standarte* and of the journal *Arminius*, through the pages of which he sought to unite all the different nationalist movements. He became sympathetic to the Nazi movement, stressing in articles such as "Nationalismus und Nationalsozialismus" (1927) that while Nazism differed from pure nationalism, the two forces

could together create a new Germany. Reluctant to get involved in practical politics, however, he refused a Nazi offer of a seat in the Reichstag in 1927. From 1933 onward, with the Nazis in power, he withdrew into the role of a detached observer, taking little part in politics. It was as though once his ideas were put into action, he found himself out of tune with them. Then, in 1939, he published the novel *Auf den Marmorlippen*, whose ambiguities concealed an allegorical attack on the Nazi regime.

In 1940, mobilized once more, Jünger took part in the invasion of France. From 1941 to 1944 he was at the army headquarters in Paris. Privately, he regretted much of what was going on, including the persecution of the Jews, which he found incompatible with military honor. Nevertheless, he remained a detached observer, temperamentally unable to involve himself. Even at the time of the 1944 generals' plot, when he knew many of the plotters and was aware of their plans, he remained aloof, though sympathetic. Despite his connections,

and his failure to report what was afoot, he was spared by Hitler because of his eminence as a right-wing writer (though removed from active service). In postwar Germany, despite initial problems with the occupying powers, he settled down to his literary career once more, and, as one of Germany's greatest contemporary writers, was showered with honors.

Richard Griffiths

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; *EHRE* ("HONOR"); DICTATORSHIP; FRANCE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; JULY PLOT, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; THIRD REICH, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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KALTENBRUNNER, ERNST (1903–1946)

Successor to Heydrich as head of the SD. While studying law, Austrian-born Kaltenbrunner joined a racial nationalist student fraternity. A member of the NSDAP and the SS from 1932, he played a prominent role in organizing the *Anschluss*; when Austrian chancellor Schuschnigg was forced to retreat in March 1938, Kaltenbrunner was the commander of the SS troops exerting pressure on him. Kaltenbrunner not only became a member of the Reich National Parliament (1938) but, more important, he also became responsible for the police forces in former Austria (renamed the Ostmark) and in late January 1943 successor of Heydrich as the head of the Reich Central Security Office. As he controlled both the police and the large apparatus organizing the mass murder of the European Jews, he was sentenced to death in the Nuremberg Trials and executed on 16 October 1946.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HOLOCAUST, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON; SD, THE; SS, THE

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KAMIKAZE: See CULTS OF DEATH

KAMPUCHEA

The native name for Cambodia, Kampuchea first gained international prominence when the Communist Party of Kampuchea—better known as the Khmer Rouge (KR)—took power in 1975 and renamed the country Democratic Kampuchea (DK); some have viewed their brand of socialist nationalism as fascist. Under Pol Pot's leadership, the KR conducted a campaign of mass murder and genocide/democide in which an estimated 2 million people died during its four-year rule from 1975 until 1979. The population of Kampuchea had been 6 to 7 million. When they came to power on 17 April 1975, the KR immediately evacuated more than 2 million people from the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh,



A child next to the Killing Fields Memorial in Cambodia. The ideology of the Khmer Rouge regime, which unleashed a reign of terror in the country, is sometimes considered to have resemblances to that of interwar fascism. (Corel)

and other cities and relocated them to the countryside. The Constitution of DK was promulgated on 5 January 1976 and declared its foreign policy as one of independence, peace, neutrality, and nonalignment, a position consistent with its intention to support the anti-imperialist struggle of the Third World that had begun with Lenin.

In practice, DK possessed a totalitarian regime in which the Organization or Angkar attempted to control all citizens. On 13 January 1976, Radio Phnom Penh declared: "Against any foe and against every obstacle thou shalt struggle with determination and courage, ready to make every sacrifice, including thy life, for the people, the laborers, and peasants, for the revolution and for Angkar, without hesitation or respite" (Jackson 1989, 66). Private property was abolished, Buddhism was banned, and currency was made illegal. The KR expressed commitment to Angkar through patriotic mottos and slogans. They portrayed Cambodian communism as superior to the

communism of other countries, using the metaphor of engines and horsepower. Pol Pot became prime minister from 1976 to 1979, but he had already become the KR's leader since 1963. DK implemented a radical agricultural revolution based on collectivization, light industry, and cooperative farming. Inspired by Mao's economic program of the five-year plan and the Great Leap Forward, Pol Pot introduced the Four Year Plan on 21 August 1976, emphasizing rapid economic development through agricultural production and light industry. Subsequently his commitment to an accelerated socialist state failed utterly, as a result of his inefficient economic plans, inadequate rationing system, and retrograde developmental policies. The KR's nationalist tendencies have arguably been considered fascist in nature. The KR targeting of the Vietnamese and other ethnic groups such as the Chams (Muslim Cambodians) can be invoked as one example. Under DK, these two groups were perceived as enemies of the communist revolution. During the

purges of 1977–1978, the KR targeted and systematically exterminated the Vietnamese resident in Kampuchea because of racial and political animosity between the two countries and the fear that Vietnam would invade and occupy Cambodia. That fear was realized on 7 January 1979.

By 1978, the KR boasted of a kill ratio of one Cambodian to thirty Vietnamese. Extrapolating, 2 million Cambodians could sacrifice themselves in order to exterminate all of Vietnam, which would still leave millions of Cambodians alive. Heder (2004) convincingly demonstrates that the single most important influence on KR doctrine and organizational structure was, in fact, the Vietnamese communists themselves. In the final analysis, several typical features of fascist regimes—such as qualified protection for private property, state toleration of a national religion, and an express rejection of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism in all its variants—were not in evidence during Democratic Kampuchea, and the regime cannot, as such, be considered fascist.

Susan Ear and Sopal Ear

See Also: BUDDHISM; CAPITALISM; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; IMPERIALISM; KHMER ROUGE, THE; MARXISM; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; POL POT; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; TECHNOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; VIOLENCE; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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- Jackson, Karl, ed. 1989. *Cambodia 1975–78: Rendez-vous with Death*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

KAPP PUTSCH, THE

Attempted antigovernment coup by right-wing conspirators in Germany in March 1920. Wolfgang Kapp (1868–1922) was a journalist who mounted the coup together with General Walther von Lüttwitz (1859–1942). The government fled Berlin but called for a

general strike that paralyzed essential services; Kapp soon had to take refuge in Sweden. The putsch had been spearheaded militarily by a naval brigade known as the Ehrhardt Brigade, commanded by Captain Hermann Ehrhardt, a Freikorps leader, and the uniform of its members came with the innovation of the swastika.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FREIKORPS, THE; GERMANY; SWASTIKA, THE; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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KEITEL, WILHELM (1882–1946)

Hitler's most trusted military adviser. Keitel joined the imperial army in 1901 and became head of the Wehrmacht Office in the Reich war department (1935) and then chief of the Wehrmacht headquarters in early 1938. Promoted to Field Marshal in 1940, Keitel was involved in all strategic decisions and spearheaded the penetration of the Wehrmacht with National Socialist ideology. The mass murder of civilians and Soviet POWs and the plundering of the territories occupied by Nazi Germany were carried out on his orders. Keitel was sentenced to death in the Nuremberg Trials and executed.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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KELLER, CARLOS (1898–1974)

Chilean of German ancestry who helped to found the Movimiento Nacional Socialista (MNS; National Socialist Party) in 1932. Keller agreed with the anti-Jewish attitudes of the German Nazis, but he criticized their racist beliefs, in part because he rejected such a deterministic outlook and because he supported intermarriage. He wrote two books. The first, *La eternal crisis Chilena*, promoted nationalism and authoritarianism. The second, *La locura de Juan Bernales*, recounted a highly flattering and male view of the history of the MNS. He left the MNS after its failed coup attempt of 1938.

Margaret Power

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHILE; GERMANY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SEXUALITY

KHMER ROUGE, THE

The “Red Khmer” or “Red Cambodians” ruled Democratic Kampuchea as a totalitarian regime from 1975 until 1979. With its origins in the Khmer People’s Revolutionary Party (1951), renamed the Khmer Worker’s Party (1960) and forerunner to the Communist Party of Kampuchea (1971), the KR had a leadership that was composed of a group of communist guerrillas, a number of whom were French-educated and committed to the nationalist struggle of gaining power in Cambodia by overthrowing Prince Sihanouk’s government. They were led by Pol Pot and Nuon Chea, known as Brother Number 1 and Brother Number 2, respectively. On 18 March 1970, Cambodian head of state Prince Norodom Sihanouk was overthrown in a republican coup d’état and replaced by Lon Nol and Sirik Matak. Sihanouk joined hands with the KR to regain power. Through radio appeals by Sihanouk, the KR gained popularity and momentum from the general population, and it overran the republican government in 1975. On 17 April 1975, the KR evacuated nearly 2 million urban dwellers from Phnom Penh and other cities to the countryside, creating a nationwide agricultural labor camp.

It has been suggested that the KR were not communists but ultranationalists and inherently fascists, but it is clear that while they possessed strong nationalist tendencies, they were fervently committed to Marxist-Leninist ideology, the eradication of class and religion, the elimination of private property, and total political and economic egalitarianism. The end result, however, was mass starvation and executions, disease, and genocide/democide resulting in the deaths of an estimated 2 million out of 6 to 7 million Cambodians. The Vietnamese invasion of 1978–1979 ended the revolution and forced the KR to retreat to the Thai-Cambodian border, where they continued their struggle as part of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea with royalist and noncommunist allies until the signing of the Paris Peace Accord in 1991. The movement dissolved with the death of Pol Pot in 1998 and the defection of Nuon Chea and other leaders shortly thereafter.

Susan Ear and Sopal Ear

See Also: CAPITALISM; CLASS; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; KAMPUCHEA; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; POL POT; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; TOTALITARIANISM

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KIRCHENKAMPF, THE: See CONFESSING (or CONFSSIONAL) CHURCH, THE; GLEICHSCHALTUNG

KOCH, ILSE (1906–1967)

Wife of the SS commandant of the Buchenwald concentration camp, notorious for her sadism toward inmates. The daughter of a laborer, she married Colonel Karl Koch in 1936. She made a hobby out of collecting

such items as lampshades and gloves made from the skins of dead camp inmates. In 1951 she was sentenced to life imprisonment but committed suicide in prison in 1967.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CONCENTRATION CAMPS; SS, THE

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KORNEUBURG OATH, THE

The oath was the program of the Austrian Heimwehr, agreed to at a meeting in Korneuburg, Lower Austria, in May 1930. It invoked an Austrian, rather than Pangerman, nationalism, and called for root and branch reform, rejecting Marxist socialism, liberal capitalism, parliamentary democracy, and the party political system alike in favor of a new single-party Heimwehr state and corporate representation. For the Heimwehr's more radical leaders, the oath was meant to unite a regionally based and ideologically undefined anticommunist patriotic movement on a clearly fascist program, distinguishing itself from its conservative political allies in order to contest the forthcoming 1930 elections as an independent political force. Local Heimwehr members, unhappy about adopting the oath, refused to join the abortive 1931 coup of the Styrian movement, led by Walter Pfrimer, who wanted to implement the oath upon seizing power.

Philip Morgan

See Also: "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; AUSTRIA; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; GERMANY; HEIMWEHR, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; PANGERMANISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE

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KRAFT DURCH FREUDE: See LEISURE; LABOR SERVICE, THE

KREISAU CIRCLE, THE

The center of the middle-class civilian resistance to Hitler's dictatorship from 1940. The name referred to the Silesian estate of Count von Moltke, one of the leaders of the resistance to Hitler. The group incorporated some forty people from such different backgrounds as social democrats (Julius Leber), aristocrats (Yorck von Wartenburg), diplomats (Trott zu Solz), and representatives of the Lutheran and Catholic churches. The aim of the group was to prepare the way for a postwar democratic Germany. As Count von Moltke rejected the idea of overthrowing the Nazi dictatorship by violence—he was afraid of a new myth of the stab in the back and had moral scruples about violent rebellion against an established government—this issue played a minor role only at the three big meetings of the Kreisau Circle in 1942 and 1943. The circle produced programmatic papers such as the "Principles of a New Order" or "Punishment of the Disgracers of Law," in which a Christian ethos dominated. This found its expression in a close relationship between church and state, a strong emphasis on the importance of families, and the notion of a democracy of "small communities" in which parishes would play an important role beside neighborhoods, local authority districts, and companies. Basic industries were to be nationalized in a corporative-style mixture of a planned and a market economy. The circle strongly favored reconciliation with European neighbors, the inclusion of Germany in a European context, and the foundation of a European association. The disintegration of the Kreisau Circle was the result of the arrest of Count von Moltke in January 1944. Some of its members took part in the July plot, and many of them were among those convicted and executed in consequence.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONFESSING (OR CONFSSIONAL) CHURCH, THE; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; EUROPE; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; JULY PLOT, THE; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; STATE, THE; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUDIUS SCHENK GRAF VON; THIRD REICH, THE; TROTT ZU SOLZ, ADAM VON; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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KRIECK, ERNST (1882–1947)

National Socialist educational theorist. In 1900 he became a schoolmaster in Baden and in 1928 obtained a chair in the Pedagogical Academy at Frankfurt. He was dismissed from this post on account of his agitation on behalf of the National Socialists, but in 1933 he was made professor of pedagogics in Frankfurt and the following year in Heidelberg; he then rose to be rector of the universities of Frankfurt (1933) and Heidelberg (1937–1938). His ambition to become the leading National Socialist pedagogue and philosopher in Germany was blocked by Alfred Rosenberg, and that led to his retirement in 1938. Subsequently, he devoted himself to writing. In numerous publications—among others the polemical tract *Nationalpolitische Erziehung* (*National Political Education*, 1932)—Krieck embodied the National Socialist world view in pedagogy. He advocated the education of youth in National Socialist organizations such as the Hitler Youth, the SA, and the SS and called for the German people to be educated as a “race-conscious nation.” He also called for “breeding, selection and culling.” In his three-volume *Völkisch-politischen Anthropologie* (1936/1938) he praised the ideal of the “hero ready for sacrifice” and advocated a “specific” German philosophy.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ARYANISM; BLOOD; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SA, THE; SS, THE; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY); *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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KRISTALLNACHT (NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS)

Anti-Jewish night of violence and destruction carried out by the SA during the night from 9 to 10 November 1938. *Kristall* is a reference to the windows of about 7,000 Jewish-owned shops smashed that night. All over Germany and Austria, synagogues were burned to the ground and the homes of Jews were attacked. Joseph Goebbels had instigated the pogroms by a speech calling for retaliation for the murder of German diplomat Ernst von Rath in Paris. The Gestapo and SS arrested approximately 30,000 male Jews and imprisoned them in concentration camps in Buchenwald, Dachau, and Sachsenhausen.

Christophe Müller

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; SA, THE; SS, THE

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KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED (1907–1967)

Eldest son of Gustav Krupp (chairman of the board of the Friedrich Krupp company, 1909–1943), became promoting member of the SS in 1931. During the 1930s he was an influential protagonist of heavy industry and received the honorary title of *Wehrwirtschaftsführer* (“work leader in defense products factories”). Later he dealt with the pillage of economic goods in the occupied countries. In 1943, Alfried Krupp became the sole owner of the combine. With this position, he became responsible for the large-scale exploitation of forced labor, and for that he was given a prison sentence of twelve years in the Nuremberg Trials.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

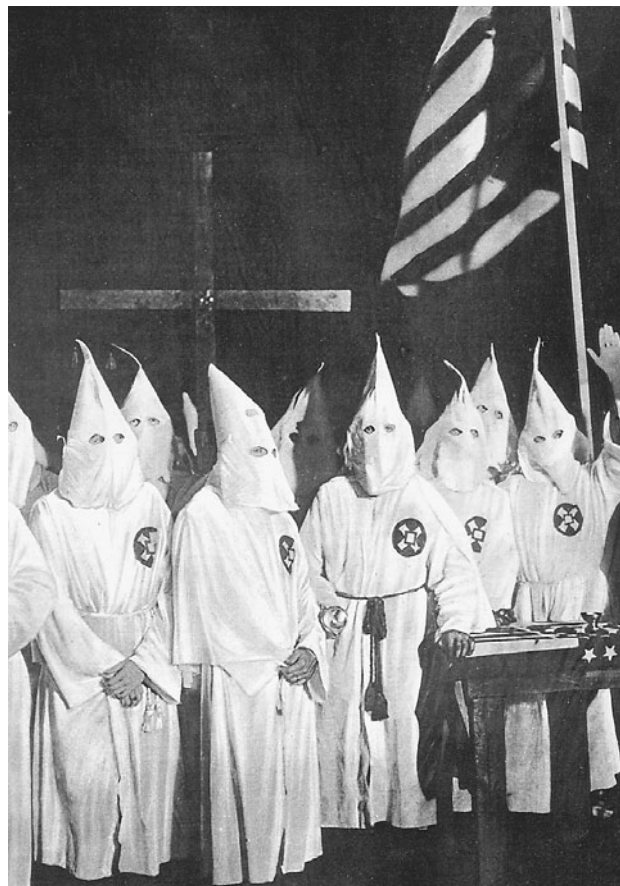
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KU KLUX KLAN, THE

First emerging in the immediate aftermath of the American Civil War and revived in 1915, the Ku Klux Klan represents the most enduring form of the extreme Right to appear in the United States. It was created by six Confederate veterans in Pulaski, Tennessee, but the exact date of the Klan's inception is disputed. Probably emerging in late 1865, it derived its name partly from the popularity of Greek names for student fraternities (the Greek word for circle is *kuklos*) and partly from the Scottish origin of many white Southerners (hence "clan"). In 1867, the Klan was reorganized under the leadership of former Confederate general Nathan Bedford Forrest. Their identities disguised by white hoods and robes, Klan night-riders whipped, beat, and shot African Americans and white supporters of the federal government. Control of its activities proved difficult, and in 1869, Forrest declared it dissolved. Much of its activity nonetheless continued. Ultimately, federal legislation and mass trials of Klan activists dealt a grievous blow to the organization, which effectively ceased to exist by the early 1870s. The goal of restoring white supremacy in the defeated South, however, was largely achieved.

In 1915, following the enthusiastic reception of *The Birth of a Nation*, D. W. Griffith's silent movie celebrating the Klan of the 1860s, the organization was relaunched. By the early 1920s it had sunk roots in many states and achieved the largest membership it would ever experience, with estimates ranging from 1 million to more than 6 million. It was influential in election contests in states ranging from Oregon to Texas. It suffered a number of splits, however, and in 1925 was deeply damaged by the publicity surrounding the conviction of its leading Indiana official for the murder of a young woman he had kidnapped and sexually assaulted. By the end of the 1920s, the Klan was a shadow of its former self. In 1944, faced with the government's claim of large amounts in back taxes, it formally declared itself suspended. It continued to exist at state level, and a number of attempts were made to re-



Initiation ceremony for Ku Klux Klan members in Baltimore, 1923. This movement's concerns have traditionally had more to do with the maintenance of racial segregation and white supremacy than with the revolutionary thrust of interwar fascism. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

vive it nationally. In 1954, the Supreme Court's *Brown* ruling against school segregation resulted in an upsurge of activity. Unlike previously, this third period did not involve a single Klan organization. Of the different groups, the most important was the United Klans of America, formed in 1961. United Klans members were heavily involved in a campaign of violence against African Americans and their supporters, but other Klans were also involved, notably the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Black churches were bombed, opponents were beaten, and in the most publicized incident, in 1964, three civil rights activists were murdered in Mississippi. The spread of civil rights activity to the North gave rise to Klan growth outside the South, and in 1960 the different groupings were estimated to total between 35,000 and 50,000. But the passing of civil rights measures and the increase in African American

political participation marked the failure of Klan terrorism, and subsequent attempts to revive the organization met with little success.

In the 1970s, two groups attracted media attention. The first, the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was led by a history graduate and former Nazi, David Duke. His frequent television appearances and attempt to reinvent the Klan as a movement for white rights proved unsuccessful, and Duke left the Klan, subsequently becoming a Louisiana state legislator. A rival group, the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, offered a more traditional image, only for its leader, Bill Wilkinson, to be revealed as an FBI informant; in 1994 a court case led to the group's dissolution. (Another case, in 1987, ended with a \$7 million award against the United Klans.) By the early 1990s, it was estimated that membership in different Klans had fallen to between 5,500 and 6,500. While the Ku Klux Klan has outgrown its Southern origin, and even emerged in other countries—for instance, in Canada and Germany—it has failed to achieve the levels of support of earlier periods.

Martin Durham

See Also: DUKE, DAVID; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; UNITED STATES, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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KUHN, FRITZ: See GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE

KÜHNEN, MICHAEL (1955–1991)

A relatively influential and high-profile neo-Nazi activist in postwar West Germany, from the mid-1970s until his death in 1991. Unlike a host of other German

neofascist, neo-Nazi, national revolutionary, conservative revolutionary, and New Right leaders, several of whom were more sophisticated thinkers, Kühnen was jailed several times and managed to garner a disproportionate amount of media attention because of his penchant for wearing Nazi-style uniforms, using inflammatory Nazi-inspired rhetoric, organizing paramilitary camps, sponsoring acts of terrorism and street violence, and openly celebrating Hitler's birthday.

Kühnen began his political career in the late 1960s in the ranks of the principal West German right-wing electoral party, the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD; National Democratic Party of Germany). He was especially active in its Aktion Widerstand (Resistance Action) initiatives opposing the conciliatory policies toward East Germany and the Soviet bloc of the then-chancellor and leader of the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (SPD; Social Democratic Party of Germany), Willi Brandt. During this period Kühnen made contacts with several leading neo-Nazi activists, including Manfred Roeder of the Deutsche Bürgerinitiative (BBI; German Citizens' Initiative). After the hemorrhaging of the NPD's voter base in the 1972 elections and the subsequent splintering of the entire radical-right milieu, he founded a series of his own neo-Nazi groups. Before doing so, however, he seems to have either temporarily joined or infiltrated the Liga gegen den Imperialismus (League against Imperialism), a Maoist front group established by the recently banned Kommunistische Partei Deutschland/Marxisten-Leninisten (KPD/ML; Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninists), from whom he claims to have learned much about comradeship, propaganda, and organizational techniques.

The most important of these neo-Nazi organizations was the Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten (ANS; National Socialists' Action Front), which he established in November 1977 and hoped eventually to transform into a mass national party. This group was apparently organized, on the Nazi Party model, into a two-tiered structure with both a legal and a clandestine wing. In contrast to certain other extremists, Kühnen also understood the importance of the news media in garnering publicity and new recruits, and thus he regularly granted interviews and assiduously engaged in agitational and propaganda activities. Among his many tactics was the distribution of pamphlets, bulletins (such as *NS Kampfruf*), and leaflets outlining his political agenda, as well as stickers with ANS symbols and catchy, easy-to-remember slogans such as *Wir sind wieder da* ("We're back again!") and *Ausländer raus* ("Foreigners out!"). To help produce these materials he

established a close relationship with a German-American Nazi sympathizer based in Nebraska named Gary Rex (“Gerhard”) Lauck, self-styled Fuehrer of a tiny organization known as the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei/Aufbau- und Auslandsorganisation (NSDAP/AO; National Socialist German Worker’s Party/Construction and External Organization), who published large amounts of German-language neo-Nazi material and then shipped it to Germany in violation of that country’s laws against the production and dissemination of Nazi propaganda.

As a result of his increasingly public neo-Nazi activities, Kühnen was expelled from the Bundeswehr’s cadet college in 1977. From that point on, he devoted most of his efforts to political activism on the fringes of West German society. In 1977 and 1978, ANS members carried out several bank robberies and stole weapons from various military bases, and the following year six of them were arrested, tried, and sentenced to eleven years in prison for those crimes, as well as for hatching bomb plots targeting NATO facilities and a memorial for the victims of the Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp. Kühnen himself was tried and convicted, but he was sentenced only to four years in prison, for inciting racial hatred and violence. It was during this period of incarceration that, following Hitler’s example, he wrote his main ideological treatise, *Die zweite Revolution* (*The Second Revolution*, 1979, an allusion to the aborted 1934 “social revolution” of Ernst Roehm’s interwar SA), wherein he sought to update and modify Nazi doctrine, organization, and praxis to make it more relevant in the vastly different context of postwar Europe. This work advocated lifting the ban on the NSDAP, repatriating foreigners, protecting the environment, resisting U.S. “imperialism,” and struggling for a neutral and “socialist” Germany. In short, it sought to combine old-style Nazi biological racism and the social revolutionary agenda of the SA with postwar geopolitical “Third Positionism.”

In January 1983, following his November 1982 release from prison, Kühnen arranged for a merger between the remnants of the ANS and branches of the Nationale Aktivisten in Fulda, which led to the creation of the Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten/Nationale Aktivisten (ANS/NA; National Socialists’ Action Front/National Activists), a new group modeled on the SA. When the German government moved to ban this new organization, which now numbered almost 300 activists in nearly thirty local branches, Kühnen set up a series of cultural circles—the most important of which was the Gesinnungsgemeinschaft der Neuen Front (GdNF; New Front Association of Kin-

dred Spirits)—and successfully infiltrated and took over a small conservative right-wing party, the Freiheitliche Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (FAP; Independent German Worker’s Party), in an effort to circumvent the ban. Although he was rearrested and sentenced to three years in prison in 1985, by the time Kühnen was released in March 1988 the FAP had become far larger and more militant under its new neo-Nazi directors. Unfortunately for Kühnen, rival FAP leaders Jürgen Mosler and Volker Heidel had in the meantime carried out a successful internal putsch against him. The rationale for this putsch was that Kühnen, who was homosexual, had openly promoted the recruitment of homosexuals who were unencumbered by traditional families into the neo-Nazi movement in a book entitled *Nazismus und Homosexualität*. (This work was later translated into the French language by gay French neo-Nazi Michel Caignet, a member of Marc Frédérikson’s Fédération d’Action Nationaliste et Européenne (FANE; Federation for Nationalist and European Action) and Holocaust denier who was later implicated in various pedophilia scandals in France.) Since the bulk of the FAP adopted the antihomosexual positions of Mosler and Heidel, who were backed by other German neo-Nazi leaders who hoped to weaken Kühnen’s influence, the latter was forced to form a new organization with his remaining partisans, the Nationale Sammlung (NS; National Assembly), which he viewed in part as the foundation of a broader electoral party like the Front National in France. When government authorities banned the NS from participating in the March 1989 regional elections in Hesse, Kühnen and his supporters established yet another new organization, the Deutsche Alternative (DA; German Alternative). Soon after he managed to secure the support of a breakaway faction from the FAP, the Nationale Offensive. He then launched *Arbeitsplan Ost*, an ambitious project designed to spread neo-Nazi ideas within the former German Democratic Republic and thereby recruit disgruntled East Germans into a broader nationwide movement. The extent to which his efforts may have fueled the outbreak of neo-Nazi extremism and violence in eastern Germany after the Marxist regime collapsed is unclear, since much of the neo-Nazi resurgence in that region seems to have been a spontaneous reaction in the face of official Stalinist dogma, looming economic uncertainty, the unwelcome presence of foreigners, and psychological alienation and anxiety.

In addition to his propaganda and organizational activities in the East, Kühnen’s efforts over the years to transform the parallel apparatus of the GdNF into a broader neo-Nazi umbrella organization were short-

circuited by his early HIV-related death in April 1991. Nevertheless, although he attracted much more press attention than was probably warranted, Kühnen was an indefatigable activist who seems to have exerted a disproportionate influence on the fringe neo-Nazi milieu in Cold War Germany.

Jeffrey M. Bale

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSERVATISM; ECOLOGY; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; HOMOSEXUALITY; IMMIGRATION; IMPERIALISM; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXISM; NATURE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; REVOLUTION; ROEHM, ERNST; SA, THE; SOCIALISM; STYLE; TERRORISM; THIRD POSITIONISM; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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LA ROCQUE DE SEVERAC, FRANÇOIS, COMTE DE (1885–1946)

Leader of the Croix de Feu (CF) from December 1930 on, La Rocque, the son of a royalist general, transformed the movement from an association bringing former combatants together into the most feared extreme right *ligue* in interwar France. Following the dissolution of the leagues by the Popular Front government in 1936, La Rocque established the movement as the Parti Social Français. Rallying to Pétain during the war and named a member of the National Council (1941), La Rocque nevertheless refused to let the membership of the PSF (by now renamed the Progrès Social Français) join the Légion des Volontaires Français, or to take part in Pétain's Légion Française de Combattants. Indeed, despite public pronouncements in favor of the National Revolution, La Rocque is claimed by his supporters to have participated in the Resistance. La Rocque was arrested and deported by the Germans in 1943 to Ravensbrück for contacts with the Allies. Arrested on returning to France, he was first imprisoned, then put under house arrest in Croissy, where he died in 1946

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS;
FARMERS; FRANCE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM;

PÉTAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; VICHY; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR II

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LABOR FRONT, THE (DEUTSCHE ARBEITSFRONT; DAF)

The sole trades union organization permitted under the Third Reich, headed by Robert Ley. It was envisaged as the means of establishing peaceful labor relations. Although the chairman of the existing Council of the Trades Unions proposed collaboration with the new regime in 1933, it was refused. Officials of the new organization were drawn from the ranks of the NSDAP. The funds of the trade unions were seized and devoted to the founding of the “Strength through Joy” movement. Initially the front included management and white-collar associations, the aim being to create a “community” of labor. Including the whole workforce

of the Third Reich, the front enrolled more than 20 million individuals, and consequently it had a massive budget and considerable holdings of property. This attempt by the Nazis to win over workers to the philosophy of the Third Reich was not wholly successful, in the sense that industrial disputes continued, but the improved rates of employment certainly made the regime more attractive. It was one of the facets of the Third Reich to be imitated in Japan.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; EMPLOYMENT; GERMANY; JAPAN; LEISURE; LEY, ROBERT; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; NAZISM; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADE UNIONS; WORK

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LABOR SERVICE, THE

The German Labor Service (Arbeitsdienst) started as a job creation scheme and developed into an obligatory work program for young Germans. In the years before the war the organization was one of the most important propaganda and educational tools of the Nazi regime. After World War I, many countries discussed the introduction of a labor service in order to organize their youth for work for the common good with an educational dimension. Bulgaria introduced a compulsory labor service in 1920. As a reaction to the Great Depression, several nations instituted such organizations on a voluntary basis in the fight against the economic and social consequences of unemployment, among them Germany (from 1931) and the United States (from 1933).

After their seizure of power, the Nazis coordinated the voluntary labor service. From 1933 until 1945, the organization was headed by *Reichsarbeitsführer* Konstantin Hierl (1875–1955). On 26 June 1935, the *Reichsarbeitsdienstgesetz* (Reich labor service law) was passed. From that point on the organization was called Reichsarbeitsdienst (RAD), and labor service became

compulsory for all male Germans between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. The duration of service was six months, normally directly prior to military service. Altogether, more than 3 million men passed through this organization. For women, obligatory service was formally instituted on 4 September 1939 but never fully translated into action. The Arbeitsdienst was an important ideological and educational instrument of the regime. Labor service was considered “honorary service.” According to the ideological claim, it helped to build up the “national community” through the common work of Germans with different social backgrounds and through the shared living arrangements in camps far away from urban centers. The RAD for men was employed in forestry, soil improvement projects, and other forms of work-intensive manual labor, whereas the much smaller suborganization for women helped on farms and in homework. The economic effectiveness and efficiency of the institution was low. Primarily, the RAD served as a political symbol of integration and as a propaganda instrument for the Nazi regime aimed at the German population as well as at foreign observers.

Apart from their work, the enrollees were indoctrinated with Nazi ideology. In the male section of the RAD, the educational dimension lost influence in 1937–1938. From that point on, the efficient deployment of labor and premilitary training for the young men were considered to be more important, as part of the regime’s effort of war preparation. In the less important RAD for women, whose history follows completely different lines, highly centralized education along Nazi concepts had been introduced only in 1936. During World War II, the RAD for men increasingly developed into an auxiliary troop of the German military. It also became involved in the regime’s racist war of extermination. After 1940, several occupied and dependent countries of Nazi Germany built up similar organizations (for example, Croatia, The Netherlands, Norway, Slovakia). In May 1945, the RAD was demobilized as part of the Wehrmacht, and on 20 May 1945 the Allied Control Council abolished the organization.

Kiran Patel

See Also: CROATIA; EDUCATION; EMPLOYMENT; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; LABOR FRONT, THE; MILITARISM; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; NORWAY; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RACISM; RURALISM; SLOVAKIA; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORK; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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LAGARDE, PAUL DE (1827–1891)

One of those anti-Semitic Pangermanists and preachers of the need for a rebirth of the German nation whose theories helped to create the climate in which the Nazis could thrive. Born Paul Anton Boetticher, Lagarde was a theologian, professor of Oriental studies at Göttingen, cultural critic, and guiding force of the late-nineteenth-century conservative revolution. Lagarde's philosophy was a response to the "decay" of state and church in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century. He preached an ideology composed of religious, mystical-romantic, chauvinistic, and anti-Semitic ideas that he claimed could inspire the rebirth of the German nation. The thrust of this ideology was Pangermanism, antiliberalism, hostility to the Enlightenment, and reformism. He set out his program in a series of writings that were brought together in the two-volume *Deutsche Schriften*, first published in 1878–1881 and subsequently re-edited and enlarged several times.

For Lagarde, religion was of central significance, both for individuals and for the nation. He criticized religious pluralism in Germany and upheld the view that the religious divisions of Christendom were outdated. Lagarde demanded the separation of church and state and called for a single national religion for each people, in order to avoid internal conflicts. He aimed to prepare the way for such a national religion through his scholarly researches. He rejected the Old Testament as morally dubious and not appropriate to the German being, and set out to purify the Gospel from all historical additions, so as to allow the Germans access to the real core of revelation. Politically Lagarde strove for a strong Central Europe ruled by Germany and Austria that would found colonies to the east and southeast. He argued for a corporative society in which a new and

wider nobility formed from capable families would be entrusted with particular colonization tasks. Through colonization the new nobility, and with it the German people, would rediscover its essence, while the decay of values, alienation from Germanness, rootlessness, and weakness of character would be remedied. Lagarde rejected Judaism as outdated but repeatedly stressed that he was not a supporter of racially motivated anti-Semitism; however, he reproached the Jews with being profiteers and speculators on the stock exchange. He insinuated that they were striving for world domination and complained of a perceptibly increasing influence of Jews in universities, the legal system, the press, and politics. Lagarde also thought that he could establish a decline in standards in German education as a result of its "Judaization." In the Jews he saw both a cause of Germany's supposed decline and a power whose very existence was an expression of German weakness. Lagarde seems to have accepted assimilation as an option for the German Jews, although he wanted the Jews to leave the areas to be colonized in the East and found their own state. In spite of his superficial detachment from racial anti-Semitism, there are passages in Lagarde in which he describes Jews as "parasites," saying that negotiation with them was not possible; they must be eliminated quickly and thoroughly.

With his nationalist revival theology Lagarde exercised an influence on various individuals and groupings, including Julius Langbehn, Alfred Rosenberg, the Wagner circle, the Alldeutscher Verband, a part of the Youth Movement, and the German Christians.

Michael Schäbitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; BANKS, THE; BAYREUTH; CHRISTIANITY; COLONIALISM; CORPORATISM; CULTURE; DECADENCE; ECONOMICS; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; LIBERALISM; NATIONALISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; PLUTOCRACY; PROTOfASCISM; RELIGION; ROOTLESSNESS; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SPENGLER, OSWALD; THEOLOGY; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY); WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; ZIONISM

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LANGBEHN, JULIUS (1851–1907)

Cultural critic and anti-Semite, Pangermanist and hypernationalist, Langbehn was one of those who helped to create the kind of cultural climate in which Nazism could thrive. His *Rembrandt als Erzieher* (*Rembrandt as Educator*) aroused a furor at the time of its publication in 1890. Within a few months the book, published anonymously, ran through several editions. The author, after studies in art and classical archaeology culminating in a doctorate, had led an unstable, wandering life. Like many of his contemporaries, Langbehn felt disquiet in regard to the ambient culture. In a cryptic language full of metaphors and allegories, he called insistently for a cultural renewal of Germany. He took Rembrandt and his art for a model, arguing that reforms should be inspired by Rembrandt's outlook. Langbehn's critique was directed against a number of developments of his day, including materialism, naturalism, democracy, internationalism, specialization in science, and the growth of the big cities. He valued solitude, peace, individualism, aristocratism, and above all art as the means to the rebirth of the German spirit that he desired. He assigned to art and the mystical a role superior to science and technology, for art was rooted in the national, while science, technology, and industrialization were international. Art could penetrate existence where science could not. Science needed to undergo a mystical process that would make it truly national, and the association of mysticism, science, and art would be the driving force for a renewal of national life. Such a spiritual rebirth could, however, occur only when a people was healthy, and to that end Langbehn called for a return to the peasant way of life. He saw such a return as the only way to produce the education and character that would enable Germany to take the lead in the European life of the spirit. In the sphere of foreign policy, Langbehn argued for the creation of a united Europe under German leadership. He believed that Germans were called to mastery of the world by peaceful means and for purposes of harmony and peace among the peoples.

Langbehn hoped for the unification and renewal of the German peoples under a charismatic leader. He advocated a hierarchical order, and his aristocracy was to be rooted in the life of the people and recruited from all classes of the population. Langbehn's concept of self-

education, his blood-and-soil philosophy, and his belief in a *Volksgemeinschaft* ("national community"), his romantically exaggerated reverence for the homeland, and his Pangermanic racist nationalism had a huge influence on the German youth movement. The first editions of *Rembrandt als Erzieher* contain few observations about the Jews, but from the thirty-seventh edition of 1891, a markedly anti-Semitic attitude became evident in his writing. Now the Jew appeared as the corrupter and destroyer of German culture; the Jews were exploiters, they were amoral, they were without character or homeland, and they were poisoning the German people. Germany must belong to the Germans, and the Jews could not be German because they are not Aryan by race. Particularly harsh expressions of anti-Semitism appeared in another anonymous writing of his, published in 1892, *Der Rembrandtdeutsche. Von einem Wahrheitsfreund* (*The Rembrandt-type German: By a Friend of Truth*). In 1900, Langbehn was received into the Catholic Church.

Michael Schäbitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ART; ARYANISM; BLOOD AND SOIL; COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURE; DEMOCRACY; EDUCATION; ELITE THEORY; EUROPE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; IMPERIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LEADER CULT, THE; MATERIALISM; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RURALISM; SCIENCE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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LANZ VON LIEBENFELS: See **LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON**

LAPUA

The Lapua movement began as a reaction of Finnish farmers to communist agitation in the town of Lapua in 1929, and it quickly received the blessing of right-wing establishment figures. The authorities attempted

to appease the movement by endorsing its main goal of eradicating communism and did little to stop its campaign of physical intimidation against political opponents on the Left. Although not engaging directly in electoral politics, Lapua succeeded in mobilizing broad popular support and pressuring the government into passing anticommunist legislation. However, Lapua alienated many of its bourgeois supporters through its continued lawlessness and escalating demands. Matters came to a head in February 1932 with a muddled rebellion at the town of Mäntsälä, subsequent to which the movement was outlawed.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CONSERVATISM; FINLAND; MARXISM; SOCIALISM

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LAROUCHE, LYNDON HERMYLE (born 1922)

U.S. former Quaker and former far-left activist who shifted to the far Right in the 1970s and attracted a following through his writing, speaking, and propagandistic activities. His movement generally operates under front groups such as Food for Peace and the Schiller Institute, and it publishes journals like the *New Federalist* and the *Executive Intelligence Review*. LaRouche is associated in particular with anti-Semitic conspiracy theories—in which the British royal family often plays a leading role—and he has developed an extensive intelligence-gathering service. The LaRouchite ideology contains elements of populist antielitism and hostility to a range of targets, including the Left in general, environmentalism, feminism, homosexuality, and organized labor. LaRouchites have called for a dictatorship led by a "humanist" elite.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DICTATORSHIP; ECOLOGY; FEMINISM; HOMOSEXUALITY; KÜHNEN, MICHAEL; NATURE; NEOPOPULISM; TRADES UNIONS; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WOMEN

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**LAROUCHITES, THE: See LAROUCHE,
LYNDON HERMYLE**
**LATERAN PACTS, THE: See CATHOLIC
CHURCH, THE**

LATVIA

The most significant of the various extremist nationalist groups to emerge in Latvia in the interwar years was the Thunder Cross (Perkonkrusts), which was founded in 1933 after its predecessor, the Fire Cross (Ugunskrusts), was banned. The guiding slogan of the Thunder Cross was "Latvia for the Latvians." Led by Gustavs Celmiņš (1899–1968), the movement was most popular among young, urban, university-educated men. In particular, it channeled resentment of the continued predominance of Germans and Jews in certain professions, such as law and medicine. The Thunder Cross adopted paramilitary attributes and appeared to be gaining popularity, but it never had an opportunity to contest elections. Following the example of Päts in Estonia, Prime Minister Kārlis Ulmanis declared a state of emergency on 15 May 1934 and arrested the leaders of the Thunder Cross, as well as communists. While claiming to save democracy from the threat of extremism, Ulmanis erected his own authoritarian regime. In 1936 he united the offices of president and prime minister in his own person. Although banned, cells of the Thunder Cross continued to operate underground. Celmiņš was exiled. Despite Ulmanis's adoption of nationalist policies favored by the Thunder Cross, the latter continued to view him as beholden to the business interests of the ethnic minorities. In 1939 the Soviet Union issued an ultimatum to Latvia to authorize the establishment of military bases on her territory, and the following year Latvia was annexed to the USSR. Ulmanis and thousands of his countrymen were deported to Russia, where most perished. In their thirst for revenge against the Soviets, many former members of the

Thunder Cross collaborated with the Nazis when they invaded in 1941, though Celmiņš was later arrested for opposing German rule. After the restoration of independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, a small extremist nationalist group revived the name of the Thunder Cross and blew up a few Soviet monuments. Other acts of political violence in Latvia have come from Russian extremists, particularly the National Bolsheviks.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; ESTONIA; LITHUANIA; NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PARAMILITARISM; PĀTS, KONSTANTIN; SOVIET UNION, THE; ULMANIS, KĀRLIS

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LAVAL, PIERRE (1883–1945)

Leading minister, Vichy France (July–December 1940, April 1942–August 1944). Elected to parliament as a socialist (1914), Laval evolved opportunistically to become a centrist prime minister (1931–1932, 1935–1936). In July 1940, he engineered Petain's assumption of power. Ideologically agnostic, Laval made unilateral concessions to the German occupiers with confidence that clever bargaining would win counter-concessions. Petain dismissed him on 10 December 1940, possibly for excessive concessions but more likely for failing to consult, for his unpopularity as an unprincipled politician, and for an absence of promised results. Reinstated under German pressure (April 1942), Laval continued with his policy of collaboration. He was executed in 1945.

Robert O. Paxton

See Also: FRANCE; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; VICHY; WORLD WAR II

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LAW

The role played by law in interwar Italy and Germany was ambivalent, multifaceted, and variable. On the one hand, the political theory and practice of Italian Fascism and German Nazism were antagonistic to the role assigned to law in modern liberal societies—that is, social integration through general and public common action norms that assign subjective rights to individuals. Italian Fascist and German Nazi authors advocated alternative means of achieving social integration—namely, by means of the rule of the charismatic leader who would articulate the will of the masses in his ad hoc decisions or commands. The irrationalistic and antiliberal tenor of the two regimes was at odds with modern law, and very especially with the rule of law. In addition, their opposition to liberal democracy entailed the firm rejection of the representative and participatory procedures of law-making. On the other hand, Mussolini and Hitler did not abolish law and legal orders when they came to power; instead, they made ample use of law as a means of their rule. This allowed them to retain the form of law while attempting a substantial transformation of the very idea of law. "Fascist" law can be said to have been characterized by three main features. First, both the law-making procedures and the system of sources of law were dramatically simplified. The will of the leader was affirmed as the ultimate source of law, and that will was said not to be limited or framed by any legal constraint, which implied emancipating the political will from law. Not only were formal constitutional norms alien to Italian Fascist and German Nazi conceptions of law but, in addition, the very idea of judicial review of executive and administrative action and regulation was foreign to them. Second, the legal order was conceived as composed of objective rules, to the exclusion of subjective rights and principles. Indeed, the legal theory of the two regimes aimed at explicating subjective rights as the mere reflex of objective legal norms, while legal principles were regarded as mere devices of rhetoric. This curtailed the potential of legal norms to serve as limits of state (and private) power. Third, the regulative ideal of the legal order was formally retained but substantially instrumentalized, with a view to increasing the social legitimacy of the regimes. This was done in three main ways: (a) formal law kept on playing a visible role in integrating society in certain domains (for example, private property regimes and contractual relationships), even if system-

atically subject to potential exceptions stemming from the will of the leader. This reflected the dual character of the political orders in Mussolinian Italy and Hitlerite Germany, wherein the *prerogative state* (ad hoc commands or decisions) overlapped with and constrained the *normative state*, the remnants of social relations still integrated through law; (b) the most oppressive and exploitative objectives of these regimes (such as the physical suppression of the opposition or Nazism's genocidal crimes against classes of individuals) required the enactment of general norms of sorts, the efficiency of which was increased by their transmission in a legal vest. Racial laws and (in the case of Germany) the rules governing the functioning of concentration camps constitute paramount examples; (c) these regimes made extensive use of laws as a propaganda tool. They indulged in the production of legal norms that were not intended to be actually applied but to serve as window-dressing for a social reality that clearly contradicted their own rhetoric. This was especially true for what concerned labor and industrial relationships. Indeed, the Italian Charter of Labor (1927) and the German National Labor Law (1934), like the parallel pieces of legislation instituted by the dictatorial regimes in Portugal (the Portuguese Charter of National Labor, 1935) and Spain (the Spanish Charter of Labor, 1938), were conceived, drafted, publicized, and diffused as pieces of propaganda.

The resiliency of the legal form, even if emptied of most of its legal substance, can be explained on both functional and normative grounds. Complex societies based on the division of labor and modern forms of economic production simply could not do away with a certain element of normative predictability. Positive morality is bound to be ineffective as an alternative to law, and it was dysfunctional even in the organization of racial discrimination and mass violations of rights. Moreover, social legitimacy could not be exclusively dependent on the charisma of the supreme leader or on physical coercion and violence. It needed to be supplemented with the appearance of the *formal* observance of legal norms if ample sectors of the legal profession, of the agents of the regime, and of the population in general were to acquiesce in the rule of such governments.

The extent to which actual legal systems were made to correspond to the core characteristics of Italian Fascist and German Nazi law was variable in time and space. The most relevant explanatory variables of such differences are the extent to which political systems actually complied with the central tenets of the two regimes and the way in which the Nazi and Fascist par-

ties gained a grip on power. The evolution of Italian law toward a Fascist paradigm was slow, and came hand in hand with the progressive consolidation of Fascist rule. In contrast, the decisive and quick way in which the Nazi party managed to monopolize power in Germany explains why the Reichstag Fire Decree marked a clear break with the liberal legal order in a short period of time.

LAWYERS, SCHOLARS, AND THE ITALIAN FASCIST AND GERMAN NAZI REGIMES

Practitioners, judges, and legal scholars played a prominent role in the establishment and consolidation of Italian Fascist and Nazi German rule. Firstly, the active or passive acquiescence of judges and legal professionals rendered possible the affirmation of the dual state: that is, the coexistence of areas or domains in which state power was ruled by and subject to law with areas or domains in which state power operated apart from the law in reality, with the law serving as a fig leaf. This provided decisive credibility to the claim that ad hoc decisions were to be regarded as part of the legal order. Secondly, many lawyers and jurists lent their legal credentials to exceptional jurisdictions through which the political prosecution and oppression of the opponents of the regimes were conducted. An example of this was, among others, the "courts of honor" and the courts through which political opponents were deprived of their freedom and wealth. Once again, the legal vest supplied an appearance of legitimacy to repressive measures. Thirdly, a good number of legal scholars assumed as their own the task of "fascistizing" the legal field in which they were specialized—that is, figuring out a new conceptual and normative framework with which to offer a systematic reconstruction of a sector of the legal order in line with the basic assumptions of Italian Fascist or German Nazi law. Numerous treatises on Fascist/Nazi penal law, economic law, family law, or even tax law were produced. As the number of countries under the rule of the regimes increased, we can even talk of the emergence of an "international fascist academia," in which scholars from Italy and Germany played a leading role. Fourthly and finally, legal scholars tended to play an outstanding role as ideologues of the regimes. The irrationalistic and antitheoretical stance of Italian Fascism and German Nazism as political movements created the conditions under which political theorists and legal scholars became ideologues of

the regimes. The underdeveloped theoretical foundations of the movements were in great need of being supplemented once the parties got hold of power. This explains the opportunities offered to Carl Schmitt in Germany or Giovanni Gentile in Italy to become leading court ideologues despite the suddenness of their respective conversions to Nazism and to Italian Fascism.

DEALING WITH ITALIAN FASCIST/ GERMAN NAZI LAW AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE REGIMES

The defeat of Italy and Germany in World War II resulted in the demise of their legal orders. That opened up a wide debate on the criminal responsibility of those enforcing their laws, which in its turn raised deeper questions about the legality of German Nazi and Italian Fascist law, and consequently, about the very concept and conception of law. The key practical question was whether blatant violations of human rights committed in compliance with such laws should give rise to criminal liability, or whether they should instead go unpunished because they were legal at the time at which they were committed. That was one of the central questions at the core of the Nuremberg Trials—and indeed, of all trials aiming at establishing the responsibility of those implicated in the actions of Italian Fascism, German Nazism, or governments elsewhere that imitated them. As indicated, such practical questions were tightly related to theoretical debates on the question of whether extremely unjust legal orders should be regarded as law at all, and whether specific extremely unjust norms should be regarded as legal. These debates revolved around the formula put forward by leading German jurist Gustav Radbrüch in 1946, according to which those norms that were “intolerably unjust” should not be regarded as legal. A harsh debate followed concerning the practical implications of adopting one or another conception of law when faced with totalitarian political systems.

THE DARK LEGACY OF LAW AS UNDERSTOOD BY ITALIAN FASCISM AND GERMAN NAZISM

Increasing attention is being paid to the analysis of the hidden, dark legacies of the fascistization of legal orders and scholarship. Not only was there a remarkable continuity of personnel in the composition of the

judiciary, the legal profession, and academia in postwar Italy and Germany, but there were remarkable (even if generally unnoticed) positive and theoretical continuities as well. Some pieces of legislation elaborated under Italian Fascist and German Nazi rule were left virtually untouched after the war (an outstanding example being the Italian Civil Code of 1942), and the intellectual foundations of certain disciplines (such as labor law) established under Mussolini and Hitler remained insufficiently explored and challenged afterward.

Agustín J. Menéndez

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACERBO LAW, THE; ARENDT, HANNAH; CANADA; COMMUNITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; EMPLOYMENT; ENABLING ACT (*ERMÄCHTIGUNGSGESETZ*), THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FRICK, WILHELM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; HOMOSEXUALITY; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; PORTUGAL; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; REICHSSTAG FIRE, THE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROCCO, ALFREDO; SCHMITT, CARL; SEXUALITY; SPAIN; SPANN, OTHMAR; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADES UNIONS; UNIVERSITIES; VICHY; *VOLKSGERICHT*, THE; WORLD WAR II

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LE BON, GUSTAVE (1841–1931)

French social theoretician whose ideas on the behavior of crowds uncannily anticipated and perhaps influenced the manipulation of mass audiences by interwar Italian Fascist and German Nazi leaders. Le Bon started out as a doctor, but later his intellectual interests widened to the study of physiology, psychology, sociology, politics, and archaeology; he became the founder of crowd psychology. His convictions about the role of race in human societies were also very influential in fascist thinking. Le Bon attributed the workings of society to the overwhelming power of physiological determinism, and that hypothesis was for him the primary causal mechanism to explain the operation and character of history. Nineteenth-century evolutionary science, he believed, demonstrated that human beings were unambiguously separated into clearly defined racial groups, and that the many different societies that arose during the course of evolution manifested uniquely original racial souls that reflected intrinsically varied psychological and physical characteristics. According to Le Bon, the different racial soul peculiar to every nation and people could be empirically investigated like any other branch of science.

Le Bon's ideas are not largely traceable to indigenous French intellectual traditions but rather show clear parallels to the vitalistic and racial assumptions of the evolutionary monist science of the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel. The commonly held belief that it was the tradition of Italian and French scientific materialism and

positivism, as seen in the writings of such figures as B. A. Morel, Hippolyte Taine, Scipio Sighele, J. M. Charcot, Paul Broca, and Gabriel Tarde, that decisively shaped Le Bon's thinking, has to be revised. Those authors, for the most part, were also influenced by Haeckel's science, so that all of them, including Le Bon, shared a common intellectual milieu. Anticipating fascist social theory, Le Bon held a pessimistic view of the intellectual capacity of the ordinary person, necessitating the cultivation of political elites who could provide society with meaningful leadership and control. In his view, the regrettable democratic tradition of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, which had confused modern political life, had to be recast so as to harmonize with the antidemocratic implications of evolutionary science. The laws of society, Le Bon argued, directly parallel the laws of nature, and therefore any attempt, as proposed by liberalism and socialism, to subvert the natural laws of struggle, social hierarchy, and human inequality would undermine the antiegalitarian, scientifically established axioms of evolution.

Of particular interest was Le Bon's theory of crowd behavior, a sociological analysis of mass society that consciously influenced the manipulative strategies employed by Mussolini and Hitler in their drive for political ascendancy. Based for the most part on the psychological monism of Haeckel, Le Bon published in 1904 what was to become his most famous book, *The Psychology of Crowds*. The book offered practical advice on how to control the collective mind of the masses and was geared to political programs that deliberately challenged the basic assumptions of liberal and democratic society. Crowds, for Le Bon, manifested an irrational psychological unity, and he pointed out that at decisive moments all ethical restraints among people dissolve and violence takes over. At such times, leaders have the capacity to gain power over vast numbers of individuals, literally to captivate them hypnotically, their words and ideas spreading among the people like a "contagion"—a highly prophetic formulation that uncannily anticipated the magiclike powers of persuasion that Hitler and Mussolini exercised over the thought and mass behavior of multitudes of people in Germany and Italy.

Daniel Gasman

See Also: DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; POSITIVISM; PROPAGANDA; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM;

SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIOLOGY; THEATER; VITALISM

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LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE (born 1928)

Leader of the Front National in France, who has presided over the development of the most important extreme-right-wing party in present-day Europe. Le Pen has played an essential part in making the FN a significant force in French politics. He is the son of a Breton fisherman who was killed in 1940. Part of the mythology created around him by his followers and himself holds that the role of head of the family assumed by Le Pen as a teenager gave him a personal authority that made him a natural leader of the French nation. Whatever the truth behind his disputed claims to have taken part in the Resistance, Le Pen subsequently showed himself eager for military experience. In 1954, after finishing his law degree in Paris, he enlisted to serve in Indo-China with the First Parachute Battalion of the Foreign Legion but arrived too late to see action before the French defeat, though he gained journalistic experience on an army magazine instead. Later, after re-enlisting in 1956, he took part in the Suez episode before serving in Algeria, where he was accused of using torture, a charge that he has continued to deny. Having returned to France in 1957, he continued to campaign for *Algérie française* and to use the rhetoric of revolt against the government. His political career, as well as his capacity for verbal and physical violence, had been foreshadowed by his activity while an undergraduate, as he became president of the law students' union but also gained a reputation for brawling.

In 1956, at the age of twenty-seven, Le Pen became the youngest deputy in the National Assembly, elected to a Paris constituency as part of Pierre Poujade's virulently anticommunist, populist, nationalistic movement, the UDCA, representing small shopkeepers and artisans who considered their interests to have been

abandoned by the self-serving elites of the Fourth Republic. Le Pen's relationship with Poujade rapidly soured, but not before he had established himself as the group's most powerful orator in parliament. Following his time in Algeria he was re-elected as an Independent in 1958 but lost his seat in 1962. For more than two decades afterward he was on the margin of French politics but remained prominent in the turbulent microcosm of the extreme Right. His organizational flair was evident in his management of Tixier-Vignancour's campaign for the presidency in 1965, although the candidate's score of 5.3 percent in the first round did not herald the revival of the far Right for which Le Pen had hoped. As leader of the FN from its inception in 1972, and supported by a fortune inherited from a wealthy sympathizer under disputed circumstances, he weathered the early years of in-fighting and factionalism to create an effective party run on top-down, authoritarian lines under his very personal control. He showed himself astute at balancing the rival currents within the party and neutralizing their potential for division until the late 1990s, when his distrust of the rising popularity of Bruno Mégret, his presumed deputy, led him to force a confrontation that split the party in the winter of 1998–1999, damaging it severely through loss of cadres, grass-roots activists, and electoral supporters but eliminating the internal challenge and maintaining his own supremacy.

Le Pen was and is a curious mixture. He is brazenly nationalist and a peddler of offensive public comments about immigrants and Jews. He is an educated, articulate self-publicist and polemicist. He is a charismatic leader and effective organizer who succeeded in uniting most of the extreme Right and taking it from the margins of political life to a position where it could at least influence national political debates, implant itself in local government, and hold a handful of seats in the European Parliament (where Le Pen himself has held a seat since 1984, except during a one-year ban in 2000–2001 for assaulting a socialist politician), even if the electoral system kept it out of the National Assembly except from 1986 to 1988. The widespread revulsion caused by his score of nearly 17 percent in the French presidential election of 2002 despite reduced support for the FN itself since the 1999 split was a fitting apotheosis for such a deeply flawed but in some ways remarkable political actor.

Christopher Flood

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; EUROPE; FRANCE; IMMIGRATION; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE), THE; NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND

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LEADER CULT, THE

The leader cult was a marked feature of the regimes of Hitler and Mussolini; as official Italian fascist propaganda put it, *Il duce* [Mussolini] *ha sempre ragione* (“Mussolini is always right”). Forged by regime propaganda and expressed in multiple ways by ceremonies, chants, speeches, symbols, and myths, the leader cult became in fascist regimes a characteristic feature of what Walter Benjamin has called the “aesthetics” of fascism. The presence of a leader enjoying an immense personal popularity and adulation from his people that, moreover, often possessed a pseudo-religious dimension thus served a double function: it provided the fascist regimes with both charismatic legitimacy and a strong organizational principle for coordinating the activities and internal life of the regime.

Interwar fascism developed in environments characterized by crisis, uncertainty, and fear. For the early-twentieth-century European citizen, the Great War meant much more than the collapse of the old world order, the Russian Revolution, and the sweeping away of the old empires. At the micro level of participant societies, the long years of sacrifice had caused personal disaster, social dislocation, and horror at the collapse of community and its values. Overwhelmed by a general crisis and having lost faith in the old liberal ideal and the leaders associated with it, many European peoples turned to fascist or quasi-fascist leaders who promised to confront the crisis with both workable solutions and new ideological visions. Elevated to superhuman status relevant to the crisis dimensions and the importance of the mission they were expected to carry out, fascist leaders were considered “charismatic” in the purest Weberian sense, thus enjoying the full surrender and unquestioned adoration of their faithful. The quest for strong and charismatic leadership found a solid ideological and psychological foundation in the contemporary elite theories of Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto about the importance of a ruling oligarchy hold-

ing power over a majority, as well as the theses about collective psychology advanced especially by Scipio Sighele (1868–1913) and Gustave Le Bon, assuming that crowds are naturally susceptible to manipulation by strong leaders. Some have argued that the leader cult was in fact an element in fascism’s distinctive core ideology, that which set it apart as a creed. But the fact is that the cult of Stalin in the Soviet Union and other leadership cults in places such as postwar Iraq, Romania, Albania, and North Korea (where it remains in place) show that the leadership cult is in no way unique to fascism.

Takis Pappas

See Also: ARENDT, HANNAH; CARLYLE, THOMAS; ELITE THEORY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INFLATION; ITALY; LE BON, GUSTAVE; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PARETO, VILFREDO; PROPAGANDA; RATIONALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STYLE; TOTALITARIANISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE

Founded after World War I, forerunner of the United Nations, by which it was replaced after World War II. Like the other defeated nations, Germany was not allowed to take up membership until 1926; thus for the defeated nations, the League of Nations was seen as a tool of the victors. The first true tests for the League were the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September 1931 and the creation of the satellite state of Mand-



The opening session of the League of Nations in 1920. Established out of a desire to prevent any recurrence of war on the scale of World War I, the League was held in contempt by Hitler, for whom it was the embodiment of the pacifist spirit; he and Mussolini consciously promoted militarism and a warrior ethos. (Corel)

schukuo in March 1932. In the face of this open aggression the League reacted hesitantly, eventually sending a commission of inquiry under Lord Lytton that took three months for the journey alone. Its report came out in September 1932, a year after the Japanese attack. Following that the League of Nations Assembly of 24 February 1933 decided not to recognize Mandchukuo, with the result that Japan left the League on 27 March 1933. On 19 October 1933, Hitler's Germany also withdrew, having abandoned the Geneva Disarmament Conference a few days earlier, leaving it to collapse definitively a few months later after eight years of work. Hitler had already announced to the Reichstag on 17 May 1933 that, for him, the League had been an irrelevance from the start. He had in fact denounced it several years earlier in *Mein Kampf*, in which he asserted that it belonged to "Jewish world finance," "Jewish world domination," and "Jewish world Bolshevization."

The League failed to halt the aggression of Italy at the beginning of 1935 against Ethiopia, one of its own members. Great Britain and France had no interest in thwarting Mussolini because they saw in him a potential ally against Hitler, who was considered more immediately dangerous. Because the League Assembly resolved on only half-hearted economic sanctions and implemented them even more half-heartedly (an oil embargo was rejected, and the Suez Canal was not closed to Italian supplies), Mussolini could interpret the entry of his troops into Addis Ababa (5 May 1936)—a military success due in part to the use of poison gas—as a victory over the League (especially in his Milan Speech of 1 November 1936). The departure of Japan (March 1933), Germany (October 1933), and Italy (December 1937) sounded the death knell of the League of Nations. The increasingly impotent organization could do nothing to prevent the military buildup in Europe and Asia, nor the *Anschluss* of Aus-

tria, Hitler's annexation of the Sudetenland, Mussolini's occupation of Albania, the Japanese invasion of China beginning on 7 July 1937, nor above all the European war unleashed on 1 September 1939 by Hitler. The organization remained formally in existence until the end of World War II, when it was replaced by the United Nations. It was officially dissolved on 18 April 1946 in Geneva.

Carlo Moos

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ALBANIA; ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; BOLSHEVISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORFU; COSMOPOLITANISM; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; ETHIOPIA; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; SUDETENLAND, THE; UNITED NATIONS, THE; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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LEBENSBOORN HOMES, THE: See
EUGENICS; SS, THE

LEBENSRAUM

Roughly translates from German as “living space”; particularly associated with the imperialistic ideology and population policies of Nazism, although there was an equivalent expression in Italian Fascism (*spazio vitale*). In policy and prosecution, the Nazi pursuit of *Lebensraum* involved the massive transfer—and violent uprooting—of indigenous populations in Central Eastern Europe. Forming a significant aspect of Hitler's *Weltanschauung* as illustrated in *Mein Kampf*, and put into violent practice during World War II, the quest for *Lebensraum* can be seen to underpin a number of actions undertaken by the Third Reich: the invasions of Poland and Soviet Russia, massive population resettle-

ments and “evacuations,” and the Holocaust. All were defended as a means to secure Germanic hegemony in Europe by control of natural resources (such as grain and oil) as well as forcible depopulation of vast territories—including some 50 million Eastern Europeans—construed as indispensable to the resettlement and functioning of a European “New Order,” or “thousand-year Reich,” dreamed of by Nazi planners.

On the eve of World War I, *völkisch* Pangermanism, military expansionism, and increasingly explicit racism became more closely associated with the doctrine of the established idea of *Lebensraum*, which had generally been used to cover colonial expansionism such as was practiced by all the major European powers in the nineteenth century. Friedrich von Bernhardi in particular explicitly advocated territorial seizures to the east of Germany, and the issue of the progression from Bernhardi via German militarism in World War I to Nazi conceptions of *Lebensraum* has been hotly debated, especially after the so-called Fischer Controversy in the 1960s concerning the continuity (or otherwise) of postunification German expansionism. Although the Third Reich's expansionist policies between 1933 and 1939 in areas such as Czechoslovakia and Austria may be viewed as the first shots in the battle for *Lebensraum*, that battle is generally considered to have begun with the onset of World War II in Europe. Following the conquest of Poland, massive population transfers of ethnic Germans and “non-Aryans” alike were prioritized by Nazi functionaries, and following the invasion of the Soviet Union efforts were made to depopulate vast areas through murdering millions in Central Eastern Europe.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”), THE; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; *MEIN KAMPF*; NEW ORDER, THE; PANGERMANISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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LEESE, ARNOLD SPENCER (1877–1956)

Leading adherent to fascist ideas in 1920s Britain and fanatical anti-Semite. Leese was a veterinarian who spent periods living both in India and in East Africa. After serving in World War I, he became convinced that there was a Jewish and Masonic threat to the British Empire and was elected to a local council as a British Fascist in 1924. Four years later he became one of the founding members of the Imperialist Fascist League, and his anti-Semitism grew so extreme that he openly called for the extermination of the Jewish race: in 1936 he was imprisoned on charges relating to articles he had published in his newspaper, *The Fascist*. He had no time for his fellow fascist Oswald Mosley, whom he regarded as insufficiently alert to the Jewish menace. Leese was interned during World War II until December 1943, and he was again imprisoned in 1947 for having assisted members of the Waffen-SS to escape punishment. He handed on the baton of his brand of British fascism after the war to Colin Jordan.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BRITISH FASCISTI/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; GREAT BRITAIN; HOLOCAUST, THE; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; POSTWAR FASCISM; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE

Romanian fascist movement (also known as the Iron Guard) founded in 1927 and named after a famous Orthodox icon of the Archangel Michael. The legion claimed to be neither a political party nor a sect but a “school,” aimed at the creation of a “new man.” The legion was based on a strong belief in communion with

the departed and in spiritual rebirth for its members through a cult of death—including political assassination. It was organized, on its lowest level, in “nests,” counting three to thirteen members each. The legion ruled Romania between September 1940 and January 1941, after which it was definitively banned.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; CULTS OF DEATH; NEW MAN, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALIN-GENETIC MYTH; ROMANIA

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LEISURE

In addition to organized sport, a range of other leisure activities were promoted by fascist regimes and movements to keep their followers loyal. The provision of leisure opportunities was part of a paternalistic attitude toward the general population. In addition to policies that sought to improve the conditions of the people—such as the reduction of unemployment through large-scale public works and armament programs—the provision and control of leisure time through organized activities aimed to produce a more compliant and satisfied populace. General leisure-time activities, such as visits to theaters, concerts, the cinema, art galleries, and sports grounds were all used by fascist regimes to expose audiences to nationalistic and ideologically slanted messages. In addition to those activities of choice, bodies such as Kraft durch Freude (KDF: “Strength through Joy”), established in 1933, also organized and controlled the leisure time of the individual. The leader of the KDF, Dr. Robert Ley, had worked out that the average German worker had 3,740 hours of free time each year. If that were left unfilled by the state, he argued, workers would become bored, disloyal, and open to degenerate ideas. The KDF coordinated a massive leisure program for loyal Nazi workers, including cruise ships that visited the Canary Islands for two-week holidays. Other organized holidays—including skiing trips to Bavaria, and tours to Italy and Switzerland—were

also offered. The KDF had a touring orchestra that entertained workers and Nazi party groups across Germany, and it also organized sports days, and theater and opera outings. By 1937 the KDF had thirty touring theater companies that performed a program of opera, comedy, cabaret, and variety shows. In 1937 alone the companies performed to a total national audience exceeding 30 million.

For the children of Nazi Germany, the Hitler Youth, which had been established as early as 1926, was the cornerstone of their leisure time. It was led from 1934 by Baldur von Schirach, and membership in it was made compulsory for all boys between the ages of sixteen and eighteen from 1936. In addition to meetings and rallies, the members of the Hitler Youth were provided with day trips, holidays, magazines, and comics, as well as cultural excursions.

In Italy compulsory youth organizations such as the Balilla were used to teach young Italians what their role in society was: boys as defenders of the country, girls as wives and mothers. For adults the *dopolavoro* was established to provide Italians with leisure pursuits that were based around an adherence to Fascism. Radio was a key tool in Mussolini's Italy. With more than a million radio sets in the country by 1939, many of which had been distributed free, a large number of Italians built their life around *dopolavoro*-sponsored programming. Additionally, *dopolavoro* supported cinema and theater attendance by providing its members with discount admission. Like the KDF, the *dopolavoro* encouraged and organized country marches, day trips, and tours, and provided a program of holidays throughout the country for its members with subsidized rates of travel and accommodation.

Meredith Carew

See Also: BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; EDUCATION; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FOOTBALL/SOCCER; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; LEY, ROBERT; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RADIO; RELIGION; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SPORT; THEATER; TOTALITARIANISM; *WANDERVÖGEL*, THE; YOUTH

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LEY, ROBERT (1890–1945)

Head of the Labor Front under the Third Reich. A Rhinelander and a chemist by profession, Ley became an early member of the NSDAP. He was elected to the Reichstag in 1930. On 2 May 1933, Ley ordered the occupation of the offices of all Trade Unions at the head of a "committee of action for the protection of German labor." Soon afterward Ley became the supreme arbiter in labor matters in Germany at the head of the Labor Front. He was also involved in the nazification of leisure through the construction of mass leisure organizations, and was responsible for the special elite schools for young adult men that were to be the matrices of the Nazi elite of the future. Ley's administrative empire eventually attained gigantic proportions. He committed suicide in prison in 1945.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: EDUCATION; GERMANY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LEISURE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; NAZISM; TRADES UNIONS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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LIBERALISM (Germany)

The wholesale condemnation of liberalism by German Nazis had to do with the fact that it was associated with a hated political reality, the Weimar Republic, which for them was an embodiment of things they associated with liberalism: parliamentarism, individualism, and pacifism, along with symptoms of German shame and weakness such as hyperinflation and the imposition of the humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty. For them liberalism above all implied weakness and represented the polar opposite of the heroic and powerful destiny of conquest that they considered appropriate for the German people.

Universal law, one of the pillars of liberalism, was anathema to Nazi nationalism. The Nazi legal expert

Werner Best rejected every form of codified rights of nations that was in some way based on universal values. Instead of an “effete” universalism, Nazis valued reality (*Wirklichkeit*), by which was meant the existence of actual power differences within society and among nations. And on those actual power differences they based their morality of “might is right.” The Treaty of Versailles was intended to humiliate the Germans and succeeded in doing so. Versailles—as both Jan Smuts and John Maynard Keynes observed—sanctioned the plundering of German resources, territory, colonies, and self-respect. Not surprisingly, bright German youths soon saw themselves as the victims of liberal modernism. Young conservative Germans took pride in unmasking liberal universalist claims, which they saw as cloaking mere power politics and economic greed in a very present and concrete situation of despair.

Seeing universalism as an abstraction intended to serve arbitrarily special interests, the Nazis rejected it out of hand. Nazism was ultimately mythological in character. It despaired of any absolute or ultimate truth, disowned abstract metaphysical truth, and instead embraced concrete, organic, and personal truth as epitomized by the myth of a race-specific culture and a personal faith in its leader, Hitler. Rosenberg, Hauer, and Goebbels tied together scientific and religious dogma and biologized religious language until the Darwinian biological struggle became a racial struggle, and the political goal became a new Nazi religion, one that was particularistic rather than universalistic.

Karla Poewe

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ARENDT, HANNAH; ARISTOCRACY; AUTARKY; AUTHORITARIANISM; CAPITALISM; COMMUNITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; FREEDOM; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; INFLATION; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; ORGANICISM; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SPANN, OTHMAR; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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LIBERALISM (Italy)

Mussolini and the movement he founded were as hostile to liberalism as were the Nazis. But the first serious questioning of liberalism in Italy had in fact come from pre-World War I nationalists like Enrico Corradini and Alfredo Rocco. Speaking in 1919, Corradini, whose ideas were ultimately to furnish the ideological core of Italian Fascism, condemned Italy’s “individualistic parliamentarism” as outdated. Rocco, who as Mussolini’s minister of justice was to invent much of the legislative basis of both the Fascist police state and corporative institutions, in the *Politica* manifesto of December 1918 provided a scathing critique of the failure of liberalism. The early Fascists, despite their commitment to Wilsonian ideals of democracy—including votes for women and the demand for a constituent assembly—sharply criticized the whole liberal parliamentary system in the Manifesto of the First Fascio of March 1919: in particular they rejected political parties as corrupt, eschewing even the label “party” for their movement until 1921.

Mussolini’s “carrot and stick” political strategy from the spring of 1921 onward, balancing the destructive effects of squadrist violence in the provinces against attempts to woo leading members of the liberal political elite, was in itself damaging to the liberal state. In his first speech to the Chamber of Deputies as prime minister in November 1922, Mussolini expressed his contempt for the key institution of liberal Italy, the parliament: “Gentlemen! What I am doing now in this hall is an act of formal deference to you, for which I ask no special sign of gratitude. . . . I could have transformed this drab, silent hall into a bivouac for my squads” (Delzell 1970, 45). The Acerbo electoral reform law of July 1923, while providing the basis for the Fascists’ two-thirds majority in the March 1924 general elections, could not suffice as a basis for normalization.

The murder of opposition leader Giacomo Matteotti two years later, and the subsequent outcry, demonstrated that Fascism could not comfortably govern inside the existing, albeit modified, liberal parliamentary system.

Mussolini's speech in January 1925, in which he accepted responsibility for all Fascist violence, and therefore implicitly for the murder of Matteotti, marked the beginning of a process that transformed Italy into a one-party police state in which Mussolini himself as head of the government enjoyed wide executive powers, unfettered by responsibility to parliament. The final rejection of liberalism, tout court, came in the "Doctrine of Fascism" published in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* in 1932. In that article, originally written by the idealist philosopher and leading Fascist intellectual Giovanni Gentile but reshaped in substantial part by Mussolini himself, the classical liberal concept was replaced by Gentile's idea of the "Ethical State." In the parts written by him, Mussolini emphatically rejected the theory and practice of liberalism: "It (Fascism) is opposed to classical liberalism which arose as a reaction to absolutism and exhausted its historical function when the State became the will and conscience of the people. Liberalism denied the State in the name of the individual; Fascism re-asserts the rights of the State as expressing the real essence of the individual." And in a clear enunciation of the new doctrine of "totalitarianism," Mussolini proclaimed: "The Fascist concept of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of the people. No individuals or groups (political parties, cultural associations, economic unions, social classes) outside the State" (*ibid.*, 93–94).

In 1934, at the height of the Great Depression, and in the year that the system of corporations had been established as governing bodies for all sectors of the economy, Mussolini turned his fire on economic liberalism: "[It] can now be confidently asserted that the capitalist mode of production is superseded, and with it the theory of economic liberalism that has in reality brought about the end of free competition. . . . Corporatism supersedes both socialism and liberalism." (*Il Popolo D'Italia*, 24 February 1934, p. 3). Lest it should be thought that the development of Mussolini's political theory was yet another example of his pragmatic, opportunistic improvisation in response to events, it is worth remembering that from the very beginning of his political career Mussolini had supported ideologies and

organizations that were intrinsically antiliberal and anticapitalist. From revolutionary socialism to the "revolutionary," totalitarian, and corporatist state was not, therefore, a great intellectual journey for Il Duce.

John Pollard

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ACERBO LAW, THE; ACTUALISM; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ARISTOCRACY; AUTARKY; AUTHORITARIANISM; AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; CAPITALISM; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; CORRADINI, ENRICO; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; MARXISM; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; ORGANICISM; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH; PSYCHOLOGY; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; ROCCO, ALFREDO; SOCIALISM; *SQUADRISMO*; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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LIBERALISM (in Theology)

Scholars are now only beginning to recognize the importance of German liberal theology to the worldview of numerous leading Nazis, and particularly to its anti-Semitic dimension. Dietrich Klagges (1891–1971) took liberal theology to its ultimate conclusion by reducing the Bible to the Gospel of Mark, in the belief of having stripped it of all "Jewish" distortion. He blended politics and religion to postulate that the Gospel of Mark was the *Ur-gospel*. Klagges was inspired by Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who in turn was inspired by the Old Testament scholar and Orientalist Julius Wellhausen. In order to make his free-thinking acceptable, Klagges also drew on the works of such philologists as Lachmann, Wilke, Weisse, and Holtzmann. As the original Gospel, Mark appeared to be innocent of "Jewish" distortion and was therefore considered worthy of being the foundation of a new German

faith. In a manner analogous to Hauer, Klagges then founded the Working Community of German Christians (Deutsch-Christliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft), whose task it was to show that the real Jesus was un-Jewish and Indo-Germanic and that his true identity was distorted by later apostles who were under the spell of Jewish intellectual power (*jüdischen Geistesmacht*). The aim of the German Christians was to unite Christianity with National Socialism, turning it into a “positive Christianity” as per Article 24 of the NSDAP party program. While the German Christians became a popular phenomenon in the 1930s, the idea is older. Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769–1860) talked about *deutsches Christentum* and *eine deutsche Kirche* (German Church) in 1815, following the Napoleonic wars.

Propagandists like Walther Darré and numerous literary figures including Hans F. Blunck (1888–1961), Gustav Frenssen (1863–1945), and Hans Grimm (1875–1959), among others, were directly or indirectly connected to Jakob Wilhelm Hauer (founder of the German Faith Movement) and the SS. All walked the path from liberal theology to freeing Germany from the imperialism of Jewish-Christianity. Together they harnessed enormous listening and reading audiences, addressing anywhere from 100 to more than 20,000 people at any one time. For example, Reventlow, the editor of *Reichswart* and co-founder of the German Faith Movement, mentioned that about 2.5 million people declared themselves to be its followers in 1935. In that year, too, the movement referred to itself as a “movement of millions.” A large membership increase occurred after the Sports Palace meeting in Berlin on 26 April 1935. Because the crowd crushed the Sports Palace even after its 20,000 seats were filled, it had to be closed by the police. Apparently vigorous propaganda had preceded the meeting, with as many as ninety talks per month being given all over Germany.

When in 1934 the Nazi Uniate Reichsbishop argued that “Christianity is not an outgrowth of Jewishness but originated from the constant battle with it, and for the first time since the emergence of Christianity has a *Volk* dared to declare war on the Jews,” J. W. Hauer responded that the “thoughts that the Uniate Reichsbishop developed here are a typical result of liberal theology.” Likewise, Gloege (1934, 393–415, 464–505) and Hutten (1934, 506–533) argued that *deutsch-germanisch* religions and worldviews have their origins in liberal theology. They categorized Rosenberg’s ruminations as liberalism dressed in *völkisch* garb. Walter Kunneth, who edited the volume with chapters by Gloege and Hutten, was a controversial Protestant theologian

who initially approved of National Socialism and only later turned to criticizing it. Liberal theology was used to divest Christianity of its Jewish elements.

Karla Poewe

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; DARRÉ, RICHARD WALTHER; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANY; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; MÜLLER, BISHOP LUDWIG; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PROTESTANTISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SS, THE; THEOLOGY; VOLK, VÖLKISCH

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LIBERTY LOBBY, THE: See CARTO, WILLIS; UNITED STATES, THE

LIBYA

Libya figures in the history of fascism first as an Italian colony between the wars and then, in the postwar

era, as the scene for the implementation of Mu'ammār Qadhafi's philosophy, regarded by some commentators as having certain fascistic traits. Libya was seen as a terrain for Italian expansion and domination from the early twentieth century. Initially commercial interests were involved, but the Italians were also ambitious for colonies in Africa. At that time Libya was a part of the Ottoman Empire. In September 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey, and in October Italian troops landed in Tripoli. The Turks and Libyans together organized armed resistance to the invaders, and the Italians failed to gain the anticipated military successes; when the Turks were defeated in the Balkan War, however, a peace treaty was arranged between the two sides. According to that treaty, Libya was to come under Italian rule on condition of its being granted "administrative autonomy"—a condition never honored. The Libyans, however, did not succumb, and, in spite of the pacification of some parts of the country, many areas (for example, Fezzan and Tripolitania) organized resistance against Italian occupation. By the beginning of World War I, Italy controlled only some coastal areas, including Tripoli, Benghazi, and Tobruk.

Resistance headed by the Sanusiya clan (represented at the time by Amir Muhammad Idris) to foreign troops continued both during and after the war. The seizure of power by the Fascists in Italy in 1922 was accompanied in Libya by harsh measures, the pacification of rebellious provinces, and the disarming of the population. This time, on behalf of the Amir, resistance was organized in Cyrenaica by the legendary Libyan national leader Omar al-Mukhtar. From that time onward, the Italians concentrated their efforts on liquidating Sanusiya bases in the south of the country. In 1928 the Italian government appointed Marshal Pietro Badoglio as governor-general of Libya. Concentration camps were built for insurgent tribes, in addition to the installation of a barbed-wire fence on the border with Egypt. In 1931, Omar al-Mukhtar was isolated, captured, and hanged.

In September 1940, Italian troops encroached from Libyan territory into Egypt up to Sidi Barrani, only to be defeated at the end of the same year. Thereafter German troops joined the Italians, both under the command of Rommel, and they again entered Egyptian territory in April 1941. The Axis forces were, however, driven out of Egypt once more. A concerted offensive in the direction of Alexandria by German-Italian forces at the beginning of 1942 came to nothing. The U.S.-British Operation "Torch"—a landing on the North

African coast (November 1942)—then liquidated the Axis presence there, including in Libya.

Hassan Jamsheer

See Also: AXIS, THE; BADOGLIO, PIETRO; COLONIALISM; IMPERIALISM; EL ALAMEIN; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; QADHAFI (GADDHAFI), MU'AMMAR; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON (1874–1954)

Former Cistercian monk and founder of the Ordo Novi Templi (ONT), the purpose of which was to foster the "pure" racial foundations of Aryanism. After renouncing his monastic vows, Lanz elaborated Ariosophy, a religion based on a heretical Manichaean form of Christianity combined with the racial anthropology that was in vogue at the turn of the century. The German Aryans were regarded as the closest living descendants of erstwhile semidivine prehistoric beings, while the various non-Aryan races—identified with the Slav and Latin nationalities of the Habsburg Empire—represented the demonic principle. Eugenic restoration of Aryan purity led to salvation, while miscegenation was the triumph of chaos and evil. There is some evidence that Hitler read Lanz's journal *Ostara* (named after the Teutonic god of beauty) during his Vienna years before 1914.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ARYANISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE, THE; CHRISTIANITY; EUGENICS; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; OCCULTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE, SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY)

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LINDBERGH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS (1902–1974)

World-famous U.S. aviation pioneer of the interwar era who was strongly pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic in the 1930s and who agitated for the United States to stay out of World War II. He had connections with U.S. Nazi propagandist Lawrence Dennis, whom he admired, as well as with agents of the German government in the United States. Like his friend Alexis Carrel, he was worried about the apparent decadence of the West and looked for salvation to the establishment in power of elites rather than to democracy. In his introduction to his journals, which were published long after World War II, Lindbergh expressed confidence that his prewar stance had been right, arguing that the war was the start of the breakdown of Western civilization, in that it opened the door to the expansionism of Soviet and Chinese communism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CARREL, ALEXIS; CHINA; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; DENNIS, LAWRENCE; ELITE THEORY; GERMANY; HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH; INTERVENTIONISM; MARXISM; NAZISM; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WORLD WAR II

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LINTORN-ORMAN, ROTH A (1895–1935)

Founder of the first fascist movement in Britain, the British Fascisti, renamed in 1924 the British Fascists. She was from a military family, the granddaughter of a famous field marshal, Sir John Lintorn Arabin-Simmons, and she served in an ambulance unit during World War I. Support for her movement was mainly



Mrs. Rotha Lintorn-Orman, who founded the first British openly fascist movement in 1923, some years before the celebrated Sir Oswald Mosley came to prominence as the leading British fascist. (Topical Press Agency/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

middle and upper class, with most members coming from a services or “county” background. The aims of the movement were vague; it chiefly supported the monarchy, promoted class friendship and the eradication of slum housing, encouragement of empire trade, restrictions on immigration, antisocialism, and anti-Bolshevism. It did not have an anti-Semitic dimension until later, and hardened anti-Semites soon split off to form the British National Fascisti in 1925. Lintorn-Orman was motivated by a keen desire to save Britain from socialism. Her attitude to women’s issues was not “feminist” in the modern sense, but one scholar has described her as a believer in “fascist feminism.” Among the strong-minded women who joined her movement were the prominent conspiracy theorist and anti-Semite Nesta Webster. Lintorn-Orman’s views about the role of women led her into conflict with at least one other contemporary fascist party founder: that was

Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar Boulton, who set up the Unity Band in 1930 and also contributed material to the British Fascist newspaper *British Lion* before breaking with the BF in 1932.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; BRITISH FASCISTI/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FEMINISM; GREAT BRITAIN; IMMIGRATION; MARXISM; MONARCHISM; SOCIALISM; WEBSTER, NESTA; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I

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LITHUANIA

Lithuania's parliamentary democracy was cut short by a military coup d'état in December 1926, when Antanas Smetona, leader of the Nationalist Union (Tautininkai), was made president and his younger collaborator, Augustinas Voldemaras, became prime

minister. They altered the constitution to strengthen the presidency and sideline the parliament and proceeded to erect an authoritarian nationalist regime. Smetona became known as *Tautas Vados* ("leader of the nation"). Smetona feared Voldemaras's ambitions and replaced him in 1929 with his brother-in-law, Juozas Tubelis. The issue that dominated Lithuania foreign policy and strongly influenced domestic policy as well was the recovery of the ancient Lithuanian capital, Vilnius, which the Poles had annexed in 1920. Lithuanian nationalists and right-wing extremists were wholly preoccupied with this issue. Younger members of the Nationalist Union grew restless with Smetona, whom they viewed as too conservative. Those desiring a more robust nationalist authoritarian regime formed a semiofficial paramilitary group, registered as a sports club, known as the Iron Wolf. In 1934 a group of officers aligned with the Iron Wolf unsuccessfully attempted a coup to return Voldemaras to power. The main opposition to the regime, however, came from the Christian Democrats, the former governing party. After a Polish ultimatum in 1938 humiliated the regime, opposition party representatives were included in the cabinet.

In 1939 the Soviet Union issued an ultimatum to Lithuania to be allowed to establish military bases on her territory. The following year Lithuania was annexed to the USSR, and thousands of Lithuanians were deported. The Lithuanian population included a high percentage of Jews, the majority of whom were killed during the Nazi occupation, 1941–1944. While Lithuanian collaborators played a significant role in carrying out the Holocaust, propensity for collaboration was not necessarily determined by links with pre-war radical nationalist organizations. Since the restoration of independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, extreme right parties have had no role in Lithuanian politics.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; DEMOCRACY; ESTONIA; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; LATVIA; LEADER CULT, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POLAND; SMETONA, ANTANAS; SOVIET UNION, THE; WORLD WAR II

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LIVING SPACE: See *LEBENSRAUM*

LJOTIĆ, DIMITRIJE (1891–1945)

Leader of the Serbian fascistic organization Zbor (“Rally”). He began his political career in 1930 as regional deputy for the Smederevo district. In 1931 he briefly held the post of minister of justice. In 1935 he founded Zbor, whose political program consisted of a blend of Italian Fascism, German Nazism, and Orthodox Christian fundamentalism. During the German occupation (1941–1945), he supported the occupying forces and the collaborationist government of Milan Nedić. He masterminded the establishment of a pro-Nazi militia, the Srpski Dobrovoljački Korpus (Serbian Volunteer Force), and founded the Radna Služba (National Service), a youth organization that closely resembled the Hitler Youth. He was the author of numerous anti-Semitic and profascist articles, books, and pamphlets.

Jovan Byford

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; SERBS, THE; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; YUGOSLAVIA

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LONDON NAIL BOMBINGS, THE

Between 17 and 30 April 1999, three nail bombs targeting London’s black, Asian, and homosexual commu-

nities exploded in Brixton, Brick Lane, and Soho, leaving 110 injured and 3 people dead, including a pregnant woman. The day after the final bomb, police arrested David Copeland, a semiliterate, mentally disturbed Christian Identity adherent who had hoped that his bombing campaign would be the spark to ignite a “race war.” Although Copeland admitted sole responsibility for the bombings, he was greatly influenced by the ideas of several fascist parties, including the British National Party, which he had joined in 1997. Copeland received six life sentences for his crime.

Graham Macklin

See Also: BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; CYBERFASCISM; GREAT BRITAIN; HOMOSEXUALITY; IMMIGRATION; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; XENOPHOBIA

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- McLagan, Graeme, and Nick Lowles. 2000. *Mr. Evil: The Secret Life of Racist Bomber and Killer David Copeland*. London: John Blake.

LORENZ, KONRAD (1903–1989)

Austrian ethologist who used explicitly pro-Nazi terminology to commend the Nazi regime for advocating policies to preserve racial purity. He was one of the founders of ethology, which examines how animals behave in their natural environment. Lorenz showed how animals inherit patterns of behavior that are triggered by stimuli in the environment. In his later popular writings, Lorenz expressed concern that humans were becoming “domesticated” and losing touch with their own biological nature. He won the Noble Prize in Physiology and Medicine in 1973 (jointly with two other specialists in animal behavior). At that time Lorenz expressed regret for his wartime pro-Nazi writings.

Michael Billig

See Also: ANIMALS; BLOOD; NATURE; NAZISM; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOCIAL DARWINISM

Reference

- Evans, R. I. 1975. *Konrad Lorenz: The Man and His Ideas*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

LUDENDORFF, ERICH (1865–1937)

Early collaborator with Hitler who took part with the Nazi leader in the Munich putsch but who turned against him for a period after the Nazis took power. Ludendorff acquired a reputation for heroism early in World War I and became chief of staff to General Paul von Hindenburg. In 1916 he became von Hindenburg's senior quartermaster general when the latter was promoted to chief of the general staff of the army. After the Armistice, Ludendorff fled to Sweden but returned to Munich in 1919. At the trial after the Munich putsch the celebrated war hero was acquitted. In 1924 he was elected to the Reichstag as a National Socialist delegate. Together with his second wife, Dr. Mathilde Spiess Ludendorff, whose right-wing ideas he found increasingly attractive, he established the Tannenbergbund, dedicated to the battle with forces considered to be above the state—Jews, Jesuits, Freemasons, and Marxists.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; GERMANY; HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON; HITLER, ADOLF; JESUITS, THE; LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE SPIESS; MARXISM; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE SPIESS (1877–1966)

Second wife of Erich Ludendorff and advocate of a worldview that combined an allegedly "scientific" new religion with extreme-right views close to National Socialism. Mathilde Ludendorff was the daughter of a

Lutheran minister, Dr. Bernhard Spiess of Wiesbaden. In 1904 she married the zoologist Gustav Adolf von Kemnitz. Two years later she withdrew officially from the Lutheran Church, and in 1913 she received a doctorate in neurology. With this science background, she criticized both the occult and Christianity and prepared "a new religion." In 1916, Mathilde von Kemnitz (by now a widow) married a Major Kleine, whom she later divorced in order to marry General Erich Ludendorff in 1926. While Mathilde Ludendorff held extreme-right-wing views, she was a champion of gender equality. The book that made her name was *Triumph des Unsterblichkeitwillens*, published in 1921. In 1925, Erich Ludendorff founded an umbrella organization called the Tannenbergbund (recalling a famous German World War I victory at Tannenberg in which he was involved) that had approximately 100,000 members, many of them war veterans. This movement combined a fierce nationalism with opposition to the range of "enemies" classically opposed by fascists. Part of the umbrella organization was the German Volk Society (Verein Deutschvolk), founded in 1930. Its purpose was to disseminate Mathilde Ludendorff's science-based religious views called "God-knowledge" (*Gotterkenntnis*). These two organizations were prohibited in 1933. The Ludendorff publishing house survived. What also survived is the pattern of combining "elitist" metapolitics with subliminal common-people organicist spirituality. In 1937, Ludendorff founded the Society for German God-knowledge (Verein Deutsche Gotterkenntnis). Its members were Mathilde's followers. Between 1945 and 1951 it was dormant, only to be reactivated under the new name of League for God-cognition (Bund für Gotterkenntnis). It had some 12,000 members when the Bavarian Administrative Court banned it in 1961 because it was judged hostile to the constitution (*verfassungsfeindlich*).

Karla Poewe

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; ARYANISM; CHRISTIANITY; ELITE THEORY; FEMINISM; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; OCCULTISM; ORGANICISM; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM; SCIENCE; SEXUALITY; THEOLOGY; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WAR VETERANS; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I

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Mecklenburg, Jens. 1996 *Handbuch Deutscher Rechts Extremismus*. Berlin: Elefant.

Poewe, Karla. 2005. *New Religions and the Nazis*. London: Routledge.

LUEGER, KARL (1844–1910)

Radical populist anti-Semite, Viennese politician for thirty years from 1875, and an important influence on Adolf Hitler. In his *Fin de Siècle Vienna*, historian Carl Schorske describes a “politics in a new key”: the mobilization by skilled demagogues of masses newly enfranchised but aggrieved by the abuses or shortcomings of the liberal political and economic order. Making use of modern extraparliamentary tactics of mass action, and holding out a vision combining both a mythic past and a utopian future, these nineteenth-century movements were the seedbed and prototype of twentieth-century fascism. It was in Karl Lueger’s Vienna that the young Adolf Hitler first witnessed the political effectiveness of mass action and of anti-Semitism as a tool in forging cross-class coalitions. Karl Lueger rose from lower-middle-class origins. He attended the elite Theresianum Preparatory School and then the University of Vienna, where he earned a law degree. He established a legal practice in 1874, serving lower-middle-class and working-class clients, often charging no fee but earning a popular following upon which he built his political career. Lueger joined the democratic wing of the Liberal Party, advocating universal manhood suffrage and fighting fiscal corruption in city government. Elected to Vienna’s city council in 1875, he won a seat in parliament in 1885. Already Lueger had joined with followers of Karl von Vogelsang, the Catholic theoretician of corporatism whose anticapitalist, anti-Liberal, and anti-Semitic program attracted a diverse following: lower-middle-class artisans, bureaucrats, and property owners; peasants; and workers. Also drawn to Vogelsang’s ideas were younger members of the clergy with their own political and economic grievances against the hierarchy, priests who were seeking new ways of engaging a popular following for the Church in an era of growing secularism.

The Christian Social Party came into existence between 1889 and 1891 out of this amalgam of disaf-

ected Liberals, anti-Semites, Catholic intellectuals, and activist clergy. Lueger’s fortunes rose with those of the party. In 1890 he was elected to the Lower Austrian provincial assembly. In 1895 a Christian Social majority on the city council elected him mayor. Emperor Franz Joseph—who along with the hierarchy and the Vatican mistrusted mass politics and found Lueger’s anti-Semitism distasteful—repeatedly vetoed Lueger’s election, capitulating only in 1897 after the city council had selected Lueger five times. As mayor from 1897 until his death in 1910, Lueger moderated his populist radicalism and anti-Semitic rhetoric. He was the model, indeed the exemplar, “gas and water socialist,” building public utilities and Vienna’s tram and electrified railway, and preserving from developers the green belt of the Vienna Woods. Famously declaring “I decide who is a Jew,” Lueger “blunt[ed] the explosive and subversive potential of anti-Semitism in the interests of the monarchy, the Catholic church, and even the capitalism he professed to fight” (Schorske 1981, 146).

Laura Gellott

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; PAPACY, THE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PROTOFASCISM; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SECULARIZATION; SOCIALISM

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- Schorske, Carl E. 1981. *Fin-de-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture*. New York: Vintage.

LUFTWAFFE, THE

The name for the German air force during the Third Reich, a potent and terrifying symbol of Nazi technological power and superiority from the time of its first operations in 1936. Germany had already developed a very effective aircraft industry before Hitler came to power, and German aircraft technology was soon at the leading edge. Hitler put Goering in charge of the Luftwaffe, and he set up its basic structures in collaboration with Erhard Milch, a former director of Lufthansa, the civil aviation arm. By March 1935 there were already

nearly 2,000 operational aircraft. In 1936 the Luftwaffe intervened to powerful effect in the Spanish Civil War. German planes were used as troop transports for Franco's side; by November of that year the number of aircraft involved had reached 200, and they had been named the Condor Legion. They were responsible for the infamous bombing of Guernica, which shocked the world. They also ran bombing raids on Barcelona that provided a foretaste of what was to come in Poland and elsewhere. Up to the summer of 1940, the Luftwaffe was a potent and seemingly invincible symbol of Nazi military might, with the Stuka dive-bombers playing a particularly potent role in the lightning conquest of Poland, Denmark, The Netherlands, and France. But the turning point came with the Battle of Britain, which began on 13 August 1940. Hitler's attempt to destroy the RAF in preparation for an invasion led to very damaging aircraft losses for the Luftwaffe. From 15 September 1940, when Hitler abandoned the costly struggle with the RAF, the Luftwaffe went into decline. By early 1945 the substantial numbers of aircraft still remaining were largely grounded through fuel and pilot shortages.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BATTLE OF BRITAIN, THE; BLITZKRIEG; CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; GOERING, HERMANN; GUERNICA; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WORLD WAR II

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LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546)

Initiator of the Reformation in Germany, portrayed by the Nazis as an authentically German cultural hero whose teachings were consistent with the nationalism, totalitarian principles, and anti-Semitism of the Third Reich. In his attacks on “Catholic internationalism” and the “Jewish spirit” of modernity and secularism, Nazi propagandist Alfred Rosenberg cited Luther's writings as proof that the Nazi worldview was inherited from that of the father of the Reformation.

Luther's anti-Jewish polemic “Of the Jews and Their Lies” was used to give theological credibility to Nazi ideology, and the Nazis authorized and distributed the government publication of the tract in 1935, following the passage of the Nuremberg Laws. In 1937 the city of Nuremberg gave a rare edition of Luther's polemic to Julius Streicher on the occasion of his birthday. This ideological appropriation of Luther, the historical figure who personified German Protestantism, met with little protest from prominent Lutheran leaders at the time, despite Protestant tensions with the Nazi regime over issues of church independence. Mainstream Protestants were far more concerned about the theological extremism of the German Christians, a pro-Nazi Protestant faction within the church that called for such steps as the removal of the Old Testament from Christian Scriptures. Yet the German Christians themselves traced much of their thinking to Luther's anti-Jewish writings. The more outspoken Protestant apologists for Nazism even viewed the rise of Nazism as the historical culmination of some of the cultural trends that began in the Reformation, and they argued that, because of Luther's anti-Catholicism, German Protestantism was more inherently aligned with National Socialist ideology than was Catholicism. In their support for the regime, leading Lutheran theologians such as Paul Althaus, Gerhard Kittel, and Emanuel Hirsch drew upon Luther's other writings to portray the Lutheran *Geist* as antimodern, antiseccular, antiecumenical, and pronationalist.

Victoria Barnett

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SECULARIZATION; THEOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM

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LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE

Responses among Lutheran churches to fascist movements (which they have encountered more or less exclusively in its Nazi or neo-Nazi form) have varied widely, determined as much by the historical background, institutional attitudes, different cultural and social traditions, and the ideological alliances of the respective churches as by actual Lutheran theological teachings and doctrine. There are different theological streams in Lutheranism, but the predominant aspects of Lutheran theology are situated within the individual's relationship to faith and the direct reception of the word of God through Scripture. These theological tenets constitute an antiauthoritarian effect; but that exists in tension with an institutional tradition that in some nations, notably Germany, led to a pronounced alliance between the Lutheran Church and state authority. From the time of Martin Luther, the Protestant church in Germany was under the jurisdiction of the regional princes and landed nobility, who served as patrons of their parishes by naming and supporting clergy. The German Protestant church's institutional ties to the landed nobility laid the foundation for the "throne and altar" mentality in German Protestantism, symbolized by the church's alliance with governmental authority. This patronage system remained in some regions of Germany until the 1930s. Yet the decisive break in Prussia came in 1817, when Frederick William III united the Lutheran and Reformed churches of Prussia into the Church of the Old Prussian Union, creating a new "united" church that was a less hierarchical institution and more Reformed in its theology. The legacy of these historical developments became evident under Nazism, when the Church of the Old Prussian Union became the heart of the Confessing Church movement, which sought to preserve the church's freedom from Nazi ideology and which became a critical force in Nazi society. In contrast, the three purely Lutheran regional churches of Bavaria, Hanover, and Württemberg were far more cautious and compromising in their dealings with Nazi authorities, and other predominantly Lutheran regions such as Thuringia and Schleswig-Holstein became strongholds of the German Christian movement, which embraced Nazi ideology and sought a Germanic Reich church.

Under the Hitler regime, prominent German Lutheran theologians such as Gerhard Kittel offered theological apologetics for Nazism, drawing upon Mar-

tin Luther's anti-Judaic writings, his critique of Catholicism, and his support for authority. Nonetheless, differences among Lutherans emerged, primarily over the issue of church independence from state ideology and faithfulness to Scripture, as well as in response to the Nazi state's pressures on the churches. When the church asked the theological faculties of Marburg and Erlangen to offer *Gutachten* (expert opinions) on the application of Nazi racial law to the churches, the two faculties rendered opposing judgments. The three German Lutheran bishops were briefly arrested by Nazi authorities in October 1934, and all of them signed the 1934 Barmen declaration, the founding document of the Confessing Church, which declared the Protestant church's independence from all worldly ideologies and rejected church allegiance to any worldly Fuehrer whose dictates contradicted church teachings. The Lutherans who supported Barmen, however, emphasized that their concerns were with church issues, not challenges against the Nazi state itself. Their support for the Confessing Church soon dissipated as some sectors within the confessional movement became more clearly opposed to the state. During the course of the 1930s the Lutheran regional churches in Germany became increasingly quiescent toward the Nazi regime, and their loyalty to the state became virtually absolute once war broke out.

In other parts of Europe, the Lutheran church's response to Nazism differed. Despite the fact that the Lutheran churches of Denmark, Norway, and (until 2000) Sweden are state churches, the emergence of Lutheranism in those countries coincided historically with struggles for independence. Confronted by the Nazi occupation, leaders of these churches joined many of their compatriots in fighting against the Germans, and there were strong Lutheran-based resistance movements against Nazism in all three of those countries. In Denmark, for example, where 90 percent of the population were members of the Lutheran Church, a large sector of the population aided in the rescue of the Danish Jews, and the Danish Lutheran Church publicly condemned anti-Semitism and protested other measures taken by the Nazi occupation forces. The question that arises, then, is the degree to which the Lutheran churches' response was shaped by Lutheran theological doctrine as opposed to other factors, such as institutional patterns and traditions of obedience to state authority. In Lutheran churches such as the Danish one, Lutheran teachings were interpreted to allow for political activism and protest. Thus the variation in the responses of Lutheran churches in Europe during the Nazi era tends to reflect the historically based dif-

ferences among those churches both in theological emphasis and in the relationship between church leaders and authority. Similar dynamics are evident in other historical encounters between Lutheran churches and authoritarian or fascist regimes. In Eastern Europe, for example, there are significant minority Lutheran communities in Estonia, Lithuania, and parts of Russia, most of them consisting of people of German descent. Both before and after the fall of communism, these diaspora communities were denied the privileges accorded the Russian Orthodox Church and suffered actual persecution by state authorities; they therefore viewed themselves as a dissident force under communism. During the 1930s and 1940s, however, their identity as part of the German diaspora led to a strong sense of German nationalism that led many of them to collaborate with the Nazi occupation forces.

The Lutheran experience under National Socialism led to a wide range of responses in the postwar period as well. As early as 1941, the confrontation with Nazi Germany led prominent U.S. Lutheran theologian Reinhold Niebuhr to call for a rethinking of Lutheran theology and repudiate the evangelization of Jews. In Germany, the Lutheran bishops joined other German church leaders in 1945 to issue the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt, an apology directed toward other European churches that included the German church's admission of its own complicity in Nazism. This sparked a widespread debate within German Protestantism, in which the critique of most Lutheran bishops and theologians of their country's past was more guarded than that which emerged from other sectors in the church. Yet other prominent Lutherans such as Martin Niemoeller were outspoken in their criticism of the church's complicity in Nazism, and pushed for church debates not only about the church's subservience to the state but also about its theological support for the Nazi persecution of the Jews and other groups. The issue of theological anti-Judaism was first raised at the 1950 national synod of the German church in Weissensee, where the church acknowledged its guilt to the Jewish people for the first time.

In the decades since then, the debate about the Lutheran Church's attitudes toward Judaism and its relationship to state authority has continued, particularly in Germany, where a strong postwar antiauthoritarian movement within German Protestantism, led by for-

mer Confessing Christians such as Niemoeller, significantly changed that church's relationship to the state. The German Protestant church has joined other German institutions in condemning instances of neo-Nazism in that country. In Europe and in North America, Lutheran churches have also focused particularly on the Holocaust and the church's relationship to Judaism. In 1980, the Church of the Rhineland in Germany officially acknowledged the theological and covenantal validity of the Jewish faith, and the Evangelical Church of Germany, which includes the regional Lutheran churches, has issued a similar statement. In the United States, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America made a "Declaration to the Jewish Community" in 1994 that repudiated the anti-Jewish writings of Martin Luther and repented of Christian complicity in the persecution of the Jews.

Victoria Barnett

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BON-HOEFFER, DIETRICH; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; CONFESSING (OR CONFESSIONAL) CHURCH, THE; DINTER, ARTUR; EDUCATION; ESTONIA; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANY; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; LEISURE; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LITHUANIA; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE; LUTHER, MARTIN; MÜLLER, BISHOP LUDWIG; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; OCCULTISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PACIFISM; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SECULARIZATION; SOVIET UNION, THE; STATE, THE; THEOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ (1469–1527)

Certain aspects of the philosophies of both Mussolini and Hitler strongly recall the kind of thinking to be found in the notorious political tract authored by Machiavelli under the title *The Prince* and in his *Discourses*. In Italy, some of the ideas of the celebrated Renaissance political thinker were being propagated again in the early part of the twentieth century by ideologues of the “Machiavelli” school of elite theorists (Michels, Mosca, Pareto). Although the true nature of Machiavelli’s political philosophy is hotly debated, there are certain clear themes that are likely to have pleased and probably influenced the two fascist dictators. In particular, Machiavelli boldly attacks Christian morality for teaching virtues that are not compatible with a successful state. Moreover, for Machiavelli political “virtue” has nothing to do with the traditional ideas of morality; it resides particularly in boldness and courage, and that doctrine of “heroism” is reflected in the lives and policies of Hitler and Mussolini, as well as in at least one of their mentors, Carlyle. Machiavelli is also celebrated for his encouragement of the idea that the kind of qualities required of the political leader include cunning and a readiness to deceive, as well as flexibility in the face of events. This mentality was supremely demonstrated by Hitler, for example, in his orchestra-

tion of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which shocked so many of his own followers as well as the rest of the world. But it was an act of pure and deliberate duplicity perpetrated on Stalin. Hitler would have found in Machiavelli encouragement for the notion that the issue was not the intrinsic rightness or wrongness of this kind of action, but whether or not his people would “forgive” him for it and tolerate it.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CARLYLE, THOMAS; CHRISTIANITY; ELITE THEORY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARETO, VILFREDO; SCHMITT, CARL; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; WAR

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MAISTRE, COMTE JOSEPH DE: See
TRADITIONALISM

McVEIGH, TIMOTHY (1968–2001)

A mechanized infantry gunner in the Gulf War and an admirer of neo-Nazi ideologist William Pierce, McVeigh showed increasing hostility to the U.S. government, which came to a head after the FBI siege of the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas. The siege, which culminated on 19 April 1993 in the deaths of 76 adults and children, led McVeigh to decide upon a revenge attack on a federal building in Oklahoma City. On the second anniversary of Waco, a truck bomb devastated the building and killed 168 people. McVeigh was arrested shortly after the bombing, found guilty of murder, and executed in June 2001.

Martin Durham

See Also: NEO-NAZISM; OKLAHOMA BOMBING, THE; PIERCE, WILLIAM; *TURNER DIARIES, THE*; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR)

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MALAPARTE, CURZIO (real name, Kurt Erich Suckert) (1898–1957)

One of the most influential Italian writers of the twentieth century and an active member of the Fascist Party. He was born in Prato of an Italian mother and a German Protestant father. After serving in World War I he became a journalist, joining the Fascist Party in 1922. In 1924 he founded *La Conquista dello stato*, a periodical based in Rome, and in 1926 he and Massimo Bontempelli established a literary quarterly entitled *900*. This pursued a policy of encouragement for progress and technology. In the late 1920s, Malaparte joined the staff of *La Stampa*, which he turned into a Fascist paper. But he lost that job as a result of enmities incurred within the Fascist Party. He published a number of novels in the 1920s and 1930s and in 1931 was sent into internal exile on the island of Lipari af-

ter the publication in French of *Technique du coup d'état* (1931), in which he attacked both Hitler and Mussolini. Galeazzo Ciano's intervention eventually led to his release. He went on to found *Prospettive* in 1937, a cultural and literary journal. During World War II he was employed as a correspondent for *Corriere della Sera* and was able to report on the German advance into the Soviet Union. After the fall of Mussolini he endured periods of incarceration, though he ended the war working with the Allied Command in Italy. After the war Malaparte published further novels and also plays, one of which was turned into a film that was released in the United States under the title of *Strange Deception*. He converted to Catholicism on his deathbed.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LITERATURE; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PROGRESS; SOVIET UNION, THE; TECHNOLOGY; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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MAN, HENDRIK/HENRI DE (1885–1953)

A left-wing activist in the Belgian Workers Party whose attempt to go "beyond" Marxism was followed by his collaboration with the Nazis during the war. Hendrik de Man was one of the leading left-wing intellectuals of the early twentieth century. His theoretical revision of Marxism in the 1920s marked him down as the "cosmopolitan heir to more widely known political thinkers such as Bernstein, Jaurès, and Sorel," as "the true systematizer of the ethical and cultural strand in the European revisionist tradition" (Pels 2002, 283). In his 1926 *Zur Psychologie des Sozialismus*, de Man attacked the philosophical roots

of Marxism—defined as “summarized in the catchwords determinism, causal mechanism, historicism, rationalism and economic hedonism” (de Man 1928, 23)—and reinterpreted the evolution of the workers’ movement in the light of the methods of social psychology, seeking the foundations of socialist “faith” in sentimental and ethical motivations. The practical political outcome of this revisionism was the *Plan du Travail* adopted by the Belgian Workers Party in 1933, which articulated a model of economic intervention seeking to develop a mixed economy between capitalism and socialism as a stage on the way to socialism, but that was also to act as a symbol or myth uniting forces against capitalism and fascism. De Man’s authorship of the *Plan* “made him the main ideological founding father of postwar social democracy” (Pels 2002, 283). In the subsequent period, following the relative failure of the *Plan* to be implemented, de Man would come to develop ideas about “authoritarian democracy”—in 1936 he would state: “It is a fact that the masses have a desire to believe in authoritarian and responsible leaders and especially to love them. They get disgusted with parliamentary democracy because it tends to prevent the formation of personages of heroic stature” (de Man, cited in Burrin 1986, 87). He also flirted with elements of fascist ideology and political style, articulating the slogan *socialisme national* in 1937, and would collaborate, albeit briefly, as chairman of the Belgian Workers’ Party, with the Nazi occupants of Belgium during 1940–1941. Nonetheless, as Burrin notes, de Man refused to launch a political movement of his own during the occupation, and there were limits to his willingness to cooperate with the Nazis. He retired to France in November 1941 but continued to pledge allegiance to the occupation regime. Convicted of treason in September 1944, de Man fled to Switzerland, where he settled. There is considerable debate regarding whether de Man’s collaboration and flirtation with authoritarian and fascist ideology was or was not a direct outcome of the ideological affinity between de Man’s “ethical socialism” and national socialism.

Steve Bastow

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; BELGIUM; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; FRANCE; GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MYTH; NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RATIONALISM; SOCIALISM; SOREL, GEORGES; STYLE; SWITZERLAND; SYMBOLS; WORLD WAR II

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MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE and MANIFESTO OF ANTI-FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE

In the spring of 1925, Giovanni Gentile convened a Conference on Fascist Culture in Bologna with the aim of demonstrating that culture was perfectly compatible with Fascism. Around 250 delegates attended and at the end produced a Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals, published in April 1925. Among the signatories were Corradini, Marinetti, Panunzio, Rocco, Spirito, and Volpe. Less than a fortnight later a countermanifesto was published on the inspiration of Croce and Amendola, and that came to be known as the Manifesto of Anti-Fascist Intellectuals. It had forty-one signatories initially, but many others added their names later, and the list came to include many of Italy’s intellectual elite.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CORRADINI, ENRICO; CROCE, BENEDETTO; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; ITALY; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; ROCCO, ALFREDO; SPIRITO, UGO; UNIVERSITIES (ITALY); VOLPE, GIOACHINNO

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MARCH ON ROME, THE

The March on Rome was the operation organized by the leading Italian Fascist chiefs to converge Fascist “squads” on the capital at the end of October 1922 as a means of seizing power. The squads had already effectively taken control of several provinces of northern and central Italy in the previous months, but the march was essentially used by Mussolini to put pressure on King Victor Emmanuel to bring him into the government. Mussolini did not in fact participate in the march but stayed behind in Milan, and when the squads eventually arrived in Rome, he had already been appointed prime minister.

John Pollard

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; *SQUADRISMO*; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING

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MARCONI, GUGLIELMO (1874–1937)

Italian pioneer in the development of wireless telegraphy and an active member of the Fascist Party, which he first joined in 1923. In 1930, Mussolini made him president of the Accademia d'Italia, overriding a law that prevented Marconi, by then a member of the Italian senate, from serving. This automatically made Marconi a member of the Grand Council of Fascism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; RADIO

Reference

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MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO (1876–1944)

Writer, poet, and founder and theoretician of Futurism. Born in Alexandria in Egypt, he completed his studies in Paris and in Italy, where in 1899 he graduated in jurisprudence at the University of Genoa. But his true passion was literature: his first volume of verse, *La conquête des étoiles*, appeared in 1902. He also involved himself in the political and social life of the day, and was particularly attracted by the revolutionary dynamism of socialism, by the rhetoric of political assemblies, by great political mass demonstrations, and by party meetings. He was especially interested in Sorel's anarcho-syndicalism. On 20 February 1909, Marinetti published his *Manifesto of Futurism* on the first page of the French daily *Figaro*. This marked the beginning of a profound aesthetic, artistic, but also political revolution. Gifted with an innate propensity for propaganda, publicity, and showmanship, Marinetti began to publicize his program, looking for supporters and proselytes. He dreamed up the idea of “Futurist parties,” preceded by the distribution of fliers and publicity and involving poetry readings, musical performances, and exhibitions. The public flocked to these events, which almost always ended in arguments, egg-throwing, and fistfights. Despite the mockery of critics and newspapers, Marinetti's energy and charm were such that he managed to attract a whole array of enthusiasts to his side within the space of a year. Among them were poets, writers, painters, composers, musicians, and theater folk.

Espousing a political position halfway between anarchism and syndicalism, Marinetti gave lectures to working men's societies in which he proposed an alliance between the proletariat and the Futurists in the name of “beauty” and “the necessity for violence.” The myth of “war as the only hygiene for the world” was a theme that began to creep into his writings. His ideology was an assemblage of elements of the most diverse provenance: anarchism, syndicalism, nationalism, imperialism, patriotism, and idealism, resulting in something very similar to what would become, ten years later, the ideology of Italian Fascism. In March 1915, Marinetti was arrested together with Mussolini during a demonstration in favor of Italian participation in World War I. With the outbreak of war he volunteered

for the call-up. When the war was over Marinetti thought about the creation of a Futurist Party of national-revolutionary inspiration, to bring together former soldiers and tap the healthy energies of the nation on the basis of a radical program of “Futurist democracy,” taking as its enemies the “parasitic” bourgeoisie and degenerate socialism: it was the same idea to which Mussolini gave shape with the creation of the Fasci di combattimento in March 1919. Marinetti immediately gave his support to Mussolini’s political program. In November 1919 he was a candidate for the elections on the list sanctioned by the future dictator. In 1920 he published *Al di là del comunismo*, a text in which he criticized egalitarianism and the bureaucratic spirit that had thwarted the Russian Revolution and advocated putting art and artists into power.

With the conquest of power by Fascism in October 1922, a new phase opened for Marinetti; he became somewhat disillusioned with politics and recovered an anarchical individualistic vein (though still violently antibourgeois and antiliberal). Although disappointed by the compromises that Fascism was accepting with respect to the old monarchical and liberal ruling class, Marinetti nonetheless sought to get involved in the cultural policy of the regime, with the intention of keeping alive the revolutionary spirit of the Futurist Movement. In March 1929, Marinetti—recognized by Mussolini himself as a precursor of Fascism—was admitted to the Accademia d’Italia. The politico-military alliance between Italy and Hitlerite Germany was not to his liking, however, and his relations with the regime became increasingly strained. He was equally opposed to Nazi polemics against “degenerate art” and anti-Semitism. In the official press he began to be accused of “anti-Fascism.” A rapprochement with Fascism and Mussolini took place only with the outbreak of World War II. In 1942, Marinetti, now old and ill, asked to be allowed to join up with the Italian troops fighting in Russia. After the fall of Fascism in July 1943 he moved to Venice, giving his support to the Salò Republic out of a sense of honor and patriotism.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; AXIS, THE; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOURGEOISIE, THE; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; MODERNISM; MUSIC (ITALY); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PROPAGANDA; REVOLUTION; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SOCIALISM; SOREL,

GEORGES; SOVIET UNION, THE; SYNDICALISM; TECHNOLOGY; VIOLENCE; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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MARRIAGE: See FAMILY, THE; SEXUALITY; WOMEN

MARXISM

Italian Fascists and German Nazis usually spoke of Marxism contemptuously as “Bolshevism,” which had become a common expression of anxiety at the “red menace” felt throughout Western Europe. In this way they tapped into a widespread fear of a revolution from below, an insurgency of the proletariat, such as had developed since the October Revolution in Russia in 1917. The Germans had their own brush with Marxism at close quarters when in April 1919 power was seized briefly in Bavaria by communists and anarchists, and the “Bavarian Soviet Republic” was founded. It was overthrown in the following month by armed forces of the Right including a force of 30,000 members of the Freikorps. In Italy, left-wing working-class militancy reached such a pitch after World War I that for a period in 1920 (largely inspired, in fact, by anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists) workers forcibly took over and ran certain factories for themselves. The fear of the “red menace” was, of course, intensified by Soviet propaganda, according to which communism held a universal message of salvation for all the world and not just for Russians. Both Italian Fascists and German Nazis saw themselves as offering

a radical and healthier alternative message of revolutionary change to that of Soviet Marxism. Marxism called on the workers of the world to unite across national borders in a global battle against their oppressors, treating nation-states and national pride as tools in the arsenal of bourgeois propaganda intended to lull the workers to sleep; interwar fascists, on the other hand, gave priority back to national (and, for the Nazis) racial pride as the source of all good and rejected all forms of universalism that would aim to downgrade or destroy nation-states as dangerous abstractions and pipe dreams.

The Nazis in particular associated such universalism with the Jews and spoke of Marxism as a Jewish world conspiracy. (A confusing factor was that they also spoke of capitalism as a Jewish conspiracy and denounced the “Jewish” plutocrats of world finance and banking who were holding the world to ransom.) Marxism was furthermore denounced by interwar fascists for its materialist theory of historical development. The Nazis believed themselves to be the bearers of a “spiritual” interpretation of reality and of history, which they connected with the concept of “soul”; the Italian Fascists also rejected Marxist (dialectical) materialism, in the name of the heroic values of courage, nobility, and military valor. They, like the Nazis, believed that people and “destiny” were the motors of history, rather than (as the Marxists supposed) economic factors, and in particular the social relations of production; the influence of Machiavelli and Carlyle can be discerned in their thinking. Italian Fascists and Nazis alike scorned Marxist egalitarianism, to which they preferred the elitism that went with a belief that “fortune favors the brave.” Their program was unashamedly oriented toward the production of a hierarchical, top-down, authoritarian society run by an elite (“revolution from above”), and Hitler’s plans included special academies to train the brutally purposeful elite cadres who would spearhead the forward drive of Nazism. Both the Italian Fascist and German Nazi movements included a great number of war veterans who had learned to admire outstanding courage and endurance in the trenches of World War I. (This idea of a revolutionary elite did, of course, have a counterpart in the thought of Lenin and his successors, who saw the need for an elite to drive the proletarian revolution forward.)

On this question of revolution there were similarities and divergences. The Marxists called for a global revolution powered by the proletariat, and that fascists rejected out of hand. Although they did call for revolution themselves, it was a “national” revolution—with

“national” understood in terms of an “ideal expanded nation” rather than of the nation considered within existing boundaries. Mussolini’s revolution was aimed at restoring Italy to the greatness of ancient Rome, with the expansionism that this implied. Hitler’s revolution was a Pangermanic one that envisaged a single German nation comprising all populations of Germanic (or “Aryan”) racial stock. Furthermore, Hitler aimed for an imperialistic drive to increase existing Germanic territory by invading Russia in order to subject the Slav lands and colonize them. Attempts were made by Italian Fascism to promote a world movement of nationalists, but these foundered, partly on divisions between Italian Fascist and German Nazi perspectives. Where German occupying forces encountered fascist movements in occupied territories, their response was ambivalent; they sometimes banned such movements (as in Hungary) and sometimes encouraged them (as in Denmark), but the Germans had no intention of letting ultimate power fall into the hands of their hypernationalist fellow travelers in the countries they occupied. Although fascism claimed to be a “new” political creed, its practice by Germany and Italy in their foreign policy seemed to be tantamount to the old imperialism in a new guise.

For Marxists, the chief social evil to be eradicated was the oppression by the capitalists and their allies of the working class. Insofar as their utopia was theorized, it was that of a classless egalitarian society in which there were no oppressors and oppressed, but a society of equals in which government had given way to administration. There would be universal peace once the source of conflict—that is, capitalist oppression—had been abolished. For interwar fascists the glaring evil was something that they called “decadence,” which they associated with many of the things that Marxism stood for, such as internationalism, egalitarianism, materialism, and pacifism (for Marxists considered that nationalistic wars like World War I had nothing to do with them); fascists also, however, opposed other things that Marxism also opposed, such as liberalism, individualism, and parliamentarism. Where fascism and Marxism agreed was in the need for bloody revolution to inaugurate a new era. In the fascist utopia, however, the struggles endemic to nations would continue, so that universal peace was a chimera.

During the Cold War, postwar fascism continued to see itself as having a mission to destroy communism. But in the 1960s and 1970s, there were some fascist movements that seemed prepared to absorb insights from such Marxist writers as Gramsci. With the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe after 1989, the

focus shifted to such targets as immigration, Americanization, and sometimes globalization as the major threats in the modern world.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; AMERICANIZATION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; BANKS, THE; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; BOLSHIEVISM; CAPITALISM; CARLYLE, THOMAS; COLD WAR, THE; COMINTERN, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREIKORPS, THE; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; IMPERIALISM; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; PACIFISM; PANGERMANISM; PLUTOCRACY; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REVOLUTION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOUL; SYNDICALISM; VIOLENCE; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM

The rise of the interwar fascist parties represented an urgent challenge to their opponents on the Left. Existing liberal, socialist, feminist, and other radical traditions were charged with explaining how the tragedy had been possible. Given that the interwar European Left was dominated by two traditions that had both emerged from Marxism (social democracy and communism), it is no surprise that the first and most important antifascist theories were developed under that banner. The Marxist legacy was felt in terms of certain key insights, an interpretative stress placed on such concepts as class, class fractions, and class dynamics. The history of Marxist theories of fascism can be seen in terms of the changing weight given to each insight.

Born in the German Rhineland, Karl Marx (1818–1883) was a revolutionary socialist and an advocate of workers' rule. His followers described him as having synthesized the best insights of English economic the-

ory, French political science, and German philosophy. Such ideas were integrated to make a total narrative of human history. The history of all previous societies was one of class struggle. A minority had owned or controlled the wealth of society. Dispossessed groups had challenged them for power. Each new rising class had represented a revolutionary force in its own day. Either the new class had triumphed, or both the new and old classes had been ruined. In the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx argued that this cycle could be brought to an end. Unlike all previous class societies, capitalism had solved the relationship of inequality between mankind and the environment. Industry was transforming life. World trade was bringing together goods across vast distances. The challenge now was to resolve the imbalance of power between the classes. The rule of capital depended on the productive labor of the masses (the proletariat). Unlike all previous classes, the urban working class was a majority, and had the potential to rule in behalf of all humanity. After capitalism, the next order would be an equal, communist society.

When antifascists used these insights to explain the rise of fascism, there were different parts of Marx's theory that appealed to them. Some writers treated Marx as if he had been just a radical sociologist. They searched for evidence that the fascist parties had recruited disproportionately from one class or from a set of classes. Some writers linked fascism to the big bourgeoisie, the capitalist ruling class. Others argued that fascism had in fact received its most significant support from the classes between the working class and the ruling class: civil servants, small owners and producers, the middle peasantry. The term usually given to these intermediate layers was the "petty bourgeoisie." Some Marxists maintained that the real source of fascism's mass backing had been in significant class minorities. Thus Daniel Guérin argued that fascism's rise had been dependent on a previous story: the displacement of nineteenth-century free trade capitalism by a new order based on heavy industry organized in trusts and monopolies. The politics of the new society were more closed, militaristic, and bureaucratic. Even nonfascist societies were tending to become more fascistic. Fascism depended on the triumph of a set of grand industrialists, a fraction within the capitalist class. Other writers understood Marx to have argued that as societies developed, their components entered into antagonistic relationships with each other. Social forces rose and fell. Class should not be treated as some timeless formula, as in the possible equation "bosses = fascists." A number of theories emerged that explained fascism in terms of the total conjuncture of the interwar years. One such was

Antonio Gramsci's argument that fascism represented "Caesarism." Mussolini's personal rule was said to depend on the incompleteness of the workers' revolution of 1919–1921. The proletariat had been strong enough to match the Italian bourgeoisie, but not to overcome it. Fascism emerged from the exhaustion of two greater forces.

From the arguments so far, it would follow that fascism was a faithful reflection of trends immanent to capitalism. Yet not all present-day historians would accept such a grand claim. For while it would be difficult to separate Nazi goals in regard to working hours and productivity from the usual patterns of capitalist interest, the same direct link cannot be found as easily when it comes to other aspects of state policy. This debate has in turn been associated with a second question, of whether there was any economic rationality lying behind the Holocaust. Many writers have portrayed the Nazi genocide as a murderous act that cannot be explained on the basis of ordinary human rational thinking: something so grand and so terrible that it contravenes normal historical rules of explanation. By the late 1960s, even a number of Marxist historians had begun to argue that capitalism acted more as an indirect influence on Nazi racial policy, a background factor, rather than a constant, determining cause.

One of the most important writers to discuss these issues was the left-wing British historian Tim Mason. In an important article first published in 1968, Mason argued that the task of understanding fascism required historians to grasp what he called "the primacy of politics." The Holocaust could not be understood as following the logic of capitalist interests. Nazi Germany wasted money, people, resources, and skills on the Holocaust that could have been spent on the war effort. The Holocaust could be understood only in light of Nazi ideology, and not in economic terms. In a later book, Mason tells the story of one firm caught in wartime bombing raids: "In March 1945 the deputy head of one of the largest heavy industrial combines in the Ruhr reported to the head of the firm that the factories and offices had been destroyed; production had ceased, and he was writing from the cellars of the old administration building, where the board's grand piano and some of the wine had been saved; the workers no longer clocked on to clear the debris, but tried to save what they could of their own homes; in the preceding quarter, however, profits had remained satisfactory at five per cent" (Mason 1993, 10). This accountant may have thrived, but the majority of business owners would surely have noticed that fascism was bringing them to ruin.

There are potential problems with the sort of argument that Mason gives for the primacy of politics. In order to square the circle between his general belief in material explanation and the rules of the particular society that he was studying, Tim Mason argued a form of historical exceptionalism. In all industrial capitalist societies with the sole exception of Nazi Germany, he maintained, economics had been the vital explanatory factor. Only Germany was different. Mason also downplayed the significance of a broad literature that existed already by then, listing the involvement of such businesses as IG Farben, Siemens, Krupp, Volkswagen, and IBM in the execution of the Nazis' racial war. By cutting the links between the economic base of society and its political superstructure, Tim Mason also tended to describe the latter as a discrete entity that existed according to rules of its own. Such an approach is at least potentially awkward. It breaks the analytical link between politics and economic interest. The argument also contradicts the sort of detailed research to which the rest of Mason's life was committed, in which class relationships were often seen as crucial. A number of interwar and postwar Marxists did believe that they had succeeded in establishing a link between the Holocaust and capitalism. Important figures in that literature have included Abram Leon and Enzo Traverso. Leon in particular argued that the Jews had been trapped in a dual crisis of capitalism and feudalism. In late-nineteenth-century Eastern Europe, where societies continued to follow older feudal patterns, the Jews had continued to hold distinct roles in society. The decline of the Polish and Russian economies had forced the Jews to flee. Arriving in the developed capitalist West they were treated as something new, economic migrants competing with the salaries of local workers. These two different patterns of anti-Semitism reinforced each other, giving Hitler his lead.

Several liberal critics of fascism observed the willingness of the far Right to define themselves in terms of mass politics. They concluded that the age of fascism was itself shaped by broader social processes, including the rise of mass production and mass media. Both of these phenomena had the tendency to reduce society to a condition of individual isolation. Older habits of collective working and discussion were being eroded. It was only in this context that a mass, anti-democratic politics could flourish. This whole question looked rather different from the perspective of militant antifascists. Such writers could not accept the self-description of the fascists. But neither could they endorse the pessimistic conclusions of mass theory,

which seemed to suggest that class politics belonged to an already fading past. Fascism's opponents recognized two challenges facing them. The first was an intellectual one: to realize that fascism was in fact a new force, an independent and radical party capable of winning mass support. The second was a practical one: to work in a way that would detach the supporters of fascism from that party. For left-wing critics of fascism, both were difficult, alarming tasks. The masses were supposed to provide backing for the parties of the revolutionary Left. Something had evidently gone wrong. In the 1920s, many leftist activists were tempted to minimize the novelty of this new force. They tended to assume that it was just another strand of conservatism, limited like the others by its inability to speak of the radical changes that the masses demanded. Thus, in one of his first articles on fascism, Antonio Gramsci compared this new movement to the reactionary armies made up of former czarist officers, which had come together to oppose the Russian October Revolution. Fascism was the "white guard" of capitalism, he wrote (Renton 1999, 54). Similar ideas appeared in the early work of other prominent Italian leftists, including Amadeo Bordiga, the first leader of the Italian Communist Party. They were also expressed in the famous montage picture of John Heartfield, showing Hitler with his arm outstretched (to accept a bribe): "Behind me, there are millions."

Over time, however, a number of fascism's critics came to realize that their antagonist was a large and powerful enemy, capable of enjoying mass support. The realization of fascism's plebeian backing was the major theme of Daniel Guérin's eyewitness accounts of Germany in 1933. Guérin toured Nazi Germany recording everything he saw and hiding documents in the frame of his bicycle, before returning to his native France. He described the defeat of the German Left in even such former bastions as "Red" Wedding, a poor area of Berlin. The same phrases that working-class communists had used to criticize socialist inertia now appeared on Nazi lips. British communist MP Phil Piratin recorded a similar moment of unpleasant recognition. In his book *Our Flag Stays Red*, Piratin described attending a fascist march through London in 1936. He was astonished to see the extent of Mosley's support among ordinary working-class people, "I knew some of these people, some of the men wore trade-union badges." Piratin describes local communists asking themselves, "Why are these ordinary working-class people supporting Mosley?"

One of the most important of the practical strategies for confronting fascism began from the fact of the fas-

cists' support. The fascist alliance of bosses, small producers, and unemployed workers was said to be unstable: while unemployed workers might temporarily be persuaded to march for campaigns that were against their direct economic interests, such a situation could surely not continue indefinitely. At a certain point, it was argued, such working-class people would have to confront the inequalities implied in the fascist program. There was a potential contradiction between the reactionary character of the fascist programs and the popular nature of their mass support. The fascist parties showed a constant tendency to break down under the pressure of their own internal contradictions. The tactic most associated with this argument was that of the "united front," the argument that socialist parties should ally both to stop fascism and also to demand significant reforms of the capitalist system. In Italy, Germany, and Spain, the supporters of this argument maintained that the consistent use of this approach would contribute to the defeat of fascism. Such perspectives were partly confirmed by events. The fascist parties did indeed prove fissiparous, and bitter rivalries did flare up.

Since 1945 it has been hard to discern any single direction in the evolution of Marxist analysis. Such writers as Erich Fromm, Wilhelm Reich, and Theodor Adorno blamed fascism on the rise of an authoritarian personality. Others, including David Lewis, have argued for a revived notion of fascism as the socialism of the petty bourgeoisie. Ralph Miliband restored the Marxist conception of a link between the state and fascism. One school has explained fascism in terms of its sexism and antifeminism and its reactionary attitude toward sexuality. Nicos Poulantzas explained fascism using notions of the state derived from Gramsci and Althusser. Herbert Marcuse described fascism as the culmination of idealism in philosophy. Ernest Laclau has stressed the importance of ideas to fascism as an ideology. Martin Kitchen has argued for something like the Comintern theories of 1936. A number of arguments have been put in a space between liberal and Marxist concepts. Some recent Marxists have argued for a return to Trotsky's insights, linking them to the practice of contemporary antifascist movements. In 1945, say, or 1950, Marxism was regarded as the most important, serious, and creative tradition from which antifascist theories had been drawn. More than fifty years later, its hegemony has largely been lost. The idea of a single Marxist theory of fascism also seems more elusive than ever. The challenge facing academics still tied to the tradition is dual: first to persuade their contemporaries that fascism remains a threat to democracy,

and second to convince them also that analyses rooted in material conditions have something to offer in explaining the continued existence of the far Right.

David Renton

See Also: INTRODUCTION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BANKS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CABLE STREET, THE BATTLE OF; CAESARISM; CAPITALISM; CLASS; COMMUNITY; CONSERVATISM; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEMINISM; FROMM, ERICH; GERMANY; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IG FARBEN; INDUSTRY; INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; ITALY; KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; POLAND; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REICH, WILHELM; REVOLUTION; RUSSIA; SEXUALITY; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; STATE, THE; TROTSKY, LEON; VOLKSWAGEN; WOMEN

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MASCULINITY: See WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE

One of the features of fascism that singled it out from conservatism, of which it was often considered an ex-

trême right-wing version, was its direct and unashamed appeal to the masses. Hitler and Mussolini both liked to talk overtly about their preference for simple, muscular peasant types over “effete” intellectuals or snobbish aristocrats; it must be admitted, however, that they also sometimes spoke privately in derogatory terms about the masses as being easily led and “lamblike.” They were themselves of humble birth, and even a fellow hypernationalist like Moeller van den Bruck found Hitler impossible to stomach on account of his “primitive proletarian” character. Hitler relied on the rugged strength of his brownshirts and Mussolini of his blackshirts to establish and maintain power. The ethos of masculinity and virility that fascism preached had moreover an obvious appeal to a mass audience whom the elevation of intellect or piety would not greatly attract. That, combined with the hypernationalist appeal to patriotism, was a powerful elixir indeed in the hands of the skilled fascist propagandists. One fact demonstrated abundantly by World War I was the extraordinary power of patriotism to engage vast numbers in suicidal combat. Hypernationalist fervor played on some very deeply ingrained and universal instincts. The Marxists appealed to workers in the name of a vague and seemingly utopian hypothetical internationalism yet to be achieved; the fascists told them that they could achieve hope and pride through the nation, a concrete existent entity.

Once in power, both dictators understood the need to indoctrinate the masses through education and leisure activities. But it was the Hitlerite regime under the inspiration of the likes of Goebbels and Speer that created the most powerful and lasting bond with its people through its orchestration of such events as the Nuremberg Rallies. In place of the civic rights proposed by liberal democracy, Nazism offered the masses exhilarating quasi-liturgical events in which they could lose themselves in the sheer excitement, the color, and the drama of majestic public rituals. The net result was to bond huge numbers of people emotionally to the regime and to make them feel proud to belong to it. Drawing on all the resources of modern technology—loudspeakers, electric floodlighting, the provision of mass transportation to bring participants to the shows—the Nazi regime literally bewitched a populace that had been mired in the slough of despond of a nightmare four years of war followed by a nightmare “defeat” that many of them believed to have been an illusion, a falsehood, a deceitful trick played on the nation: the German soldiers were undefeated; it was

the German bourgeois who had stabbed the heroes of the trenches in the back and sold Germany down the river.

Both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany sought further to entice and control the masses through their creation of national leisure organizations and youth movements that were vehicles for both socialization and indoctrination. Offering alluring opportunities for travel and sporting activities, these organizations had some success in endearing the masses to the regimes. In the meantime Hitler offered the German masses through his aggressive foreign policy of expansion a rebirth from the shame of her defeat in 1918 and the terrible oppression of the terms of the Versailles Treaty. What he gave to them was a restored sense of pride in being German after a horrendous experience of humiliation and bewilderment. This injection of fresh hope and vigor left them desensitized to the dark side of the regime.

The ability to win the support of millions was what enabled the Italian Fascists and German Nazis to attain to power and hold on to it; fascist movements in other countries were never able to imitate this to the same degree, even though they might rack up impressive numbers of supporters for a while. Its interaction with the masses was not, however, ultimately a distinguishing mark of fascism, for it was in a sense “stolen” from Bolshevism. It was, in other words, something that fascism and Bolshevism had in common. At the same time fascism, unlike Bolshevism, combined the appeal to the masses with an unashamed elitism. In this the fascists perhaps showed themselves to be better psychologists than the Bolsheviks, absorbing the lessons to be found in *Le Bon* and others about how crowds love to be led (echoing an old tradition going back to Aristotle and Machiavelli). The fascist leadership elite was not, however, to be the intellectual elite proposed by the Enlightenment but the master class of battle-hardened, courageous, and resolute warriors—as embodied by the SS—in alliance with the most productive.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; CONSERVATISM; COUNTER-REVOLUTION; DEMOCRACY; EDUCATION; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; LE BON, GUSTAVE; LEISURE; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; REICH, WILHELM;

RELIGION; SPEER, ALBERT; SPORT; SS, THE; TECHNOLOGY; THEATER; TOTALITARIANISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORK; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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MASTER RACE, THE: See ARYANISM

MATERIALISM

“The basic idea of fascism is the spiritual interpretation of history,” wrote the British fascist and one-time secretary-general of the International Centre of Fascist Studies in Lausanne, James Strachey Barnes (1931, 43). And both Italian Fascism and Nazism were inclined to use a “spiritual” rhetoric in their propaganda. There was a clear intent in this to put themselves forward as the polar opposites of the Bolsheviks in their thinking. The “materialism” they had in mind to oppose was often the dialectical materialism that formed the basis of Marxism. They put themselves forward as having a much fuller and more satisfying view of humanity than their Bolshevik opponents, casting scorn on the materialist view of man as determined by his economic needs. They denied that economic improvements were the only motor of history and the only goal of human progress. As the *Enciclopedia italiana* article on the doctrine of fascism put it, “Fascism believes, now and always, in holiness and heroism, that is in acts in which no economic motive—remote or immediate—plays a part.” The same article makes it clear that this kind of statement was also aimed at varieties of liberalism like utilitarianism that equated prosperity with happiness, “which would transform men into animals with one

sole preoccupation: that of being well-fed and fat, degraded in consequence to a merely physical existence.” For many Italian Fascists and German Nazis, this kind of materialism was one of the symptoms of decadence, which some of them identified with city life as opposed to the healthy life of the countryman.

Such “spiritual” rhetoric was calculated to allay the anxieties of those for whom religion was something to be treasured, or at least approved of. But the truth was that in Italian Fascist thinking the only physical manifestation of the spiritual “reality” was the state, which Fascism saw as a spiritual as well as a moral fact that made concrete “the political, juridical, economic organization of the nation.” The author of the *Enciclopedia italiana* article went on to say that “such an organization is . . . a manifestation of the spirit. . . . The State is the . . . guardian and transmitter of the spirit of the people as it has been elaborated through the centuries in language, custom, faith.” Individuals live and die, their existence is evanescent, but the state goes on; the state “transcends the brief limit of individual lives, represents the immanent conscience of the nation.” In fascist thinking the state took over from the church or churches as the one transcendent body to which spiritual allegiance was owed. By presenting the state in this “spiritual,” ethereal light, fascists were able to persuade individual citizens to channel their religious instincts into nationalistic fervor.

Although German Nazism was as much opposed to communist materialism as was Italian Fascism, it was also opposed to another type of “materialism,” which it associated with Judaism and with the Catholic Church. Following in the footsteps of a strong tradition within Protestantism, it located the contrast between the Old Testament and the New as a polarity between a “materialistic” religion that focused on outward symbols and rituals and a “spiritual” religion of inwardness taught by Jesus. It believed that the Catholic Church had unfortunately lost sight of this new revelation very quickly and had been subjected to a Jewish takeover, so that it too had become a “materialistic” religion of rituals and externals. The Reformation had begun to bring this to light, but it was still contaminated by reverence for the Old Testament and by a belief in the need for a positive religion. Not until the elaboration of a truly Germanic religion of inwardness would the “materialistic” legacy finally be cast off. Unsurprisingly, this kind of thinking did not have much appeal to Italian Fascism, which came out of a totally different history and tradition.

There was a different version of the “materialism” thesis in Nazi thinking about aesthetics that drew inspiration from the likes of Richard Wagner, who praised German art and music for its depth and seriousness, contrasting it with French “materialism” and shallowness.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTUALISM; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; CULTURE (GERMANY); DECADENCE; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNES; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); MARXISM; MUSIC (GERMANY); MYSTICISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; RURALISM; SOUL; STATE, THE; UTILITARIANISM; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; VITALISM; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO (1885–1924)

Italian Socialist Party leader abducted and murdered by Fascist thugs in June 1924. As a parliamentary representative from northern Italy, Matteotti had witnessed at first hand the brutality of the Fascist squads. He denounced the outcome of the 1924 election, in which the Fascists won a two-thirds majority thanks to the use of widespread violence and intimidation. The discovery of Matteotti’s body led to a wave of revulsion, and allegations of Mussolini’s complicity provoked the “Matteotti Crisis,” during which the Fascist government came close to being overthrown.

John Pollard

See Also: AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SOCIALISM; *SQUADRISMO*; VIOLENCE

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MAURRAS, CHARLES (1868–1952)

Leading figure in the French Action Française movement in early twentieth-century France, often considered a forerunner or inspiration for Italian Fascism. After graduating he moved to Paris, where he collaborated on numerous newspapers and reviews, during which time he met Barrès, who became his friend. Maurras supported Boulangism and was impressed by Drumont, contributing to his *La Libre Parole*. In the wake of the Dreyfus Affair, Maurras co-founded the Action Française movement, which became the vehicle for the articulation of his integral nationalism.

The system of ideas propagated by Maurras was an original synthesis of elements drawn from the counter-revolutionary tradition of Bonald, Maistre, and Le Play, from Comtean positivism, and from the scientism of Taine, articulating a fusion of nationalism and traditionalism in which the nation was united around the figure of the king. In the period up to and including World War I, Maurras's integral nationalist ideas were expounded in a plethora of books, most notably the *Enquête sur la Monarchie* (1900), which had a major influence on nationalist milieux, as well as a number published during World War I. Maurras also produced a number of studies of Catholicism during this period: *La Politique religieuse* (1912) and *L'Action française et la religion catholique*, which increased Maurras's difficulties with Rome. Conflict with the Catholic hierarchy reached a peak in 1926, when Rome forbade all Catholics to have anything to do with the organization, a sanction that was lifted only in 1939 by Pope Pius XII.

The violent actions of the AF led to several of the leadership being taken to court. Maurras was no exception, being condemned to eight months in prison in 1912, given a one-year suspended sentence in 1929 for death threats aimed at the home office minister, Abraham Schrameck, and being given a further eight-

month prison term in 1936 for threatening reprisals against the 140 MPs that had voted for sanctions against Italy for invading Abyssinia. He entered the Académie Française in 1938. The following year, opposed to a war that he judged France to be in no position to win, Maurras rallied to Pétain after the Armistice, publishing a number of books in which the same ideas continued to be expounded. Arrested after the liberation, Maurras was condemned on 27 January 1945 by the Court of Justice in Lyons to “solitary confinement for life” and national degradation for having “intelligence with the enemy.” He was expelled from the Académie Française.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; BARRES, AUGUSTE MAURICE; BOULANGISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; DREYFUS CASE, THE; DRUMONT, EDOUARD ADOLPHE; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; NATIONALISM; PÉTAÏN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POSITIVISM; PROTOFASCISM; TRADITIONALISM; WORLD WAR I

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MECHANISTIC THINKING

The adjective “mechanistic”—for which there is no equivalent commonly used abstract noun in English—was a term of abuse in the vocabulary of interwar fascism. It was associated with ideas such as abstraction, rationalism, individualism, and positivism. It was associated with scientism as an attitude of mind embodied in nineteenth-century positivism, according to which science understood in a narrow empiricist sense should provide the pattern and the template for the procedures of all our knowing and thinking. There was a general turn away from scientific philosophies in the years after World War I, and fascism was a part of that movement. In place of mechanistic thought fascist ideologues preferred philosophies marked by organicism and vitalism. The Nazis

were undoubtedly influenced by the voluntarism of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche and the Italian Fascists by the actualism of Gentile.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACTUALISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; INDIVIDUALISM; MATERIALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; POSITIVISM; RATIONALISM; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SCIENCE; SOUL; VITALISM; VOLUNTARISM

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MEDIA, THE: See FILM; PRESS, THE; PROPAGANDA; RADIO; VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER, THE

MEDICINE (Germany)

Nazism had a deep impact on German medicine: medical organizations were reconstructed on a nazified basis, and physicians were expected to research, teach, and practice medicine on a racial basis. The process of *Gleichschaltung* meant appointing Nazi medical activists to influential positions in the administration and organization of medicine. It also meant the segregation and (at first) expulsion of those deemed to be Jewish, and discriminatory measures against persons of part-Jewish ancestry or persons simply married to Jews. Political opponents of National Socialism were liable to arrest and persecution. *Gleichschaltung* was extended to annexed areas of the Saar, Czechoslovakia, and Austria, where some degree of autonomy was maintained by authorities that were enthusiastically Nazi. Medicine contributed to the identification and extermination of racial undesirables in the Holocaust.

Doctors were enthusiastic Nazis. By 1937 more than 40 percent of physicians had joined the NSDAP; some 7 percent joined the SS. While women's participation in the medical profession had greatly increased to more than 10 percent by 1939, they too supported Nazism.

Nazification of public health meant ending the divide between state and municipal health organizations. The new health offices took a key role in pressing for sterilization and other racial aspects of health policy. A high proportion of German doctors were expelled for racial reasons (primarily for Jewish ancestry), or politics. Left-wing doctors and advocates of birth control and unorthodox forms of eugenics went into exile. Few non-Jewish Germans left voluntarily. Among the academics were the pharmacologist Otto Kroyer and the embryologist Johannes Holtfreter. Jewish physicians holding a university post were dismissed. Exceptionally, the half-Jewish biochemist Otto Warburg was retained in office throughout the Third Reich. Jewish doctors were rapidly excluded from sickness insurances. They were forced to treat only Jewish patients, and were redesignated *Krankenbehandler* ("therapists of the sick"). Some Jewish medical and dental students were allowed to complete their degrees on condition that they emigrated. About 10 percent had their medical degrees abolished. Some 4,500 to 6,000 German Jewish doctors were forced to emigrate, an estimated 5 percent committed suicide, and approximately 2,000 were killed in the Holocaust. France and Belgium were important countries in assisting medical refugees, although to date that has not been studied. The largest numbers of medical refugees reached the United States, where they had to overcome professional resistance. Palestine and the United Kingdom took a higher proportion per head of population, although Britain played a negative role in curbing immigration to Palestine. Approximately 850 German physicians settled in the United Kingdom, and about 420 Austrians. All medical refugees had difficulties in obtaining permission to practice abroad. Britain recognized all foreign degrees from late 1941.

Race became a central category of medicine, applied to physiology, genetics, mind, and metabolism. Eugenic racism assisted a shift toward chronic degenerative diseases. Thus Nazis gave increased attention to cancer, establishing a new Reich organization for cancer research. Epidemiological analysis of the correlation between tobacco consumption and lung cancer was an example of a successful piece of research that at the time gained little attention. At the same time, cancer research was a cover for biological warfare research. The Nazis prioritized early diagnosis of tuberculosis by means of mobile X-ray units. Despite the expulsion of Jewish and dissident researchers, medical research was intensified during the 1930s. However, when war was declared, research was seriously weakened. Nazi medicine remained pluralistic, with strong lobbies for na-

ture therapy and homeopathy. Himmler was renowned for his support for alternative medicine such as homeopathy and nature therapy, and he was also interested in anthroposophy and ideas of reincarnation. Unconventional areas of medicine received increased official recognition from the Nazi state, notably with qualifications for nature therapists. But all types of health care were subject to Nazi racism and to ideas of racial biology.

University medical faculties offered allegiance to the regime but retained some autonomy. Tensions arose with incursions of the SS. The University of Jena was heavily nazified, but the process was uneven. This is seen with the difficulties of the SS researcher Rascher, who undertook murderous physiological experiments in concentration camps to secure a *Habilitation* (higher degree). The universities of Munich and Marburg declined to accept Rascher, although the Reich University of Strassburg was prepared to accept him. That was where medical professors carried out experiments at the concentration camp of Natzweiler. The numbers of medical students remained high. Students were exposed to strong dosages of Nazi propaganda, most universities had lectures in racial hygiene, and students were attracted into organizations such as the SA and SS. There were some foreign medical students: Norwegian medical students were held hostage in Buchenwald.

Physicians' organizations were consolidated and nazified. Karl Haedekamp was a veteran of the antisocialist Hartmannbund and the Deutschnationale Volkspartei (German National People's Party), and an activist in purging Jews from the medical profession. He was himself ousted by Nazis in 1939. The National Socialist Physicians' League recruited Nazi activists. Resistance was more limited. Certain doctors used the cover of their practices for illegal meetings. The psychoanalyst John Rittmeister and the "White Rose" medical students Hans and Sophie Scholl were among those executed. Other physicians refused to comply with regulations such as the exclusion of Jewish patients or the registration of cases of hereditary disease.

By 1940 many researchers had been dispatched to frontline units. A shortage of laboratory animals and a willingness to exploit human material deemed surplus meant that the human experiments in concentration camps rapidly increased in 1941, reaching a high point in 1944. Researchers shifted from military to general scientific problems, and especially in 1944–1945, a large number of women and children were victims. Since the pioneering reconstruction by Schwarberg of how twenty children previously used for tuberculosis

research were killed in April 1945, there has been an increasing amount of historical research on German medicine under National Socialism. Yet many interpretative issues and quantitative dimensions remain open. We lack a definitive number of victims of human experiments and associated atrocities, although the number must amount to more than 10,000. The Allies were left with an immense historical puzzle in terms of reconstructing what happened in German medicine under the Nazis. This was made more difficult by restrictions on access to archives and widespread indifference in the 1950s and 1960s. Despite a steady increase of historical research since 1977 on medicine under National Socialism, we still lack much information about the medical perpetrators of racial atrocities, the victims of various categories of Nazi medical war crimes and racial atrocities, and health conditions in the Third Reich.

Paul Weindling

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; *GLEICH-SCHALTUNG*; HEALTH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; MENGELE, JOSEF; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SEXUALITY; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY); WHITE ROSE; WOMEN

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MEDICINE (Italy)

The Italian Fascist government made some significant changes to the medical system inherited from its Liberal predecessors. It created many governmental and parastatal organizations, and it centralized and standardized the system to a greater extent. However, despite the regime's propagandistic boasts, the health

sector remained fragmented, chaotic, and poorly funded. There was considerable continuity from the Liberal period to the Fascist era. Little medical care was offered by the state directly; communes, provinces, mutual aid societies, and charities were responsible for most services. Communes ran hospitals, employed general practitioners, and provided free or subsidized assistance to their poorest residents. Religious orders and charities also ran many hospitals. The prevention and treatment of “social diseases” became a top priority for the regime. Malaria and tuberculosis were the most deadly of these, particularly afflicting peasants and urban workers. Fascism continued the Liberal antimalaria campaign but limited the distribution of quinine and instead focused on marshland drainage. Grand schemes around Rome and in northern Italy were prioritized over assisting the malaria-plagued south. The proclaimed victory over malaria was partial at best. Many clinics and dispensaries were established for the treatment of social diseases such as syphilis and trachoma. These were run by communes but were at least partly state funded, offering free care and medicines.

The Fascists introduced a greater degree of compulsion into the health system. Word of the incidence of certain infectious diseases had to be communicated to authorities, and the 1934 *Testo Unico* (new health laws) allowed for the mandatory hospitalization of patients with such diseases. The regime claimed to be especially concerned with the health of workers. Many new organizations were established to insure workers against accident and illness. In reality, the multitude of organizations and the complexity of the regulations meant that relatively few workers received the care that they were entitled to. Under Fascism, doctors gained greater prominence as important players in the demographic and social welfare campaigns. Both specialists and general practitioners were required to join Fascist syndicates, but some existing professional bodies flourished with regime support. Since Italian Fascism was not burdened with a powerful racial doctrine of the kind adopted by German Nazism, there was not the same ideological impact on the field of medicine in Italy that there was in Germany.

Meredith Carew

See Also: DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EUGENICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HEALTH; ITALY; MEDICINE (GERMANY); RACIAL DOCTRINE; WELFARE

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MEIN KAMPF

The title (*My Struggle*) of the work in which Adolf Hitler set out his philosophy and his vision for Germany. It was published in two volumes, the first on 19 July 1925, the second on 11 December 1926. By 1929 the first volume had sold about 23,000 copies and the second about 13,000. In 1930 the publisher, Max Amann (a sergeant-major in Hitler’s regiment in World War I), brought out the work in a single volume that sold 62,000 in one year. By the end of 1933, more than 1.5 million copies had been sold. By 1934 the book figured among school primers, and in 1936 the Ministry of the Interior recommended that registrars present a copy to every bridal couple. Total sales in Hitler’s lifetime were probably around 8 to 9 million. The first English translation was an abridgement, and the complete text did not become available until 1938. Versions appeared in the 1920s, 1930s, and early 1940s in at least ten European languages, as well as in Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese.

The title was actually Max Amann’s idea—the author’s projected title was *Four and a Half Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity and Cowardice*. The book consists of autobiographical recollections intermingled with reflections on political and social principles. Hitler begins by noting the significance of his birthplace, Braunau on the Inn, on the boundary between Bavaria and Austria. The importance of this becomes clear when he gives an account of his student years in Vienna. It was in Vienna that he discovered the reality of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, an empire in decay, an empire crippled by centrifugal forces of its constituent parts, an empire in which the German peoples were downtrodden and victimized. It was this experience that first developed his German nationalistic feelings. It was also Vienna that converted him into an anti-Semite, since he witnessed what seemed to him Jewish control of Social Democratic agitation, of the world of the press, and of prostitution in the city. His experience of the Social Democrats showed him the power of fanatical determination allied to a readiness to use violence, and he grew cynical about the purposes of the

leaders. He found that although he could have rational arguments with almost anybody from whatever class, his attempts to debate with Jews were always a waste of time and got him nowhere. He realized that part of the success of the Social Democrats had to do with their mastery of oratory and their readiness to address the masses. He noted that liberal leaders tended to be middle class and to rely on the printed word, which was read only by other bourgeois.

Then came the crucial wartime experience. Hitler noted that his generation, who set out for the front in 1914, soon turned from youngsters to old soldiers. He observed the power of Allied propaganda and grew enraged by the feebleness of what was produced by his own side. He sensed that the Allies understood that you must exaggerate one negative fact about the enemy to the utmost—in this case, the atrocities of the Hun. This gave steel to the Allied troops and also prepared them to fight a vicious enemy. His own side used the weapon of mockery, but the troops in the field discovered that their opponents were extremely tough and consequently felt let down by what they had been told. As the war progressed, Hitler also saw the effectiveness of the Allied thrust to drive a wedge between Prussia and the rest—putting all the blame on the one side in order to embitter the other. He received news of the German capitulation when in the hospital after a gas attack and was shocked to the core. He accepted the popular explanation of betrayal by Jewish propagandists and intellectuals who sapped the will of the government and the middle classes to continue the war, but he also acknowledged the underlying decay that allowed all this to happen. Germany was being undermined by the Jews, and the governing classes were cowardly and irresolute.

After the war he became increasingly drawn to politics and increasingly convinced of the centrality of the racial question. Following a well-established type of racial ideology that went back at least to the French nineteenth-century thinker Gobineau, he argued that a superior race that allowed itself to interbreed would decay, and the preservation of the purity of the German race was the prime responsibility of the German state. This truth was not widely admitted, and the failure to face it was one of the main reasons for the defeat. Racial theory must be the foundation of a new political order. Young Germans must be indoctrinated in their role in the preservation of racial purity. There should be no truck with compassion for cripples or mental defectives. The birth rate had been declining since the previous century because people were having fewer children by deliberate policy; one result was that they fussed too

much about the survival of the few children they did have—hence a reluctance to deal with defective offspring.

Western-style democracy with its electoral and parliamentary obsessions was a sham. Hitler had been inoculated against parliamentarism by his experiences of observing political debates in Vienna, which had induced in him nothing but contempt for the parliamentary system. He believed that great things come from great individual personalities, not from assemblies. The aristocratic mode was the only one appropriate for Germanic peoples, and that involved individual rulers surrounded by advisers. Trade unions were certainly allowable, but only to prevent abuses in the workplace. Germany's future rulers needed to realize that the masses must be won over, and on two occasions in the book Hitler writes of them as being like women who respond to a strong man better than to a weak one. Marxism was the big enemy of the day, but it could not be put down simply by force. A philosophy can be defeated only by another force that also has a philosophy. Hitler joyfully describes the way in which he defeated Marxist provocateurs who attempted to break up his meetings by good preparation and the disciplined use of force. This method was often able to get the better of a much larger number of opponents. One of the things he stresses in the book is the role of conviction, will, and resolve, which can enable a well-organized and well-motivated minority to topple a majority. He has a poor opinion of his German contemporaries but sees them as victims of Jewish manipulators. He does not elaborate a systematic anti-Semitic theory but dismisses the Jews as aliens who can simply never become Germans. The old religious anti-Judaism is feeble; what is needed is a frank recognition that the Jews are an enemy that cannot be accommodated or allowed into a Germanic society. They are unstable, dishonest, greedy, and manipulative. Their aim is world domination, and the Jewish religion is simply a tool to enable them to achieve this.

Unlike Rosenberg, Hitler shows a grudging respect for the Catholic Church, whose inner strength he respects. He notes that celibacy rules require the Church to replenish herself in every generation, which she does from the ranks of the poor, and that creates a sympathy between the poor and the Church that is one of the foundations of her influence. He is, however, very clear about the need to keep politics and religion entirely separate, and disclaims any intention to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. Hitler is very aware of the crucial role of the masses in politics, but not simply as fodder for exploitation. His time in Vienna showed him the

horror of the daily life of the laboring poor in a big city and sensitized him to the big social issues. He saw that any serious political party must plan to address these if it was to have any success.

A study of *Mein Kampf* is very helpful for an understanding of how Hitler came to power. It shows an astonishing combination of ruthless logic, awareness of political realities, and powers of organization. It leaves a distinct impression that the war experience of Hitler and his contemporaries was of the utmost importance for what came after the war. Battle-hardened veterans felt that parliamentarism had betrayed them and could not bring themselves to support the republic. They looked for something to believe in after the shock of the defeat, and Hitler offered them pride in their nation, a set of simple principles they could understand, and organizations to join that offered some semblance of the camaraderie of the trenches.

Markus Hattstein (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BLOOD; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; LUEGER, KARL; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; TRADES UNIONS; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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MENGELE, JOSEF (1911–1979)

Nazi doctor nicknamed the "Angel of Death," notorious for his medical experiments on concentration camp inmates. His name has gone down in history as

the embodiment of the terrifyingly amoral inhumanity generated by the Nazi philosophy and view of life in the sphere of the perversion of medicine. He was born in Günzburg in Bavaria, where his father had founded a farm machinery factory. Mengele studied philosophy and medicine and later joined the SS. He focused on the study of (supposed) racial characteristics and genetics. In 1943, after having served as the doctor of the SS *Viking* division (1941), he became senior consultant in Auschwitz where, together with other doctors, he was responsible for selecting victims for his barbarous human experiments from those arriving on deportation trains, and for sending many others straight to the gas chambers. He was especially interested in conducting medical experiments on twins, and one of his projects involved sewing together two Gypsy children to create Siamese twins. The completely inhuman brutality of his behavior at Auschwitz was remembered by witnesses as outstanding. After the war Mengele escaped via Rome to Latin America and took an assumed name. Information from friends and family led in 1985 to the exhumation of the remains of a man drowned in Brazil six years earlier; an international team of forensic experts unanimously concluded that this had been Mengele.

Fabian Virchow and Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSCHWITZ; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; MEDICINE; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SS, THE

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MESKÓ, ZOLTÁN (1883–1959)

Fascist leader in interwar Hungary. Meskó attended a military academy in Vienna and became an MP supported by the Independence Party in 1917. In 1919 he assisted in organizing the National Army, a move that later earned him various high-level positions in different ministries (Agriculture, Internal Affairs). Meskó's

populist idea was to elevate the peasantry by solving rural misery, and in order to achieve this, on 16 June 1932 he organized his fascist party, the Hungarian National Socialist Agrarian and Workers' Party (Magyar Nemzeti Szocialista Földműves és Munkás Párt). He published the party's newspaper, the *National Word* (*Nemzet Szava*), and can also be credited with the implementation of the arrow cross symbol to be used together with the green shirt in Hungary. Meskó was a chief architect of the Society for Name Hungarianization, a racist intellectual association. In 1933 he was able to have a meeting with Hitler. He was a fervent supporter of Regent Horthy, and in his party the greeting was: "With God for the Fatherland. Loyalty to the Regent!" In 1946 he was sentenced to life imprisonment but was eventually pardoned; he died soon after his release. (Meskó should not be confused with another politician and physician of the same name who was a member of Hungary's upper house during the interwar period.)

László Kürti

See Also: ARROW CROSS, THE; FARMERS; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RURALISM

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(1914–1917). His patrician background and personal attachment to the Gluecksburg royal family of Greece, as well as his admiration for Prussian military values, were in sharp contrast to the new, modernizing, and decidedly bourgeois political style of Eleftherios Venizelos, who dominated Greek politics from the years following 1910 until the early 1930s. Metaxas opposed the latter's expedition in Asia Minor (1919–1922), and in 1924 he became the leader of the small conservative/royalist party Eleftherofrones. In April 1936, Metaxas was appointed prime minister by the palace and subsequently plotted with King George the suspension of the parliamentary system. On 4 August 1936 he established a dictatorship with strong fascist tendencies. He resisted the temptation to align Greece to the Axis powers, however, upholding King George's pro-British outlook in foreign affairs but also striving to follow an equidistant policy vis-à-vis the two emerging coalitions in Europe. In October 1940 he responded to the Italian ultimatum (demand for occupation of strategic points in Greece by the Italian army) by declaring war on Italy.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: AXIS, THE; CONSERVATISM; DICTATORSHIP; GREECE; ITALY; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; PARLIAMENTARISM; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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METAXAS, GENERAL IOANNIS (1871–1941)

Fascistic dictator of Greece in the late 1930s (the Fourth of August regime). Growing up in a conservative, proroyalist family, Metaxas followed a military career. In 1913 he was promoted to the rank of chief of staff and served as advisor to King Constantine during the Balkans Wars (1912–1913) and World War I

MEXICO

During the interwar years and World War II, the fascist phenomenon impacted in Mexico in three areas: opposition to the most radical tendencies in the Mexican Revolution, the search for a new political model by the national ruling class, and the activities of the fascist states—above all in the organization of the Italian and German expatriate communities. The urban and rural middle classes opposed to socialism and agrarian reform looked early for a model in European fascism. In 1922, Gustavo Sáenz de Sicilia founded the Partido

Fascista Mexicano (Mexican Fascist Party), a conservative, Catholic, antirevolutionary but not violent political movement. International circumstances (the Depression, the Spanish Civil War, and the leftist radical shift in the country during *cardenismo*, from 1934 to 1940) impelled the formation of several nationalist and anticommunist movements with fascist tendencies, such as the Unión Nacional de Veteranos de la Revolución (National Union of Veterans of the Revolution, 1935), the Confederación de la Clase Media (Middle Class Confederation, 1936), the Partido Social Democrático Mexicano (Mexican Social Democratic Party, 1937), and, mainly, the Acción Revolucionaria Mexicana (Mexicanist Revolutionary Action, 1934) of Nicolás Rodríguez, openly violent and anti-Semitic, whose members were known as “golden shirts.” In 1937 was founded the most important opposition movement: the Unión Nacional Sinarquista, inspired by the Spanish Falange, with a half-million members in 1941, mostly radical Catholic and nationalist peasants with urban middle-class leaders.

Fascism also had an impact on some intellectuals and artists, such as José Vasconcelos and Gerardo Murillo, and on politicians such as the president and *Jefe Máximo*, Plutarco Elías Calles, the governor of Sonora, Román Yocupicio, and General Saturnino Cedillo. Meanwhile the Mexican government sought in fascist corporatism an inspiration for the reactivation of the economy and the reorganization of the state.

German and Italian politics in Mexico was focused on commercial relationships, propaganda, protection of nationals, and monitoring antifascist and U.S. activities. Rumors of Axis conspiracies and a subversive fascist “fifth column” mostly lacked foundation. The small Italian and German colonies grouped around the local sections of their own national fascist parties, coordinated with the respective legations, consulates, and other community organizations. Among the Spaniards the Falange had an important presence.

Franco Savarino

See Also: “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; FALANGE; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; SOCIALISM; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR II

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MICHELS, ROBERTO (1876–1936)

Leading sociologist and economist and supporter of Mussolini whose belief in an “iron law of oligarchy”—that organizations competing for power will tend to develop in an oligarchical direction—offered clear justification for dictatorships. Michels was born in Cologne into a well-to-do business family. He studied at the French lycée in Berlin, then in England and France, and finally in Munich. He graduated at Halle in 1900 with the historian Droysen. From his youth he was a militant in the Socialist Party, which brought on him the hostility of the academic authorities and made it difficult for him to acquire a university teaching position. In 1901, thanks to the support of Max Weber, he obtained his first post as professor at the University of Marburg.

Michels had very close contacts with socialist circles in Belgium, Italy, and France. Between 1904 and 1908 he collaborated in the monthly *Le Mouvement Socialiste* and participated as a delegate in various social democratic congresses. At this period his encounter with Georges Sorel, Edouard Berth, and the Italian revolutionary syndicalists Arturo Labriola and Enrico Leone was decisive. It was under the influence of syndicalism that he began to rethink theoretical Marxism and to propose a critique of the reformism of the socialist leaders. The activist, voluntaristic, and antiparlamentarian conception that Michels had of socialism could not be reconciled with the parliamentaristic, legalitarian, and bureaucratic development of the social democratic movement. He was particularly influenced by the critique of democracy put forward by Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto, the two chief exponents of the Italian “Machiavelli” school.

In 1905, Max Weber invited Michels to collaborate with the prestigious review *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*. In 1907 he obtained a chair at the University of Turin, where he became personally ac-

quainted with Mosca and came into contact with the economist Luigi Einaudi and the positivist anthropologist Cesare Lombroso. In the years that followed, Michels was working on his fundamental *Sociologie des partiwesens* (1911). Also in 1911, during the war in Libya, Michels took up a position in favor of the imperial projects of Italy and against German expansionism. He began to draw close to the Italian nationalist movement, and his relations with Weber deteriorated irremediably. Before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, he transferred to the University of Basle in Switzerland. In 1922, Michels greeted the victory of Mussolini and Fascism and the destruction of the liberal system sympathetically. He returned to Italy for good in 1928 to take up the chair of political economy at the University of Perugia. At this time he gave numerous lectures and courses, publishing a great number of books and articles, both in Italy and abroad, in which he gave his open support for the dictatorship of Mussolini. Michels came to a position of support for Fascism as a result of his revision of Marxist determinism and his belief in the inevitably oligarchical and bureaucratic degeneration of democracy. Together with Sorel, Lagardelle, and de Man, he contributed to demolish from the theoretical point of view the mechanistic, reductionistic, and economic foundation of Marxist thought, proposing a conception of political action based on the idea of the nation (instead of on class) and on the will to power of minorities. On the sociological level, he contributed to the formulation of a “law” according to which every social organization—for example, parties and syndicates—involves the risk of an oligarchical degeneration: the larger and more complex the organization, the more decisive becomes the role of organized minorities. In other words, mass democracy and organization are technically incompatible.

An internationalist in his youth, Michels also understood the propulsive role assumed at the start of the twentieth century by the myth of the nation, a sentiment capable much more than humanitarian universalism of mobilizing the masses and favoring their integration into the structure of the state. He also noted, again following Weber, the fundamental role in history and politics of charisma and great personalities. From the point of view of economic analysis, Michels’s rigorously historical and antiformalistic approach led him to criticize the theoretical inconsistency of the liberal *Homo economicus*; according to Michels there do not in fact exist abstract rational economic subjects but only concrete social actors, bearers of specific historically determined interests. At the same time he criti-

cized the radically conflictual interpretation of economic dynamisms typical of Marxism, arguing for the regulatory and equilibratory role of the state and the necessity for a close collaboration between the various social categories. For this reason he came to support the practical utility and doctrinal foundedness of the corporatism encouraged by Fascism. Perhaps his most important text in the years of his militant Fascism was the *Corso di sociologia politica* (“Political Sociology Course”), published in 1926. In this volume, developing his elitist vision of politics, he theorized the figure of the “charismatic leader” who draws his strength directly from investiture by the people, and is thus in a position to extend his own legitimacy to the whole political order.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

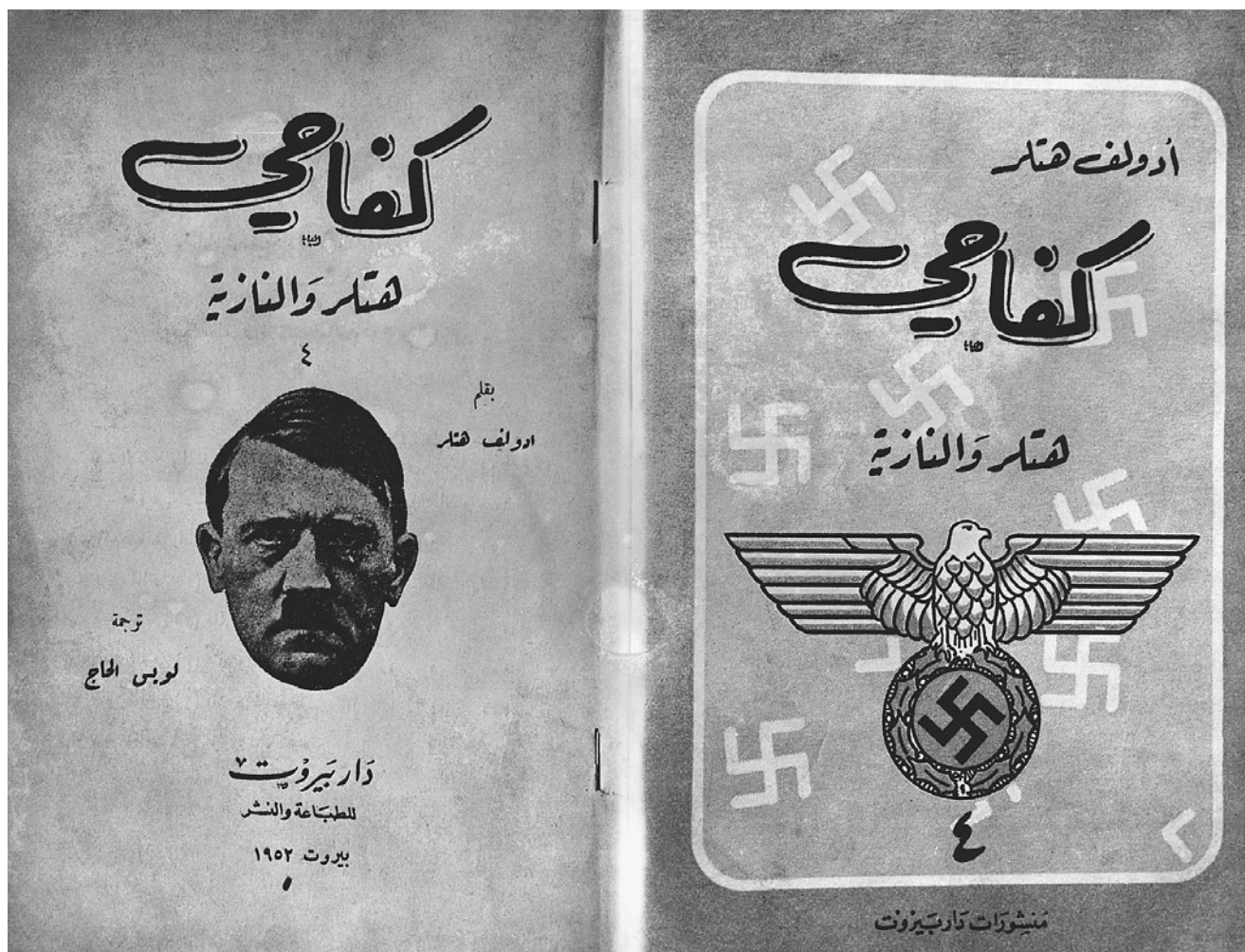
See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACTUALISM; CLASS; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; LIBYA; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MAN, HENDRIK/HENRI DE; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; PARETO, VILFREDO; PARLIAMENTARISM; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; SOREL, GEORGES; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; WORLD WAR I

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MIDDLE EAST, THE

After World War I, Arab nationalists and pan-Arabists became increasingly radicalized, anti-British, and anti-French. A mandate system had been set up by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles to administer the former overseas possessions of Turkey, and that was treated as a betrayal of wartime promises given by the British and the French to their Arab wartime allies (among them, the McMahon Pledge to create a united Arab state after the war). Another example of betrayal was considered



Arabic edition of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Anti-Semitism gave the ideology of the Nazis a particular edge in the Arab world, where the infamous 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion' continues to circulate. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

to be the Balfour Declaration to bring about a Jewish homeland in Palestine at the cost of its Arab inhabitants. In 1919 there was an insurrection in Egypt, in 1920 an uprising in Iraq (both anti-British), and also the establishment of an Arab government in Damascus (toppled by the French in July 1920). In the case of Palestine, and in the atmosphere of the pro-Jewish Balfour Declaration, one of the dominant Palestinian families, al-Husaini, inclined toward Fascist Italy. Fascist and—later—Nazi ideas became an alternative among such radical organizations as the Egyptian Jam'iat Misr al-Fatat (Young Egypt Society), headed by Ahmad Husain, and the National Syrian Party, headed by Antun Sa'ada.

Italy, being among the victorious World War I powers, desired to consolidate its relations and position in Arab Mediterranean countries. As a consequence of

centuries of trade exchange between Italian ports and the ports of the region, there were in many North African and Levantine ports and towns large Italian communities with their schools, hospitals, clergy, churches, and other institutions. Italy began to conquer Libya in 1911 and later received the East Mediterranean Dodecanese islands as part of the World War I settlements; she also had control of African colonies on the Red Sea. The Italian presence in Libya and consequent repression of Libyan Arabs could scarcely create much sympathy for Italy among the Arab nations. At the same time, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia caused much anxiety in the Middle East. However, anti-British and anti-French sentiments induced some Arab countries (Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Iraq) to seek Italian armaments. With the rise of the German menace the capacity of Britain to supply arms to Arab countries

dwindled, for British home demand had to be satisfied first. Through her armaments and her military instructors, Italy consolidated her position in the Arab world, and a new channel for her influence was an Arabic radio transmission from Bari.

After World War I, Germany was interested mainly in European affairs. Egypt was an important German trade partner during the 1920s, however, including a substantial movement through the Suez Canal by German ships (16.5 percent of the total tonnage in 1929). Among other Arab countries, Iraq was a second trade partner. However, trade with Arab countries did not play a significant part in Germany's trade exchange. The situation was different with Iran and Turkey, where steady rises in the volume of trade with Germany were noted during both the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich (in the case of Turkey, it amounted to 50 percent of that country's trade). Of particular interest for Germans among the Arab countries was Iraq, and to a lesser extent Egypt. Germany followed the opinions of Arab politicians and government circles closely. However, Germans could exert less influence than could the Italians upon the Middle Eastern political scene. Nationalist and national independence ideas were gaining ground in the 1930s, when the racism and anti-Semitism of the Nazis could count on some limited sympathy in the Islamic world. Typical movements were the radical Muslim Brotherhood, founded in the late 1920s, and the Young Egypt Society, founded by Cairo students in 1933 and popularly known as the "Green Shirts." Negative attitudes toward the British meant sympathizing with their rivals and enemies. During World War II leading members of the society distanced themselves from Germany and fascism. In Algeria, when the French authorities banned the Parti du Peuple Algérien in September 1939, an insignificant minority of its members organized the secret Comité d'Action Révolutionnaire Nord-Africaine with a program echoing the ideas of Italian Fascism.

In general terms we can trace two tendencies among Islamists: one left-oriented in the social spectrum (that the evolution of Islamic society is a historical process) and the second right-oriented (that a glorified state is the requirement of the time). The Nazi vision, including anti-Semitism, did not have many advocates within Islamic ideological movements. It cannot be said that such organizations as the Muslim Brotherhood or Young Egypt Society had a fascist concept of state and society, but only that the general atmosphere in the Arab and Islamic world was favorable to fascist programs.

Meanwhile, German interest in the Islamic and Arab world started to show a spectacular rise from 1937 onwards: the strategic significance of the area was reassessed, agitation and propaganda publications were enhanced, organizations dealing with the Orient were revived, visits were paid to Middle Eastern countries. A spectacular event in this field was the visit by Baldur von Schirach (as leader of German youth) to Damascus, Baghdad, and Tehran at the end of 1937. Paramilitary youth organizations in the Middle East became a popular phenomenon. Their authoritarian structure, fascist slogans, and contacts with Germans and Italians, as well as their presence in NSDAP rallies (together with politicians) in Nuremberg were certainly a source of anxiety for the British and the French. Moreover, a widening range of German circles were calling for a more active German role in the Middle East, a view shared by Alfred Rosenberg, head of the Aussenpolitisches Amt NSDAP.

The occasion for implementing Rosenberg's proposal was the increasing tension around the Palestine question in connection with mass Jewish immigration. Since the late 1920s many Islamic politicians, intellectuals, and journalists had started to attach great importance to, and have many reservations about, Jewish immigration to Palestine. The fourth wave of immigrants of 1924–1928, mainly from Poland, was alarming. The world economic crisis aggravated matters. The Palestinian uprising of 1936 lasting for three years differed from earlier ones (of 1921 and 1929), taking the form of a long-lasting Arab strike against the British, and uniting Arab organizations around the leadership of Jerusalem's mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini. The British government attached great significance to the Palestine problem; it sent a special commission headed by Earl Peel to investigate the matter. In its report (July 1937), the commission proposed termination of the mandate and partition of Palestine (one-fifth of the land to go as a Jewish state, an Arab state in the rest of the country, and minor areas remaining under British mandate, in addition to Transjordan). The Arab uprising and the Royal Commission Report had a great impact in Palestine and the Middle East. The entire Arab world was moved by events: popular committees emerged spontaneously in support of Palestinian Arabs, diplomatic conferences were held, resolutions were adopted against "the Zionist menace," and the partition plan was rejected. Naturally, the British—having their imperial interests involved—were aware of the pressure from both the Arabs and rival Axis states.

At first, the Nazis, forcing their own Jews to emigrate, were in favor of the establishment of a Jewish

state in Palestine. Later, however, they distanced themselves from such an idea. The Palestinian question was utilized by the Nazis in a dual manner. On the one hand, by their persecution of Jews and pressure upon their allies to do likewise, they gave an impetus to the immigration movement into Palestine, and thereby aggravated the situation still further. On the other, Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda coincided with Arab anti-Jewish agitation, both directed against the British, who were seen as part of the conspiracy to deprive Palestinians of their homeland; this propaganda was directed through the Arab press, paid advertisements, diplomatic and personal channels, and after the spring of 1939 through radio transmissions. The revised German foreign policy in connection with these events could be summarized as follows: the creation of a Jewish state under British domination would not be in the interest of Germany, because the new state would not absorb all world Jews, but merely create for them an additional international legal base; international Jewry would always be an ideological option politically contrary to the National Socialist Third Reich. Germany ought to be interested in the existence of an Arab counterbalance to Jewish power; hence, Germany rejected the idea of the establishment of a Jewish Palestinian state. German missions in some Arab countries received instructions to make clear the Reich's support for Arab aspirations in Palestine. A similar role was assigned to the Aussenpolitisches Amt NSDAP, which maintained relations with Middle Eastern parties and organizations.

Hassan Jamsheer

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AXIS, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; IMMIGRATION; IRAN; IRAQ; ITALY; LIBYA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PALESTINE; PARAMILITARISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RADIO; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; THIRD REICH, THE; TURKEY; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; ZIONISM

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MILITARISM

There are two senses in which the interwar fascist regimes were militaristic: in the sense that the Italian Fascists and the German Nazis each aimed at the militarization of their entire society, and in the sense that both regimes focused on national military achievement as their chief foreign policy goal. The latter goal was a traditional one in Europe, the former rather more unusual.

Based on a Social-Darwinistic belief in the endemic nature of struggle in the world, and on the glorification of war as a means of building heroic character, interwar fascism was orientated to an unusual degree toward the militarization of society. Both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany pursued the militarization of their own countries domestically through the establishment of mass movements devoted to the creation of alert, physically fit, warlike populations. This was not about increasing the control of the military in society—which neither Hitler nor Mussolini aspired to do—but about developing a warrior people with a warrior ethos. The idea was also propounded (by Werner Daitz) of organizing economic life along the lines of the chains of command in the military. Meanwhile, Hitler in particular devoted himself to building up his armed forces (whose numbers had been severely limited by the terms of the Versailles Treaty) from the moment he came to power in 1933, with the aim of raising Germany from the humiliations of 1918 to the status of a world power—which he achieved very quickly. But while the Wehrmacht that Hitler created proved a potent weapon for Nazism, Mussolini was never able to create an Italian armed force to match, something that he himself realized when he postponed entry into World War II. Both Mussolini and Hitler broke onto the world stage through their militaristic adventurism—Mussolini in Corfu and Ethiopia, Hitler with his bombing of Guernica, his remilitarization of the Rhineland, and his massive troop parades at the Nuremberg Rallies. But while militarism was a key aspect of interwar fascism, it was not, of course, a distinctive one, for it was and is a feature of many other kinds of regime: the hugely bellicose May Day parades in Soviet Russia were a symbol of Soviet militarism. Nor did fascist militarism amount to the same thing as military dictatorship, which was not at all the intention or practice of either Hitler or Mussolini.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CORFU; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GUERNICA; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PERONISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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MILITARY, THE: See **MILITARISM;**
MILITARY DICTATORSHIP;
WEHRMACHT, THE

MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Most modern military dictatorships have been called “fascist” by their opponents, since they have had in common with fascism a thoroughgoing militarization of society, an extreme nationalist phraseology, a massive limitation and infringement of human rights and extension of police powers, the gagging of freedom of thought, and the “institutionalization” of a state of emergency. Nonetheless, most military dictatorships have showed only a very selective association with Italian Fascism and National Socialism. That has certainly been true of the military dictatorships of Latin America, whose leading generals have often encouraged adulation of themselves in fascistoid terms as “national saviors” from communism and the influence of “decadent” Western democracy—for example, Augusto Pinochet in Chile (1973–1990) or Jorge Rafael Videla in Argentina (1976–1981). The most clearly fascist would seem to be the military dictatorship of Hitler-admirer



Alfredo Stroessner, commander-in-chief of the Paraguayan army, seized power in 1954 and ruled for thirty-five years. He was an admirer of Hitler and his regime is sometimes labeled ‘fascist’, but Hitler and Mussolini themselves always kept the military at arms’ length. (Horacio Villalobos/Corbis)

General Alfredo Stroessner in Paraguay (1954–1989). While military dictatorships in Africa have generally come down to “kleptocracies” of the leading tribes, those with mass support in the Arab world—Egypt under Gamal Abd-el-Nasser (1954–1970) or Libya under Muammar al-Ghaddafi—are more difficult to evaluate.

Hitler and Mussolini expressly refused to see themselves as military dictators. They admired the discipline, readiness for sacrifice, and obedience of the military, yet Hitler considered government by the military to be a reactionary form of state without political “vision,” and he distrusted the military all his life. In November 1932 he warned President von Hindenburg about the dangers of a military dictatorship, which would be likely with a presidial regime under General von Schleicher, and in March 1938 he dissolved the Soldatenbund of retired front soldiers that had been formed in 1935 after it became clear that this was aiming to install a military dictatorship in Germany. Both Italian Fascism and National Socialism subjected the

military to the ends of the state and party, which an intensive ideological education of the soldiers was also to serve. With the “military statute” in Italy of 1926 and the Wehrmacht’s oath of loyalty to the person of Adolf Hitler instituted in 1934, Mussolini and Hitler both assured themselves of command over the military. If in World War II both dictators presented themselves as military leaders of their respective countries, it was in order to demonstrate a united front of state, party, and military leadership and to prevent a gulf developing between political and military requirements.

Parallel with the emergence of Italian Fascism and National Socialism, many countries of Europe after 1920 suffered a temporary or lasting seizure of power by the military. European military dictatorship manifested in general as nationalistic, anti-Semitic, and hostile to democracy and flirted in one way or another with the organizational forms and goals of the fascist movements. The earliest such fascistic military dictatorship was manifested in the Spain of the “Caudillo” Francisco Franco in its earlier period (1936/1939–1945), after the country had previously had a nationalistic right-wing military dictatorship under General Miguel Primo de Rivera (1923–1930). Attaining power with the help of the fascists, Franco had at his disposal with the Falange a fascistic mass organization, but his dominance was built mainly on an alliance of Falange, army chiefs, and the Catholic Church. In neighboring Portugal, by contrast, after a military dictatorship was first established in 1926 under General Gomes da Costa, it gradually turned into a personal dictatorship under Antonio Salazar after 1928.

A profascist military dictatorship allied with Italy and Germany was to be found in Romania under Marshal Ion Antonescu, whose power base was the fascist “Iron Guard,” but he went on to eliminate their leadership. The “royal dictatorship” of Czar Boris III of Bulgaria (1935–1944) also had a power base in the military and came in on the side of the Axis. The regimes in Poland and Hungary were military regimes of a very particular kind that were often called “fascist” by Marxists. In Poland, Marshal Józef Pilsudski led an extreme authoritarian nationalistic regime (1926–1935) that developed increasingly into a personal dictatorship; the attempt by Pilsudski to bring all the parties together in an alliance in conformity with the regime may have modeled itself on fascist forms of organization. Even more tricky to assess is Hungary under the “Regent of the Empire,” Admiral Miklós Horthy (1920–1944), whose personal rule was more of a “liberal dictatorship,” while his minister president, Colonel Gyula Gömbös, with his “Szegeder Fascists” took over Ger-

many’s race laws and aimed to transform the state into a “nationalistic dictatorship” (1936–1941). Eventually, power was taken in 1944/1945 by the ultrafascist “Arrow Cross,” a movement that Horthy had for a long time kept out of power. The military dictatorship in Greece was also shot through with fascist elements: General Ioannis Metaxas (1936–1941) introduced the *Heil* greeting and propagated a radical nationalism of the “Hellenes” (which he understood, however, as cultural rather than racist), but he also avoided the creation of a fascist mass party just as did the later Junta of the Colonels (1967–1974), who presented their coup as a “national revolution” against communism.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARGENTINA; ARROW CROSS, THE; BOLIVIA; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHILE; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; GÖMBÖS, GYULA; GREECE; *HEIL HITLER!*; HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON; HITLER, ADOLF; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LIBYA; METAXAS, GENERAL IOANNIS; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; PARAGUAY; PILSUDSKI, MARSHAL JOZEF; PINOCHET UGARTE, GENERAL AUGUSTO; POLAND; PORTUGAL; QADHAFI (GADDHAFI), MU’AMMAR; ROMANIA; SALAZAR, ANTONIO DE OLIVEIRA; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA SICUREZZA NAZIONALE (MVSN)

The MVSN (Voluntary Militia for National Security) was the Italian state security force, which Mussolini

created out of the *squadristi* who had enabled him to come to power with their violence against his opponents. The army saw the MVSN as a potential rival, and even though Mussolini appointed army generals to high posts, the military remained keen to see the organization suppressed. There was a conflict also between some local groups that remained loyal to their local commandants and the central leadership. The MVSN was encouraged to participate in the war in Ethiopia, where it proved a complete disaster, and Mussolini then gave more power over it to the army. Four MVSN divisions were crushed by Allied Forces in Libya between late 1940 and early 1941. The force was formally abolished by the monarch on 6 December 1943. It was briefly revived under the Salò Republic as the Guardia Nazionale Repubblicana (Republican National Guard) and finally dissolved in the spring of 1945.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LIBYA; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SQUADRISMO

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MILLENARIANISM

Fascism has been studied as a form of modern millenarianism. Millenarian movements pursue an apocalyptic confrontation with the status quo in hopes of creating a future utopian society established through metaphysical deliverance, political revolution, or both. The terms *apocalyptic*, *millenarian*, or *millennialist* are sometimes used interchangeably, although some argue for fine distinctions among them. Apocalyptic belief anticipates an upcoming social transformation of immense scale that signals a new historical epoch. In the Christian Bible, the Apocalypse is prophesied as a global battle between righteous believers and Satanic forces that must take place before the return of their Messiah, Jesus Christ. This Battle of Armageddon results in God's triumph over evil, followed by one thou-

sand years of rule by righteous Christians. The word *millennialism* was originally tied to some measure of a one-thousand-year time span, but is now used to discuss diverse apocalyptic movements. Apocalyptic prophecy appears not only in Christianity but also in many other religious traditions, including Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam.

Cohn traces the roots of Hitler's Nazi vision to the millenarian Christian apocalyptic mystics of the Middle Ages. According to Cohn, millenarian movements see their anticipated salvation as collective, imminent, total, miraculous, and occurring on earth rather than in some heavenly venue. Rhodes describes "the Hitler movement" as a "millenarian-Gnostic revolution" complete with apocalyptic metaphors and anticipating a "modern battle of Armageddon for a worldly New Jerusalem" (Rhodes 1980, 18). For example, the Nazi Thousand Year Reich echoed the Christian idea of the approaching millennium. Ellwood also calls Nazism a modern form of millenarianism, and argues that "Nazi belief in the superior qualities and destiny of the Aryans took on the nature of nonrational, transcendently sanctioned, self-validating faith" (Ellwood 2000, 243). Two other theories are complementary to the view that fascism is a form of apocalyptic millenarianism. Griffin calls fascism a form of revolutionary populist nationalism that promotes palingenesis, the heroic rebirth of the society after a period of decline or decadence. Gentile argues that fascism involves the sacralization of politics, with roots in millenarian and messianic traditions drawn from Christianity. As Eatwell explains, the monotheistic and Christian roots of Western culture helped to shape an apocalyptic worldview in which conflict is sometimes framed as a dualistic "struggle between God and Satan, a tendency which encourages a belief in the existence of a hidden, evil, hand" (Eatwell 1990, 72). This helps to explain the tendency in fascist and other extreme right movements and groups to engage in demonization, scapegoating, and conspiracism. For example, the Nazis picked Jews as their primary scapegoat, but other groups were listed for extermination in what was seen as the necessary purification of society before the anticipated millenarian transformation.

Chip Berlet

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; CHRISTIANITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; HITLER, ADOLF; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; OCCULTISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SECULARIZATION; THIRD REICH, THE; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM

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**MISCEGENATION: See ARYANISM;
RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM**

MISHIMA, YUKIO (pseudonym for Hiraoka Kimitake) (1925–1970)

The most celebrated novelist and intellectual associated with ultranationalism in postwar Japan. Although Mishima eulogized historical right-wing protagonists in many of his writings, he is best remembered for the bizarre manner in which his death was linked to rightist politics. Mishima embraced right-wing causes with the publication of his short story "Patriotism" in 1960. This work addressed the abortive coup d'état of nationalistic junior officers in February 1936. Mishima later enacted the hero's part in a film based on the story. Mishima's finest and most subtle political novel is *Runaway Horses*. Set in the 1930s, the story's protagonist is a patriotic youth who assassinates a business leader and then commits ritual suicide. The book criticizes not only the political establishment but also the hypocrisy of many organized rightist groups of the period, and it expresses Mishima's despair that Japan will ever reconcile its traditional values with its modern development. In the late 1960s, Mishima took his politics from literature into life. He founded a rightist organization of young men who mixed their blood and drank it in a loyalty pledge. In 1970, he and several followers kidnapped a Japanese general and demanded that he

muster the troops to hear Mishima speak. When the soldiers scoffed at Mishima's demand that they overthrow the constitution in the emperor's name, he damned them as "American mercenaries." He then committed ritual suicide by cutting open his belly. Mishima's vague political ideas, which included restoring the samurai sword to Japan, resist easy categorization. He never identified himself with Japan's wartime military government, and he criticized Emperor Hirohito for renouncing his divinity after the war. Nonetheless, his ambiguous exaltation of a selfless nationalism, "a value which is greater than respect for life," typifies the worldview of many modern Japanese rightists.

Gregory Kasza

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; CULTS OF DEATH; FILM; HIROHITO, EMPEROR; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; WORD WAR II

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MITFORD FAMILY, THE

The two most notorious out of the six celebrated British Mitford sisters, Lady Diana Mosley (1910–2003) and Unity Mitford (1911–1948), were heavily involved in the world of fascism in Britain and Germany. But long before that their grandfather, Algernon Bertram Mitford (1st Lord Redesdale, 1837–1916) had provided an extensive and enthusiastic introduction in 1910 to the English translation of the proto-Nazi racist and anti-Semitic work *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* by Houston Stewart Chamberlain. He also helped with the translation of that text, which he called "a work of the highest importance." Redesdale also translated Chamberlain's book on Kant. He was very musical and had a special admiration for German composers, and Wagner in particular. This admiration he shared with Chamberlain, who was Wagner's son-in-law, and indeed Redesdale became so much a part of the inner circle at Bayreuth that his photograph could be seen on Siegfried Wagner's desk. The pro-German sympathies that Redesdale possessed re-emerged in his grandchildren: his grandson Tom completed his education in Germany, loved German culture, and saw fascism as the only bulwark against communism. As a soldier in World War II he was so distressed at the



Unity Mitford, whose grandfather Lord Redesdale provided an enthusiastic introduction to the translation of one of the classic works of proto-Nazi ideology into English—The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, written in German by the expatriate Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain. Unity's public adulation of Hitler (who treated her as a friend) aroused much comment in the British press. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

prospect of having to join the invasion forces in Germany that he volunteered for service in the Far East, where he was killed. But it was Redesdale's granddaughters Diana and Unity whose Nazi sympathies caused the most uproar. Diana left her first husband, Bryan Guinness, for the notorious British fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley and was interned for a while (as was he) during World War II. During the interwar years they had become so close to the Nazi regime that their marriage actually took place in the Goebbels family drawing room. Diana's sister Unity was baptized with the middle name Valkyrie, in honor of her grandfather's love of Wagner; she went to live in Germany in the 1930s, becoming a devotee (literally) of Hitler and a member of his close circle of acquaintances. She pre-

sented herself as "a British fascist woman" and was openly anti-Semitic. She met Hitler regularly, spoke of him as "sweet," and was well treated by him. She was also much attached to Julius Streicher. Unity and Diana waxed so enthusiastic about Nazism that their parents were attracted to it, too. Her father, Lord Redesdale, became a very active member of a Nazi front organization called the Link, founded by Sir Barry Domville in 1937, making frequent speeches about the beauties of Hitlerism. Lady Redesdale wrote in the *Daily Sketch* that National Socialism had eradicated the problem of class warfare, improved living standards, and was a support to religion. When war was declared between Germany and Great Britain in 1939, she attempted to kill herself but survived. Hitler saw to it that she was sent back to England, where she lived on for several years in poor health. The activities of these two high-profile aristocratic sisters were of great interest to the British press, and when Unity was brought back to England on a stretcher, the ambulance taking her from the ferry was pursued by a procession of press vehicles.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BAYREUTH; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; GERMANNESS; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAGNER AND GERMANNESS; WORLD WAR II

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MODERNISM

When considering the relationship of modernism to fascism, we must contextualize both in terms of modernity—that is, first the socioeconomic transformation of Europe and the world following the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries;

second, the birth of democracy in the wake of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution of 1789; and third, the subsequent globalization of capitalism. Scholars now recognize the role of fascism and modernist aesthetics in the emergence of anti-Enlightenment movements opposed to the democratic tradition that was the heritage of Enlightenment thought; indeed, the rise of fascism in Europe amounted to a widespread search for spiritual values and “organic” institutions able to counteract what many thought were the corrosive effects of rationalism and capitalism on the body politic. Thus fascists posited ethnic, regional, and religious forms of national identity that were antithetical to capitalism’s and democracy’s universalist and rationalist precepts. Fascists were eager to absorb those aspects of modernity (and modernist aesthetics) that could be reconfigured within their antirational, anti-capitalist concept of nationhood, and many practitioners of modernism—for example, Ezra Pound and Marinetti—endorsed fascist aims and ideals.

Among the pantheon of fascist values conducive to modernist aesthetics were notions of regeneration, primitivism, and avant-gardism; these paradigms were equally relevant to the primitivist and *völkisch* art of such fascists as German expressionist Emil Nolde and Italian painter Ardengo Soffici, the “antimaterialist” aesthetics of the one-time Futurist Mario Sironi and the modernist architect Giuseppe Terragni, and to the use of photo-montage and other new media by those Italian modernists who designed the groundbreaking Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution of 1932. In like fashion, historians have documented the Nazis’ thorough acceptance of modern design and industrialism, which has led some to coin the term “reactionary modernism” to describe those thinkers and ideologues under the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich who disdained liberal democracy and Enlightenment values while nonetheless embracing the modern technology of the Industrial Revolution. This configuration accounts for the Nazis’ simultaneous embrace of “blood and soil” tribalism, manifest in a celebration of indigenous, preindustrial “folk” culture, and the ultramodernism signaled by newly created autobahns and Bauhaus-inspired aircraft factories. Before 1934 a debate occurred in Nazi circles over whether German Expressionism should be regarded as a regenerative expression of Germany’s Nordic roots, or as a style tainted by artistic miscegenation. Thus the Nazis’ subsequent condemnation of modern art was not the product of an absolute rejection of modernism in and of itself but a strategic choice, stemming from aes-

thetic debates within the Nazi Party. Historians have reached similar conclusions with regard to Italian Fascism, noting that Mussolini’s modernist allies among the Futurist, Novecento, Romanità, and Strapaese (Supercountry) movements promoted competing aesthetics that nevertheless expressed spiritual values they deemed antithetical to the Enlightenment project. As a result, Italian Fascists eulogized the art and culture of Roman antiquity and preindustrial peasant society even as they endorsed the Italian Futurist movement with its cult of urbanism, speed, and modern technology, as well as such aesthetic signifiers of modernism as montage in film and photography.

In both Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the past—whether in the guise of the seemingly timeless seasonal cycles of peasant culture or the legacy of Graeco-Roman civilization—was evoked to remind citizens of the spiritual values that could serve as building blocks for a fascist future, as manifest in a millennial Third Reich or Mussolini’s creation of a new Italian empire. To underscore this Janus-faced ideology, artists and architects incorporated past styles and imagery that they associated with fascist values with modernist methods and materials they deemed conducive to a future society still in the making. For instance, in the interwar period Soffici painted images of Tuscan peasants that combined stylistic features derived from the Trecento artist Giotto with those developed by the French modernist (and regionalist) Paul Cézanne; while in 1938, the architect Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo encased the newly restored Ara Pacis in a glass and steel Bauhaus-inspired structure. Similarly, Albert Speer’s Hitler-approved plans for the rebuilding of Berlin envisioned a central axis composed of classicizing monumental structures anchored at its extremities by railway stations, an airport, and an outer autobahn ring road. Thus images culled from a mythical past and indicative of a mythogenetic future were marshaled to overcome a degenerative present, to help purge society of those values and institutions associated with capitalism and the Enlightenment. The fascist embrace of modernism represented the forward-looking thrust of this paligenetic project.

Mark Antliff

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARCHITECTURE; ART; ARYANISM; CAPITALISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM;

NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; POUND, EZRA; RATIONALISM; ROME; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SCIENCE; SOUL; SPEER, ALBERT; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITION; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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MODERNITY

Because of its traditional classification as a doctrine of the Right and the "reactionary" label attached to it by its opponents, interwar fascism can easily be viewed as a nostalgic creed, but nothing would be further from the truth, for it adopted a resolutely "modern" stance. In Italy the Futurists were quickly attracted to Fascism, and with reason. Fascism in Italy was founded as a revolutionary movement that embraced new technologies and exploited with alacrity opportunities provided by new media. Mussolini loved flying, and similarly there was nothing that Hitler liked better than to drive at speed in a powerful car down a straight road. He pioneered not only the autobahns but also the idea of a car for the masses, the Volkswagen (literally, "car of the people"). Hitler's technologically advanced army was vastly superior to the French and the British forces at the start of the war. The Blitzkrieg military strategy employed by the Nazis involved a highly sophisticated combination of advanced aviation and ground movement technologies, and at the end of the war the Nazis provided further evidence of their ability to exploit modern techniques in their rocketry and flying bombs.

At the same time, confusion was generated by the fact that interwar fascists did also condemn what they called "modernity." What they meant by this were a set of values commonly associated with modernity, the values associated with the French Revolution: socialism, democracy, and liberalism. But the *Enciclopedia italiana* article on the doctrine of Fascism that appeared

under Mussolini's name was quite clear that "one does not go backwards." From the beginning, fascists did not reject socialism, democracy, and liberalism because they believed them to be symptomatic of modernity, but precisely because they believed these doctrines to be outmoded—belonging to the nineteenth century rather than to the twentieth, demonstrably shown up as bankrupt by World War I. The interwar fascist attitude toward "liberal" modernity echoes the thinking of French positivists like Saint-Simon and Auguste Comte, for whom democratic egalitarianism made no sense: the truth of politics could no more be ascertained by majority vote than could the truth of chemistry. What was needed was for the best minds to be put in charge of the social and political order. Their objection to liberalism was a "scientific" one.

Another aspect of their thinking that made fascists look "nostalgic" was their emphasis on the spiritual, oddly out of kilter with a determinedly "scientific" and "secular" age. However, to some extent the "spiritual" language they favored had a chiefly rhetorical value and was brandished as yet another weapon against Bolshevism. Bolshevism rested on the basis of the doctrine of historical materialism, and the fascists' resolve to present themselves as believers in the spiritual nature of man and his spiritual destiny was "one in the eye for the Reds." On the positive side, it equally served to legitimize them in the eyes of persons with existing religious beliefs who might be reconciled to supporting them by this comforting-sounding language. At least they sounded less antipathetic to the religious view of the world than did the Bolsheviks. On the other hand, it would not be fair to apply this rather cynical assessment to someone like Gentile, whose "spiritual" philosophy of actualism sprang from decided philosophical convictions. Moreover, fascism's "spiritual" rhetoric did represent a genuine desire to discover an alternative modernity as a reaction to both Marxist and capitalist materialism. In this sense they were predecessors to today's radical movement of protest against capitalism, consumerism, globalization, and McDonaldization, which are regarded as forms of a materialism that is bad for the human race and the cause of a looming ecological disaster.

From the perspective of the Left, of course, Fascism was reactionary and "antimodern" because for all of its talk of "national revolution" there was no intention to provoke a global revolution with the purpose of installing the proletariat in the seat of power. Property ownership was not attacked as such, and although there was much inveighing against "plutocracy" and

“Jewish capital” by the Nazis in particular, there was no serious program to strip the rich of their wealth for the benefit of the poor. However, from outside the ranks of the Left it is quite possible to see the corporatist ideal—whatever the failure to implement it—as a utopian attempt to revolutionize the economic order. And again there are definite echoes in interwar fascism of the protosocialist Saint-Simonian critique of the French Revolution from the Left: Saint-Simon said that while the eighteenth century had been a century of criticism and destruction culminating in the events of 1789, the nineteenth century would be the century of association, and the corporatist state was one way of attempting to fulfill that prophecy—like the Cooperative Movement that began in England in the early nineteenth century.

Among the Nazis there were some who advocated ruralism and a return to peasant values, most notably Walther Darré, but they were never allowed to influence policy in a substantive way. Both Mussolini’s Italy and Hitler’s Germany did employ traditional ancient symbols such as the *fasces* from Ancient Rome or the ancient emblem of the swastika, but that was for the purposes of validating their regimes by claiming ownership of signs with powerful historical associations. The same was true of the attempts to associate Nazism with the Teutonic Knights. For all the historical echoes of their pageantry, the Nuremberg Rallies were marvels of modern technological organization and accomplishment that demonstrated Nazi mastery of the communications and propaganda skills of the contemporary age.

Alongside their resolute embrace of technological innovation and scientific advance, interwar fascists also embraced the cult of youth. They portrayed themselves as the party of youth, and their philosophy laid great emphasis on physical fitness and athleticism. The staging of the Berlin Olympics was another opportunity for this. It was also exploited as a propaganda opportunity in typical modern fashion, with cheering crowds lined up to welcome the runner with the Olympic torch on his way through Germany for the benefit of the news-reel cameras.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTUALISM; AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTOBAHNS, THE; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BLITZKRIEG; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; CORPORATISM; DARRE, (RICHARD) WALTHER; DEMOCRACY; ECOLOGY; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; FUTURISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MOD-

ERNISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; PLUTOCRACY; PROGRESS; PROPAGANDA; REVOLUTION; RURALISM; SCIENCE; SOCIALISM; SPORT; SS, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; TECHNOLOGY; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VOLKSWAGEN; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR (1876–1925)

German nationalist ideologue and historian of culture, author of the famous tract *Das dritte Reich*, which was the inspiration for the Nazis’ title for their regime. He dropped out of high school in Düsseldorf early and left for Paris in 1902 to avoid military service. While living in France and Italy, Moeller continued his studies and published various books, including the massive eight-volume *Die Deutschen, unsere Menschengeschichte* (1904–1910), in which he classified his countrymen according to psychological types (drifting, dreaming, decisive, and so forth). At the outbreak of World War I, Moeller volunteered for the German army. Besides completing the editing of the first German edition of the works of Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Moeller joined the propaganda division of the army command in 1916. There he started writing his nationalistic tract *Das Recht der jungen Völker* (1919), in which he glorified the state, patriotism, and being Prussian (*Preußentum*). His theme was clearly anti-Western and anti-imperial-

istic, his focus what he called Germany's cultural decline. He called for a new Germanic faith to save the country from the disintegration and vulgarity of modern industrial society, Western capitalism, and especially liberalism.

In June 1919, Moeller co-founded the *völkisch*-elitist circle Juniklub, which agitated against the Treaty of Versailles and which had a profound influence on the emerging Young Conservatives. He also edited the club's magazine *Gewissen*. In 1922, Moeller met the young Adolf Hitler but rejected him because of his "proletarian primitiveness." One year later, Moeller's most famous book, *Das dritte Reich* was published (1923), and despite his distancing himself from Hitler, the Nazis later adopted the title. In the book Moeller drew up his counterprogram to democracy, socialism, and communism. He called for the transfer of power to a small elite and for a medieval-type German empire under the term "German socialism." *Das dritte Reich* was a huge success and sold at least 100,000 copies in countless editions. One of its early admirers was the young Joseph Goebbels, and it is even said that a signed copy of the book was discovered in Hitler's underground bunker where he and Eva Braun took their lives in 1945. Since the end of the war the New Right has taken up Moeller's writing and ideas, including among others the highly influential French author and theorist Alain de Benoist.

Thomas Grumke

See Also: ARYANISM; BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE; ELITE THEORY; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EXPANSIONISM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; IMPERIALISM; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PANGERMANISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROTOFASCISM; RURALISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SPENGLER, OSWALD; THIRD REICH, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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MOHLER, ARMIN (1920–2003)

Extreme right-wing Swiss philosopher and journalist, known for his work on the "conservative revolution." He went to the University of Basle in 1938 to study art history, German studies, and philosophy. In 1942 he deserted the Swiss Army to join the Waffen-SS. He reported being much influenced by the writings of Spengler and Jünger. He published *Die Konservative Revolution* in 1950 as the product of his doctoral research under Karl Jaspers, and gave a widespread popularity to the concept of a "conservative revolution" (though he did not invent it) as a descriptive term to denote the antidemocratic movement of ideas under the Weimar Republic. The book remains in print today. From 1949 to 1953 he acted as Jünger's private secretary. In the 1950s, Mohler was in Paris as a journalist. He later used a pseudonym, Michael Hinterwald, to publish in Frey's *Deutschen National-Zeitung*. In 1961 he moved to Munich to work for the Carl-Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung and studied political science at the University of Innsbruck. In the 1980s he actively promoted Alain de Benoist. He remained an unrepentant fascist to the end of his life.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BENOIST, ALAIN DE; CONSERVATISM; DEMOCRACY; FREY, DR. GERHARD; GERMANY; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; JÜNGER, ERNST; NEO-NAZISM; NIHILISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; SPENGLER, OSWALD; SWITZERLAND; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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MOLOTOV-RIBBENTROP PACT, THE: See
HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE

MONARCHISM

Generally speaking, interwar fascist regimes and movements were hostile to monarchism, although for pragmatic reasons Mussolini had to compromise with Italy's monarchical establishment. Fascism's palingenetic myth did not have any space for monarchy in its desired utopia. Monarchy was part of the old order—along with aristocracy—that fascist leaders saw themselves as destined to sweep away. There was a royalist protofascist movement in France called Action Française, but that arose out of the specifics of French history—the current of traditionalist antirepublicanism that had emerged from the French Revolution. In Spain there were monarchists who supported Franco, and in countries with an Eastern Orthodox tradition such as Russia and Romania there were fascistic promonarchy movements.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ARISTOCRACY; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MODERNITY; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROTOFASCISM; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; RUSSIA; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; TRADITIONALISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING

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MONARCHY

The relationship between interwar fascisms and the monarchs in their respective countries is a complex one. In Britain, Sir Oswald Mosley and his British Union of Fascists were formally deferential toward the monarchy, for to have launched a full-frontal attack upon it would have been as suicidal as for Mussolini to

have taken on the papacy. But the British monarchy was, of course, at the very heart of the conservative political establishment that so successfully managed the effects of the Great Depression—thus marginalizing the BUF—and it was the very epitome of the “civic patriotism” that made Mosely's aggressive nationalism look so false and foreign. During the course of World War II, Quisling in Norway could no more assert governmental legitimacy against the government-in-exile of King Haakon than Mussert and the Dutch Nazis could compete with the formidable Queen Wilhelmina and her government in London. What all these examples demonstrate is that where monarchy survived under relatively dynamic personalities (not the rather mediocre Victor Emmanuel III of Italy), fascist movements often saw it as a dangerous alternative center of popular loyalty. Even in Fascist Italy, the king, insignificant though he was, remained, like the pope, a rival to Mussolini's “cult of Il Duce,” and the dictator chafed under the constraints that the “Dyarchy” (the theoretical sharing of power between Mussolini and the monarch) imposed on his regime; he threatened to abolish it once he had been successful in World War II. In the end it was the monarch, as representative of the Italian establishment, who dismissed Mussolini and abolished Fascism. Adolf Hitler, on the other hand, carefully ensured that there would never be any restoration of the monarchy in Nazi Germany.

John Pollard

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; BRITISH FASCISTI/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; CONSERVATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MODERNITY; MONARCHISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; NORWAY; PAPACY, THE; QUISLING, VIDKUN; REVOLUTION; TRADITION; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; WINDSOR, EDWARD DUKE OF; WORLD WAR II

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MONISM: See ORGANICISM AND NAZISM

MOSCA, GAETANO (1858–1941)

Italian jurist, social scientist, and politician whose elite theory—according to which the development of a minority ruling class is unavoidable in social and political systems—offered the Italian Fascists support for their own position. Mosca was born in Palermo, where, in 1881, he graduated in jurisprudence with a thesis on the theme of nationality. After having moved to Rome to complete his politico-administrative studies, in 1884 he published his first important work, *Sulla teorica dei governi e sul governo parlamentare*, in which appeared the two concepts that constitute the heart of his scientific theory: that of “political class” and that of “political formula.” Appointed professor of constitutional law at the University of Palermo in 1885, he published *Le costituzioni moderne* in 1887. In 1896 he published the *Elementi di scienza politica*, the source of his posthumous fame and the work that immediately won him an appointment as professor at the University of Turin, where he taught up to 1923. In this work Mosca gave a systematic exposition of his idea that the history of human societies is characterized by structural divisions between the “governors” (those who hold power and who always represent an organized minority) and the “governed” (those who are the objects of power). According to a definition that has become famous, the former constitute the “political class,” which is accessed only by men moved by a natural passion for power and for the symbolic and material advantages connected to it. In order to exercise rule, the political class cannot, however, base itself solely on force and physical coercion: it needs an abstract principle that justifies it from the moral point of view and that gives a historical foundation to the exercise of its authority. According to Mosca, that principle constitutes the “political formula” (or ideology) through which every political class seeks to justify and legitimate its own power over the majority.

Mosca’s ambition, typically positivist, was to construct a scientific theory of politics on the basis of the constants of history and the regularities that characterize human behavior. His best-known thesis, regarding the impossibility of democracy and the belief that all political regimes are by definition oligarchies, is not,

however, simply a scientific formulation; it constitutes the basis for his ideological critique of socialism, liberalism, and parliamentary democracy, typical of the conservative tradition with which Mosca identified and which Italian Fascism took over, accentuating its anti-democratic and authoritarian nature. In 1909, Mosca entered the Italian political scene: he was elected a parliamentary deputy, a post that he was to hold for ten years. After 1919 he was appointed “senator of the kingdom.” For a short period between 1914 and 1916 he also held the position of undersecretary for the colonies in the government of Antonio Salandra.

Toward Fascism, Mosca initially maintained an attitude of sympathetic interest: in the rise of the movement founded by Mussolini he saw both the confirmation of his scientific predictions as to the structural crisis of parliamentary and democratic-representative regimes, and also a political brake on socialism and social anarchy. In 1923, the year when the second and definitive edition of the *Elementi di scienza politica* was published, he voted in favor of the Acerbo Law, the majoritarian electoral reform with which Mussolini was to ensure for himself a landslide parliamentary majority in the elections of April 1924. Subsequently, with the spread of violence against political opponents and the strengthening of the dictatorship, Mosca moved toward a more critical attitude that led him gradually to reevaluate the principles of liberal democracy; and eventually he found himself in a position of total political and intellectual isolation. In May 1925 he signed the Manifesto of Antifascist Intellectuals put together by the philosopher Benedetto Croce, and in December of that same year he intervened in parliament with a famous speech in which he opposed the bill on the prerogatives of the head of the government. His final parliamentary speech was delivered on 21 May 1926, and afterward he abandoned political life for good.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ACERBO LAW, THE; ARISTOCRACY; CONSERVATISM; CROCE, BENEDETTO; DEMOCRACY; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARETO, VILFREDO; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSITIVISM; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; SOREL, GEORGES

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Sir Oswald Mosley and his second wife Diana, one of the six celebrated Mitford sisters. Mosley was the best-known British fascist of the twentieth century, and continued to be active as influential fascist propagandist and politician into the postwar era. Diana was a staunch supporter. (Chris Ware/Keystone/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

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MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD (1896–1980)

Leader of the British Union of Fascists (BUF) during the 1930s. Born in 1896, the scion of a wealthy Staffordshire family, Mosley was educated at Winches-

ter before attending Sandhurst Military School in January 1914 at the age of seventeen. During World War I, Mosley served briefly in the 16th Queen's Light Dragoons before joining the Royal Flying Corps (RFC), injuring his leg during a crash (while performing for his mother) that left him with a permanent limp. Invalidated out, in 1918 Mosley stood for Parliament and was elected Conservative MP for Harrow. In 1920 he married Lady Cynthia Curzon, daughter of Lord Curzon, the foreign secretary. Gradually disillusioned with the lack of “dynamism” displayed by the government, and disgusted at Black and Tan paramilitaries in Northern Ireland, Mosley “crossed the floor” on 27 March 1924 and joined the Labour Party, to which he submitted a series of Keynesian economic proposals for solving unemployment, culminating with the *Mosley*

Memorandum (1930). When this was rejected Mosley abandoned the Labour Party and formed the New Party in 1931 to challenge the ossified “Old Gang” of British politics. Roundly trounced during the 1931 general election, Mosley consulted Mussolini before founding the BUF in October 1932; it became increasingly anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi, although Mosley claimed to eschew the “Continental approach.” Despite the initial enthusiasm of the Rothermere press, potential support ebbed away following the shockingly brutal Olympia meeting in June 1934. A further symbolic defeat occurred in October 1936 at the “Battle of Cable Street,” when the BUF was prevented from marching through the East End by widespread working-class opposition. The subsequent passing of the Public Order Act (1936) prohibiting fascist uniforms and the lamentable performance of the BUF in the 1937 local elections exacerbated internal problems that were further intensified when Mussolini withdrew his secret subsidy, crippling the BUF financially and leading to the departure of William Joyce and others. Membership of the BUF recovered slowly throughout 1939 as Mosley campaigned against a “Jews’ War,” until he and his chief lieutenants were interned in May 1940 under Defence Regulation 18B, which destroyed the BUF as a political force. In November 1943, Mosley and his second wife, Diana, were released from prison (due to illness) amid near universal protest. After 1945, Mosley published his apologia, *My Answer* (1946), followed by *The Alternative* (1947), outlining his pan-European philosophy: “Europe-a-Nation.” In February 1948, Mosley formed the Union Movement before moving to Ireland in 1951 and then to France, where he lived for the remainder of his life. He returned to England to stand as candidate for South Kensington in 1959, in order to exploit fears surrounding mass immigration following race riots there. He gained only 8 percent of the vote and lost his deposit. Intimately involved in the postwar international fascist network, Mosley became the driving force behind the (failed) initiative to form a pan-European fascist party at the Conference of Venice in 1962.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BRITISH FASCISTS/BRITISH FASCISTS, THE; EUROPE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINANCE; GREAT BRITAIN; IMMIGRATION; JOYCE, WILLIAM; ITALY; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM

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MOȚA, ION I. (1902–1937)

Founder of a Romanian version of the Action Française (Actiunea Românească) in 1923. He studied in Grenoble, France, with Codreanu and was one of the founding members of the Legion of the Archangel Michael. He fought as a volunteer in the Spanish Civil War and was killed in Majadahonda (near Madrid) on 13 January 1937, together with his friend Vasile Marin. Moța and Marin were buried in the Mausoleum of the Green House (the headquarters of the Legion of the Archangel Michael) in Bucharest. The tour that their coffins made throughout Romania drew hundreds of thousands of people and was the first public display of the enormous support that the legion enjoyed among the Romanian population.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; FRANCE; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; ROMANIA; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO (MSI; ITALIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT), THE

Neofascist party established in Italy in 1946 by former associates and supporters of Mussolini under the leadership of Giorgio Almirante. Forcefully hostile to

communism but not in the name of liberalism, it saw itself as a third way between capitalism and communism. Its rejection of the party system and belief in a strong executive, together with its advocacy of proactive government involvement in the social arena, gave it the appearance of having taken on the mantle of its celebrated forebear. Other prominent figures associated with the MSI have included Giuseppe (“Pino”) Rauti and Alessandra Mussolini, Il Duce’s granddaughter. In 1995 the leader, Gianfranco Fini, dissolved the MSI to found the Alleanza Nazionale (AN), a movement that was committed to parliamentarism and officially opposed to anti-Semitism, xenophobia, and racism. At that point hardline members of the MSI left to found the Fiamma Tricolore.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ALMIRANTE, GIORGIO; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, ALESSANDRA; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RAUTI, GIUSEPPE (“PINO”); SOCIALISM; THIRD WAY, THE; XENOPHOBIA

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MÜLLER, BISHOP LUDWIG (1883–1946)

Hitler’s appointee as head of the German Christians. Müller was born at Gütersloh and became a Protestant army chaplain, known for his extreme nationalism and anti-Semitism. Soon after Hitler became chancellor, he appointed Müller as his personal adviser in Lutheran Church matters. On 23 July 1933, Müller was elected Reich bishop by a national synod in Wittenberg. However, that was only a titular position, and it gave Müller no political or ecclesiastical influence. Moreover, many Lutherans went with the Confessing Church and rejected the extreme nationalistic and anti-Semitic positions of the German Christians. Hitler soon lost interest in Müller, who was arrested at the end of the war and committed suicide in March 1946 in a Berlin prison.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHRISTIANITY; CONFESSING (OR CONFSSIONAL) CHURCH, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM

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MULTICULTURALISM

Multiculturalism (the doctrine that different cultures, rather than one national culture, can coexist peacefully and equitably in a single country) has proved to be a favorite target of postwar fascists in Europe. Following in the footsteps of interwar fascism, all contemporary right-wing extremist groups in the United States and Western and Eastern Europe are opposed to multiculturalism, even where there would be adjustment to the one dominant culture. Equally, there has been a far-right current of thought in more recent years that opposes globalization in the name of the preservation of indigenous cultures. The philosophy is to defend the national culture against an all-conquering homogeneous U.S. culture.

Ekkart Zimmermann and Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; GLOBALIZATION; IMMIGRATION; NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM

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MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE

An agreement ceding part of the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia to the Third Reich, signed on 30 September 1938, chiefly between Neville Chamberlain of

Britain, Edouard Daladier of France, Adolf Hitler of Germany, and Benito Mussolini of Italy. Usually regarded as the high point in the “appeasement” of Nazi expansionism, the Munich Pact was principally intended to avoid another European war twenty years after World War I. However, in March 1939, Nazi Germany occupied the remainder of Czechoslovakia, provoking French and British security guarantees to Poland, and triggering World War II in Europe when that country was invaded by the Wehrmacht on 1 September 1939.

Matt Feldman

See Also: APPEASEMENT; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; SUDETENLAND, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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to surrender, but they answered with gunfire. Sixteen Nazis and three policemen were killed, and Goering was wounded. On 24 February ten defendants were put on trial as leaders of the putsch, including Ernst Roehm and Wilhelm Frick, along with Hitler and Ludendorff. Ludendorff was acquitted while the others were found guilty, and Hitler was sentenced to five years’ “fortress arrest,” of which he served only nine months. The bloody confrontation between the party faithful and the police became enshrined in Nazi legend, and the victims among Hitler’s followers were elevated to the status of martyrs; later there was an annual commemoration of the event under the Third Reich.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; FRICK, WILHELM; GERMANY; GOERING, HERMANN; HITLER, ADOLF; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; *MEIN KAMPF*; MYTH; NAZISM; ROEHM, ERNST; STREICHER, JULIUS; SWASTIKA, THE; THIRD REICH, THE

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MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE

Failed attempt by Adolf Hitler to seize power with his new Nazi Party. On the evening of 8 November 1923, a number of dignitaries gathered in the Bürgerbräu Keller in Munich on the occasion of a speech by Gustav Ritter von Kahr, the state commissioner of Bavaria. They included the commander of the armed forces in Bavaria and the chief of the Bavarian state police. During the talk, which was attended by an audience of some 3,000, Hitler’s forces surrounded the building; Hitler jumped on a chair and shouted, “The national revolution has begun!,” firing a gunshot at the ceiling. He took the eminent figures on the dais prisoner and announced that he was forming a new government together with General Erich Ludendorff. The prisoners managed to escape. The next morning the Nazis set out with swastika banners on a march toward the center of Munich, headed by Hitler, Ludendorff, Goering, and Streicher. At the Odeonplatz, near the Felhern Halle, they were faced with 100 police; Hitler called on them

MUSIC (Germany)

Music had an eminent position in the self-understanding of National Socialism, and Nazi ideologues considered it the most German of all the arts since the time of the Romantics. The National Socialist state understood music as the purest expression of the national character and subsidized musical life generously. On account of that high valuation of music, whose character-building powers it undoubtedly overestimated, it had the concert program controlled and “cleansed.” Works that were regarded as “un-German” were excluded. Adolf Hitler saw musicality as the expression of a deep life of feeling. He attributed to music the status of a divine revelation of eternal validity and a generator of meaning. For him the appropriate response to music was not critical hearing but reverent and sensitive listening. Hitler expected of his own audiences a devoted attention similar to that accorded a Bruckner symphony. Aesthetic fascination was to lead through intimidation to assent.

This revived conception of the Romantic religion of art was at the opposite pole from all “cultural Bolshevism.” Under this heading the National Socialist state fought against the atonality of Arnold Schoenberg, experimental forms and modern dance rhythms in Paul Hindemith, Ernst Krenek, Kurt Weill, and Igor Stravinsky as an expression of chaos and anarchy. Its “cleansing” was directed against known modernists, against supporters of the Weimar Republic, social democrats, communists, foreigners, and last but not least, Jews. From 1936 open racism displaced the hitherto mainly political and aesthetic foundation of the “cleansing.” The concept of “cultural Bolshevism” gave way to the reproach of “degeneracy,” which originally derived from medicine and biology. In imitation of the Munich exhibition of “Degenerate Art” of 1937, the Weimar artistic director Hans Severus Ziegler organized the propaganda show “Degenerate Music” on his own initiative. When he opened it in May 1938, during the Düsseldorf Reich Music Day, he attacked all mingling of races. He referred in this connection to Wagner’s tract *Das Judentum in der Musik (Judaism in Music)* and to Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*.

It now became obligatory to refer to Germanic racial roots and “Aryan instincts.” Inspired by Wagner’s musical dramas, musicologists studied Germanic culture. Among the chief characteristics of “Nordic man” they identified in particular “inwardness” and “joy in battle.” Corresponding to the alleged constant of race, National Socialist musical life was now, over its whole spectrum, from symphony concert to Hitler Youth performance, directed to the heroic and the metaphysical, so as to strengthen through the performance of standard works the threatened instincts of the “national community.” Composers such as Bach, Beethoven, Wagner, and Bruckner were considered classic representatives of the German national character and educators of the people. Their genius was held to support the legitimation of the German claim to domination. In 1944, Wolfgang Stumme, music adviser to the Reich youth leadership, explained musical policy goals thus: “Music policy means for us today: the deployment of music as a life-giving power to form the people and uphold the state; it means the protection and nurturing of German music as the form of expression of our blood and our soul, hence as a way to the attainment of higher knowledge and the higher development of our race.”

Albrecht Dümmling
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; ARYANISM; BAYREUTH; BLOOD; BOLSHEVISM; CHRISTIANITY; CIVILIZATION; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LEISURE; MATERIALISM; MEIN KAMPF; MODERNISM; MUSIC (ITALY); NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SOUL; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WARRIOR SPIRIT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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MUSIC (Italy)

Italian Fascism was well aware of music’s power as a tool of propaganda. Sung at rallies and other gatherings, its choral songs, or *inni* (hymns), had an integral place in party ritual. “Giovinezza” (“Youth”), the “Triumphal Hymn of the National Fascist Party,” took on the status of joint national anthem alongside the official “Marcia reale” (“Royal March”). The authorities also encouraged the production of a more commercial, but no less propagandistic, variety of popular song; most famously, “Faccetta nera” (“Little Black Face”), from the time of the Ethiopian campaign. With its monopolistic control of the new medium of radio through the state broadcasting company, the Ente Italiano Audizione Radio (EIAR), Fascism was able to disseminate its music to every corner of the nation. This was also the period when gramophone records became available to a mass public. But Italian listeners were not restricted to blatantly politicized material. There was also operetta, light music, and American jazz, Italianized as *gez*, and increasingly performed by home-grown musicians.

Throughout Fascism’s two decades in power, opera, traditionally the Italian musical form par excellence, was rapidly losing audiences to cinema, which, with the advent of sound, became another important source of popular music. The regime responded with state subsi-

dies for opera houses and, from 1938 (by order of the General Administration for Theatre and Music, a department of the Ministry of Popular Culture), a drive to promote operas by contemporary composers. By contrast, the period was one of growth in the field of purely instrumental music. Permanent orchestras were founded in Florence, Turin, and Rome. Tensions among Italian Fascism's leading "serious" composers came to a head in the "Manifesto of Italian Musicians for the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century Romantic Art" (1932), a thinly veiled attack on the modernists Alfredo Casella (1883–1947) and Gian Francesco Malipiero (1882–1973). Signed by both Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936) and Ildebrando Pizzetti (1880–1968), among others, this was the work of Alceo Toni (1884–1969), music critic of the Fascist daily *Il popolo d'Italia* and an influential figure in the Fascist Union of Musicians (set up in 1924, and ever more powerful thereafter). But one should not draw too many conclusions from this episode. As in other areas of culture, the Fascist musical hierarchy gave support to modernists just as much as to conservatives. From the early 1930s, at prestigious festivals sponsored by the regime in Florence (the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino) and Venice, enfants terribles such as Luigi Dallapiccola (1904–1975) and Goffredo Petrassi (1904–2003) could attend premieres of their latest works alongside performances of music by leading international representatives of the compositional vanguard. Stravinsky, for one, was a frequent visitor. Later in the decade, however, after the imposition of anti-Semitic legislation and the beginning of the campaign for musical autarky, the possibilities for such cosmopolitan experiences were restricted.

Ben Earle

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; COSMOPOLITANISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FUTURISM; ITALY; MODERNISM; MUSIC (GERMANY); PROPAGANDA; RADIO

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MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAFFEN-SS

Numerous Bosnian Muslim volunteers were incorporated into units of the Waffen-SS. The largest was the thirteenth Handschar ("scimitar") division, comprising more than 21,000 men, which was involved in operations against communist partisans in the Balkans. Muslim imams were attached to the division. An active participant in the encouragement of this volunteering was Palestinian grand mufti Amin al-Husseini. By November 1944, the division had disbanded.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: MIDDLE EAST, THE; PALESTINE; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN (1894–1946)

Dutch fascist leader and founder of the Nationaal Socialistische Beweging (NSB; National Socialist Movement). After completing secondary school, Mussert studied road construction and hydraulics at what is now called the Technical University of Delft. He developed a successful career at the Ministry of State Waterworks. Initially a liberal, Mussert soon became an ultranationalist. The immediate cause was a proposed treaty with Belgium that was seen by many in The Netherlands as contrary to Dutch territorial and economic interests. Mussert's public activities against the treaty were successful, and it was rejected by parliament in 1927. Mussert was impressed by the formation of a corporatist fascist state in Italy by Mussolini. In 1931, Mussert founded the Dutch NSB together with Cornelis van Geelkerken; the NSB party program was largely a copy of Hitler's NSDAP program. In 1935 the NSB obtained a remarkable success in the provincial elections. Mussert supported Mussolini's attack on

MUSIC (POPULAR): See **ROCK MUSIC;**
SKREWDRIVER; **WHITE NOISE**

Ethiopia, and in 1936 he came out in open support of Hitler's policies. He met with Hitler on several occasions, for the first time on 16 November 1936. The ties with Nazi Germany became stronger. Mussert adopted the Nazi theory of races and its violent anti-Semitism. The radicalization of the NSB drove many voters away. From then on, the fortunes of the NSB began to wane quickly.

After the start of World War II, Mussert demanded strict neutrality for The Netherlands. But with the occupation of the country by the German armies he changed his view and started to promote a Germanic alliance of states under German leadership. During the war, members of the NSB were appointed to important positions within the occupation government. A large number of young NSB members joined the *Waffen-SS*. Mussert and the NSB largely supported the German occupation of The Netherlands. Hitler was impressed by Mussert, whom he mentions on more than one occasion in his *Table Talk*. After the liberation in 1945, Mussert was arrested and condemned to death on the grounds of treason, attacking constitutional rule, and collaboration with the enemy.

Philip van Meurs

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BELGIUM; CORPORATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; PANGERMANISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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MUSSOLINI, ALESSANDRA (born 1962)

Granddaughter of Benito Mussolini and founder of *Libertà d'Azione* (Freedom of Action), which later became part of the *Alternativa Sociale* coalition. She was elected to the European Parliament on this ticket in 2004. Having started out as an actress and model,

Mussolini took a medical degree and then was elected to a Naples constituency on the MSI list. She left in 2003 after Gianfranco Fini, deputy prime minister and leader of the *Alleanza Nazionale* (into which the MSI had been merged in 1995), apologized on a visit to Israel for Italy's treatment of the Jews and described Fascism as "an absolute evil."

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; POSTWAR FASCISM

MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA AMILCARE (1883–1945)

Founder of Italian Fascism and head of the Italian government from October 1922 until July 1943. Mussolini was born at Predappio in Romagna on 29 July 1883; his father, Alessandro, was a blacksmith, and his mother, Rosa Maltoni, was an elementary school teacher. The social milieu into which he was born was marked by fervent political passions and powerful social and economic tensions. The father of the future dictator was a socialist agitator with anarchical sympathies, which explains the three names given to the son: Benito, in memory of the Mexican revolutionary Benito Juárez; Andrea, as a homage to the anarchist thinker and leader Andrea Costa; and Amilcare, in honor of the internationalist and member of the Paris Commune Amilcare Cipriani. Mussolini's childhood and youth were marked by a great restlessness of spirit, by a total lack of discipline, and by aimless reading and erratic studies culminating in an elementary teacher's certificate. Under the influence of his father and of the environment he became a socialist early on, but with an attitude strongly marked by voluntarism and subversive in spirit—hence, with a polemical attitude toward the parliamentary legalitarian socialism that at this period dominated the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party.

The political culture of the young Mussolini—reinforced by his experience between 1902 and 1904 as an expatriate in Switzerland, where he came into contact with European revolutionary milieus (among others with the Ukrainian Angelica Balabanoff)—was a curious mixture of elements: republican radicalism, anti-

clericalism, Blanquism, utopian communism, internationalism, and Jacobin maximalism. He read the sacred texts of orthodox Marxism in abridged versions and second-hand, but for temperamental reasons his politico-ideological sympathies were above all with revolutionary syndicalism, with which he shared the cult of direct action, voluntarism, the rejection of the principle of representation, and the recognition of the crucial role of political avant-gardes. Along with political works he was also interested in the philosophical writings of Nietzsche and Stirner, from which he assimilated an irrationalistic conception of historical becoming, based on force, on subjectivism, and on the active role of violence.

On his return from Switzerland, Mussolini tried a teaching career, first at Tolmezzo and then at Oneglia, but he had to make do with temporary posts that were poorly remunerated. Dissatisfied with teaching, he threw himself headlong into journalism and writing. But his real vocation was for political militancy. Impulsive and generous, the young Mussolini was always at the head of political demonstrations: after 1908, when he went back to Predappio and abandoned teaching for good to become a “professional revolutionary,” he frequently got involved in the street battles and factory workers’ and agricultural laborers’ protests that were common at that period of Italian history. He soon acquired a reputation as a hothead and a belligerent and intransigent militant. In January 1909 he moved to Trento, where he became secretary of the Chamber of Labor and editor of the weekly *l’Avvenire del lavoratore*. A few months later he was expelled by the Austrian authorities because of his subversive activities. In September 1911 his strong opposition to the Libyan war, pursued by the Giolitti government and bitterly attacked by the Left with strikes and demonstrations, led to his arrest and several months’ imprisonment.

The career of Mussolini the socialist as journalist and leader was brilliant. In the space of a few years, thanks to his resolute character, to an undoubted political flair, and to a certain open-mindedness, he climbed the rungs of the Socialist Party till, with the National Congress of Reggio Emilia in July 1912, he became the recognized head of the “maximalist” revolutionary tendency. His consecration as national leader of the Italian Socialist Party took place at the next National Congress, in April 1914 in Ancona, when the “reformists” were routed and the definitive victory went to the revolutionary tendency. Mussolini was entrusted with the editorship of the party daily *Avanti!*, whose sales he pushed up to nearly 80,000 on the back of his political campaigning and his mordant journalistic style. To take



Benito Mussolini, who established the very first fascist regime anywhere in the world in Italy in 1922. World War I played a significant part in shaping his new ideology but it was his commitment to World War II that led to his downfall. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

up this new post he moved definitively to Milan, where he set up home with Rachele Guidi, a young girl from the Romagna with whom he had been living for years (he eventually married her in a civil ceremony in 1915) and by whom he already had a daughter named Edda. The marriage produced four further children: Bruno, Vittorio, Romano, and Anna Maria.

The outbreak of World War I in the summer of 1914 marked a crucial turn in Mussolini’s political biography. The Italian socialists were outspokenly against the war, which they considered an internal matter for the international bourgeoisie and the imperialist powers. Mussolini, who officially took the party line, in reality nurtured many doubts as to this interpretation, which in his opinion denied all value to the patriotic and national feelings of the proletariat. Moreover he saw in the war a unique opportunity to revolutionize the domestic political order, putting an end to the po-

litical equilibrium guaranteed by the liberal system. On 18 October 1914 he therefore published an article entitled “From Absolute Neutrality to Active Neutrality,” in which he argued for an Italian intervention in the war: it represented his decisive break with socialism, officially hallowed on 24 November following his expulsion from the party. In the meantime, on 15 November, he founded a new daily newspaper, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, which became the organ of the “interventionists” and which was eventually to be the official daily of the Fascist regime. Considered a traitor by his former associates, Mussolini soon placed himself at the head of an assorted politico-intellectual movement that included nationalists, Futurists, revolutionary socialists, anarchists, and radical democrats, all united in their desire to bring about a change in Italian politics through the regenerative instrument of war.

Even before the end of the war, in which Mussolini took part in the ranks, he grasped the important role that would be played in the postwar Italian political and social scene by war veterans and former servicemen once they had gone back into civilian life. In his newspaper he sang the praises of the “aristocracy of the trenches,” prophesied the advent of an anti-Marxist national socialism, predicted the birth of a “new Italy,” and preached a synthesis between “class” and “nation” and agreement between “fighters” and “producers.” On that basis, a few months after the Armistice, he founded in Milan on 23 March 1919 the Fasci di combattimento, whose political program, clearly national-revolutionary in outlook and with a strong impress of the democratic Left, proposed, among other things, the abandonment of the monarchy, the reduction of the working day to eight hours, the confiscation of “war profits,” the expropriation of uncultivated land, and participation by the workers in the organization of industry. The electoral beginnings of the Fascist movement in November 1919 were, however, disastrous from the point of view of support at the ballot box (scarcely more than 5,000 votes in the Milan district, the only one in which the Fascists managed to organize a list); Fascism seemed in danger of disappearing at birth, just like so many evanescent political grouplets that sprang up on the Italian political scene at this unsettled period.

The turning point—that is to say, the transformation of the movement into a reality with a growing political following—happened in the months that followed. In the autumn of 1920, a new Fascism began to emerge in the rural areas and provinces of the Po Valley in northern Italy, linked to the world of the farmers

and the landowners and violently opposed to the trade unions, to the socialists, and to the workers’ and peasant organizations (even to those with Catholic origins). The action of *squadristo*—inspired by individuals like Italo Balbo and Roberto Farinacci, who went on to become leaders of the regime—transformed Fascism from a small, subversive revolutionary group without support or alliances into a real political force that was dynamic and innovative, attracting increasing interest above all from the world of the small and middle bourgeoisie, who had no party to represent their political claims, economic interests, and ideal aspirations. The initial “Fascism of the Left” gave way progressively to a Fascism inspired by nationalism and the cult of order. In a situation like this the great talent of Mussolini was to succeed in spreading on the table of national politics, and drawing from it the greatest advantage, this new image of Fascism as a force that was no longer subversive but restorative of civil and political order after the chaos resulting from the ending of the war, the economic crisis, and the political conflict between “reds” and “blacks” (which was developing into downright civil war, especially in Northern Italy).

The gravity of the institutional crisis; the tactical ability of the head of the “Black Shirts”; the political mistakes committed by the socialists and the Catholic Popular Party; the connivance of the monarchy and the liberal ruling class; the psychological and military pressure of *squadristo*—these were the other basic elements in the success that Fascism gained in October 1922, when King Victor Emmanuel III entrusted the task of forming the new government to none other than Mussolini himself. In spite of the revolutionary choreography laid on with the March on Rome, Fascism in reality came to power by legal means and with due respect for constitutional rules. However, in accord with his own doctrinal formation, Mussolini very quickly showed that he did not have much time for parliament and the political forces of the opposition, preferring to concentrate all the power into his own hands. Fascism was in reality born out of the violence of war on an ideological basis that was antiliberal and antiparliamentary: the idea of “constitutionalizing” and “normalizing” Fascism was thus the great illusion of the political and institutional forces that allowed it to accede to power without having understood properly its profoundly subversive stance in respect to the rules of the game of the liberal constitutional system. However, it was not until the publication of the *leggi fascistissime* (from January 1925) that dictatorship pure and simple was born. In this phase, to put an end to the political

crisis precipitated by the murder of the socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti in the summer of 1924, Mussolini began in fact to launch a series of norms that provided for a limitation on civil liberties and the suppression of the freedom of the press and of political parties. The "Fascist regime" had begun.

Within a few years, fortified now by absolute power without either formal or substantial limits, the head of Fascism set to work on a profound political-institutional transformation, based on an ethical, absolute, and organic conception of the state. With the promulgation in 1927 of the *Carta del Lavoro* ("Charter of Labor") was begun the constitution of the corporative order, based on cooperation between providers of work and workers forcibly organized together into national syndicates. In its various articulations, society was progressively organized on military criteria within obligatory associative structures, according to the typical logic of all regimes of a totalitarian nature. Particular attention was paid to the world of work and to youth, with the constitution of bodies like the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, which was concerned with organizing the free time of Italian workers, or the Opera Nazionale Balilla (transformed in 1937 into the Gioventù italiana del Littorio), aimed at the politico-military and ideological formation of the young. Great attention was also paid to the world of culture and the school: in April 1925 the *Manifesto of Intellectuals of Fascism* was launched (and answered in May of the same year by Croce's *Manifesto of Antifascist Intellectuals*). In 1925 the program for the *Enciclopedia italiana* was launched under the direction of Giovanni Gentile; it was destined to become the most ambitious cultural production of Fascism. In 1926 the Accademia d'Italia was established.

In 1929, now solidly entrenched at the helm of his country, Mussolini won his most important political victory: he signed the Lateran Pacts with the Vatican, finally putting an end to the long-lasting conflict between the Catholic Church and the Italian state. By the late 1920s, Fascism was a political regime that recognized itself fully in its Duce, whose figure was now the object of a growing public political cult and of a massive propagandistic activity of indoctrination that involved the whole of Italian society.

Holding absolute power domestically, the dictator began to imagine himself increasingly as a historic figure of world significance, destined to play a crucial role on the international scene. In the early 1930s he therefore declared Fascism to be a universal doctrine, from which a new political civilization could emerge. Mus-

solini began to nurture dreams of imperial conquest, inspired culturally by the myth of Rome, but in reality aroused by the Hitlerian conquest of power and by the birth in Europe and the wider world of political movements inspired by the Italian prototype. In his vision, Fascist Italy, forgetting the humiliation of the past, was ready to aspire to a "place in the sun" and to play a role of hegemonic power in the Mediterranean and the Balkans. From the mid-1930s foreign policy became the heart of Mussolinian strategy. In October 1935 came the military conquest of Ethiopia, which marked the rupture of Italy with the Western powers, beginning with Great Britain. In July 1936, following the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, he decided together with Germany to intervene in support of the nationalist forces led by General Franco. With Germany there were growing diplomatic contacts, cultural exchanges, and military collaboration: in May 1939 this developed into an organic alliance, the Pact of Steel.

The first steps in the war and the growing entente with Nazism took Italy toward totalitarianism pure and simple. In 1937 with the constitution of the Ministry of Popular Culture, all mass cultural activities came under the rigid control of a single political organ. Civil life was increasingly militarized. Measures and provisions were adopted to oppose the bourgeois spirit and to favor the diffusion among the people of martial virtues. In imitation of the German goosestep, the *passo romano* was introduced for parades and military marches; all public employees were made to wear an obligatory uniform. But the gravest measure and the one with the most tragic consequences was the introduction in November 1938 of a systematic anti-Jewish legislation that at a stroke deprived thousands of Italians of Jewish origin (many of whom were in fact Fascists or sympathizers with the regime) of all political and civil rights.

The fatal result of this process was the involvement of Italy in World War II. After an initial neutrality (so-called nonbelligerence), in June 1940 Mussolini declared war on France and Great Britain. It was the beginning of an irremediable disaster, all the more irresponsible considering that the country did not have sufficient technical preparation to cope with a war on a continental scale (and soon to become a world scale). After a few successes on the French front, Mussolinian Italy showed all of its lack of preparation in the expedition for the conquest of Greece (beginning in October 1940). Then came the defeat in North Africa and the tragic Russian campaign. The poor outcomes of the conflict created in the country at large and also within

the Fascist ruling class itself a state of growing unease and anxiety, which on 25 July 1943 led to a coup supported by the monarchy and the army. During a meeting of the Grand Council of Fascism Mussolini was disowned by his chiefs, a majority of whom voted for a motion proposed by Dino Grandi calling for the restoration to the monarchy of the “supreme decision-making initiative”—that is, of political power and the capacity to govern. A few hours later, in the morning of 26 July, Il Duce was arrested and taken to prison by a direct order of the king.

It was the end of the Fascist regime, but not yet of Fascism itself, which in fact rose again after 8 September 1943 (the date when the Armistice was signed between Italy and the Allies) through the establishment, in the area of northern Italy controlled by German troops, of the Salò Republic. Mussolini returned to the stage after a dramatic escape that saw him pass through Hitler’s headquarters before returning to Italy. But the man now at the helm of the Salò Republic was no longer an idolized leader of the masses feared by his (few) enemies, as in the preceding decade, but the ghost of his former self—tired and ill and having lost his force and lucidity. Kept under surveillance by the Germans, surrounded by weird personages who showed him a tenacious and fanatical devotion, in the last months of his life, while the end of the war drew rapidly closer, Mussolini abandoned himself to dreams of a return to his old revolutionary socialist passions. In reality, he was obliged to watch impotently while the Italian nation fell slowly apart, more and more enmeshed in the spiral of a brutal civil war, of which he was to be the most illustrious victim (alongside the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, killed by partisans on 15 April 1944).

After he was captured in Dongo on 27 April 1945, in the course of a last attempt to escape in the direction of Switzerland, Mussolini was killed the next day at Giulino di Mezzegra, in the province of Como, together with his mistress Clara Petacci. The circumstances and modalities of this dual execution have never been fully explained. The body of Il Duce was taken to Milan and exposed to public view in the Piazzale Loreto, together with those of other chiefs shot by the partisans. After a day of macabre collective delirium the abuse of the corpses was interrupted at the wish of the resistance leaders themselves. Mussolini was then buried with great secrecy in the Milanese cemetery of the Musocco, but a group of young Fascists managed to pick out the coffin and make off with it. After having been recovered by the police, the body was hidden in a

friary, where it remained until August 1957, when the Italian government decided to restore the mortal remains of the dictator to his family. Mussolini’s body was eventually buried in the cemetery at Predappio, in the family mausoleum, where it is still today a focus for thousands of visitors every year. His granddaughter Alessandra Mussolini has taken up the torch of far-right politics in the modern era.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACERBO LAW, THE; ACTUALISM; ALBANIA; *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTICLERICALISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; AUSTRIA; AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; AXIS, THE; BALBO, ITALO; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPORETTO; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; CLASS; COLONIALISM; CORPORATISM; CROCE, BENEDETTO; D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; DEMOCRACY; *ENCICLOPEDIA ITALIANA*, THE; ETHIOPIA; FARINACCI, ROBERTO; FARMERS; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FIUME; FUTURISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; GOOSESTEP, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; GRANDI, DINO; GREECE; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; INTERNATIONAL FASCIST CONGRESSES, THE; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; LIBYA; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXISM; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MILITARISM; MONARCHY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; MUSSOLINI, ALESSANDRA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; POST-WAR FASCISM; PRODUCTIVISM; PROPAGANDA; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROME; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SKORZENY, OTTO; SOCIALISM; SOREL, GEORGES; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPANN, OTHMAR; SPENGLER, OSWALD; *SQUADRISMO*; SYNDICALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; VIOLENCE; VOLUNTARISM; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; ZIONISM

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MVSN: See MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA
 SICUREZZA NAZIONALE (MVSN)

MYSTICISM

The combination of Italian Fascism and German Nazism with mysticism has little bearing on historical notions of mysticism, but pertains to the process of secularization, in which modern ideologies of race, nationalism, and socialism have assumed the nature of pseudo-religions involving unswerving belief, radical commitment, and missionary zeal. In this form, ideologies imitate religion in the form of idolatry, inviting worship and sacrifice. Secular mysticism typically manifests as an acute form of identification with political references such as the leader, the party, the nation, or some other idealized focus of group identity such as territory, tribe, race, or blood. Mystical ideologies of group identity elevate one or more historical or cultural facets of political life into a sacred object of devotion. The elaboration of race into a mystical substrate of national identity was particularly evident in the work of Arthur de Gobineau, Richard Wagner, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain.

Alfred Rosenberg's major work, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century* (1930), was indebted to this tradition of racist nationalism. Rosenberg's own inspiration in Eastern religions, Arthur Schopenhauer, and the Gnostics, including the Manichaeans and the Cathars, indicate his aversion to received Roman Catholicism and his attempt to substitute for it a de-Judaized mystical religion rooted in the German nation. He credited the medieval German mystic Meister Eckhart with having rediscovered the German racial soul. He was also attracted to Eckhart because he had a (vastly exaggerated) reputation of being a Catholic in revolt against the Church. Secular mysticism was also directed against materialism and rationalism as the twin disorders of industrial modernity. Such writers as Paul Lagarde,

Guido von List (1848–1919), and Julius Langbehn articulated a mystical worldview that elevated the spiritual, natural, and artistic dimensions against the banal claims of social and economic life. Their outlook has a certain affinity with the “life-philosophy” of Friedrich Nietzsche and the vitalism of Henri Bergson.

In Italy, mystical notions of the state were elaborated by Julius Evola, who posited a mythical traditional order of Aryan society based on the four castes in a rigid hierarchy led by the warriors. He also conceived of rulership as divine and as a bridge to the higher metaphysical order of reality. Evola was not a biological racist, however, preferring a doctrine of spiritual hierarchy among the races. Some of his ideas were adopted by Mussolini as official Fascist racial theory in 1938, when Italy enacted its own racial laws distinct from those in Germany. The praxis of the interwar fascist regimes offers a rich field of study for these mystical identifications, systematically orchestrated by the authorities. The pageantry of the Nazi rallies and their quasi-liturgical nature encouraged religious identification with the regime. Huge congregations, banners, sacred flames, processions, and memorials were essential props for the cult of race and nation. The messianic figure of Adolf Hitler, the savior of Germany, towered over the entire project.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARYANISM; BHAGAVADGITA, THE; BUDDHISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; COMMUNITY; CULTS OF DEATH; ECKHART, “MEISTER” JOHANN; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; LEADER CULT, THE; LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; OCCULTISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SECULARIZATION; SOUL; SS, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; THEATER; TIBET; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; VITALISM; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAGNER AND GERMANNES; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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MYTH

Every fascist ideology subsumes a number of unique myths that condition its particular policies and political liturgy. However, the core myth that drives all permutations of fascism has been widely identified as the rebirth of the organically conceived nation from an all-pervasive decadence—both of these components being themselves deeply mythic. It is this myth that can be shown to form the common denominator, for example, of Italian Fascism's vision of itself as completing the *Risorgimento* or fulfilling the revolutionary process inaugurated by World War I, the cult of *Romanità*, the imperialistic projects adopted after 1930, the creation of a Fascist calendar, the celebration of the Fascist "New Man," and the elaborate rituals and ceremonies designed to sacralize the state. In the Third Reich the myth of national rebirth subsumed such overtly mythic components as the belief in the "re-Aryanization" of the Germans, the war against cultural decadence in the name of an artistic renaissance, the myth that a new German had been born in the trenches of World War I, the vision of a regenerated *Volksgemeinschaft*, and the myth of Germans as a "master race" pitted against subhumans. Mythic thinking also pervaded the elaborate Fuehrer cult, as well as the intense ritual activity associated with such public events as the Nuremberg Rallies, the Berlin Olympics, the "Blood Flag" ceremony, and the annual commemoration in Munich of the martyrs of the failed Munich putsch. Other examples of the same phenomenon are to be found in the belief in a Dacian "root-race," in the coming of the *omul nou* ("new man"), and in an imminent national resurrection infused with Christian symbolism as cultivated by the Romanian Iron Guard; the vision of Spain's sixteenth century as a *siglo d'oro* ("golden century") so important to the Falange; or the British Union of Fascists' invocation of the Tudor Age as a Golden Age in Britain's history to be emulated under Mosley, not to mention the myth of the natural genius of the race expressed in the British Empire and the Industrial Revolution.

One of the curiosities of interwar fascism is the way its defiant rejection of the Enlightenment tradition of rationalism and humanism could at times lead it not only to celebrate violence and war but also the power of myth itself in overtly Sorelian terms. Thus, on the eve of the March on Rome, Mussolini (who cited Sorel as one of his influences) declared: "We have created our myth. The myth is a faith, a passion. It is not necessary for it to be a reality. It is a reality in the sense that it is a stimulus, is hope, is faith, is courage. Our myth is the nation, our myth is the greatness of the nation! And to this myth, this greatness, which we want to translate into a total reality, that we subordinate everything else." In a similar vein, Alfred Rosenberg, one of the foremost ideologues of Nazism, called his famous (though little read) work on Germany's rebirth from decadence *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*.

Once the mythic ideological and liturgical component in all fascist thinking is recognized, it becomes possible to see even its most horrific acts of mass murder, such as the Nazis' euthanasia campaign, their calculated slaughter of millions of military and civilian "enemies," and the Holocaust itself as informed by a logic of ritual destruction in which the forces of decadence are purged to enable national rebirth to take place. However, in recognizing the central importance of myth in determining the style and policies of fascism, it is important not to overemphasize its role. Certainly, some individual fascist ideologues were deeply antirationalist and overtly mythopoeic in their worldview, notably Heinrich Himmler and Julius Evola. In many ways their overt appeal to occult notions of the forces shaping contemporary reality are atypical of fascism as a whole, however. Not only did elements of rational choice continue to have a significant impact on voting behavior in Weimar Germany until the Nazi "seizure of power," but important factions within both Italian Fascism and German Nazism incorporated significant components of technology, science, and bureaucratic and political pragmatism. Indeed, fascism is to be seen less as a regressive flight into unreason driven by a collective fear of the modern world, than a bid to create an alternative modernity through the fusion of modern science, technology, rationality, and the power of the modern state with the archetypal forces of spirituality and myth. The hallmark of fascist thought is thus antirationalism and scientism rather than irrationalism and hostility to science, which makes fascism very much a product of modernity rather than its rejection.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BLOOD; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; DECADENCE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUTHANASIA; EVOLA, JULIUS; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; IMPERIALISM; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; *RISORGIMENTO*, THE; ROMANIA; ROME; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCIENCE; SECULARIZATION; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOREL, GEORGES; SPAIN; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VIOLENCE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WAR; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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NASJONAL SAMLING: See **QUISLING, VIDKUN**

NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM

Term employed in the study of Continental European ultranationalism that has been used by some fascists for self-description as well as by many researchers as an analytical category for a variety of inter- and postwar ideologies defying easy classification as right- or left-wing. Neither necessarily signifying a subtype of fascism, nor merely implying socialist independent-mindedness, “national Bolshevism” lies between the concepts of “national socialism” and “national communism.” Its various notions with regard to Russia, the Soviet Union, and Germany include, among others the favorable reception, by anticommunist Russophiles, of the Bolsheviks’ re-creation of the Russian Empire (for example, Nikolai Ustri-
alov); the blending of economic socialism with chauvinism in the thinking of important leaders of the international communist movement (for example, Stalin); the combination of radical anticapitalism with ethnocentrism in some ultranationalist ideologies (for example, Ernst Niekisch); the approval of etatist policies or a rapprochement with the Soviet Union by various extremely right-wing West European publicists (for exam-

ple, the Conservative Revolution); and a late-twentieth-century meta-ideology synthesizing anti-Western ideas of the Left and Right (for example, Eduard Limonov).

Andres Umland

See Also: BENOIST, ALAIN DE; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; THIRD WAY, THE

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NATIONAL COMMUNITY, THE: See **VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE**

NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE)/ (FRONT NATIONAL), THE

The emergence of the Front National (FN) as a significant force in French politics coincided with the rise of

the radical Right in several West European countries during the 1980s and 1990s. The party's relative success and the distinctive features of its campaigning style, policy platform, and strategy of implantation made it an example for national-populist parties elsewhere—for example, the British National Party when it started to modernize itself from 1999 onward. Ideologically, the roots of the French extreme Right can be traced to the royalist counter-revolutionary theorists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The importance of reactionary monarchism later waned in favor of more modern forms of authoritarian nationalism or even fascism. Today, the FN claims to offer a new ideological synthesis, having discarded extremism, racism, and hostility to democracy. Thanks to the influx of activist-intellectuals from New Right think tanks in the late 1980s, the party developed an elaborate neonationalist policy platform. This centered on opposing and reversing immigration, but was not confined to that issue. It offered a full range of policy proposals purporting to restore national integrity and social cohesion under a strong but limited state; these combined authority with elements of direct democracy, an economy synthesizing neoliberalism with welfarism—though only for nonimmigrants—the revival of traditional education and culture, and a more independent and assertive foreign policy, including hardline Euro-skepticism (rejection of the whole European Community project, or at least extreme suspicion of it).

At the outset, the party's prospects were poor. The political high point of the French extreme Right in the twentieth century had been during the German Occupation in 1940–1944, which offered reactionary authoritarians a brief triumph under the leadership of Pétain, while fascists enjoyed their own short-lived apotheosis in active collaboration with Germany. Banished to the margins after the postwar purges, it briefly appeared threatening at the end of the 1950s through its links with dissident elements in the military during the Algerian crisis. Annihilated once again by de Gaulle, it had subsequently remained a fragmented, disputatious, ineffectual fringe. The FN was founded in 1972 from a group of neofascist and ultranationalist organizations seeking to offer a more united and more appealing face to the electorate. During its first ten years the party was prone to internal divisions, personal rivalries, expulsions, and occasional self-inflicted violence; it made no electoral impact, never receiving even 1 percent of the national vote. In 1981 its leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, having scored a mere 0.74 percent in the 1974 election, failed even to gain the necessary 500 signatures of public office holders to qualify as a candi-

date. Yet, three years later, with the Left in power, the FN had started its breakthrough. Over the next fifteen years, notwithstanding setbacks, it established itself as a significant force with a small but active membership of about 40,000 and a sophisticated communications apparatus.

By the late 1990s the Front National had consolidated support at roughly 15 percent of the national vote, drawn from all classes and age groups, but particularly from the working classes and the unemployed. Geographically, its strongest support lay to the east of an arc running roughly from Le Havre to Valence, then Toulouse, with particular concentrations in the Paris region, the Lyons/Saint-Etienne/Grenoble region, Alsace, and across the south from Marseilles to Nice. There was often a correlation with areas of high immigrant population (especially North Africans), high crime rates, high unemployment, and problems of urban or suburban blight, but there was also a halo effect of insecurity in areas neighboring those with high concentrations. The FN's representation in the *Assemblée Nationale* stood at one or zero, except from 1986 to 1988, when it exceeded thirty, thanks to the proportional voting system used experimentally in 1986; it had not improved its very limited representation in the European Parliament since 1984, but the party had gained many seats on municipal and regional councils, allowing it to shape or influence local government policy in its areas of strongest support. Although it had not broken the mold of French politics, it was a significant player. The solidity of its support suggested that, beyond offering a repository for protest votes, it provided a real sense of affiliation for many people. However, when rivalry between Le Pen and his deputy, Bruno Mégret, split the party in the winter of 1998–1999, it caused profound disarray among supporters because the FN had claimed to be unique among French parties in its devotion to unity rather than factionalism and personal rivalries. This disillusionment was reflected in lower support for the FN and its rival offshoot, the MN (later, the MNR) in the European elections of 1999, with scores of 5.7 percent and 3.3 percent, respectively. Since that time, neither party has fully recovered. Nevertheless, while the MNR's leader, Bruno Mégret, scored only 2.3 percent in the 2002 presidential election, Le Pen's astonishing 16.9 percent caused national shockwaves, even though he was massively defeated in the second round with just under 18 percent against Jacques Chirac's 82 percent. In the parliamentary elections of 2002 the FN scored less well, with 11.3 percent in the first round, still trouncing the MNR's pitiful 1.1 percent. Neither received any seats.

The MNR effectively disappeared from national politics, and the FN's hopes of revival have so far proved unfounded.

Christopher Flood

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; AUTHORITARIANISM; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; FRANCE; GREAT BRITAIN; IMMIGRATION; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM; NATIONALISM; NEO-POPULISM; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; POSTWAR FASCISM; POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND; REVOLUTION; VICHY; WELFARE

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NATIONAL FRONT (UK), THE

The National Front (NF) was formed in 1967 following the merger of several racist, anti-Semitic, and far-right groups. It grew rapidly in the wake of Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech, peaking at 17,500 members in 1974, though thousands more passed through its ranks during its history. More responsible news media reporting, coordinated antifascist action, and a resurgent Conservative Party seen as "tough" on immigration meant that although the NF fielded 300 candidates in the 1979 general election, it was heavily defeated. Thereafter the NF declined and fragmented during a period of ideological ferment based on "third position" ideas. John Tyndall left to found the British National Party in 1982, while the remainder of the membership split into two ever-diminishing factions.

Graham Macklin

See Also: BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CONSERVATISM; GREAT BRITAIN; IMMIGRATION; RACISM; THIRD POSITIONISM; TYNDALL, JOHN

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NATIONAL SOCIALISM: See NAZISM

NATIONALISM

As one of the most contested generic terms in the lexicon of the human sciences, the term *fascism* has generated scores of rival approaches, theories, and explanatory models over the years. The one constant that is common to all of them, however, is nationalism. Even the classic Comintern definition of fascism, which presented it as the product of capitalism at its most openly imperialistic and terroristic, saw "chauvinism" as a key component. Mussolini can thus be considered to have been speaking for fascists everywhere when he declared on the eve of the March on Rome in 1922: "Our myth is the nation, our myth is the greatness of the nation! And to this myth, this greatness, which we want to translate into a total reality, we subordinate everything else." Some scholars, while seeing Italian Fascism as a particular form of nationalism, do not consider that Nazism fits into this generic category because of the racial, "biological" concept of the nation that led it to embrace eugenics and commit the mass murder and genocide, on an unprecedented scale, of those who had no place in the national/racial community. Indeed, Gregor goes so far as to reject the widely held assumption that Nazism is a form of nationalism at all, seeing it as a form of racism that places it outside any generic concept of fascism.

One way out of this dilemma is to distinguish, for heuristic purposes, between nationalism and ultranationalism. The first refers to forms of nationalism that embrace individualism and accommodate a wide diversity of ways of life, cultural identities, and religious faiths on the basis of a common citizenship, a common humanity, and a commitment to liberal values of mutual tolerance that reject notions of the superiority of one nation or race over another. Ultranationalism, on the other hand, has a mystic and organic rather than a rational and functional concept of the nation, which

fosters extreme forms of xenophobia that do not consider foreigners to be fully human. That leads to the equation of the rights of citizenship with ethnicity and extensive cultural assimilation, and subordinates the individual to the primacy of the nation, which is personified to the point that it is endowed with the capacity to decay, flourish, die, or be reborn. Sacrifice to the higher cause of the nation thus guarantees a form of this-worldly immortality. Once seen in these terms it is clear that ultranationalism is essentially racist, whether or not it legitimates itself through deeply mythicized narratives of past cultural or political periods of historical greatness or of old scores to settle against alleged enemies, or whether it draws on vulgarized forms of physical anthropology, genetics, and eugenics to rationalize ideas of national superiority and destiny, of degeneracy and subhumanness.

Building on the groundbreaking work of G. L. Mosse and Stanley Payne in the 1970s and 1980s, theoreticians of fascism have increasingly come to see the key definitional components of interwar fascism as the combination of ultranationalism with the myth of rebirth. It is a combination that has assumed extremely diverse forms according to the political and historical culture in which fascism emerged and the particular movement that developed an ideology of national reawakening. It has ranged from the deeply secular and technocratic form of ultranationalism encountered in the British Union of Fascists, focused on Britain's industrial might and its need to reconquer its imperial and commercial greatness, to the Iron Guard's campaign to bring about Romania's resurrection from decadence, which fused biological and cultural forms of extreme chauvinism and anti-Semitism with elements appropriated from Orthodox Christianity and pagan mysticism. Seen in this perspective the Nazi incorporation of eugenics, Social Darwinism, and anthropology into its myth of the regenerated national community makes it unmistakably another permutation of generic fascism and simultaneously a form of ultranationalism. Nazism certainly had no monopoly on "biological" concepts of racial purity, ethnic racial cleansing, or eliminationist anti-Semitism in interwar Europe, and, far from being somehow "antinationalist," its biological racism served to underpin its bid to integrate all ethnic Germans in a new nation-state.

Although narrowly chauvinistic forms of ultranationalism dominated fascism in the interwar period, there were several initiatives under Mussolini to create a universal Fascism, or Fascist International, before the war. There is also evidence that some Nazi forward planning envisaged the formation of a "New European

Order" based on collaboration between fascistized nations; toward the end of the war soldiers recruited to International Brigades of the SS were being told that they were defending not just their own national homelands but also Europe as a whole from destruction at the hands of the United States and Russia. Since the defeat of the Axis Powers in April 1945, the tendency of fascists to see their struggle for a new order against the decadent materialism of liberalism, communism, and capitalism in supranational terms has become more pronounced, as has the tendency to dissociate the fate of the ethnic grouping (*ethnie*) from that of the existing nation-state (which many fascists now reject as hopelessly decadent in the age of rampant multiculturalism and globalized consumerism). Thus it is that neo-Nazis the world over see themselves as engaged in the fight for Aryan supremacy over degenerate races, while Europe's more intellectual fascists imagine themselves as fighting on the front line of an ideological battle for the soul of Europe. Nevertheless, these supranational dimensions do not transcend national consciousness and the need for cultural roots and identity, but rather locate them in a larger geopolitical entity and broader historical narrative. Swedish neo-Nazis still defend an organic concept of "Swedishness" as a component of their sense of belonging, while German New Rightists want to stimulate a renaissance based on a Germanic culture purged from the scourge of multiculturalism and globalization. Indeed, a significant development away from interwar role models of fascism pioneered by the European New Right is the lucidity with which they reject an ultranationalism based on the nation-state for the (utopian) notion of a "Europe of a thousand flags."

Another important development within fascist ultranationalism that stems from the New Right's radical revision of classic fascist discourse is that it has formally abandoned notions of biological or cultural racial superiority ("master races"), stressing instead the contemporary need, in the context of accelerating ethnic and cultural "miscegenation," to preserve the traditional differences between national cultures and to uphold the right of each individual to a distinctive "national identity." The effect of this "differentialist" nationalism is that liberal democracy and its commitment to multiculturalism and increasing globalization can be attacked not on the basis of biological racism but as a force that is creating "cultural genocide." That has the rhetorical effect of transforming antiracists into the enemies of all races because, by welcoming mass immigration culturalism, they in effect defend the processes by which cultural identities are being eroded and human

diversity is being lost through the intermingling of cultures. In other words, differentialism can be seen as a new and highly sophisticated form of ultranationalism whose combination with the longing for the end of the current “interregnum” and for a total cultural transformation underlines the New Right’s structural affinity with (and historical roots in) interwar fascism, despite its repeated rejection of fascism, totalitarianism, racism, and nationalism.

The protean quality of both nationalism and of the palingenetic myths that lie at the core of the fascist worldview helps to account for the bewildering variety of ideological forms that fascism can take. One illustration of the complexity of the topic is that some ideologues of one form of postwar fascism known as Third Positionism, which seeks to transcend the polarization of left and right and repudiate the term *fascism* altogether, claim that the mistake made by Italian Fascism and German Nazism was to attempt to carry out a program of renewal without radically transforming capitalism. Significantly, the name they do accept for themselves is “revolutionary nationalism,” which underlines how they persist in seeing their own struggle in terms of a fusion of nationalism with the myth of renewal, despite being fully committed to the rebirth of Europe and despite their rejection of the existing nation-state as the source of identity and belonging. Another such illustration is the way in which a new form of political racism emerged in the last two decades of the twentieth century that embraced political pluralism and democracy yet operated a narrowly ethnocentric conception of the state that vehemently opposed multiculturalism. In spite of their affinities with interwar fascism, it is best to treat the “right-wing populism” or “neo-populism” of Jean-Marie Le Pen’s Front National or Jörg Haider’s Austrian Freedom Party as distinct from fascism, precisely because they reject the revolutionary scenario of founding a “new order.” Whereas in the interwar period it was the crisis of liberalism and achievements of communism that incubated fully fledged fascist movements, the mainspring of ultranationalism now is the very success of liberal capitalism in encouraging the globalization, secularization, and homogenization of world society in a way that deeply alarms all of those for whom religious and nationalist roots define their sense of belonging and identity.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; AMERICANIZATION; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; AXIS, THE; CAPITALISM; COMINTERN, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; EUGENICS; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; FASCIST PARTY,

THE; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; GREAT BRITAIN; HAIDER, JÖRG; HOLOCAUST, THE; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; IMPERIALISM; INDIVIDUALISM; INTERNATIONAL FASCIST CONGRESSES, THE; IRON GUARD, THE; LIBERALISM; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MULTICULTURALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NAZISM; NEOPOPULISM; NEO-NAZISM; NEW EUROPEAN ORDER (NEO), THE; ORGANICISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; SECULARIZATION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; SWEDEN; TERROR; THIRD POSITIONISM; TOTALITARIANISM; UNTERMENSCHEN (“SUBHUMANS”); UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE; XENOPHOBIA

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NATIONALIZATION

Coming to power after the great wave of socialist advance from 1917 to 1921, Mussolini and Hitler had predicted that they alone would meet the economic and social demands of the people. One way that promise would be achieved would be through the partial integration of industry into the state. The “corporate” economy would plan the future without trade unions, employers’ associations, or other selfish parties, but in the interests of the whole people. For contemporary critics of fascism, the evaluation of those promises marked a key test of whether fascism had actually been as revolutionary as it claimed.

At the level of ideas, fascists advocated an economy with some degree of collective ownership. What was important, however, was that this control should be managed by a state that had been “purified” of all non-fascist influences. Werner Daitz spoke of “soldierly

socialism" (*Soldatensozialismus*), a system in which hierarchical military lines of command would be repeated in the administration of civilian economic life. The synthesis of limited nationalization with state authoritarianism was said to represent a "third way," standing somewhere between both communism and capitalism. In Spain, Primo de Rivera used the phrase "national syndicalism." "Faced by the individualist economy of the bourgeoisie," he wrote, "the socialist one arose, which handed over the fruits of production to the state, enslaving the individual." National syndicalism would transcend these false alternatives. "It will do away once and for all with political go-betweens and parasites. It will free production from the financial burdens with which financial capital overwhelms it. It will overcome the anarchy it causes by putting order in it. It will prevent speculation with commodities, guaranteeing a profitable price. And above all, it will pass on the surplus value not to the capitalist, not to the state, but to the producer as a member of his trade union" (Griffin 1995, 188–189). The rhetoric, at least, showed a certain continuity with the debates of 1910 to 1914.

Similar ideas were also taken up in Britain, where Alexander Raven Thomson was the most important intellectual advocate of corporatism. He wrote about the idea in the following terms: "There is no need for any conflict between the individual and the State as neither can exist without the other. An individual exiled from the civilized communion must inevitably lapse into savagery: a state deprived of loyal co-operation from its citizens must inevitably collapse into barbarism. It is only by a true balance between the needs of the individual and the state that progress can be achieved for both. The corporate state, with its functional organization of human effort in communal purpose, best achieves this essential balance" (Raven Thomson 1937, 47–48).

Under Mussolini, the most sustained attempt was made to turn this idea into reality. The economy was divided into twenty-two "corporations." Each industry was managed as a whole. The overarching corporate body was said to be the supreme location of decision-making. Workers and employers were supposed to meet as equals. Former revolutionary syndicalists were involved in the early planning of the corporate structure, as were other figures, including the jurist Alfred Rocco, often associated with the Fascist "Right." A series of laws refined the system. In July 1926, a Ministry of Corporations was established. From 1929 the Italian legislature was reorganized, so that candidates would be elected not on a geographical basis but by professional, social, and economic categories. In March 1930 the

National Council of Corporations began work, ostensibly as a sort of economic parliament. Its work was run down, however, following the formation of the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction in 1933. There was a limited process of nationalization, in the sense that some businesses were taken under greater state supervision. But in the absence of any democratic control of the state, the result was only the bureaucratization of industry. Even the state's commitment to corporatism waned. The National Council of Corporations had no power to originate or veto policy. In the words of Gaetano Salvemini, "The mountain travailed and gave birth to a mouse" (Renton 2001, 9).

David Renton

See Also: BANKS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LAW; MARXISM; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; PRODUCTIVISM; REVOLUTION; ROCCO, ALFREDO; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THIRD WAY, THE; TRADE UNIONS

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NATURE

Mussolini and his followers viewed the state as a supra-individual organism that was hierarchically organized and, to a large extent, embodied the natural world. The most tangible expression of his regime's concern for the natural world was the *Bonifica Integrale*, an ambitious program of land reclamation inaugurated in 1928 under the direction of Arrigo Serpiere (1877–1960) and designed to counter urban migration. It included a wide range of measures such as digging aqueducts, planting trees, and draining swamps. The program was initially intended to culminate in the distribution of land to impoverished peasants, a goal that was abandoned because of opposition from large landowners. Instead, the regime concentrated on the attempt to obtain more territory through conquest.

Germany had industrialized quickly but thoroughly in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, the country was still pervaded by a sentimental longing for a rustic past. The veneration of nature was an essential part of Nazi culture, but nature was conceived in ways that were exceptionally eclectic. The “Blood and Soil” movement led by Nazi minister of agriculture Walther Darré identified nature with idealized images of traditional rural life. Other intellectuals, such as the novelist and war veteran Ernst Jünger, saw nature in terms of elemental powers, harnessed by modern machinery and released in war. The biologist Konrad Lorenz saw nature as a realm of absolute order, which he contrasted with the chaos of urban life. These and other conceptions of nature were imperfectly fused in an ideology that viewed race as an integral part of the biotic community, irrevocably tied to the landscapes of a geographic area. The Nazis saw their adversaries, such as Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs, as enemies of the natural world, themselves as its defenders. In contrast with traditional notions of nature as feminine, the Nazis identified nature with their “fatherland.” The Nazis rationalized the strictly hierarchical social order that they imposed on Germany and the conquered territories by analogies with the natural world—for example, with the perceived social organization of wolves and other animals.

The Nazi government passed several laws for the protection of nature and animals, including an extensive Law for the Protection of Nature enacted in 1935. This legislation gave Hermann Goering the title of forest master and the mandate to “protect all of nature including plants, animals that cannot be hunted, and birds” (Sax 2000, 116). He was also given the power to appropriate land without compensation for the purpose of protecting nature. The Nazi leaders drew up grandiose plans to reforest vast areas in the East, including virtually the entire Ukraine. Large botanical stations were established at Auschwitz and other areas in the conquered territories, where scientists would study plants that might be used to help replicate German landscapes.

Boria Sax

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANIMALS; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); BLOOD AND SOIL; DARRE, (RICHARD) WALTHER; ECOLOGY; FARMERS; GERMANY; GOERING, HERMANN; ITALY; JÜNGER, ERNST; *LEBENSRAUM*; LORENZ, KONRAD; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; RURALISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); STATE, THE; VITALISM

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NAZI PARTY, THE: See NAZISM
 NAZIFICATION: See
GLEICHSCHALTUNG
 NAZIS: See NAZISM

NAZISM

The ideology, policies, and practices of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP, or Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) in Germany between 1919 and 1945; sometimes also used to refer to postwar fascist groups with varying levels of adherence to Nazism. Permutations include National Socialism and occasionally Hitlerism; adherents are variously called National Socialists, Nazis, or Hitlerites. The latter designation refers to Adolf Hitler, undisputed leader, or Fuehrer, of the Nazi Party from 29 July 1921 until his suicide on 30 April 1945. Nazism produced a coherent worldview and exerted dictatorial rule in Germany for a dozen years—called the Third Reich in commemoration of the previous two “Germanic” empires (the thousand-year Holy Roman Empire and the Wilhelmine Empire of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries)—while accumulating many millions of adherents and many millions of victims.

Along with the call *Deutschland Erwache!*, Nazism used a variety of slogans, symbols—such as the swastika and images of Hitler—and political rituals (from fixed oaths of allegiance to Hitler to the massively synchronized torch-lit Nuremberg Rallies) to attempt the rebirth, or “palingenesis,” of Germany from perceived sociopolitical decay through an anthropological revolution amounting to nothing less than the creation of a “new man.” Nazism’s mythic construction of Aryanism, antiliberalism, anticommunism,

biological racism, strict social paternalism—not to mention the NSDAP's totalitarian structure and genocidal assault on European Jewry—are all comprehensible as manifestations of a new political ideology arising after World War I. Yet the existence of ideological parallels with interwar European fascisms should not obscure the Nazi Party's particularly virulent racism and the specific Germanic traditions making up a number of Nazism's characteristic features.

Extreme-right-wing groups multiplied in the aftermath of World War I in Germany. The terms of the Treaty of Versailles mandated radical departures from the Wilhelmine "Second Reich" of 1870/1871–1918. In particular, the loss of all overseas colonies, some 12–13 percent of pre-1914 German territory and population (including centers of industrial production), a severely limited military, and the assumption of German "war guilt" at Versailles combined to light a fuse of radical nationalism running throughout the German Republic, and exploding with Hitler's appointment as chancellor in January 1933. That Nazism resonated with the German public in the years leading to the Nazi takeover of power, especially given the hardships following the 1929 Great Depression, is evidenced by the sharp rise in Nazi Party membership (389,000 at the end of 1930; 800,000 at the end of 1931; 1,435,000 at the end of January 1933) and electoral support, the latter peaking at 37.3 percent of the German electorate on 31 July 1932, representing 13.8 million votes and 237 Reichstag seats.

The NSDAP's first ten years or so, from Anton Drexler's and Karl Harrer's founding of the DAP (Deutsche Arbeiterpartei) in early 1919 to Nazism's eventual breakthrough in the 1930 Reichstag election (18.3 percent; 6,406,924 national votes), were called the "time of struggle" by Nazi "old fighters" (*Alterkämpfer*). By 1920, the year that the DAP changed its name to the NSDAP (thus emphasizing the "national" and "socialist" aspects of the fledgling movement), the Nazi Party could boast of three features distinguishing it from many other extreme-right-wing groups in early interwar Germany. First, the party program announced on 24 February 1920 was declared to be unalterable, and only ever clarified with respect to Point 17 in 1928: this guaranteed no expropriation of the "Aryan" peasantry's land, appealing for rural support. From this twenty-five-point program derives much of the ideology and many of the policies of Nazism: revolutionary nationalism, anti-Semitism, militarism, and the demand for the creation of a Greater German "national community." Second, acquiring a party newspaper in December 1920 called

the *Völkischer Beobachter*, or *People's Observer*, the Nazis were able to propagate their ideas through the publication of speeches and editorials, while the paper was also used to help in organizing events, publicizing regional branches, and soliciting donations. Third, after his appearance on the scene in September 1919, the speaking talents, enthusiasm, and propaganda efforts of Adolf Hitler made him increasingly valuable to the Nazi Party; he wrested dictatorial control at a special leadership conference convened for that purpose on 29 July 1921.

None of these strengths were enough to raise the Nazi Party from a relatively marginal and localized German phenomenon in its first period of existence. Centered on Munich in Bavaria—briefly a Socialist Republic (1918/1919) and thereafter a haven for right-wing groups such as the Freikorps—the early Nazi Party was overwhelmingly middle class, generally elitist, and openly revolutionary, tactically focused on seizing power violently rather than attracting widespread support. This strategy led to regional banning orders throughout much of Germany by 1922, only very limited support beyond southern Germany (especially Bavaria), and a total of only 57,787 members (35,000 joining in 1923); the Nazis then staged an attempted coup on 9 November 1923, remembered as the "Munich Putsch." In the resulting 1924 trial, Hitler and the other failed conspirators received national attention, painting themselves as attempted saviors of an endangered and weakened Germany that was saddled with an unwanted liberalism, under threat from atheistic Bolshevism, and plagued by internal enemies (especially Jews) responsible for Germany's "stab in the back" in 1918. *Völkisch* circles rallied to Hitler's defense, as did conservatives in Bavaria, making sure that his crime of high treason was punished with only the minimum sentence. During his eleven months in Landsberg Prison, Hitler composed his political testament, *Mein Kampf*, and decided upon a new course of action for the Nazi movement.

Any possibility for Germany of fully escaping the legacies of World War I, the Treaty of Versailles, and the difficult conditions of interwar Europe was ended by the 1929 Great Depression, which resulted in the collapse of major banks, 4.5 million unemployed (21.9 percent of the working population), and the rise of right- and left-wing revolutionary groups. Foremost among these was the NSDAP, able to respond to a radicalized and dissatisfied electorate with massive propaganda campaigns containing promises of comprehensive change once German democracy had been overthrown. This was a consequence of Hitler's change

in political tactics after his 1925 release from prison. Once the attempted violent revolution by a fascist elite had been shot down by state power in November 1923, Hitler's refounded Nazi Party turned toward creating a mass-based party able to transcend class barriers and challenge the legitimacy of the Weimar Republic on its own terms: in party membership, political funding, and at the ballot box. A number of organizational changes of long-standing importance thereafter took effect in this "second" period in Nazi history, comprising the eight years between the re-establishment of the Nazi Party on 27 February 1925 and the establishment of the Third Reich in 1933.

One change was the deliberate cultivation of the "Fuehrer Myth," promoting Hitler as a quasi-religious savior of a revitalized German *Volksgemeinschaft*, or "people's community." Exhaustive research has now demonstrated that Nazism's claim to represent all classes of Germans in a *Volkspartei* was more or less accurate: in both membership and elections, working-class support accounted for roughly 40 percent of Nazis' support; as a result, the middle class was only slightly over-represented in supporting Nazism (whether civil servants or tenant farmers, master artisans or white-collar professionals). This has overturned the long-held thesis that Nazism was the product of a crisis of middle-class values or economic prospects; in short, Germans of all types were susceptible to Nazi rhetoric. Whereas the first phase of the Nazi movement was generally middle class, southern German, overtly racist, and revolutionary, Hitler's decision to contest elections meant extending both propaganda and local party branches toward other groups: the working class, the peasantry, more conservative elements throughout Germany, and, especially, women. For these latter newly enfranchised German voters, Nazism diluted much of its chauvinistic rhetoric and frequently emphasized the importance attached to votes or to membership from "Aryan" women—a healthy majority of the electorate. Women voted in increasingly large numbers for the Nazi Party, while 7,625 women became members between 1925 and 1930, with another 56,386 women joining in the two years leading to Nazism's seizure of state power.

Another method of determining which groups were receptive to the Nazi message is offered by a study of yet another of Hitler's tactical changes from 1925: the incorporation of auxiliary organizations. Founded in late 1931, the NSF (National Socialists' Women's Movement), for example, boasted 110,000 members a year later, and fully 11 million members (out of 35 million German women) in 1935. Similarly affiliated or-

ganizations representing Nazi students, doctors, teachers, and civil servants proliferated as new party branches were founded throughout Germany (including northern Germany, in social-democratic strongholds such as Berlin, where Goebbels was regional leader, or *Gauleiter*). Alongside this, two additional Nazi organizations came to prominence as "protection squads": the SA and the SS. The membership of these two organizations swelled exponentially in the late 1920s and early 1930s: the SA had roughly 30,000 members by mid-1929 and 77,000 two years before Nazism's triumph; thereafter, membership rapidly rose to 450,000 in January 1933, and numbered nearly 2 million uniformed storm troopers on the eve of their political decapitation by the SS on 30 June 1934, the so-called Night of the Long Knives. Always a smaller and more elite organization, first charged with protecting Hitler in 1925, the SS numbered 1,000 men at the end of 1928, with some 14,000 around the time of Himmler's takeover of leadership in 1931, and more than 200,000 at the end of 1932. The SS were the most ideologically committed Nazis, responsible for running the apparatus of the Holocaust, and they represented a cross-section of German vocations, religious confessions, and places of residence (although not sex or age, as only German men between twenty and thirty-five could apply). By 1930, the mobilization of mass support for Nazism played no small role in the final chapter of Germany's first democratic experiment.

Thus despite slow initial popularity, over the late 1920s Nazism had developed political momentum and a sizable combat arm, effective propaganda and campaign techniques, a more or less demographically representative base of support, and a leadership composed around Hermann Goering and Heinrich Himmler, along with others such as the Strasser brothers, Alfred Rosenberg, Robert Ley, Walther Darré, and, of course, Adolf Hitler. The expected coming of the Third Reich was frequently heralded in party propaganda and campaigning as the Weimar Republic limped forward without parliamentary mandate or effective economic remedies for Germany. By dint of mobilizing new political supporters, taking (some) votes from other nationalist parties, increasing the role of localized violence against political opponents (such as members of the KPD, or German Communist Party), and exploiting the benefits of parliamentary representation to engineer its own takeover through constitutional mechanisms, the Nazi Party was appointed to national governance.

At first, the coalition cabinet of the new "thousand-year Reich" contained a minority of National Socialists, with Hitler as chancellor (appointed by Reich

president Hindenburg following the failure of three successively appointed chancellors from 1930) and posts taken up by Goering, Goebbels, Wilhelm Frick, and Bernhard Rust. Over 1933/1934, the process of coordination with the Nazi state, or *Gleichschaltung*, resulted in the swelling of Nazi membership and specialist organizations, dictatorial rule over Germany by Hitler and Nazi Party functionaries (through passage of the 28 February 1933 “Enabling Act”), the establishment of concentration camps for persecuted groups (overwhelmingly political opponents during this period), and various other socioeconomic strategies to tighten Nazism’s control in Germany: these always involved the careful manipulation of “legal” means framed by the Weimar Constitution.

Thereafter, Nazi Germany embarked on a host of initiatives aimed at socially including Aryan Germans and persecuting those outside of that tightly coordinated community. In the third period of the Nazi movement, during which it was the governing party in interwar Germany between 1933 and 1939, the consolidation of the Third Reich overran all attempts at internal resistance or constraint in the years leading up to World War II. Policies during this period include dismissals of noncompliant democrats or conservatives from the civil service (all leftist parties were abolished in the early months of 1933), promotion of “Aryan” marriages, and legal discrimination against Jews (as with the 1935 Nuremberg Laws) and others, such as Jehovah’s Witnesses, Roma and Sinti travelers, homosexuals, pacifists, and dissenting intellectuals. But Nazism also owed much of its success to the conditional support and miscalculations of moderates; effective techniques of propaganda campaigning; piecemeal infiltration of traditionally independent institutions such as the foreign ministry, the presidency, the universities, and the military (now called the Wehrmacht); as well as to population politics; state terror; popular fears of Marxist revolution; and the collaboration and conformism of millions of German citizens. Whatever the interplay of complex factors contributing to the rise of Nazism, by the time of Goering’s introduction of the Four Year Plan in 1936, capping an economic and military rearmament program while initiating a search for war production and autarky (via raw materials such as gasoline, rubber, and aluminum), the Nazis had achieved nearly full employment, the overthrow of the Versailles international “system” so constraining to German nationalism, and unprecedented control over the machinery of an industrialized bureaucratic state.

Counterbalancing all of the social gains for many citizens of Nazi Germany in the 1930s was the growing

expectation of international warfare and the ever tighter chokehold exercised on nationally persecuted groups—instanced by public book burnings, Gestapo deportations (often via denunciation), the 9–10 November 1938 *Kristallnacht* pogroms against Germany Jewry, and the compulsory sterilization of some 200,000 “hereditarily unfit” German citizens (such as alcoholics, “habitual” criminals, the disabled, and the infirm) between 1933 and 1939. In that latter year, Nazism commenced the first systematic campaign of industrialized mass murder against “undesirables.” Victims were, at first, disabled German children and asylum patients murdered in the months before World War II. Perhaps some 100,000 innocents perished through the selection and killing processes operating in German and (after September 1939) Polish children’s wards, hospitals, and mental asylums. In terms of secrecy in arranging deportation and murder, increasingly radicalized and arbitrary killings (especially gassings), and pillaging of the dying and the dead, the T-4 “Euthanasia” Program may be seen as a prior blueprint for the Holocaust.

For any who had failed to grasp the nature of Nazism by 1939, the initiation and conduct of the second world conflagration of the twentieth century by the Nazi leadership soon provided shocking and irrefutable evidence of its character. The Blitzkrieg on Poland and the invasions of other European countries that followed demonstrated the modernity, technological sophistication, and killing power with which the German armed forces had been endowed and provided the main course for which Guernica had been just an appetizer. Nazi Germany’s invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 was unprecedented in the scale and savagery of the fighting, but also in regard to the “criminal orders” issued to German combat units before the war. These orders meant automatic execution or starvation for millions in Central-Eastern Europe over 1941, despite the inefficiency and psychological burden of close-proximity shooting of women, men, and children. Moreover, on 20 January 1942, the Nazi implementation of genocide was organized at the Wannsee Conference, establishing the logistical foundations, bureaucratic streamlining, and specific intent to systematically exterminate European Jewry. Over the course of the year, extermination centers—staffed with T-4 personnel—appeared in Sobibor, Treblinka, Belzec, and elsewhere, replete with SS executioners like Mengele or Barbie, and white-collar “technocrats” like Eichmann and Bormann, to centralize interagency relationships, ensure efficiency, and produce quantifiable results. Some 5.7 million Jews were murdered between the in-

vasion of the USSR in 1941 and V-E Day in 1945 (Victory in Europe), constituting 90 percent of the pre-war Jewish populations of Poland, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and the Baltic countries, as well as more than 1 million Russian Jews. These largely accurate figures were established in early assessment for the war crimes trials held by the Nuremberg Court. In addition to the attempted “Final Solution of the Jewish Question,” millions more European noncombatants were similarly murdered by means of on-the-spot executions, slave labor, concentration camp conditions, death marches, poison gas, and so on. Popularly seen as the apogee of state-directed brutality, Nazism’s direct responsibility for the mass murder of perhaps 10 million noncombatants remains at the forefront in the collective European psyche, and arguably, global consciousness, insofar as mechanisms are in place to prevent genocide at a national and international level.

Matt Feldman

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANSCHLUSS, THE; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; APPEASEMENT; ARENDT, HANNAH; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AUSTRIA; AUTARKY; AUTOBAHNS; BANKS, THE; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BARBIE, KLAUS; BLITZKRIEG; BOLSHEVISM; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; BORMANN, MARTIN; BRÜNING, HEINRICH; COMMUNITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE! (“GERMANY AWAKE!”); DREXLER, ANTON; ECONOMICS; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; ELITE THEORY; EMPLOYMENT; ENABLING ACT (*ERMÄCHTIGUNGSGESETZ*), THE; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINANCE; FORCED LABOR; FREIKORPS, THE; FRICK, WILHELM; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GOERING, HERMANN; GUERNICA; HEALTH; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HINDENBURG, PAUL VON BENECKENDORFF UND VON; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; ITALY; JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES; *KRISTALLNACHT* (NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS); LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; LEY, ROBERT; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MEDICINE; *MEIN KAMPF*; MENGELE, JOSEF; MILITARISM; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NEW MAN, THE; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; OCCULTISM; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; REICHSTAG FIRE, THE; REVOLUTION; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SA, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY);

UNTERMENSCHEN (“SUBHUMANS”); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH; VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER*, THE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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NEOFASCISM: See POSTWAR FASCISM

NEO-NAZISM

Neo-Nazism is an ideology or political movement in the tradition of historic National Socialism. *Tradition* in that context refers mostly to ideological aspects, such as racism or anti-Semitism, as well as to the use of well-known symbols such as the swastika. Neo-Nazism is often linked with the international movement of Holocaust denial. Its propaganda is aggressive. Neo-Nazistic activists tend to use violence against foreigners, colored people, Jews, or political opponents, as well as against the facilities used by such groups, such as cemeteries and religious buildings. The term *neo-Nazism* often gets mixed up with similar terms describing right-wing movements or phenomena. Political groups or persons in the tradition of historical Fascism, as in Italy, or of

collaborationist fascist regimes, as in Slovakia or Romania, are more accurately to be labeled as neofascists. In political discussions, especially in the news media or on the Internet, the term *neo-Nazism* is sometimes further (incorrectly) employed for right-wing populist parties like the Austrian Freedom Party or the French Front National. Strictly speaking, the term *neo-Nazism* should be reserved for those persons or groups whose aims and ideology clearly refer to historical National Socialism.

Immediately after World War II, National Socialist aims and ideology were officially banned in Europe, and any activities in that field were made subject to harsh punitive measures. As early as the beginning of the 1950s, however, a political party was founded (the Sozialistische Reichspartei) in Western Germany that the authorities soon afterward rated as being neo-Nazi in tendency, and it was consequently dissolved in 1952. In Austria the first public demonstrations by neo-Nazi-oriented youth organizations—which led to trials of the representatives and the dissolution of these groups by state authorities—took place in 1959. On the whole, it took neo-Nazi movements in Europe and the United States until the late 1960s or 1970s to emerge. These groups were founded mostly by persons of the first postwar generation, though often they were in contact with prominent former National Socialists. Since then a growing radicalization has been evident. The next wave of neo-Nazi parties and groups involving younger people emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The later a group came into existence, the more radical and violent it was. While the parties of the 1960s seemed fairly traditionalistic and in a way conservative, more recent and younger groups created their own uniformlike outfits, were more militant and more physically dangerous for their perceived enemies, and gave the impression of a degree of “modernity.”

Neo-Nazi ideology consists of a few basic elements that most of the groups and persons share, in addition to a few additional elements related to the identity of the particular country, the social context, and the character of the group. First of all, neo-Nazism adheres to racist points of view that it uses to explain history as well as present social, economic, or political problems. Following Hitlerian Nazism, it holds that the “white or Aryan race” is destined to dominate the rest of mankind, but in the postwar world of mass immigration to Europe from her former colonies, it is blacks or Asians rather than Jews who are highlighted as having inferior status. The mixture of races is said to produce all the evil in society. Therefore neo-Nazis oppose any form of immigration of nonwhites into Europe. The

specific enemies vary from country to country: Neo-Nazis fight Turkish immigrants in Germany, immigrants from Northern Africa in France, and immigrants from Asia in Britain. On the whole, most neo-Nazis can be called ideologically white supremacists. Related to racism but not identical with it is anti-Semitism, which all neo-Nazis have in common, though the topics, arguments, and contents of anti-Semitic propaganda may differ depending on the leading ideological tendency of the different groups. Traditional anti-Semitic myths and legends are adapted to modern ends and are mostly interwoven with the phantasmagoria of a worldwide Jewish conspiracy dominating world politics and especially international financial markets. In this context anti-Semitism plays a major role in arguing against globalization—a position held in common with neo-Nazis by a wide variety of other groups including not a few on the Left. Very often anti-Semitism is strongly connected to anti-Zionism and propaganda against U.S. policies. The United States is presented as the protector of world Jewry and Israel—or the other way round, as dependent on the benevolence of “the Jews.” Even neo-Nazis in the United States use these arguments against their own country.

Holocaust denial serves as an ideological bridge for neo-Nazis to other internationally active groups, such as certain parts of the Islamist movement. There are also neo-Nazis, such as Skinhead music groups, who praise the Nazi murder of Jews and other minorities such as the Roma and Sinti. This strategy of minimizing and denying National Socialist crimes can be explained by the need of neo-Nazis to shed a positive light on historical National Socialism. Some hope for a “Fourth Reich”; others engage in organizing memorial demonstrations (*Gedenkmärsche*) for leading National Socialists such as Rudolf Hess. Most neo-Nazis are nationalistic; in the German-speaking countries they generally preach German nationalism, in other European countries the nationalism of the relevant country. Certain ideological elements can be found only in particular neo-Nazi groups. Some of them espouse neopagan ideas and join with New Age and esoteric circles. Others are opposed to Christianity for the same reason that many Nazis were—because, from their point of view, the Christian religion is in reality a “Jewish” religion and therefore not fit for “Aryan” people.

For most neo-Nazis the only role appropriate for women is that of mother, giving birth to as many racially pure children as possible. In neo-Nazi ideology there is no room for women’s rights and equality. An important feature of neo-Nazism is the tendency toward using physical and verbal violence against politi-

cal enemies and people seen as racial enemies or scapegoats. Attacks range from the vocabulary of hatred to the use of fists, weapons, and explosives. Especially in Europe, neo-Nazi activists often desecrate Jewish cemeteries or inflict damage on synagogues or mosques. These ideological positions are spread by various means; since the 1990s the use of periodicals, books, or leaflets has diminished in importance and propaganda via the Internet has been developing rapidly. The Internet offers many advantages: it is inexpensive, it reaches huge numbers of people, and it is a space quite free from any legal persecution up to now. Rock music is an important means of the spread of ideology among young neo-Nazi skinheads. Some groups, such as international Blood and Honor or National Alliance in the United States, have specialized in the distribution of that kind of music.

In reaction to the ban on traditional neo-Nazi groups and parties, a new form of neo-Nazi youth movement has emerged in Germany and Austria, the so-called *Freie Kameradschaften* ("free comradeships"). These *Kameradschaften* lack any noticeable internal structure. Neo-Nazis tend to wear uniforms and use National Socialist symbols, or symbols that strongly resemble National Socialist ones. But not all groups march in black boots. Rightist youth culture in particular has quite a number of different dress codes. Neo-Nazis can be found in all of Europe, as far east as Russia, and in the Americas and Australia. Asia and the Arab world have different cultural, religious, and political traditions, though some ideological aspects of fundamentalist Islam and neo-Nazism are quite similar. From the legal viewpoint, there are significant differences between most European countries, the United States, and other countries. Germany and Austria have laws explicitly forbidding neo-Nazi activities and banning Holocaust denial. Most other countries have passed laws against the incitement of racial hatred in recent years, reacting especially to the growing propaganda efforts of Holocaust deniers and racist activists. The legal system of the United States knows no law restricting freedom of speech. Only individuals can sue if they feel offended or discriminated against.

Brigitte Bailer-Galanda

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; CHRISTIANITY; COMBAT 18; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CYBERFASCISM; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; GREAT BRITAIN; HAIDER, JÖRG; HESS, RUDOLF; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; IMMIGRATION; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL; ITALY; MODERNITY; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; REMER, OTTO-ERNST; ROCK MUSIC;

ROMA AND SINTI, THE; ROMANIA; RUSSIA; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SKREWDRIVER; SLOVAKIA; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; THULE SEMINAR, THE; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE NOISE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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NEOPOPULISM

The majority of populist movements that started mobilizing in the 1970s have been on the far right of the political spectrum. By adopting a populist strategy, the new far Right has consciously distanced itself from the ideology of the traditional extreme Right, while at the same time promoting a political project that aims at fundamental social, cultural, and ultimately political change. Unlike the fascists and other extreme right groups, the contemporary radical populist Right explicitly espouses democracy. At the same time, however, it is vehemently antiliberal, marketing itself as a democratic alternative to the established system, denounced as corrupt, in the grip of special interests, and far removed from the concerns of ordinary people. Prominent radical right-wing populists such as Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Jörg Haider in Austria, Umberto Bossi in Italy, Pia Kjaersgaard in Denmark, Christoph Blocher in Switzerland, and Winston Peters in New Zealand promote themselves as political outsiders who say out loud what ordinary citizens only dare to think, as courageous fighters against elite hypocrisy and the "new tyranny" of political correctness imposed from above.

It would be wrong, however, to characterize radical right-wing populism as nothing more than an opportunistic and cynical strategy to exploit genuine problems and grievances for political gain. Radical right-wing populism poses a serious challenge to the basic principles of liberal democracy. Radical right-wing populists defend a hard-line program that appeals to the “right” to identity and the defense of cultural distinctiveness and diversity to lend legitimacy to a comprehensive policy of “national preference” and exclusion. For the radical populist Right, one’s “own people” (as a community rather than individuals), its interests and concerns, must come first. Radical right-wing populists have spent considerable energy on defining what they mean by “the people,” who rightfully belongs to it, and who should be excluded. Radical right-wing populists do not exclude the possibility that foreigners can become a part of the people. Foreigners who integrate themselves into society by adopting the norms, values, customs, and way of life of the majority are generally accepted. The precondition for naturalization is assimilation. For the radical populist Right, assimilation assumes, however, a high level of cultural compatibility, which, it maintains, does not exist with certain cultures, above all Islam. Particularly after September 11, Islamophobia has become a central feature of radical right-wing populist ideology, which portrays the “Muslim invasion” (that is, immigrants from Muslim countries) as the most serious threat to the survival of Western culture and civilization. Islamophobia has allowed the radical populist Right to promote itself as the defender of Western liberal values (for example, Pim Fortuyn in The Netherlands and Filip Dewinter in Belgium) and of Europe’s Christian heritage (for example, the FPÖ in Austria and the Lega Nord in Italy). At the same time, it has been used to bolster the radical populist Right’s strict rejection of multiculturalism.

Hans-Georg Betz

See Also: AUSTRIA; BELGIUM; CHRISTIANITY; DENMARK; EUROPE; HAIDER, JÖRG; IMMIGRATION; ITALY; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MULTICULTURALISM; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE), THE; NATIONALISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; SWITZERLAND; VLAAMS BLOK

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NETHERLANDS, THE

In The Netherlands of the 1920s, there were a great number of rather sectarian groups and organizations inspired by the Italian Fascist example. These organizations and groups were not necessarily anti-Semitic. Most ultra-right-wing parties and groups did not have a great impact on Dutch society. The only party of any substance was the Nationaal Socialistische Beweging (NSB; National Socialist Movement), founded by Anton Mussert and Cornelis van Geelkerken in 1931. It even had Jewish members. Not until 1935 were Jews expelled from the party. The NSB party program was largely a copy of Hitler’s NSDAP program. In 1935 the NSB obtained a remarkable success in the provincial elections. However, in parliamentary elections the NSB obtained only four seats. Resistance against the NSB was expressed at all levels in Dutch society. All major religions, the conservatives, socialists, and communists were hostile. Members of the NSB began to hide their membership even from their families. This situation changed when The Netherlands was occupied by Germany. On 10 May 1940, German troops entered the territory of The Netherlands. This was not entirely unexpected, in spite of Hitler’s confirmation that Germany would never attack a “brother people.” In the view of Hitler the Dutch were a Germanic people. That “fact” was vindicated, in his view, by the establishment of a large colonial empire in the seventeenth century. Dutch forces resisted the Wehrmacht for five days. The bombing of Rotterdam forced the Dutch to abandon armed struggle, however, and to surrender to the Germans. The government and the royal family escaped to London.

The view that the Dutch were Germanic had some consequences for The Netherlands. First of all, they did not get a military occupation but a civilian Nazi government headed by Austrian Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart. The first goal of this government was the nazification of the Dutch population. Another more long-term goal was the preparation of the Dutch for

the annexation of The Netherlands by Germany. A further consequence was one of propaganda. Many people were led to believe that the intentions of the Nazis with regard to the Dutch were not so bad after all. Racial pride certainly played a role for about 23,000 young men who joined the Waffen-SS. Many of them were members of the NSB. Members of the NSB were appointed to important positions within the occupation government. Mussert and the NSB largely supported the German occupation of The Netherlands. Except for the outright collaboration of the NSB and its members, collaboration with the Nazis remained limited. Because of the level of industrialization of The Netherlands and its geographical situation, the Germans tried to integrate Dutch industries and port facilities into the war effort, and resistance to this was of course made very difficult.

Anti-Semitism had never played a big role in The Netherlands. Jewish citizens were seen as people of Jewish religion, and racial considerations did not play a role. With the emancipation of the Catholics had come the emancipation of the Jews, who obtained equal rights with the rest of the population. Many Jews entered public service. Jews could be found at all levels of the population. That also explains why the NSB in its early days permitted Jews to become members. But the German occupation cost a large number of Jews their lives. Many Dutch citizens tried to hide their Jewish fellow citizens from the Gestapo. Resistance against the deportation of the Jews also took the form of general strikes in February 1941 and in April and May of 1943. But at the same time, many Jews were also betrayed by their fellow citizens. Anne Frank is a notorious example of this. At the beginning of World War II, a total of 160,000 people of the Jewish religion lived in The Netherlands, 22,000 of whom were, like Anne Frank, refugees from Germany. The Nazis arrested 120,000 Jews and deported them to extermination camps such as Auschwitz, or to work camps where they were worked to death. Out of the total number of 120,000, 110,000 were killed.

Since the war, The Netherlands has not been entirely free from ultra-right-wing and xenophobic movements and organizations. In the 1980s, the Centruumpartij (Center Party, established 1980) and the Centrum Democraten (Democrats of the Center, established 1984) became notorious. In 2002 a new populist party emerged, the Lijst Pim Fortuyn (LPF; Pim Fortuyn List), led by the sociologist Pim Fortuyn, who was murdered on 6 May 2002. The ideas of Fortuyn had some similarity with those of Mussert. They were xenophobic and strongly nationalistic. The LPF scored

some success in 2002, but today it has dwindled in significance. The impact of Fortuyn and his party has been to encourage a real limitation of immigration and a more restrictive approach toward non-European citizens, notably Moroccans and Turks. More stringent policies in the area of policing and the criminal justice system are also partly the result of the influence of the views of Fortuyn.

Philip van Meurs

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANK, ANNE; GESTAPO, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IMMIGRATION; ITALY; MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II; XENOPHOBIA

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NEW AGE, THE

One of the key characteristics of all fascist ideologies is the manifestation of a relationship to the nation that views it as able to enter into a “new age” through fascist agency. In Fascist Italy, these tropes of national rebirth were highly prevalent in a number of major Fascist projects. For example, the “Philosopher of Fascism,” Giovanni Gentile, developed his own idiosyncratic concept of “actualism”—a postliberal “ethical state” that was fused with a neo-Hegelian spirit in order to end the degeneration of the notion of the heroic—so that he could present Fascism as the completion of the *Risorgimento*. This allowed Gentile to tap into rhetorical tropes of the Mazzini legend, experiences of World War I, and a more general desire for national renewal in

his own intellectual vision. Another example of an Italian variant of the “palingenetic myth” was a movement nurtured by Mussolini’s son Vittorio called *Novismo* (“Newism”), a radical project among younger Fascists that rejected both Gentile’s actualism and political Futurism in favor of its own youthful, renovating ideological thrust. This ethos of the renewal of national “health” was also found in propaganda that promoted a return to rural life; the chauvinism that crystallized women’s gender roles into narrow stereotypes; the emulation of the Roman Empire by the creation of an Italian African empire after the defeat of Haile Selassie’s Ethiopia; and the later attempts to form an empire in Europe in order to symbolize the nation’s renewed power and influence. Ultimately, the instigator of this new age was Mussolini, and the presentation of Il Duce as the epitome of the Fascist New Man was critical to the continued success of his *ducismo* (“leader-cult”), at least until 1936.

The trope of the mythic inauguration of a “new age” was also characteristic of the thinking of many Nazi ideologues. The idea of the “Third Reich” was adopted by the Nazi movement before it took power, and Nazism drew considerable mythic force from references to World War I as the origin of a movement of national revival, which also made it possible for Nazi ideology to exploit the widespread *Los-von-Weimar* (“out of Weimar”) mood. Following the economic crises after 1929, many “ordinary” Germans also began to believe in the subjective idea that the old order was crumbling to make way for the new movement and, therefore, a new nation. The idea of a new “thousand-year Reich”; the slogan “Germany Awake!”; and the swastika, symbolic of mystical regeneration, were all typical of Nazi semiotics, which emphasized this idea of the beginning of a new era. Furthermore, Hitler became convinced of his own destiny as the only German capable of not only reuniting but also expanding and regenerating Germany, all of which highlights a conviction in his own psychology that he was living at a unique turning point in history when a new age was truly beginning. This was typical of the dialectic of decadence and renewal in Nazi ideology. Further examples of this subtext can be found in Nazi racism, such as the *Aufordnung* project that sought to renew Germany’s “racial purity” to its “unspoiled” Nordic condition. Often, for “ordinary Germans,” the impression of entering a new age under Nazism consisted of a sense that the old, “corrupt” system had ended, that the Nazis emphasized the unifying tradition of a racial community, *Volksgemeinschaft*, and that Germany once again possessed a common destiny,

Schicksalsgemeinschaft. Like Mussolini, Hitler personified the utopian desires of both Nazi Party and non-party members. For example, one hagiographic poem claimed that through Hitler’s agency: “Springtime is here at last.”

Similarly, other interwar fascisms developed highly idiosyncratic conceptions of entering a new age. Mosley’s BUF synthesized a sophisticated economics that drew on Keynes and “social credit” with an intellectual concoction that included Lamarck, Spengler, Nietzsche, and Bergson, to create an ideology that could regenerate both Britain’s economy and its “degenerate” morality. Vidkun Quisling saw “Nordic socialism” as the vehicle for “awakening” Norway and starting a new era in alliance with Germany. The Iron Guard based its ideas for the rebirth of the Romanian nation on a concoction of obsessive anti-Semitism and Orthodox Christianity, and viewed their ideology as part of a massive national “spiritual renewal.” In Hungary, Ferenc Szálasi developed an ideology that viewed racially “pure” Hungarians as Turanians—a characteristic that they believed they shared with Jesus—and called for a new corporate racial state that would lead to a completion of the Hungarian renewal that had begun with its release from the grip of the Habsburgs.

Paul Jackson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTUALISM; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE, THE; CORPORATISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; *DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE!* (“GERMANY AWAKE!”); ECONOMICS; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GREAT BRITAIN; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HUNGARY; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; LIBERALISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NEW MAN, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NORWAY; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; QUISLING, VIDKUN; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; *RISORGIMENTO*, THE; ROMANIA; ROME; RURALISM; SPENGLER, OSWALD; SWASTIKA, THE; SZÁLASI, FERENC; THIRD REICH; TURANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I

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NEW CONSENSUS, THE: See
INTRODUCTION, THE; "ANTI-"
DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE;
NIHILISM

NEW EUROPEAN ORDER (NEO), THE

Describes the Nazi project to bring about the wholesale geopolitical, economic, and cultural transformation of the European continent during the period of German occupation. This vision of a reconstituted Europe purported to be more ideologically substantial than imperialism: it represented the defense of the Western cultural tradition against the threat from within of degenerate liberal democracy, and that from without of aggressive Soviet communism. Although dominated by German Nazism, the proposed New European Order would involve the active collaboration and alignment of indigenous national fascisms within the framework of a far-reaching political superstructure. Much debate has surrounded the question of the authenticity of the NEO as a vision of supranational fascism. There is compelling evidence (not least in statements made by Hitler and other high-ranking Nazis) to suggest that the program was little more than an elaborate facade, attempting to obscure a bold, imperialistic opportunism. By introducing the notion of systematic collaboration and ideological synthesis, it is argued, Nazi Germany provided the Occupied Territories with a validation of their ignominious defeat and the opportunity to participate in a regenerative pan-European movement, all the while plotting the enslavement of the continent under Nazi rule.

Taken at face value, however, the program for the creation of the New European Order was significant and persuasive. The strategic basis of the NEO rested upon the territorial integrity of the European continent, conceived essentially within the boundary created by the Occupied Territories and Axis partners, but with a view toward expansion in the East particularly. According to the vision of the NEO, though, such internal distinctions would become obsolete through a (benevolent) process of geopolitical synthesis. Econom-

ically, it was proposed that a powerful and autarkic European market would be created, harnessing land and labor resources as a bulwark against Soviet communism and liberal capitalism: in that regard, the Reich economic minister, Walther Funk, was particularly creative and outspoken. In matters of culture, there was a clear expectation that within the New European Order, all peoples would submit to the general will of Nazi Germany in terms of indoctrination and socialization, though this position was never specifically established. The question of race within the scope of the NEO was also somewhat problematic, given the mixed composition of many areas of Occupied Europe. In particular, the racial question threw doubt upon the position of Latin and Eastern peoples who did not fit the orthodox Germanic view of biological community. Nonetheless, prominent Nazis such as Goebbels and Daitz, as well as Hitler himself, frequently emphasized the need for racial integrity within the NEO.

Stephen Goward

See Also: AUTARKY; AXIS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DEMOCRACY; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* ("DRIVE TO THE EAST"), THE; ECONOMICS; EUROPE; EXPANSIONISM; FUNK, WALTHER EMANUEL; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GERMANY; HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; IRREDENTISM; *LEBENSRAUM*; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); WORLD WAR II

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NEW MAN, THE

Interwar Italian Fascists and German Nazis and their imitators tended to view themselves as people existing at a point in history at which the old liberal order was decaying, and they felt that the counterpoint to this was for a new "breed" of man to emerge who would form a new governing elite and lead their national communities into a new age. The many permutations of fascism's chauvinistic rhetoric spawned in the interwar and

postwar periods have built on notions of the need for a “heroic” male vanguard to gain self-consciousness and enact a political and cultural revolution, thereby embodying, quite literally, the process of cultural and moral rebirth, or “palingenesis,” within a new political and social order. The concept of the New Man was not exclusive to fascist ideology. It is central to the Pauline doctrine of the Old and New Adam, and underlies both Enlightenment and Romantic concepts of progress—in particular the utopian education of Emile depicted by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. It is also a recurrent topos of communist policy and propaganda (for example, “the New Soviet Man”), and of all other bids to create a radically new moral order in the modern age, a totalitarian project that necessarily involves a moral and anthropological revolution as well as a political one. However, unlike the communist variants of the New Man, who had shed all traces of the reactionary past, fascist permutations synthesized past and future and blended national traditions with a revolutionary dimension.

Central to interwar fascism’s variations on this new identity were tropes of the experiences of combat and camaraderie forged during World War I, highlighting the fact that fascists saw themselves as the true inheritors of the experiences and politics of the war. Broadly, the ideal blended perceptions of romanticism and realism, passion and seriousness as experienced in combat. For fascists the concept emphasized a soldierly comportment that conformed to an ascetic, strong-willed, dynamic, and emphatically masculine archetype. The fascist New Man was presented as the figure of action who had learned the lessons of facing death in war, something that distinguished him sharply from the bourgeoisie. Further, the archetype always privileged the role of the body over that of the mind. Fascist ideologies placed great stress on the role of sport in producing the New Man in peacetime, and they viewed the youth of their nation as particularly suitable for remolding into the fascist masculine ideal.

In Italian Fascist discourse the Futurists were highly influential in the Italian variant of the New Man. They proposed an individual who, paradoxically, was detached from traditions and acted as an autonomous individual, yet who also was duty-bound to the fatherland. Also influential was Giovanni Papini, who, drawing on Nietzsche, presented a new model for Italian masculinity in his collection of essays of 1915, *Maschilità*. This “male discourse written for men” argued that the new men must detach themselves from bourgeois institutions of family, school, and romantic love in order to encounter the spiritual revolution of the new Italy. The wartime experiences were crucial in

generating an appreciation among “ordinary people” of this previously intellectual discourse. After the war, Italian Fascism emphasized the voluntary aspect of the New Man as expressive of his superior spirit and individual will to action. Further preoccupation with wartime experiences was highlighted by the sacrificial element of combat, promoted through the cult of the fallen soldier. For Mussolini, the New Man looked to past ideals of masculinity, such as classical Rome, as inspirational catalysts for future projects, highlighting a regenerative and open-ended conception of the New Man within Italian Fascism. The centrality of the concept in the Italian regime can be seen, for example, in 1939, when Achille Starace stated that the creation of the New Man was the constant focus of attention of the Fascist Party.

In Nazi discourse, the New Man was more historically and racially defined, the Aryan superman being the ideal. This ideal highlights the fact that, for the Nazis, not only was the true Germany an organic nation from which a racial state would grow, but also that their ideal of the Aryan man leading this process would be indicative of a “healthy” nation. As in Fascist Italy, the New Man as portrayed in Nazi propaganda was endowed with a heroic personality but shorn of a sense of individuality, reflecting the tendency of fascist ideology to conceive of people only in terms of disciplined masses. Nazi ideology also sought to synthesize the dialectic between family life on the one hand, and paramilitarized masculinity on the other. Nazism drew on Greek ideals of masculinity and often believed itself to be re-creating that ideal in the present. The Greek ideal of male beauty from the past was supplemented by an anthropological discourse centered on the idea of the Nordic race, which offered body measurements and descriptions of the ideal human form that the Nazis sought to forge for the future. The Nazis also developed a sophisticated semiotics of the fallen soldier, drawing on the myths romanticizing the youthful soldier from the Battle of Langemarck and a more depersonalized and mechanized memory of the German soldier from the Battle of Verdun.

Paul Jackson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTHROPOLOGY; ARYANISM; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; ELITE THEORY; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; HEALTH; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPINI, GIOVANNI; PARAMILITARISM; REVOLUTION; ROME; SALUTES; SPORT; STARACE, ACHILLE; TOTALITARIANISM; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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NEW ORDER, THE

Both Mussolini and Hitler envisaged their mission as very much more than a reformation of the existing political system or the institution of a repressive governmental regime; they were interested in establishing a completely new social and political order, with all that it implied in terms of the indoctrination of the people to make them think "fascistically," even down to the regeneration of the individuals composing the nation, which meant nothing less than the generation of a "new man." The Hitlerian expression for his proposed totalitarian and root-and-branch renewal of German society, life, and politics, to make it fit in with the Nazi vision of the world, was *Neuordnung* ("new order"). As far as Hitler was concerned, when he took power in 1933 this was just the beginning of a total transformation of Germany, the promised national revolution. In political terms it involved the replacement of parliamentary government by the establishment of a totalitarian police state under the sole dictatorship of the Fuehrer. The process of *Gleichschaltung* would restructure the whole social and political order so that it was geared to the fulfillment of the Nazi utopia. The result would be a future of unparalleled power and prosperity for Germany and the evolution of a Nazi "new man." The concept of a "new order" was picked up from European fascism by Japanese imitators, though the means they proposed to employ to attain it were different from those envisaged in Europe.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; JAPAN; LEADER CULT, THE; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NEW MAN, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*

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NEW RIGHT, THE: See EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE

NIEMOELLER, MARTIN (1892–1984)

Outspoken German Protestant leader and opponent of Hitler. Because of his seven years in Nazi concentration camps, Niemoeller became a symbol of Christian opposition to fascism. His politics after 1945 were decisively leftist, and he became an advocate of East-West detente and a foe of nuclear weapons and the arms race. A German submarine commander during World War I, Niemoeller emerged from the war a fervent nationalist and an early supporter of the National Socialist movement. His support for Nazism dissipated quickly, however, in the face of the regime's pressures on the churches. Niemoeller was pastor from 1931 to 1938 of the Protestant parish in Berlin-Dahlem, a wealthy suburb populated by a number of prominent politicians and intellectuals. In 1933, Niemoeller was a leader in the German church struggle, the controversy within German Protestantism between the pro-Nazi German Christians, who sought a nationalized Reich Church that would conform to Nazi racial policies, and the Confessing Church movement, which fought to maintain church independence from Nazi ideology. Niemoeller co-founded the Pastors' Emergency League, which defended "non-Aryan" clergy from German Christian efforts to remove them on racial grounds. The church in Dahlem became a center of Confessing

Church activity, and Niemoeller used his pulpit to attack church moderates who tried to remain neutral. Increasingly he also preached against the regime and its policies, and he was arrested and tried in 1938 for anti-Nazi statements. Although acquitted, Niemoeller was immediately rearrested on Hitler's personal orders. He was imprisoned first in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp and then, until 1945, in Dachau.

Victoria Barnett

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ARYANISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONFESSING (OR CONFSSIONAL) CHURCH, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; THEOLOGY; WORLD WAR I

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NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH (1844–1900)

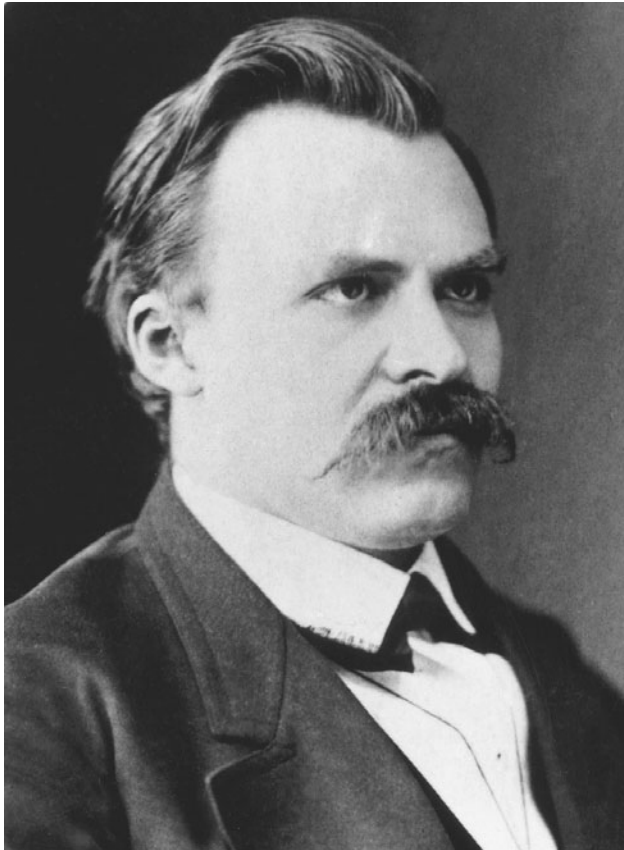
One of the most influential and most frequently cited philosophers of the twentieth century, often associated with German Nazism and also with Italian Fascism. Indeed, Nietzsche has often been treated as having been fascism's spiritual forebear—for example, by the German press in the 1930s. He was the precocious son of a Protestant pastor and became a professor of classics at the University of Basle in his mid-twenties. He lived a life of retirement from 1879 but contracted a brain disease in 1889, and for the last few years of his life he was cared for by his sister Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche. In his philosophical writings he moved away from the discursive style of argument traditional to almost all of Western philosophy since the Greeks and showed a preference for a new kind of Sibylline quasi-poetic utterance.

In 1934, Adolf Hitler paid a visit to the Nietzsche archives at Weimar. The picture of Hitler contemplating the bust of Nietzsche, which stood in the reception room, duly appeared in the German press with a caption that read: "The Fuehrer before the bust of the German philosopher whose ideas have fertilized two great popular movements: the National Socialism of Ger-

many and the Fascist movement of Italy." Although Benito Mussolini was certainly familiar with Nietzsche's writings and was a longtime admirer of the philosopher, Hitler's own connection with Nietzsche remains uncertain. There is no reference to Nietzsche in *Mein Kampf*, and in Hitler's *Table Talk*, he refers only indirectly to the philosopher. Nonetheless, Nietzsche's "nazification" in the course of the Third Reich is a historical fact that cannot be denied.

Nietzsche was an elitist who sometimes wrote as if nations existed primarily for the sake of producing a few "great men" who could not be expected to show consideration for "normal humanity." Mussolini, for example, raised the Nietzschean formulation "live dangerously" (*vivi pericolosamente*) to the status of a fascist slogan. His reading of Nietzsche was one factor in converting him from Marxism to a philosophy of sacrifice and warlike deeds in defense of the fatherland. Equally, there were other representatives of the World War I generation, such as the German nationalist writer Ernst Jünger, who found in Nietzsche's writings a legitimization of the warrior ethos. The radical manner in which Nietzsche thrust himself against the boundaries of conventional (Judeo-Christian) morality, and dramatically proclaimed that God is dead, undoubtedly appealed to something in Nazism that wished to transcend all existing taboos. The totalitarianism of the twentieth century (of both the Right and Left) presupposed a breakdown of all authority and moral norms, of which Nietzsche was indeed a clear-sighted prophet—precisely because he had diagnosed nihilism as the central problem of his society.

Much of the confusion surrounding the issue of Nietzsche and National Socialism can be traced back to the role of his sister Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, who took control of his manuscripts in the 1890s, when he was mentally and physically incapacitated. She began to promote her brother as "the philosopher of fascism" in the 1920s, sending her warmest good wishes to Benito Mussolini as "the inspired re-awakener of aristocratic values in Nietzsche's sense"; similarly, she invited Hitler to the archive in Weimar. Nazi propaganda encouraged such (mis)appropriation—for example, by publishing popular anthologies and short collections of Nietzsche's sayings that were then misused in their truncated form to promote militarism, hardness, and Germanic values. Alfred Baeumler, who was professor of philosophy in Berlin after 1933, played a key role in the increasing appropriation of Nietzsche as a philosopher of the so-called Nordic race. Aware that Nietzsche had no theory of *Volk* or race, Baeumler nonetheless concocted a spurious link between the philosopher's in-



Friedrich Nietzsche, one of the most influential European philosophers of all time. His influence on both Italian Fascism and German Nazism is unquestionable, but its extent and degree remain a subject of intense debate. (Bettmann/Corbis)

dividual struggle for integrity and Nazi collectivism. With the same sleight of hand, he could explain away Nietzsche's break with Wagner merely as a product of envy, and dismiss Nietzsche's tirades against the Germans as expressing no more than his disapproval of certain "non-Germanic" elements in their character.

No less convoluted were the efforts of the Nazi commentator Heinrich Härtle in his 1937 book on Nietzsche and National Socialism to present the philosopher "as a great ally in the present spiritual warfare." Härtle realized that Nietzsche's advocacy of European unity, his individualism, his critique of the state, his approval of race-mixing, and his rejection of anti-Semitism were incompatible with Nazi ideology. By relativizing these shortcomings as minor issues and as reflections of a different political environment in the nineteenth century, Härtle could present Nietzsche as a precursor of Hitler. Such distortions were echoed in Allied war propaganda

and in newspaper headlines in Britain and the United States that sometimes depicted the "insane philosopher" as the source of a ruthless German barbarism and as Hitler's favorite author. Phrases torn out of their context such as the "Superman" (*Übermensch*), the "blonde beast," "master morality," or the "will to power" were turned into slogans.

Opponents of Nazism, such as the German philosophers Karl Jaspers and Karl Löwith, also sought to invalidate the official Nazi appropriation of Nietzsche in the 1930s. Together with a number of French intellectuals, they contributed to a special issue of *Acéphale* published in January 1937 and entitled "Réparation à Nietzsche" ("Reparation Offered to Nietzsche"). The most prominent of the French antifascist Nietzscheans was the left-wing thinker Georges Bataille, who sought to rescue the German philosopher by demonstrating his abhorrence of racism as opposed to the rabid anti-Semitism of Hitler's followers.

In the United States, the most eminent postwar advocate of Nietzsche was Walter Kaufmann from Princeton, who provided many of the most authoritative translations into English of Nietzsche's writings. His *Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist* (1950) became a standard work in the rehabilitation of Nietzsche in the postwar English-speaking world, seeking to dissociate him from any connection with Social Darwinism and the intellectual origins of National Socialism. One of Kaufmann's virtues was to document the scale of Nietzsche's contempt for the racist anti-Semites of his generation, such as the schoolteacher Bernhard Förster (his sister's husband), Theodor Fritsch, Paul de Lagarde, and Eugen Dühring. Nonetheless, particularly on the basis of Nietzsche's declared hostility to Christianity, liberal democracy, and socialism, it is possible to see him as a precursor of fascism. Some aspects of his admiration for ancient Greek culture were used by Nazis, while they thoroughly distorted his philosophical intent. Although he took the ancient Greeks as cultural models, he did not subscribe to that self-conception that prompted them as a "breed of masters" to brand non-Greek foreigners as "barbarians," fit only to be slaves. This explains his revulsion from the German nationalism that had come into vogue in the 1880s following the success of Bismarckian power politics. In many respects Nietzsche was the least patriotic and least German of his philosophical contemporaries in the Second Reich.

What Nietzsche prized above all was spiritual power (*Macht*), rather than brute political force (*Kraft*), which he denounced with all the sarcasm at his command. In his eyes, *Macht* is a sublimated *Kraft*. This

spiritual power of the “free spirit” who is “master of a free will” involved a long and difficult process of sublimation that would eventually culminate in self-mastery. It was a vision that might be seen as fundamentally antithetical to totalitarian collectivism, whether of the Right or Left; however, it might also be seen as contributing to the fascist philosophy of the “new man.” Nietzsche’s indictment of the Christian and nationalist Right as well as of official *Machtspolitik* and its consequences for German culture was unequivocal. The break with Wagner is especially illuminating because the Wagnerian ideology and the cult that developed in Bayreuth was a much more real precursor of *völkisch* and Hitlerian ideas. Once Nietzsche had thrown off the romantic nationalism of his early days, his devastating critique of Wagner reveals with what penetrating insight he saw through its dangerous illusions. National Socialism could plausibly derive a comprehensive inspiration from Wagner, but its use of Nietzsche had to be selective.

Other, even more crucial questions hover over this issue. Was Nietzsche not trying to manipulate an entire culture and society to cultivate a new kind of man and mode of life (as the Nazis were trying to do)? Has not the fact that he had neither a systematic philosophy, nor a normative ethics, nor a normative politics facilitated his misappropriation? Should we not consider his attempt to overthrow the values of the Enlightenment and eradicate the foundations of Christian morality an extremely dangerous maneuver, especially when he could clearly hear the loud sounds of Wagnerian music and the nationalism of Bayreuth? Nietzsche abhorred the state only insofar as it became a goal in itself and ceased to function as a means for the advancement of autonomous and creative human beings. His preferred and most admired models to achieve the latter ideal were the Greek *polis*, ancient Rome, and the Italian Renaissance—cultural patterns that had never made national supremacy the cornerstone of their ideal or regarded the ethnic attributes of their citizens as a mark of creativity or superiority. Moreover, Nietzsche did not reject the state where it was conducive to life’s aspirations. Once this legitimate creation changed its nature and became a manifestation of extreme nationalism that hindered free and spontaneous creativity, Nietzsche vehemently opposed it and wished to curb its destructive effects. Perhaps under the influence of Hobbes, Nietzsche called this kind of state, “the coldest of all cold monsters.” However, where it encouraged individuals to shape and form their cultural identity in an authentic way, Nietzsche regarded the state as a “blessed means.”

But what of Nietzsche’s famous immoralism and rejection of traditional Judeo-Christian values? What of his thoughts about regeneration, which at times seemed to envisage the “breeding” of a new elite that would eliminate all the decadent elements within European culture? Did the Nazis not draw some inspiration from his shattering of all moral taboos, his radical, experimental style of thinking, and his apocalyptic visions of the future? Certainly, there were National Socialists who tried to integrate Nietzsche into the strait-jacket of their ideology and who exploited his dangerous notion of degeneration. But stripped of its biological racism and anti-Semitism, the Nazi worldview would have been a rather different animal, and Nietzsche was as fierce a critic of these aberrations as one can imagine.

Certainly, Nietzsche was a disturbing thinker whose ideas will always remain open to a diversity of interpretations. He was no admirer of modernity or of the liberal vision of progress, nor was he a “humanist” in the conventional sense of that term. His work lacked a concrete social anchor, and his solution to the problem of nihilism led to a cul-de-sac. But to hold Nietzsche directly responsible for Auschwitz is to turn things on their head. No other thinker of his time saw as deeply into the pathologies of fin de siècle German and European culture or grasped so acutely from within the sickness at the heart of anti-Semitism in the Christian West. It would be more just to see in Nietzsche a tragic prophet of the spiritual vacuum that gave birth to the totalitarian abysses of the twentieth century.

Jacob Golomb

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); BAEUMLER, ALFRED; BATAILLE, GEORGES; BAYREUTH; CHRISTIANITY; CULTURE (GERMANY); DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; DÜHRING, (KARL) EUGEN; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUROPE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; JÜNGER, ERNST; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MODERNITY; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROGRESS; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SECULARIZATION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOUL; STATE, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE

On the night of 30 June 1934, SS units acting at the behest of Hitler took action to neutralize the potential threat from a powerful SA organization by executing its leaders as well as other real or potential enemies. The action was executed with military precision by squads operating in different venues. These murders were justified retroactively by Hitler on 3 July 1934 as having been directed against "treason." The bloody massacre signified the ascendancy of the SS and the curtailment of the SA's power and ambitions. Ernst Roehm, longtime head of the SA, was murdered on 1 July 1934; the SS took over most of the SA's responsibilities, and the

armed forces pledged direct allegiance to Hitler on 20 August 1934. Also among those murdered were former Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher, Gustav von Kahr, Gregor Strasser, Edgar Jung, and other notables. The motives for these murders included revenge, internal politics, elimination of anticapitalist or socialist factions within the NSDAP, and, paradoxically, regime stabilization.

Matt Feldman

See Also: CAPITALISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; ROEHM, ERNST; SA, THE; SCHLEICHER, KURT VON; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE

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NIHILISM

Until the 1960s interwar fascism was routinely explained in fundamentally negative terms of reaction against, or resistance to, a process considered positive, such as the rise of rationalism, socialism, liberalism, progress, or "civilization." The most extreme form of this negative characterization has been to identify it with nihilism, the product of a total moral collapse and tide of irrationalism that was expressed in the barbaric rejection of all higher values, the celebration of destructive power for its own sake, or, in popular theological terms, calculated acts of pure evil. That attitude to fascism is still sometimes applied by Christian authors such as Eugene Rose and neo-Marxists such as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, one of whose pronouncements is that "[t]here is in fascism a realized nihilism. Unlike the totalitarian State, which does its utmost to seal all possible lines of flight, fascism is constructed on an intense line of flight, which it transforms into a line of pure destruction and abolition." Popular films, books, and unsophisticated documentaries depicting the Third Reich and World War II have done much to popularize this view. Moreover, the mass atrocities committed by the Nazis popularized the view of fascists as ruthless, hate-filled sadists reveling in their power over the life and death of their victims, or simply obeying orders in a way that betrays an inner moral vacuum.

The first specific equation of fascism with nihilism of any note was made by Hermann Rauschning, part of the Nazi inner circle till he fled Germany in 1935 to warn the world of the danger that the Third Reich posed. His *Revolution of Nihilism*, first published in 1938, is a sustained portrayal of the regime as one dedicated to a program of totalitarian transformation in Germany and vast territorial expansion with terrible consequences for human life and Western values, but driven by no idealism other than the lust for violence and conquest for its own sake. However, this book provides the key to another way to approach fascism's relationship to nihilism when Rauschning reveals that he was originally drawn to the Nazi movement because it seemed to offer the prospect that it could *stop* the rising tide of nihilism that he saw all around him—unaware as he was at that point of the fact that Nazism was *itself* nihilism's most destructive product. Such an admission acquires great significance within the tradition of fascist studies embodied in G. L. Mosse, Juan Linz, Stanley Payne, Ze'ev Sternhell, and the "new consensus," which sees interwar fascists as engaged in a struggle to put an end to the nihilism that they see as threatening the West, as the creators of new values capable of saving their particular nation or race. In other words, like the Russian nihilists of the nineteenth century, their destructiveness was in their own mind directed at ridding society of institutions, values, and their human incarnations that they believed were the manifestations of decadence, perversion, and degeneracy, thereby making way for a new society based on healthy, life-asserting forces. The most powerful philosophical expression of this "antinihilistic nihilism" was to be found in the works of Friedrich Nietzsche, but it is implicit in the countless works of artistic and cultural "modernism" produced in the period from 1880 to 1939 that sought to overcome the process of moral crisis and decadence into which the European intelligentsia believed the world was sinking despite, or because of, its material and technological progress.

Once fascism is seen as the politicized attempt to overcome decadence and regenerate the national community, it is clear that its driving force was the urge to transcend nihilism, however catastrophic in practice were the actual effects of its attempt to establish a "healthy" new order. In this context a key work for understanding fascism as the political expression of a generalized revolt against nihilism is Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West*, a major best-seller of the early 1920s. This book sees the rise of a society based on materialism, the power of money, and the forces both of atom-

ized individualism and of the amorphous masses as symptoms of an inexorable process of decay and senescence that has brought about the West's present terminal phase of "civilization" that inevitably follows one of genuine "culture." Significantly, Spengler himself eventually abandoned his fatalistic pessimism and dedicated his energies to promoting his own fascist program to save Germany from further destruction as an alternative to Nazism. At the heart of all interwar fascisms can be detected the same impulse to destroy the present liberal world order, along with the humanist and Enlightenment traditions that underpin it, and crush the threat posed by communism as the ultimate nation-destroying and hence nihilistic creed, in order to make way for a new order based on a heroic, suprapersonal morality rooted in the nation.

Interwar fascists generally conceived their revolutionary mission in terms of the war against decadence rather than nihilism as such. However, whether the fascist project was predominantly pagan (as in Britain, Germany, Brazil, and Italy), or accommodated considerable elements of organized Christianity (as in Spain, Belgium, Hungary, Romania, Finland, and South Africa), it was always directed against the moral and spiritual "dissolution" allegedly fostered by secular liberal individualism. However, in the aftermath of the crushing defeat of German Nazism and Italian Fascism by the combined forces of liberal and communist "materialism" in 1945, one prominent extreme-right-wing ideologue, Armin Mohler, addressed the topic of nihilism specifically in his *Conservative Revolution in Germany: A Handbook* (1950), which went on to have a major impact on neofascist thinking, especially within the European New Right. It appealed to those convinced of the moral vacuum of the modern world to realize that they are living in an "interregnum" that will one day give way to a comprehensive rebirth of healthy values all but destroyed by the forces of modernity. In the book Mohler evokes the plight of "the lonely, adventurous heart which, now that traditional connections have broken down and become meaningless, must seek out the new way of connecting up with the world on the other side of isolation." This is to be achieved "by marching toward a *magic zero* which can only be passed beyond by someone who has access to other, invisible sources of energy." It is this point of utter spiritual void that takes us to the heart of what Mohler calls "German nihilism"—in other words "the belief in unconditional destruction which suddenly transforms into its opposite: unconditional creation."

The same attitude of antinihilistic nihilism was advocated by the most important influence on Italian neofascism, Julius Evola, in the detailed portrait of the decay of the contemporary *kali yuga*, or black age of dissolution, that he provides in *L'uomo e le rovine* (*Man and the Ruins*, 1953) and *Cavalcare la tigre* (*Riding the Tiger*, 1961). These works helped to inspire several devastating acts of “black” terrorism committed during the 1970s and 1980s for no other purpose than to display contempt for the utter decadence of the present and faith in a new world of higher spiritual values that will one day exist on the other side of modern nihilism. The publications of the European New Right, such as the periodical *Éléments* of the *Nouvelle Droite*, Michael Walker’s *Scorpion*, or the articles published on the “Eurasianist” *Arctogaia* website provide illuminating samples of contemporary neofascist critiques of the alleged nihilism of the contemporary globalized, liberal democratic world order. They show how extensively traditional fascist defenses of organic nationalism against the forces of nihilism are now located by their ideological descendants within a concern for pre-Christian European values, and how they have been enriched by an appropriation of Green attacks on ecological malpractice, left-wing critiques of capitalism, and radical protests against the globalization of neoliberalism, U.S. imperialism, and an increasingly Americanized monoculture (“one-world” system, or *mondialisme*).

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; “ANTI-DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ART; BELGIUM; BOLSHEVISM; BRAZIL; CHRISTIANITY; CIVILIZATION; CONSERVATISM; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; ECOLOGY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINLAND; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; GREAT BRITAIN; GRECE; HUNGARY; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROGRESS; RATIONALISM; RAUSCHNING, HERMANN; ROMANIA; SOCIALISM; SOUTH AFRICA; TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES (POSTWAR); VIOLENCE; WORLD WAR II

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NOBILITY: See **ARISTOCRACY**

NOLTE, ERNST: See **HISTORIKERSTREIT, THE**

NORDHEIT: See **NORDIC SOUL, THE**

NORDIC SOUL, THE

Term used by German ideologues of the early twentieth century to refer to the spirit of the Northern European peoples, to whom they attributed a superior culture; part of the classic vocabulary of some Nazi circles. “Nordic” was sometimes simply another word for *Aryan*. The expression was not used simply of contemporary Germans but was also applied to a way of seeing the world that was reckoned to be innate both to Northern Europeans (including Scandinavians, but not Slavs) and to all Europeans by virtue of colonization in earlier centuries of Southern Europe by Vandals, Goths, Vikings, and other “Nordic” tribes (but see below). The argument was that as a result of the nineteenth-century drive to colonization by various European states, the whole world was becoming “Nordic” through a process of *Aufnordung*, or “nordification.” In other words, these theorists considered that they were merely commenting on established facts. In some ways this was simply a rehash of the nineteenth-century theory of imperialism, according to which it was not merely the destiny of the white man to bring civilization to the world but that this was indeed a sacrifice that he was called to make in the interests of the world—“the white man’s burden.”

The superiority of the Nordic soul was believed to be reflected in physiognomy and physical appearance, and it was argued by some that it arose out of the

nature of the Northern European (in fact often German) landscape in general, in conjunction with the quality of the light. Whereas many Northern European artists and poets had been attracted to the Mediterranean (for example, Provence or Greece) by the quality of its light, some propagandists claimed that the initially less appealing but subtler and gentler shades of Northern European light had greater “depth,” while the seeming “purity” of the Mediterranean light was merely “imposing.” This kind of thinking echoes the old suspicion of Catholic Southern Europe among Protestant Northern Europeans. There is a confusing tendency in its exponents sometimes to claim the Spanish and Italians and Greeks as “Nordic,” by virtue of their past subjection to the inroads of Northern European invaders, and at other times to assume that theirs is a lesser civilization. A book entitled *die Nordische Seele* by L. F. Clauss includes photographs, for example, of a “truly Nordic Arab lady”; her face is supposed to show “Nordic blood.” Another photograph shows an Italian lady who is said to have Nordic blood by virtue of her Lombard ancestry. But most of the photographs are of German faces.

“Nordic” thinking could be discerned in Nazi attitudes to the arts, literature, and philosophy, and was deeply bound up with the *völkisch* movement and with currents of scientized anthropology and racism. The foremost theoretician of the latter was Hans Günther, whose *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, first published in 1922, became a set text in high schools under the Third Reich, and who in 1935 was appointed professor of ethnography, ethnic biology, and regional sociology at the University of Berlin. Although Nordic thinking claimed to be essentially “German” and used the term *Deutschheit* (“Germanness”) almost interchangeably with *Nordheit* (“Nordicness”), the truth was that it spoke almost exclusively for a Protestant or secularized Protestant Germany. In philosophy, for example, the canon of thinkers representative of this spirit comprised individuals such as Luther, Leibniz, Kant, Goethe, Schiller, Fichte, Hegel, and Nietzsche (though with reservations), while the presence of a German Catholic cultural tradition particularly strong in Bavaria and southern Germany was ignored. This does not seem to have troubled leading Nazis with a Catholic upbringing like Hitler himself, or Goebbels, or Himmler. Some light is thrown on this in the autobiography of a Prussian former Jesuit, Count Paul von Hoensbroech, who in his youth was a pupil at a school run by the Jesuits, at that time widely considered to be very gifted educators both within and without the Catholic Church. He records that as a consequence of their “international”

character the Jesuits held aloof from all “national” literature, but noted that the aversion of German Jesuits to the classics of German literature (such as the works of Goethe or Schiller) was especially fierce, describing it as “blind hatred.”

Significantly, “Nordic” thinking had little time for the Slavs, and this seems to support the argument that there was a connection between Nordicism and Protestantism, since the Slavs were to a very large extent either Orthodox or Catholic. With the advent of Bolshevism and the creation of the Soviet Union, a further justification was created in Nazi eyes for despising the Slavs—now often identified with the Russians and the “Red Menace.”

“Nordic” thinking ran directly counter to the historical perspective of the Enlightenment, which had worked on the assumption that two great Southern European cultures—those of Ancient Greece and Rome—had founded the greatness of Europe. For the Enlightenment it was the irruption of the barbarous Northern European and Scandinavian tribes that had all but destroyed the glorious Graeco-Roman heritage preserved in the Roman Empire: the Renaissance had restored the greatness of Europe by retrieving what had survived of the riches of that heritage of the ancient world from the East, where they had been preserved in the Byzantine and Muslim cultures. According to this account, it was the Gothic German/Northern cultures that needed to be civilized. So entrenched is this version of history in post-Enlightenment Western Europe that it is difficult for anyone brought up in it to grasp the message of “Nordic” theorists. Undoubtedly, these theorists were reacting against a “French” Enlightenment account of European history that treated the Northern Europeans as “Goths” who had to be civilized from the South.

Italian Fascists clearly did not have much to gain by espousing this “Nordic” thinking, and they took little interest in it. Their mission was to restore Italy to the greatness she had enjoyed in the days of the Roman Empire, and they were not very interested in what Germanic tribes might have contributed to their own culture. They had no need of such a hypothesis. It seems likely that Nordic theorists developed the story of an Aryan ancestry for the very reason that they had no obvious glorious past like that of the Italians to turn to for inspiration. Hypothesizing a descent from a noble Aryan race about which very little was known, the Nordacists could generate a myth to rival that of Ancient Greece and Rome—and even Egypt. Nordic thinking was not necessarily dependent on the theories of Aryanism, but one way or another, it serves as one of

the most dramatic distinguishing marks that separate German Nazism from Italian Fascism.

“Nordic” thinking was picked up in other countries—for example, in Great Britain, where the Nordic League was founded in 1937 as a secret movement of “race-conscious” Britons. Supporters included William Joyce and Arnold Leese. That, however, had more to do with violent anti-Semitism than with a doctrine of “Nordic” superiority. Postwar Nordic thinking persists in fascism in the form of neo-Nazism or white supremacism—and therefore not as exclusively “Germanic.”

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BOLSHEVISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CIVILIZATION; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GREAT BRITAIN; GÜNTHER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; JOYCE, WILLIAM; LEESE, ARNOLD SPENCER; LUTHER, MARTIN; MARXISM; MUSIC (GERMANY); NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NUEVA GERMANIA; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROME; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOUL; SOVIET UNION, THE; THEOLOGY; TRADITION; TRADITIONALISM; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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NORDIC THINKING, NORDIFICATION, “NORDICISM”: See **NORDIC SOUL, THE**
NORMANDY LANDINGS, THE: See **D-DAY LANDINGS, THE**

NORWAY

When the homecoming army officer and international relief agent Vidkun Quisling launched his fascist party NS—“National Unity”—in Norway in 1933 to a great fanfare of publicity, he gained support from certain impoverished farmers, especially from the debt-ridden Landfolks’ Crisis Movement, and from the sympathy he was able to mobilize within sectors of the petty bourgeoisie. The established parties from Left to Right and their press, however, opposed him fiercely. The NS party polled so poorly, in 1933 and again in 1936, that by the end of the 1930s it seemed likely to collapse altogether. In the 1920s the Fatherland League, a broad, electoral organization promoting cooperation between the bourgeois parties so as to bar the socialists from government, had adopted certain views similar to Continental fascism, furthered by a general bourgeois sense of political tiredness, a democratic fatigue, brilliantly formulated by the league’s president, the ambitious industrialist Hermann Lehmkuhl. Young conservatives were generally enthusiastic about both Mussolini and Hitler, as was the case in other Nordic countries as well, even if their mother party decided to stay away from electoral alliances with Quisling. Influential newspapers such as the Oslo paper *Tidens Tegn*, one of the most daring journalistic enterprises in Norway, actively promoted “new politics” with an unmistakable flair of fascist ideas. When these amorphous antidemocratic tendencies crystallized in the shape of a single fascist party, the NS, they found the party distasteful. It was as if it had lost its support in the moment it was created: some potential supporters found the NS distasteful and vulgar; others disliked its obvious imitation of the NSDAP style and political behavior. Quisling, who considered himself a man of national stature, soon became an extremely controversial figure, involved in street fighting and disturbances. Although the NS enjoyed a certain influx of new members in the months January to July 1934, when membership increased from 2,000 to some 8,000, membership soon dwindled again. In the general election in 1936 the NS polled no more votes than it had obtained in 1933—some 28,000 in all, insufficient to gain seats in the Storting. In the real world of campaigning and voting, the idea of “new politics” came to nothing. There was simply no political space for fascism in interwar Norway.

The German military occupation of April 1940 altered that situation fundamentally. Unlike occupied

Denmark, where the government surrendered and the established parties cooperated to maintain democratic rule until August 1943, Norway became a battlefield between German and Allied forces till the Allies withdrew and the king and his cabinet fled to London in June 1940. The Germans felt free to install a government to their own liking, and they allowed the NS to take power after all of the other parties had been abolished. With substantial German subsidies the NS was built into a proper mass organization, which by February 1942 was saddled with the responsibility of serving as the foundation for a proper “national government.” German policy in Norway ran contrary to their approach in The Netherlands, where the NSB was denied the rank of a *staatsträgende Partei*, or Denmark, where the fascist party was deliberately kept away from power. It was, indeed, contrary to German rule anywhere in Europe. The establishment of a fully fledged fascist regime modeled after the constitution in Germany, with a Fuehrer and a monopolistic party at the head of the state, was indeed an experiment, and not a very successful one. Hitler soon repented his willingness to let Quisling in—or at least that is what he told the Dutch leader Anthon Mussert in March 1942.

From the German point of view, the fascist regime in Norway from 1942 to 1945 failed to contribute to uphold the civil peace and order that the Nazis required to maintain industrial production for war purposes and for the general exploitation of the country’s resources (fisheries, forestry, and hydroelectric energy) for civilian German use. In addition, the NS government actively resisted German claims. At the same time it was so unpopular with the population that it provoked widespread civil disobedience, particularly in 1941 and 1942, with unrest among teachers, the clergy, and other professions. A long-term German absorption of a peaceful, racially pure Norway into the Greater Reich seemed highly improbable. From the NS point of view the regime failed miserably to teach the Norwegians to be proud of their *Germanentum* and to prefer German to British or U.S. cultural influence—not to mention its lack of success in implementing the institutions of the New Order, a corporative political system, and the introduction of the Fuehrer principle at all levels of decision-making. Apart from some viable reforms in local government, the only successful institution created by the regime was the NS party itself. German advisors from the NSDAP helped to build the organization, which recruited 55,000 members, plus youth and children’s branches, dressed in full fascist style, all of which continued to operate throughout the war. But this well-functioning party was completely unable to implement

its own policies. Quisling and the leadership bitterly blamed the German *Reichskommissar* in Norway, the Rhineland *Gauleiter* Josef Terboven, for his negative contribution in this respect. Indeed, the constant rivalry between Quisling and Terboven dominated the image of the regime, with the NS as the hopelessly weaker part. In the purges following the liberation of Norway in May 1945, Quisling and two of his cabinet ministers were shot, the party leadership jailed for an average of ten years, and every one of its members convicted of treason and punished with fines and loss of civic rights.

H. F. Dahl

See Also: BOURGEOISIE, THE; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; EXPANSIONISM; FARMERS; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; HAMSUN, KNUT; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MUSSERT, ANTON ADRIAAN; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; PANGERMANISM; QUISLING, VIDKUN; SOCIALISM; STYLE; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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**NOUVELLE DROITE: See EUROPEAN
NEW RIGHT, THE**

NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/ NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE

Term used by Nazi propagandists to discredit the political leaders who concluded the Armistice of 11 November 1918 that brought World War I to an end. It was part of a wider theory of the “stab in the back,” according to which Germany had not actually been defeated militarily; the brave soldiers at the front had been betrayed by the politicians at home and more specifically by German Jews. This propaganda did in fact reflect a

widespread belief in the German army that it had been “stabbed in the back” by the civilian population. After the war a report commissioned by the Reichstag on the collapse of the war effort actually stated it as certain that “a pacifistic, international, antimilitary, and revolutionary undermining of the army took place.” This is clearly a reference to Marxism and the Left, but Hitler and the Nazis were more inclined to blame the Jews as allegedly archetypal “traitors” and internationalists who were alleged to be incapable of being loyal to any nation in which they lived.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; NAZISM; PACIFISM; PROPAGANDA; SOCIALISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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NSDAP: See NAZISM

NUEVA GERMANIA (“NEW GERMANY”)

Name given to a chillingly prophetic project to create a “purified” Aryan community in the 1880s in Paraguay that was to be free from Jewish “taint.” It was the brainchild of Bernhard Förster-Nietzsche and his wife, Elisabeth, sister of the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche—who did not approve of the plan. Paraguay was chosen partly because it had been savagely depopulated after a very bloody war. Following the suicide of Bernhard, his wife returned to Germany, and the colony was bought out in 1890 by a corporation of businessmen that included an Italian, a Spaniard, an Englishman, and a Dane. Although the colony was abandoned long ago, descendants of the original colonists still live in the neighborhood.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PARAGUAY

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NUREMBERG

City chosen by Hitler, for several reasons, as the site of the huge symbolic annual Nazi rallies. In 1219, Emperor Frederick had conferred on the city the rights of a free imperial town; it was the first of the imperial towns to adopt Protestantism, so that it stood as a symbol of freedom from the power of the Catholic Church and the papacy. It had also been a very wealthy city in the Middle Ages, as well as being a center of artistry and industry. In Hitler’s day the city retained a combination of medieval streets with fine artistic monuments, including a number of beautiful fountains. By choosing to make Nuremberg the symbolic heart of Nazism, Hitler was making a statement about Nazism’s continuity with all that he believed to be best in Germany’s past—artistic beauty, industrial excellence, historical independence, and prosperity.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PAPACY, THE; TRADITION

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NUREMBERG LAWS, THE

Decreed by Adolf Hitler and other leading Nazis at the annual party rally in Nuremberg, 9–15 September 1935, directed principally against Jews in Germany. Both the Reich Citizenship Law, distinguishing between German “citizens” and Jewish “subjects,” and the

Law for the Defense of German Blood, forbidding intermarriage and certain forms of employment involving “Aryans” and Jews, formed the pivotal legislation in the more than 2,000 anti-Semitic decrees passed under the Third Reich. Supplementary guidelines to the Nuremberg Laws were later included on Nazi definitions of “Jewishness” by parental descent, and were employed at the Wannsee Conference as guidelines by which Jews would be murdered in the Holocaust.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LAW; NAZISM; NUREMBERG; SEXUALITY; THIRD REICH, THE; WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE

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NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE

From 1927 to 1938, Nuremberg was the venue for the annual party congresses of the NSDAP, which combined internal party assemblies with great public rallies, concerts, sporting events, and military ceremonies. This resulted in a rapid growth of the Nazi movement in Nuremberg, with Julius Streicher as one of its most notorious anti-Semitic demagogues. In 1927 the NSDAP succeeded in organizing its third congress (*Reichsparteitag*) as an event that conveyed the impression of a tightly led and militarily disciplined party to the general public. The fourth *Reichsparteitag* (1929) gathered 25,000 members of the SA and SS, as well as up to 40,000 nonuniformed NSDAP followers. With guests of honor like Prince August Wilhelm von Preußen or industrialist Emil Kirdorf, the NSDAP began to become socially acceptable. At the same time violent clashes between NSDAP members, leftist opponents, and the police resulted in two people dying. After 1933 the NSDAP leadership intensified their program of exploiting the tradition of Nuremberg as a free city of the Holy Roman Empire and organized the party congresses as occasions designed to secure the loyalty of the German population, as well as to impress the diplomatic corps and convince its members that the Nazi



Typical scene from the annual Nuremberg Rallies—this one in 1935. These gigantic gatherings served both to fire up the zeal of supporters for the Nazi cause and to propagate to the wider world the image of Nazism as an unstoppable force. (National Archives)

government had broad public support. As part of a set of celebrations, public rallies, and events distributed all through the year, the party congresses, which had been partly combined with sittings of the Nazi-controlled Reichstag, were given a different political focus each year, ranging from Reich Party Congress of Victory (1933) and Reich Party Congress of Unity and Strength (1934) to themes such as Freedom (1935), Honor (1936), Work (1937), and Greater Germany (1938). Because of the war of aggression against Poland in 1939 the *Reichsparteitag*—originally having “Peace” as its motto—was canceled.

The NSDAP planned to make Nuremberg one of the “Fuehrer Cities,” so that the layout, size, and architecture of the Reich Party rally grounds were to embody German supremacy over Europe. In 1934 archi-

tect Albert Speer was entrusted with the overall planning for the Reich Party rally grounds, to be built over an area of 11 square kilometers: Luitpoldhain Park was leveled off and prepared as a marching ground for the SA and SS with room for 150,000 participants plus a further 50,000 spectators on the surrounding stands. The Luitpold Hall held another 60,000 people. The Zeppelin Field—with its grandstand 23 meters high and its ramparts with stone turrets and pillars between which swastika flags were stretched—had a capacity of more than 200,000 persons. A parade ground for the Wehrmacht, called Marsfeld, a sports stadium where as many as 60,000 young persons lined up in front of Hitler, the German Stadium destined to hold a crowd of more than 400,000, and the Congress Hall completed the setting, to which a large boulevard led.

Coming on thousands of special trains or even marching, as many as 950,000 people took part in the annual party congresses of the NSDAP, which lasted about a week. The first day would see the arrival and welcome of Hitler, who was feted frenetically by the masses; successive days were dedicated to the Hitler Youth, the Reich Labor Service, the Wehrmacht, and the SA. The whole program—with its ceremonies to honor the dead, its choreography of vast numbers of participants, its vows of fidelity, its tens of thousands of banners and flags, and its anti-aircraft searchlights creating a “vault of light” over the evening parades—followed a fixed set of strict rules. Its purpose was to produce a feeling of unity, agreement, and identification between the leadership and the followers, not least because Hitler used the Reichsparteitage to announce important political decisions—for example, the racist and anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws—and to get them acclaimed.

Finally, the arrangements and the experience of the Reichsparteitage and their political message were disseminated widely in books, pamphlets, radio programs, and films, the best known being *The Triumph of the Will* by Leni Riefenstahl. After 1939 the completion of the construction work at the Reich Party rally grounds went on only slowly, because of the concentration of human and industrial resources for the purpose of war. When the U.S. Army held its parade of victory on 22 April 1945 at the Reich Party rally grounds, it blew up the huge gilded swastika that for some years had been atop the grandstand of the Zeppelin Field.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; FILM; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; LABOR SER-

VICE, THE; NAZISM; NEW EUROPEAN ORDER, THE; NUREMBERG; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; PROPAGANDA; RADIO; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; SA, THE; SPEER, ALBERT; STREICHER, JULIUS; SWASTIKA, THE; THEATER; *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL*; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE

In the Nuremberg war criminal trial of 1945/1946, twenty-four prominent members of the Nazi regime were accused before an Allied military court. Nineteen were condemned, twelve of them to death. Between 1946 and 1949, twelve subsequent proceedings took place before the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. In the middle of the war, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States had agreed upon the punishment of the main Nazi exponents and functionaries after the end of the war. In accordance with the Allied Moscow declaration of 1 November 1943, war criminals were to be sentenced by the courts of the states on whose territory they had committed their acts. The main war criminals, whose crimes had not been restricted to a geographically limitable area, were expressly excluded. They were to be punished according to a common decision of the governments of the Allied powers. This common decision was made on 8 August 1945 in the London Agreement, signed by twenty-three states. According to the London statute, twenty-four leading members of the Nazi regime were accused of preparation of a war of aggression, crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity before



A view of some of the Nazi defendants during the Nuremberg war crimes trials in the aftermath of World War II. (National Archives)

the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg. One of them, Robert Ley, had committed suicide before the trial began. The tribunal was composed of nominees from the governments of the four powers: the Americans sent Francis A. Biddle, the Soviet Union Iola T. Nikitschenko, France Henri de Vabres, and Great Britain Geoffrey Lawrence, who became the tribunals' chairman. In the prosecution authority, each of the four powers placed a main prosecutor: Robert H. Jackson (U.S.A.), R. A. Rudenko (Soviet Union), Sir Hartley Shawcross (Great Britain), and François de Menthon (France).

The trial proceedings lasted from 20 November 1945 to 1 October 1946, and ended with nineteen condemnations and three acquittals. Martin Bormann, Hans Frank, Wilhelm Frick, Hermann Goering, Alfred Jodl (chief of the operations staff of the armed forces, 1939–1945), Ernst Kaltenbrunner, Wilhelm Keitel, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Alfred Rosenberg, Fritz Sauckel (chief of forced labor recruitment), Arthur

Seyss-Inquart, and Julius Streicher were condemned to death. Terms of imprisonment were meted out to Walther Funk (life), Rudolf Hess (life), Erich Raeder (grand admiral, German navy—life), Baldur von Schirach (twenty years), Albert Speer (twenty years), Konstantin von Neurath (Hitler's adviser on foreign affairs—fifteen years), and Karl Doenitz (ten years). Hans Fritzsche, Franz von Papen, and Hjalmar Schacht were acquitted. The original plan to accuse further prominent Nazis before the International Military Tribunal was dropped. According to the Control Council Law No. 10 of 20 December 1945, proceedings were to be led in the occupation zones by the courts of the respective powers. Between 1946 and 1949, twelve large processes (subsequent proceedings) took place before the American Military Tribunal in Nuremberg: against physicians of the Wehrmacht and the SS; against general field marshal Erhard Milch because of cooperation with the armament program; against sixteen leading lawyers; against eighteen members of the Wirtschafts-

verwaltungshauptamt of the SS, which administered the concentration camps; against the industrialist Friedrich Flick; against twenty-three leaders of the I.G.-Farben-Industrie-AG; against twelve high officers because of illegal shootings of hostages in the Balkans; against fourteen leading members of the Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt of the SS, the agency Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums, and the Lebensborn association; against twenty-four leaders of the state police and the SD because of their participation in murder actions in the occupied areas in Eastern Europe; against Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach and eleven leading employees of the Krupp Company; against twenty-one ministers, undersecretaries of state, Gau leaders, higher SS leaders, and further leading persons of the Nazi regime; and against the fourteen highest officers of the Wehrmacht for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Some 142 out of the 184 accused persons were condemned (24 of them to death); 35 were acquitted, and 7 prosecutions failed on account of illnesses or deaths.

Although courts had been set up in the past for purposes of judging political crimes, this was the first one to win universal recognition. The crimes that the Nuremberg Court was set up to judge were crimes against peace, humanity, and defenseless minorities. The court has proved to be an important precedent

for subsequent war crimes trials, and for the erection of a permanent European war crimes tribunal at The Hague.

Christian Koller

See Also: AXIS, THE; BORMANN, MARTIN; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DOENITZ, KARL; FRANK, HANS; FRICK, WILHELM; FUNK, WALTHER EMANUEL; GERMANY; GOERING, HERMANN; HESS, RUDOLF; IG FARBEN; KALTENBRUNNER, ERNST; KEITEL, WILHELM; KRUPP VON BOHLEN UND HALBACH, ALFRIED; LAW; LEY, ROBERT; MEDICINE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG; PAPAN, FRANZ VON; RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SD, THE; SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR; SPEER, ALBERT; SS, THE; STREICHER, JULIUS; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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OCCULTISM

A significant influence on certain currents of thought within Nazism, though not on Italian Fascism, where Julius Evola was the only significant figure to be attracted to it. In the late nineteenth century it gained considerable international notoriety, first through the activities of Madame Blavatsky (1831–1891), founder of the New York Theosophical Society and the alleged possessor of psychic powers, and Annie Besant (1847–1933), who was also celebrated for her advocacies of birth control and socialism. Theosophy popularized notions of lost continents, ancient wisdom rediscovered in texts of occult knowledge, and the idea of hidden masters or adepts guiding humanity from a remote fastness in Tibet. Racist nationalists in search of a prehistoric “Aryan” race and its cultural traditions combined *völkisch* notions of Germanic identity with the occult lore of Theosophy to create a hybrid Ariosophy of racial mysticism. Guido von List (1848–1919) elaborated a rich mythology of the ancient Ario-Germans, detecting Aryan traditions at archaeological sites, in heraldry, folksongs, and legal customs. His Viennese colleague Jörg Lanz von Liebenfels employed a similar occult reading of culture to attribute a racial significance to Holy Scripture and archaeological, anthropological, and contemporary scientific discoveries. In this sense, occultism operated as an epistemological reinterpretation of cultural information in order to le-

gitimate or even sacralize political values of hierarchy and racial superiority. In the 1920s, Lanz attracted a circle of racial occultists who practiced astrology, numerology, graphology, and divination as Aryan racial sciences.

The inference of a hidden, suppressed tradition logically posits the existence of a suppressing agent, which leads to conspiracy theory. Political occultists typically regard the current establishment as under the sway of hostile powers opposed to the unveiling and revival of the occult tradition. List and Lanz began by impugning the Catholic church as the instrument of this suppression but later identified the Jews as the architects of an age-old conspiracy against the Aryans. The combination of Germanic culture with notions of occult wisdom appealed to Heinrich Himmler, who employed Karl Maria Wiligut (1866–1946), an elderly Ariosophist in the Listian tradition, as a special advisor on matters of runes, ancestral clairvoyance, and German prehistory. References to an ancient lost Germanic world vindicated Himmler’s vision of a prehistoric world opposed to the modern Christian West. Himmler also consulted an astrologer, Wilhelm Wulff, in the later stages of the war.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DEMOGRAPHIC THEORY; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*);

GERMANY; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; ITALY; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; SOCIALISM; TIBET; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; VOLK, VÖLKISCH

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ODESSA

Acronym for one of several postwar underground networks allegedly formed to provide assistance to wanted Nazi fugitives who were seeking to elude Allied dragnets and escape to safe havens outside their own homeland. The Organisation der ehemaligen SS-Angehörigen (ODESSA; Organization of Former SS Members) has undoubtedly become the most notorious of these purported support networks, in large part because of Frederick Forsyth's 1972 fictional best-seller *The Odessa File*. However, much of the existing information about ODESSA and other clandestine Nazi networks remains difficult to corroborate, and there is as yet no consensus among historians about their precise role and significance.

Several observers, most of whom have been professional "Nazi hunters," former intelligence officers, and journalists seeking fame and fortune or pushing an "antifascist" political agenda, have claimed that ODESSA was an elaborate, highly efficient, and powerful clandestine organization that provided many dangerous wanted Nazis with false identity papers and thereafter carefully arranged for their escape from the ruins of the occupied Third Reich to safe havens in Spain, Latin America, or the Middle East. The single most influential account of the organization is that of Simon Wiesenthal, who described it as a secret SS escape network set up in 1947 that had established "ports of call"

every forty miles along the German-Austrian border, two principal escape routes for fugitives (one from Bremen to Rome and the other from Bremen to Geneva), "export-import" companies with representatives overseas and links with Catholic monastic orders, professional smugglers, and friendly foreign embassy personnel. ODESSA, one of whose main organizers was reportedly SS officer Franz Röstel, also supposedly had access to Nazi loot, including funds that had been secretly transferred abroad by Nazi officials prior to the end of the war.

In contrast to this sinister depiction, other investigators have insisted that ODESSA—assuming that it existed at all—never constituted a single coherent network but at most consisted of a loose collection of small cells of SS men who engaged in parallel and sometimes overlapping exfiltration activities. Indeed, intelligence reports in the U.S. National Archives suggest that much of the information gathered by U.S. Army Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC) field agents about the supposed activities of ODESSA was based on unreliable hearsay that subsequent investigations were unable to verify. Nevertheless, these files are anything but comprehensive, and it remains possible that other reports on ODESSA are either stored elsewhere or still remain classified, so that the verdict is still out concerning the true scope of the organization.

The relationship between ODESSA and other purported Nazi underground networks is also far from clear. Michael Bar-Zohar described the Schleuse ("Lock-Gate") organization in terms identical to those used by Wiesenthal to describe ODESSA, but there are no references to this group in other sources. The available descriptions of the so-called Spinne ("Spider") network are so varied and irreconcilable as to be virtually useless. On the other hand, the Kameradenwerk ("Comrades' Alliance") was a "patriotic" support organization set up in South America by former Luftwaffe ace Hans Ulrich-Rudel, whose proclaimed purpose was to raise money from expatriate German communities to help fugitive or imprisoned comrades back home who were having financial or legal problems. It in turn employed a host of secretive far-right groups and veterans' or prisoners' "aid societies" inside Germany as intermediaries, including the Stille Hilfe für Kriegsgefangene und Internierte ("Silent Aid for Prisoners-of-War and Internees") organization, which developed friendly relations with both occupation authorities and German government ministers despite its many links to extreme-right groups. Finally, the Brud-

erschaft (“Brotherhood”) and Naumann-Kreis (“Naumann Circle”) were not escape and support networks at all, but rather covert cadre organizations operating inside West Germany that aimed to infiltrate their members into established political parties and the state apparatus.

It may well be that some of the more sensational reports about secret Nazi escape organizations were the products of disinformation campaigns designed to distract public attention away from two far more significant postwar phenomena: the covert exfiltration of wanted Nazi, Fascist, and Axis intelligence and counterinsurgency experts by much more powerful institutions, including (1) the Vatican’s Refugee Bureau, and (2) various Allied security agencies, which subsequently recruited many of them. These latter sought to utilize former enemy assets, including Eastern Front intelligence expert Reinhard Gehlen, former Gestapo leader Klaus Barbie, and famous SS commando Otto Skorzeny, in the looming struggle against the Soviet Union. The Soviet intelligence services also recruited wanted Nazis to work against the West.

Jeffrey M. Bale

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; AXIS, THE; BARBIE, KLAUS; BOLIVIA; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MENGELE, JOSEF; MIDDLE EAST, THE; NAZISM; PARAGUAY; SKORZENY, OTTO; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPAIN; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WIESENTHAL, SIMON; WORLD WAR II

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O’DUFFY, EOIN (1892–1944)

Irish fascist leader in the interwar years. After the foundation of independent Ireland in 1922, O’Duffy was appointed commander of the newly formed national police force, the Garda Síochána. O’Duffy was dismissed from this post in February 1933 and took over the leadership of the veterans’ organization, the Army Comrades Association. He was instrumental in transforming that body into the fascist-style Blueshirts, and he acted as its head until he resigned in August 1934 because of the organization’s adherence to legal means of protest. O’Duffy went on to form the openly fascist but short-lived National Corporate Party. In 1936 he led an Irish brigade to Spain in support of Franco; it returned to Ireland, having seen little action, in the summer of 1937.

Mike Cronin

See Also: INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; IRELAND; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WAR VETERANS

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OKLAHOMA BOMBING, THE

The 19 April 1995 bombing of a federal building in Oklahoma City and the resulting deaths of 168 people were connected with the extreme Right in a number of ways. The bomber, Timothy McVeigh, had long been an admirer of the *Turner Diaries*, the novel in which the veteran neo-Nazi William Pierce portrayed a future terrorist campaign including the bombing of a federal building. At one time a member of the Ku Klux Klan, McVeigh had sought to contact Pierce’s organization, the National Alliance, shortly before the bombing. The Oklahoma bombing was

intended as revenge for the burning to death two years earlier of seventy-six people during the FBI siege of the Branch Davidian sect in Waco, Texas. Claims that the deaths had been deliberately brought about by the government had a far-reaching effect on many on the far Right and were a central factor in the emergence of the militia movement in 1994. However, instead of supporting the Oklahoma bombing, many in the militias claimed that McVeigh had been a “patsy,” and that the attack had been part of a conspiracy linked to the federal government. In particular, they were suspicious of a German, Andreas Strassmeier, whom McVeigh attempted to telephone shortly before the bombing at a Christian Identity compound in Oklahoma, Elohim City.

While contending that McVeigh had carried out the attack on his own, federal prosecutors believed that his plans had involved others. One man, Michael Fortier, subsequently became a key government witness against McVeigh, while another, Terry Nichols, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Convicted of murder, McVeigh was executed in June 2001. While he had pleaded not guilty, a journalist who had interviewed him in custody subsequently co-authored a book revealing that McVeigh had admitted his responsibility for the Oklahoma bombing. Militia activists, however, continued to believe in a broader conspiracy, as did his lawyer, Stephen Jones; in 2002 a professor at Indiana State University, Mark Hamm, published a book suggesting a link between McVeigh and a racist gang, the Aryan Republican Army, which had carried out a series of bank robberies in the early 1990s.

Martin Durham

See Also: ARYANISM; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; MCVEIGH, TIMOTHY; NEO-NAZISM; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE (ZOG)

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OPERATION BARBAROSSA: See BARBAROSSA, OPERATION

ORGANICISM

GENERAL

The particular philosophy of state and society that Italian Fascist and German Nazi ideologues believed themselves to be implementing in preference to the “abstract,” “mechanistic,” liberal individualism that they held to be embodied in parliamentary regimes. The classic liberal tradition that seemed to be in the ascendancy in the aftermath of World War I (it was, of course, the ideology of the main victorious powers—Britain, France, and the United States) was based on an assumption that society and the state are, and must be, the product of the consent of the citizens. The symbols of this view of society and the state were the ballot box, in which individual citizens gave or withheld their consent, and the parliament, which was supposed to represent the individual citizens in arriving at decisions regarding society and state. This, in effect, made individuals prior to society and the state, both of which were created by their consent. The archetypal historical event embodying this philosophy was the French Revolution, and conservative thinkers throughout the nineteenth century had complained about the subordination of society and the state to the individual as a source of anarchy. They also pointed out that individuals are not “born free” as Rousseau had famously asserted at the beginning of the *Social Contract*—the bible of many liberals—but “born dependent,” a helpless baby unable to survive without the care of both his immediate family and the wider society that sustains his family. At the same time, ideologues on the Left complained that the ballot box and the parliamentary system are a sham because they do not feed the poor or improve their lot but fob them off with useless paper “rights” designed to give them an illusion of being “free.”

Organic theories, by contrast, start not from the individual and his rights but from society and the state as palpable realities that have priority over the individual. They argue or assume that individuals are not isolated atoms born independent of each other but creatures born into a state of mutual dependence and owing everything to the nurture of family, society, and state. In the theory of Italian Fascist philosopher Gentile, the

OLYMPICS: See BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; SPORT

individual's awareness of his existence is bound up with his sense of need of the other. Not only are the health of the family, society, and the state in this way of thinking to be prioritized over the welfare of the individual, but the individual is only a part of a pre-existing organic entity called society into which he is born. That being the natural way, liberal individualism is thus "against nature," and interwar fascists saw it as their mission to restore the natural order of things by re-ordering society and state so that they were in harmony with their properly organic nature. The institutions of the state must embody the principle of the priority of the state over everything, for the state was the corporate expression and embodiment of the life of the individuals within it. Individuals were willy-nilly part of the state, and just as they were not asked for their consent to be born or to be raised, so they were not asked for their consent to the state and its activities. And as "society" is an abstraction until it receives an embodiment, fascist ideologues theorized the state as the embodiment of society and sought ways of remolding society accordingly. What they established has been called an "occupation" of society by the state in which the state increasingly invaded every part of the life of individuals in a process whose goal has aptly been designated "totalitarianism." The state pushed or ingratiated itself into the lives of citizens by constructing compulsory monocultural and monolithic associations for them as places where they were obliged to express their sociability—most spectacularly in the case of young people who were enrolled in nationalistic and militaristic youth movements for leisure, sport, and indoctrinational activities. In the institutions of corporate society the workplace was also invaded by the state, as traditional trade unions were abolished and replaced by monolithic state-led organizations. Interwar fascism was in fact the "occupation" of society by the state in the name of the "natural" organic order.

Some of the elements of this thinking were commonplace in nineteenth-century conservative ideologies, but fascism drew the threads together and focused all the energies of a mass movement toward the realization of an organic state, harnessing the energies of modern science and technology to the cause. Arguably, it was the combination of traditionalist-style social and political thought on organic lines with the appeal to science that gave such a powerful edge to interwar fascist movements. There was an appeal to traditional conservative values contained in the fascist vision of an ordered state based on the readiness of the individual to sacrifice himself for the community; there was an appeal to "scientific" values in the exploitation of the elit-

ist conclusions implied by Darwinistic "survival of the fittest" theories and in the frank recognition and indeed downright adulation of the combative military type of role model which that theory seemed to necessitate.

Cyprian Blamires

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ORGANICISM AND NAZISM

Although the organic view of society and the state was characteristic of fascism in general, the distinctive importance that biological racism had in German Nazism but not in Mussolinian Fascism gave another dimension to the "organic" concept in Nazi thinking, a concept with a long tradition in Germany and a key element in the Nazi worldview. In the wake of the disappointment occasioned by the excesses of the French Revolution, it was Romanticism, especially in Germany, which argued that an authentic community of people or a nation is an organic whole, reflecting some kind of inner identity or spirit; that society is neither simply a conglomerate of individuals bound together mechanically by an artificial social contract, nor the product of the enactment of legislation detached from the influence of historical traditions; moreover, it was asserted that society could not evolve from the mechanistic promulgation of abstract legal decisions which were blind to the authentic historical sentiments of a community that reflected a shared communal life experience. During the period of Romanticism in Germany, nationalist thinkers like Johann von Herder began to speak in organic terms of the prevalence of a *Volksgeist*, a spirit or soul particular to a national community. The *Volk*, as it came to be understood in Germany in the nineteenth century, implied a deep sense of national identity, and, as George Mosse has pointed out, it gave to the idea of the nation a "transcendental essence." The idea of the *Volk* was not necessarily racist, but over the course of time *völkisch* ideology acquired a clearly articulated racial dimension in Germany and in other countries as well.

In *völkisch* thinking, the Germans were linked to their natural environment and, it was assumed, were in contact with the deeper forces of nature. Nature



Nineteenth-century German zoologist Ernst Haeckel, advocate of a new synthesis of science and religious mysticism, was an undoubted influence on Nazism along with biologist Charles Darwin and the Social Darwinism which applied Darwin's ideas to human societies. (Library of Congress)

worship was encouraged and served to stimulate the birth of mystical movements that nurtured the powers of the occult and the cultivation of theosophical-type religious programs. Rather than believing in the viability of the *Rechtsstaat*—that is, the constitutional state—the *völkisch* ideology stressed the importance of biology and “blood,” and it assumed the existence of a deep racial divide between the varied groups of people constituting mankind. The German *Volk*, by direct contact with the mystical force and organic unity of the cosmos, would experience a greater sense of belonging, a feeling of being able to overcome the isolation and the indignity of alienation that was engendered by conditions of modern urban and industrial life.

During the last three or four decades of the nineteenth century in Germany, *völkisch* ideas received a major impetus from the Monist science and secular

religion of Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), Germany’s greatest zoologist. Haeckel advocated the creation of a Monist nature religion that would synthesize science and religious mysticism and serve as a replacement for Christianity and the Judeo-Christian faith in a transcendent God. In Monist religion, the Germans would be able to satisfy their yearning for a faith that was organically bound up with their national and racial identity.

Nature religion would also make possible the reawakening of many symbols of ancient German pagan religious rites and beliefs. These had been obscured, the *völkisch* thinkers insisted, by Jewish and Christian influences that had served to alienate the Germans from their natural roots. The Christian holidays had to be replaced by rituals that would worship nature—for example, sun worship, which became highly fashionable in Monist and *völkisch* circles. Wilhelm Ostwald, the famous chemist and Nobel Prize recipient and the first president of the German Monist League, said in famous words: “Waste no energy; turn it all to account.” In other words, use the life-giving powers of the sun to aid in reconstituting the national life of Germany. Once Hitler came to power in the 1930s, the full force of these *völkisch* ideas came to realization. The Nazis defined their society in organic terms, a perspective that they believed derived from the findings of modern evolutionary science. Their racial anti-Semitism criticized the Jews for being materialistic, for lacking “soul,” and for introducing Christianity, a harmful religion that protected the weak members of society. The Germans, on the other hand, were a sentient people organically attached to their natural surroundings. Nature mysticism, the belief in irrational spiritual forces, the biologically organic power of race—all served as active elements of National Socialist ideology.

Daniel Gasman

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ACTUALISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARENDT, HANNAH; BLOOD; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CHRISTIANITY; CORPORATISM; CULTURE (GERMANY); ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREEDOM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATURE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; OCCULTISM; ORGANICISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROOTLESSNESS; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOUL; SPANN, OTHMAR; SPORT; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADES UNIONS; TRADITIONALISM; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*; THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH

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ORJUNA: See YUGOSLAVIA

ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE

THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX

The response of the Orthodox Churches to interwar and wartime fascism, which they encountered mainly in the form of National Socialism, was far from uniform. Representatives and priests of Orthodoxy gave repeated assistance to those persecuted by the different regimes, but there was a persistent desire on the part of Orthodox Church leaders to come to an understanding with the holders of power of the day, no matter what policy they observed. The strongest tendency to adopt a positive attitude toward fascism was, however, shown by the Russian Orthodox Church in exile.

From the sixteenth century onward, Russian Orthodox bishops and priests had increasingly preached an extreme religious nationalism that attributed to Russia a very specific mission in salvation history as the “Third Rome” after ancient Rome and Byzantium. Around 1900, influential church leaders were closely associated with growing extreme-right and racially anti-Semitic groups like the “Black Hundred,” founded in 1904–1905. This movement, in which Orthodox priests were in leading positions from the beginning, has frequently been compared by historians to the protofascist Action Française: it preached a close association of czar with church and militant nationalism and anti-Semitism, and it did not flinch from assaults on individuals in public life. It also agitated for the mobilization of the masses; at the high point of its influence, in 1906–1907, the Black Hundred was an association of about 3,000 extreme-right regional groupings, espe-

cially strong in Odessa, where it initiated the Jewish pogroms of 1905–1906.

In a sermon of 1906, the most influential Orthodox preacher of his time, the priest and adviser to the czar John of Kronstadt (Ioann Sergejew, 1829–1908) stated that the Jews themselves were responsible for the way in which they were persecuted, and that they had been punished for their sins against the state “by the hand of God.” In right-wing conservative circles of Orthodoxy the anti-Semitic pamphlet *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* fell on particularly fruitful terrain, with its talk of a worldwide conspiracy involving Jews and Freemasons. The monk Iliodor (Trufanow) prophesied a last battle between the armies of the Black Hundred and those of “alien races” under the leadership of the Jews (at this period, Orthodox preachers were particularly fascinated by end-of-the-world scenarios). In March 1908 the supreme synod of the Russian Church passed a resolution in which the bishops were called on to encourage their clergy to involve themselves with the Black Hundred.

During the October Revolution and the associated civil war between “Reds” and “Whites” (1917–1922), more than 2,000 priests and monks, but also bishops and metropolitans, were murdered, and many church leaders fled abroad, where they set up the Orthodox Church in exile. While the Orthodox leadership in Russia eventually made its peace with the communist regime, a very different development—ultimately leading to support for fascist regimes—was followed by the Russian Orthodox Church in exile. In February 1921, Metropolitan Antonij of Kiev (Aleksij Chrapovickij, 1863–1936) went to Sremski Karlowitz (near Belgrade in Serbia), where the majority of his faithful had fled, and one by one all of the senior exiled bishops followed him. In November 1921 the “Supreme Church leadership of the church in exile” was set up in Karlowitz with its own council under the presidency of Metropolitan Antonij. (This was also recognized by the Serbian Orthodox Church.) The monarchist council called on all Russians to liberate Russia from the Bolsheviks, since the revolution was “a work of Satan” and had destroyed the “hallowed order”; they also called for support to be given to the armies of the White Guard. Fallen fighters on the side of the Whites were acknowledged as “Christian martyrs,” and on 1 March 1922 the council issued a challenge for volunteers to enter the armed struggle against the Bolsheviks. In 1927 the Karlowitz leadership broke off contact with a Moscow church leadership that was serving a “Godless Soviet power.”

By 1937 the rigid monarchism of the Karlowitz leadership had provoked a split in the church in exile.

The Karlowitz Synod disowned the Moscow patriarchate's appointee as administrator of the Russian Orthodox Church in exile in Western Europe (Vasilij Georgiewskij, 1868–1946, known as Evlogij) in August 1928 and appointed Archbishop (after 1938, Metropolitan) Serafim (Aleksandr Lukjanow, 1879–1959) to the leadership of the Orthodox Church of West Germany, though he resided in Paris. After the death of the leader of the Karlowitz Synod, Metropolitan Antonij, in 1936, Metropolitan Anastasij (Aleksandr Grinabowskij, 1873–1965) was appointed his successor, and eighty-one Orthodox Church communities accepted him. He was the one who went furthest in identifying himself with National Socialism. In 1933 the Karlowitz leadership had welcomed Adolf Hitler as a potential liberator of Russia from Bolshevism. The Nazi leadership saw the potential of Orthodox support and recognized the Orthodox Church in exile on 14 March 1936 as “a corporate body in public law” in Germany. On the occasion of the dedication of a church in Berlin, Metropolitan Anastasij wrote on 12 June 1938 to Hitler: “[T]he best people of all nations, who want peace and righteousness, see in you the leader in the battle of the world for peace and right. May God . . . give to your armies in everything good success.”

At the second general council under the presidency of Anastasij in 1938, the Karlowitz church leadership announced that world Jewry was organizing the international drug trade in order to undermine the Christian world. The synod attacked the Catholic Church bitterly for its alleged “closeness to Judaism” and accused the German bishops of protecting the Jews from the measures of the National Socialist authorities and protesting against divinely willed anti-Semitism. In Paris, Metropolitan Serafin (Lukjanow) welcomed Hitler's invasion of the USSR in 1941 as “a crusade against Jewish-Masonic Bolshevism” and called on the Russians to collaborate with the invading German troops. With a few representatives of the old Russia, he saw in the German domination of Russia a catalyst that would awaken Russia to new life. In 1945, however, he submitted to the patriarchate of Moscow. After German troops had to withdraw from Serbia in 1944, Metropolitan Anastasij and the supreme leadership of the church in exile fled through Switzerland to Munich in 1946, and in 1950, Anastasij went to the United States.

Since the Gorbachev era, some of the “free Orthodox Churches” (independent from the “state church”) have gladly given their blessing to Russia's New Right and are making the old extreme nationalist and anti-Semitic movements acceptable again. They are equally opposed to socialism and to the “danger of a Western-

ization” of “Holy Russia” and prefer a spiritual isolation of the Russian Church to ecumenical involvement. In 1991, the priest Konstantijn Wasslijew (under the name of Lasar) declared himself “archbishop” of Moscow and Kashira and supreme leader of the “true Russian Church.” He not only directed bitter attacks on the official church leadership but also spoke in a pastoral letter of 1992 of the necessary battle against the “conspiracy” of Jews, Freemasons, and satanists against Russia, and he referred to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX

In 1921 several national church movements in Ukraine broke away from the official Orthodox Church and called their own council, which was not, however, recognized by Moscow. The “autocephalous” church generally supported Ukrainian nationalistic and anti-Semitic projects against Soviet power and was later to rely on German support. The official national Orthodox Church of Soviet-occupied Ukraine submitted, however, to the patriarchate of Moscow. The Soviet law on religion of 1929 finally dissolved the Autocephalous Church, and Metropolitan Vasilij Lipkovskij was forced to resign and eventually to flee. On account of its nationalism, almost the whole Ukraine Church leadership was liquidated during the Great Stalinist Terror of 1937, and many priests were driven underground. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Ukrainian Church welcomed the invasion of German troops in 1941 and collaborated with the Germans. Under German leadership two Ukrainian churches formed again: the revived Autocephalous Church under Bishop Polycarp (Sikoriskij) of Luzk (followed by fifteen Ukrainian bishops), who was considered particularly friendly to Germany; and the Autonomous Church under the Exarch Aleksij (Gromadskij) of Kremjanec, who had submitted to Moscow in 1940 and who was followed by sixteen Ukrainian bishops. Both church leaderships now sought to ingratiate themselves with the Germans and take over the vacant metropolitan see of Kiev.

Meanwhile, a power struggle had broken out among the German authorities over the position of the Ukrainian Church: the politically weak Reich minister for the occupied Eastern Territories, Alfred Rosenberg, had on 29 April 1941 written a memorandum on the significance for a successful German administration of a regulation of the church question in the Ukraine. On 19 June 1942 he issued a religious Tolerance Edict with which he intended to integrate the strengthened

Ukrainian National Church into his “Germanization Program” and break it completely free of Moscow. But that was opposed by the person with the real power, the brutal *Gauleiter* Erich Koch (1896–1986) as *Reichskommissar* for the Ukraine; he subjected the Ukrainian churches to harsh measures, since he considered all Ukrainians to be “subhumans,” useful only as a supply of cheap labor for the German master race. In association with the rabidly church-hating and powerful *Reichsleiter* Martin Bormann, Koch gained the upper hand and pursued a policy of playing the church leaderships against each other. In Eastern Ukraine, Orthodox priests were put in as agents of the Gestapo against Soviet-friendly partisans. The Autocephalous Church maintained close relationships with the fascist national Ukrainian partisans, who terrorized alleged “friends of the Soviets” and in May 1943 murdered Exarch Aleksij, head of the Autonomous Church. With the reconquest of the Ukraine by the Red Army, Bishop Polycarp and the Autocephalous Church leadership fled in 1944 to Germany, and in April 1945, Polycarp was removed from the leadership of the Ukrainian Church in exile by a Ukrainian bishops’ synod on account of his closeness to the Nazis.

THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOX

The Orthodox Church in Romania was also strongly nationalistic and identified itself with the Romanian royal house. After World War I, as a result of the extension of Romanian territory to the East and an influx of emigrants from Russia and the Ukraine, there was an increase in the Jewish population. The Orthodox Church now combined its nationalism with anti-Semitism; in March 1934 it was stated in a pastoral letter by Patriarch Miron that the Jews were increasingly forming the upper crust of society and monopolizing the economy. They were accused of being bringers of “corruption and other evils,” and of conducting campaigns against the “Romanian soul”; Jews were said to represent a danger for Christian Romanian culture, and their removal was a “patriotic duty.”

This anti-Semitism brought the church significantly closer to the leading fascist organization of Romania, the Iron Guard, which had emerged in 1930 from the nationalist and anti-Semitic Legion of the Archangel Michael, founded in 1927 by Corneliu Codreanu. Of all the fascist movements, the Iron Guard was the most strongly oriented in a Christian and mystical direction. Patriarch Miron and other higher clergy encouraged the guard but also tried to dampen their enthusiasm



Patriarch Miron Cristea (d.1939) of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The relationship between the Orthodox Churches and fascist ideologies—which they encountered mainly in the form of Nazism—was complex. As national churches, they could be vulnerable to extreme nationalistic propaganda. (Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

for violence. The synod of bishops discreetly supported fascist legionaries who fought on the side of the Falangists in the Spanish Civil War. A pastoral letter by the Romanian bishops on 15 October 1936 welcomed General Franco’s seizure of power in Spain in the summer of 1936 as a contribution to the “struggle between atheism and Christianity.” Slain legionaries and guardists brought back home were carried to their graves by Orthodox priests with great pomp and splendor.

In the emerging power struggle between the royal house and the radical Right in Romania, the regime frequently had to call upon the representatives of the Orthodox Church to tame their enthusiasm for the guard. The Orthodox Church leadership eventually came out on the side of the royal house and supported the “putsch” of King Carol II on 10 February 1938: Patriarch Miron Cristea was the first minister president of the so-called king’s dictatorship (up to the time of his death in March 1939). On 14 February 1938 he

prohibited all political activity on the part of non-regime organizations, so that even the Iron Guard was driven underground until 1940. Under Miron's successor, Nicodim Munteanu (Patriarch 1939–1948), the church remained loyal to the monarchy but persisted in its anti-Semitism and also supported the dictatorship of General Ion Antonescu, who led Romania into the war as an ally of Nazi Germany.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CULTS OF DEATH; DICTATORSHIP; FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FREEMASONRY, FREEMASONS; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; MARXISM; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; PROTOFASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMANIA; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; RUSSIA; SERBS, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SOUL; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); WORLD WAR II

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THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

In the decades prior to World War II a number of religious thinkers and Christian associations in Serbia advocated a narrow and politicized view of Orthodox Christianity marked by anti-Westernism, ethno-philism, and clerical nationalism. These ideas were espoused in journals such as *Svetosavlje* and *Hrišćanska Misao* (*Christian Thought*), edited by Dimitrije Najdanović, Justin Popović, and other aspiring religious thinkers influenced by conservative Russian emigre theologians (such as Metropolitan Anthony Khrapovitsky) and by the right-wing Serbian bishop of Ohrid and Žiča Nikolaj Velimirović. Bishop Velimirović (1880–1956) was the patron of the Bogomoljci ("Devotionalists"), an Orthodox Christian evangelical movement that maintained strong links with the fascist movement Zbor, led

by the pro-Nazi politician Dimitrije Ljotić. Bishop Velimirović is credited with helping to shape Zbor's political agenda. The clerical nationalism and anti-Western rhetoric in the writing of Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović is permeated with virulently anti-Semitic statements. On one occasion in 1935, the bishop expressed a favorable opinion of Hitler, although he subsequently recanted the statement and criticized Nazi policies. Shortly before his death in 1937, the head of the Serbian Church, Patriarch Varnava Rosić (1880–1937), also spoke of Hitler in an affirmative fashion. The most pro-Nazi among senior Serbian clergy was the bishop of Berlin and Germany, Seraphim Lade, an ethnic German who took an active part in the administration (and destruction) of Orthodox churches in Nazi-occupied Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The views of right-wing and pro-Nazi circles in Serbian Orthodoxy cannot be said to have been representative of the church as a whole. Varnava Rosić's successor, Patriarch Gavriilo Dožić (1881–1950), strongly objected to Yugoslavia's signing of the pact with the Axis forces in 1941 and took an active role in gathering public support for the putsch (25 March 1941) that annulled the agreement. For this he was arrested by the Nazis in April 1941 and held in captivity until December 1944. During the Nazi occupation, the Serbian Orthodox Church—undermined by the partitioning of Yugoslavia and under the temporary leadership of the metropolitan of Skoplje, Josif Cvijović—adopted an ambivalent stance toward the occupiers and the Serbian collaborationist administration. Between 1941 and 1944 it issued a number of public statements urging the population to collaborate with the authorities, but without unequivocally condemning the partisan and Chetnik insurgencies. Most priests in rural Serbia are believed to have been sympathetic toward the Chetniks of General Dragoljub Mihajlović. Because of Patriarch Gavriilo's anti-Nazi credentials and the pro-Chetnik sentiments among the clergy, the occupiers treated the Serbian Orthodox Church with suspicion. During the collaborationist government of Milan Nedić (September 1941–October 1944), the church was placed under the jurisdiction of the minister of education, Velibor Jonić, who endeavored to implicate the church in the collaborationist project, but without notable success.

Jovan Byford

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LJOTIĆ, DIMITRIJE; NAZISM; POLAND; SERBS, THE; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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ORWELL, GEORGE (real name ERIC BLAIR, 1903–1950)

Political writer who by his parables—perhaps more than any other literary figure in the twentieth century—shaped popular attitudes toward totalitarianism. A revolutionary socialist and left-wing English patriot by conviction, Orwell fought on the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War because, he was alleged to have remarked, "someone had to kill fascists." His experiences, however, left him bitterly disillusioned with communism, which was seemingly more intent on persecuting its socialist rivals than in the successful prosecution of the war against fascism. From 1936 onward, through such powerful satires as *Animal Farm* (1944) and *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1947), Orwell's very name became shorthand for the exposure of the follies of totalitarianism. Indeed the term *Orwellian* immediately conveys the dark dystopian terrors of state repression, the culture of betrayal, and the abasement of language for political ends, with the resulting "newspeak" or "doublethink." Pre-empting the Frankfurt school of Marxism, Orwell saw in the degradation of language and literacy a key mode of social control in totalitarian and, increasingly, democratic societies. During his own lifetime and since, many reviewers, particularly in the United States, have mistaken his denunciation of "Big Brother" as a renunciation of his own deep-seated socialist values, rather than understanding them as a savage critique of Soviet "state socialism" and fascism. Indeed, it is perhaps Orwell's rendering transparent of the murderous literary mechanics of totalitarianism of both Left and Right that has ensured his popularity as an author to this day.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ARENDT, HANNAH; BOLSHEVISM; INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; MARXISM; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; SOCIALISM; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; TOTALITARIANISM

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OSSAWABRANDWEG, THE

Founded in 1938 by Colonel J. C. C. Lass, the Ossawabrandweg (OB), or "Ox Wagon Guard," was initially a *völkisch*-style cultural organization that promoted Afrikaner identity through a pseudo-military organization that at its height in 1940–1941 probably had around 200,000 members. In 1941, Johannes Frederik Janse van Rensburg, the former administrator of the Orange Free State, who was strongly influenced by German National Socialism, assumed the leadership of the OB. He prevented a major confrontation between more radical members and the South African government while promoting the need to create a South African republic freed from British influence. A bitter feud with both the Herenigde Nasionale Party (National Party) and the Afrikaner Broederbond meant that, with the defeat of Germany in World War II, the OB became marginalized and eventually dissolved in the early 1950s.

Irving Hexham

See Also: BROEDERBOND, THE; GERMANY; NAZISM; SOUTH AFRICA; VOLK, VÖLKISCH; WORLD WAR II

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OSSIETZKY, CARL VON: See PACIFISM
OSTARA: See LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF
 JOSEF LANZ VON
OSTMARK: See ANSCHLUSS, THE



PACIFISM

Fascists in Italy and Germany disparaged pacifism as being opposed to their militarism and glorification of war, disbanded pacifist organizations after the seizure of power, and persecuted their members. Hitler, Goebbels, and other leading National Socialists frequently rejected the idea of pacifism in their speeches and writings. They used the term *pacifism* in connection with adjectives like “democratic,” “internationalist,” “Jewish,” “Bolshevist”—that is, in a discourse in which pacifism did not signify particular political actions or projects to abolish war, but rather the total lack of a militant political style, of a readiness for nationalist self-determination and of unwavering support for militarization. This ideological antipacifism was more common than contemptuous remarks about individual pacifists, which occurred frequently only in articles by Alfred Rosenberg. Rare allusions to peacefulness in Hitler’s speeches during the 1920s were only of a tactical and rhetorical nature. Mussolini began to turn pacifism into a target for his aggressive rhetoric in late 1914, when he advocated an Italian intervention in the war on the side of the Entente powers. He scorned socialist antiwar propaganda as a “propaganda of cowardice” and demanded to curb what he called *pacifondaismo astratto* (“abstract pacifundamentalism”) (Mussolini 1934, 9, 53). Mussolini’s attacks against pacifist politics were part of a political discourse that

identified war and masculinity and rejected the search for peaceful solutions as effeminate.

After the Nazi seizure of power, pacifist journals like *Das Andere Deutschland* were banned in February 1933; pacifist organizations like the Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft (DFG; German Peace Society) and the Liga für Menschenrechte (Human Rights League) were disbanded in March 1933. Many of their leading members were put into custody without legal authorization or were confined in concentration camps. The majority of German high-profile pacifists went into exile. Important early destinations were Czechoslovakia (for example, Kurt Hiller and Friedrich Seger) and France (Hellmut von Gerlach and Kurt R. Grossmann). Other refugee countries included England, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland. Many pacifists contributed frequently to newspapers and journals during their exile, criticizing the rearmament policies of Nazi Germany. Grossmann in Prague and Gerlach in Paris established refugee relief networks to help assuage the financial hardships of many emigrants, to foster emotional and intellectual cohesion among them, and to detect Nazi spies who often covered up as persecuted pacifists. The historian and prominent pacifist Ludwig Quidde (1858–1941), who had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1927 and who had been a chairman of the DFG, fled to Switzerland in 1933 and built up the Comité de secours aux pacifistes exilés (Committee for the Assistance of Exiled Pacifists). Together with Willy Brandt in Norway and Gerlach, Quidde was also in-

volved in an attempt to rescue the pacifist Carl von Ossietzky, who had been the editor of the political journal *Weltbühne* (*World Stage*) from 1927 to 1933. Ossietzky had been arrested in February 1933 and imprisoned in the concentration camps at Sonnenburg and Papenburg-Esterwegen. Seriously ill, he was released to a hospital in Berlin in 1936. As a result of the initiative by Quidde and others, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1935 but was kept in the hospital under police surveillance until his death in 1938.

Italian pacifism before 1922 was only loosely organized in small, mostly informal circles, and it had already suffered a severe blow after 1915 resulting from nationalistic war fervor among many pacifists. During the 1920s, the fascist police arrested several members of the Jehovah's Witnesses—the case of Remigio Cuminetti made the headlines in 1929—as well as members of Pentecostal groups who had refused to serve in the military.

Benjamin Ziemann

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; BOLSHEVISM; CARLYLE, THOMAS; CHRISTIANITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; COSMOPOLITANISM; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES; LAW; MILITARISM; MUSIC (GERMANY); MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NORWAY; PAPACY, THE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOUL; SWEDEN; SWITZERLAND; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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PAGANISM: See EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GRECE; OCCULTISM; ORGANICISM

PALESTINE

The unresolved Palestine question allowed Italian Fascism and National Socialism to penetrate deep into the leadership of the Palestinian National Movement. The Arab Palestinians on the territory of the present-day state of Israel became increasingly disturbed by the great waves of immigration of Jews in the context of the Zionist "Homeland Movement" from the end of the nineteenth century. In 1917 the Balfour Declaration by the British government gave the Zionists the promise of a "national homeland" for the Jews in Palestine. At an early stage, plans emerged for a separation of the territory into a Jewish and an Arab sector to be taken from Transjordan. After World War I, the Palestinians found an uncompromising leader who definitively and fully identified with the ideology of National Socialism: Hadjj Amin al-Husseini (1895–1974), mufti from 1920, and from 1926 to 1937 grand mufti of Jerusalem and chairman of the Supreme Islamic Council. He traversed the Arab states tirelessly and enlisted their leaders for a radically anti-Zionist policy. From 1923 he called for election boycotts and strikes against the British mandate authority, in 1928 demanded an independent Arab government for Palestine, and in 1929 organized a first uprising against the British, which they put down. In 1931 he organized a World Islamic Congress in Jerusalem that made known his position of strict anti-Zionism and pan-Arabism in the whole Islamic world. A general strike or "Great Uprising" of the Arabs in Palestine was organized by Husseini; it started on 19 April 1936, lasted 177 days, and led to more than three thousand deaths. In the face of the threat of punitive action by the British, the mufti fled in July 1936 to the holy environs of the Al-Aqsa Mosque and then escaped in October 1937 to Lebanon. In October 1939 he moved to Baghdad, where he was feted as a hero of Islam and supported Gailani's pro-German regime.

Al-Husseini was the first and most prominent Islamic leader to identify with fascism. On 31 March 1933 he sent a telegram to the Reich government to tell

PACT OF STEEL, THE: See AXIS, THE



Hadji Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Palestine from 1926 to 1937 was one of the Muslim leaders most favorable to Nazism, calling on the Germans to wipe out the Jews completely. (Keystone/Getty Images)

Hitler that the Muslims in Palestine and the world welcomed his access to power “enthusiastically” and were hoping to see a fascist advance in the Middle East as well. The German government assured the mufti of its friendly disposition, but only after the establishment of the Pan-Arab Committee in Baghdad (spring 1934) did the Germans pay any sustained attention to the position of the Arabs. The NSDAP foreign affairs organization under *Gauleiter* Bohle dealt with the profascist powers in Palestine and increasingly recruited German residents there for the NSDAP. The party built its own organization in Palestine. On the occasion of the General Strike of 1936, German propagandists came out on the side of the Arabs, while Germany and Italy supplied Husseini and his fighters through Jordan and Saudi Arabia with weapons and enormous sums of money. Palestinian demonstrators cheered Hitler and Germany in the streets.

In July 1937, the Peel Report by the British government recommended a partition of Palestine and the

foundation of a separate Jewish state. Germany and the mufti protested most strongly against this; the mufti was now openly representing the position of Germany politically and asking Hitler to put pressure on the governments of Poland and Romania not to allow any more East European Jews to travel to Palestine. His influence was also crucial in producing a fatal change in German policy toward Jews: between 1933 and 1937 the National Socialist government had supported the emigration of Jews from the Reich territory to Palestine, and even the SS had cooperated with an emigration office; from 1934 to 1937 they supervised a special “Transfer Camp” for all Zionists wanting to immigrate to Palestine (under the control of the SD-Section II/112–113). Up to 1935, Germany was concerned enough to get the agreement of Great Britain for its emigration plans. In 1938/1939, after the annexation of Austria, Germany increasingly encouraged the emigration of the Jews through the establishment of the Central Office for Jewish Emigration under Adolf Eichmann in Vienna. But now Palestine was no longer to be the exclusive destination, for plans were made to settle a “concentration of Jews” in Madagascar.

When Amin al-Husseini had to flee from the British occupation of Iraq at the end of May 1941, he moved even closer to the National Socialists. In June 1940 he had offered his services to the Reich government, and now he went to Berlin via Teheran, where he explained to the German ambassador, Eitel, his plan to bring all Arabs under the banner of Pan-Arabism over to the side of the Axis (25 June 1942). Here he came out unconditionally for the “final solution of the Jewish question,” calling on the Germans to wipe out all the Jews, “not even sparing the children.” He supported the establishment of Muslim Volunteer Divisions in the *Waffen-SS* and repeatedly called his people to an uprising. In 1945 the German government tried to get the mufti to neutral territory, but he was arrested and interned by the French. In 1946 he managed to escape, and he emerged in December of that year in Cairo, where he allied himself with the Islamic Muslim Brotherhood and formed the “Battalions of Allah” from among their ranks to fight against the Jews. In 1948 he decamped to Jerusalem and fought bitterly against the existence of the state of Israel and against King Abdullah of Jordan, who was ready to compromise, and who called al-Husseini “a devil straight from hell.” In March 1949 a follower of the mufti made a first attempt on King Abdullah’s life, and on 29 July 1951 the king was shot when visiting the Al-Aqsa Mosque by a follower of Husseini. With his pathological anti-Zionism, Al-Husseini, who went into exile in Beirut after the Israeli occupation of

East Jerusalem in 1967, eventually became completely isolated. He held firm to his positive opinion of National Socialism to the last.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; AXIS, THE; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IRAQ; ITALY; LEBANON; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAFFEN-SS; NAZISM; POLAND; ROMANIA; SS, THE; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WORLD WAR I; ZIONISM

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PALINGENETIC MYTH

Interwar fascism's mobilizing force as a political ideology is closely bound up with the way in which it synthesized two potent myths: that of the nation conceived as an organism that is "dying," "decadent," or "martyred," and the cyclical concept of historical time that imagines the possibility of total transformation and rebirth: "palingenesis." Within the context of individual national histories and political cultures, this mythic hybrid can subsume a wide variety of submyths, some of which may be extremely modern and scientific outside of their fascist context, such as the Futurist element within Italian Fascism and its cult of aviation, and the commitment to eugenics and scientific progress that were incorporated within the German Nazi commitment to racial hygiene and the development of rocket technology. It is a myth that clearly can exert widespread popular appeal only under conditions of protracted national humiliation and decline, or of

acute sociopolitical crisis, both of which can give rise to widespread palingenetic longings for a new order and a new man. Italian Fascism, for example, though initially installed in power without the backing of a mass movement of public support, was eventually able to engender a considerable popular enthusiasm through its apparent success in creating a modern, efficient, powerful nation because it addressed in rhetoric, style, and deeds a deeply ingrained sense of national decline and inferiority. This process culminated in July 1935 with the conquest of Ethiopia, which was widely received as proof that contemporary Italy had witnessed the fulfillment of its Roman heritage, reversing centuries of national decay. Once the Wall Street Crash hit Weimar Germany in 1929, millions of ordinary Germans experienced a deep sense of national collapse that made the NSDAP's program of national reawakening and its promise to "resurrect" the nation from humiliation, decadence, and military impotence extraordinarily attractive, turning Hitler into a "charismatic leader."

Under both regimes the propaganda, the policies, the political religion, and the actions taken were imprinted with the palingenetic logic of removing anything associated with decadence to make way for national renewal, and adapting anything that was "recuperable" and incorporating it within the new order, stamped with new significance to embody the nation's regeneration. In that respect German Nazism was more radical than Italian Fascism. For example, whereas Italian Fascism tolerated many contrasting aesthetics and forms of cultural and social life, as long as they could be presented as signifiers of the nation's spiritual renewal and cultural renaissance, Nazism fought a dogged war against "degenerate art" that included the physical destruction of modernist paintings. While Italian Fascism merely attacked the degeneracy of some modern literature verbally, the Third Reich ritually burned books held to have "sinned" against the German spirit. While Italian Fascism stressed athleticism and physical health, Nazism actually carried out an extensive state campaign of "euthanasia" to rid Germany of those considered to have "life unworthy of life" and used sterilization on a vast scale to ensure that "degenerates" would not be born to compromise the health of the renewed *Volksgemeinschaft*. The mass murder of "racial enemies," including the genocide of Jews carried out in the Holocaust, is pervaded by the chilling palingenetic logic of ritual destruction needed to purge and regenerate the nation.

That logic is also the hallmark of the many abortive variants of fascism of the interwar period, all of which are demonstrably driven at their ideological core by

palingenetic forms of ultranationalism. To take just two examples from among many thousands, the BUF's Black Shirts marched in the 1930s to an Anglicized version of the Nazi "Horst Wessel Lied," which opened with the words: "Britain awake! Arise from slumber! Soon comes the daybreak of Rebirth/We lift again thy trampled banners, Our marching legions shake the earth." Similarly, Rolão Preto, leader of the Portuguese Blue Shirts, was convinced in 1934 that the installation of fascism in Italy and Germany was the harbinger of a sea change in history, writing: "This reaction against the materialist and corrupting utilitarianism of a whole age is the beginning of the great Revolution whose spirit is going to burn and purify the earth. It is a singular aspect of the human condition that the onset of man's decadence and death always create the conditions of his salvation and deliverance."

Palingenetic myth plays a crucial role in determining two fundamental features of interwar fascism. The first is its tendency to behave both as movement and regime as a form of political religion that strives to imbue the party, the nation, the leader, and (once in power) the state itself with a sacral character demanding devotion and self-sacrifice on the part of the individual. The second is its "totalitarian" character, the bid (on the part of the most dedicated believers in the fascist cause) to bring about a revolution in all aspects of national life with a view to producing a transformation in the nation's political culture so profound that it brings forth a "new man." It is the anthropological thrust behind the fascist revolution driven by its core palingenetic myth that accounts for the vast experiment in social engineering undertaken by Italian Fascism and German Nazism, whose war against liberal forms of individualism, especially in the Third Reich, helped give the term "totalitarianism" connotations of oppression and terror. Within the fascist mindset, however, the logic of totalitarianism is not one of oppression and destruction, but of creative destruction, of destroying so as to build a new order.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CONSERVATISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; *DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE!* ("GERMANY AWAKE!"); ETHIOPIA; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; INFLATION; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; NOVEMBER

CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; PARAMILITARISM; PORTUGAL; PROGRESS; PROPAGANDA; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROLÃO PRETO, FRANCISCO; ROME; SCIENCE; SOCIALISM; SPORT; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; TRADITIONALISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WESSEL, HORST; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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"PAN-" MOVEMENTS, THE: See EXPANSIONISM

PANGERMANISM

Political movement that emerged in late-nineteenth-century Germany and anticipated National Socialism by its combination of an aggressive commitment to "Germanness" along with racial nationalist, anti-Slavist and anti-Semitic ideas, as well as with the promotion of war as a means of attaining imperialist objectives. Pangermanism contributed directly to the outbreak of the two world wars. Concerning the history of its focal idea, Pangermanism can be traced back to early-nineteenth-century Romantic nationalism. While until the end of the eighteenth century there existed only a rudimentary imaging of what was later grasped as "the German people," some poets and writers, as, for example,

Ernst Moritz Arndt and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, moved that idea into the center of their artistic and political statements. The wars of liberation against Napoleon made possible the imaging of a “German people,” a process that was accompanied by dissociation from and hostility against the French and the Jews. The foundation of the Prussian Empire (1871) gave this aggressive nationalism a further boost and strengthened those views according to which Germany was also entitled to “a place in the sun.”

Among the various political and ideological tendencies and organizations that promoted militant nationalism and the militarization of the German Reich, the Alldeutsche Verband (All-German Association or Pan-German League) became the symbol of Pangermanism. Under the leadership of Ernst Hasse (1846–1908) and Heinrich Claß (1908–1939), the Pan-German League propagated the whole range of “national” issues, from the area of military, naval, colonial, and foreign policy, to the treatment of the outposts of “Germanness” abroad, the glorification of German “civilization,” and the education of the German public to a strong sense of “national identity.” The huge majority of the members of the Pan-German League belonged to the upper bourgeoisie, with some industrialists as financial supporters. Its total membership fluctuated between 21,000 (1891), 5,000 (1893), and 22,000 (1901). Including members of associated organizations, its membership reached well up to 130,000 in 1905. Local groups existed not only in Germany but also, for example, in Antwerp (Belgium), Cape Town (South Africa), and Austria, where Georg Ritter von Schoenerer became an active crusader for Pangermanism. Despite its not being a mass organization, the Pan-German League nevertheless had a rich and varied propaganda apparatus at its disposal, the *Alldeutsche Blätter* being its main publication. It could rely on more than thirty members of the Reichstag and was able to establish a well-coordinated cooperation with the German State Department in the years before World War I.

The idea of large German colonies was only part of a much broader concept of a Pan-German empire. Its core philosophy was the objective of a maximum expansion of German *Lebensraum*, if necessary by force of arms, and the consequent Germanization of territories in Europe and overseas. When colonial enthusiasm faded away, the Pan-German League intensified its racial nationalist minority politics on the European continent. For example, with regard to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Pan-German League painted the picture that the Magyar and Slav parts of the population would soon be in a majority over the Germans

and struggled to prevent the assimilation of Germans living in Austro-Hungary. This agitation, complete with racist slurs on Magyars and Slavs, aimed at the protection of the racial nationalist status quo of the Germans and at the re-Germanization of Austro-Hungarian domestic policy, and favored the dominance of the Austrian Germans in the country in order to safeguard German imperialism on the European continent.

All of this was accompanied by intense rabble-rousing propaganda against those who were accused of being the “enemies within,” especially the Social Democrats and the Jews. The Jews were attacked because they were associated with liberalism and cosmopolitanism. Accordingly, during the July crisis in 1914, General Gebattel, the deputy president of the Pan-German League, demanded that, in order to secure the future of the German people, the “solution of the Jewish Problem” should be given the highest priority. In Ernst Hasse’s racial nationalist ideology, which focused on the aim of breeding a “pure race,” the Jews were also regarded as the main enemy.

World War I became the first attempt to carry out the imperialist concept of Pangermanism. The Pan-German League was strongly in favor of a resolute naval and colonial policy and, once again, stood up for an extreme annexationism policy that would enable “German *Lebensraum*” to be enlarged. The Baltic States, for instance, had been chosen for the settling of German farmers. The *Imperium Germanicum* that the Pangermanists hoped to achieve by means of war included an extended Germany dominating Continental Europe, a colonial empire on the African continent as well as a number of naval bases and, via Sudan and Suez, a link with the Middle East. The defeat of the imperialist German empire was a major setback for the Pan-German League, and after the 1918 democratic revolution the league set up a new program in August 1919, now demanding the restoration of the empire as well as the re-creation of a strong army and the recovery of former German territories. Instead of the democratic system of the Weimar Republic a dictatorship was favored, and the racist nationalist tendencies contained strong anti-Semitic currents. The Pan-German League thus paved the way for the National Socialists, and Hitler took up Pangerman ideas in *Mein Kampf*.

The National Socialist dictatorship not only radicalized some strands of Pangerman ideology but also started a second attempt to install an *Imperium Germanicum* by force of arms. Although the Pan-German League was dissolved by an order of Reinhard Heydrich in March 1939, its ideas of expansion and occupation,

of expulsion and settlement, found its (radicalized) continuation in the Nazi wars of aggression and the activities of German administrative bodies such as the Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums (Reich Commissioner for the Strengthening of German Nationhood), founded in 1939. Part of the SS, this huge organization had far-reaching competence in Germany and inside the occupied territories to deport, expel, or resettle Jews and Poles and, as a countermove, to settle *Volksdeutsche* (“ethnic Germans”) from the eastern parts of Europe in the now enlarged state territory of Nazi Germany. As many as 900,000 *Volksdeutsche* were resettled.

While the Pan-German League was not refounded after 1945, other organizations that have their historical roots and organizational precursors in the same set of ideas have been newly established—for example, the Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland (VDA; Organization for Germans Abroad) in 1955. For decades the VDA supported Germans and Germanness all over the world by giving organizational and financial support to activities and institutions that encourage the use of the German language and foster (what is said to be) traditional German culture. In the 1990s the mainly state-sponsored VDA came under criticism over the involvement of far-rightists in its activities.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE, THE; BELGIUM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CIVILIZATION; COLONIALISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”), THE; EUGENICS; EXPANSIONISM; FARMERS; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HITLER, ADOLF; IMPERIALISM; IRREDENTISM; *LEBENSRAUM*; *MEIN KAMPF*; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; POLAND; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOUL; SS, THE; SOUTH AFRICA; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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PANUNZIO, SERGIO (1886–1944)

Major theoretician of Italian Fascism in the 1920s. Born near Bari in southern Italy, he associated with syndicalist circles from a young age. He graduated in jurisprudence from Naples in 1908 and philosophy in 1911. In 1928 he was appointed head of the political sciences faculty at the University of Perugia. Panunzio believed that the traditional liberal state had outlived its usefulness, and he advocated replacing the Marxist “bourgeois/proletariat” polarity with a “conservative-reactionary/revolutionary” polarity. He claimed that the only genuine revolutionaries were militant syndicalists and anarchists. Clearly influenced by Sorel, he preached the “politics of energy,” which would produce “the decisive act” of revolt. Panunzio considered that the revolutionary syndicalist elite had the vocation to mobilize the masses for revolution. The way to do that was to employ mass suggestion to inspire societywide sentiment through the exploitation of myths. As left-wing Fascism declined in the 1930s, Panunzio’s influence also waned.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSTRIA; CONSERVATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; SOREL, GEORGES; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; PROPAGANDA; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM

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PAPACY, THE

The attitudes and policies of interwar fascist and fascist movements and regimes toward the papacy varied widely. Italian Fascism, German National Socialism,

and the Spanish Falange viewed the papacy with a mixture of hostility and admiration, whereas various Austrian fascist movements, the Croatian Ustasha, and the semifascist Slovakian HSL'S movement were more positive. These movements, with their essentially Catholic, conservative outlook, were especially susceptible to papal teaching, in particular the form of Catholic corporatism set out in Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* of 1931. But if Italian Fascism and German National Socialism shared a common suspicion of the power of the papacy, Italy's peculiar historical circumstances obliged Mussolini to follow a more circumspect and opportunistic policy in practice.

Early Italian Fascism was inevitably anticlerical in attitude, given the left-wing past of some of its leading members: Mussolini himself, Grandi, and Bianchi. Another founding member of the first *fascio*, Filippo Marinetti of the Futurists, once wrote that "the Papacy has always defecated on Italy throughout its history." On 18 November 1919, Mussolini wrote in his newspaper, *Il Popolo D'Italia*, "There is only one possible revision of the Law of Guarantees [regulating Italy's relations with the papacy] and that is its abolition, followed by a firm invitation to his Holiness to quit Rome." Mussolini's hostility toward the papacy had intensified during World War I because of the peace-making efforts of Pope Benedict XV. The latter's "Peace Note" of August 1917, which proposed to the warring powers the basis for peace negotiations, was blamed by Mussolini and others for spreading defeatism and pacifism and thus ultimately causing the catastrophic Italian defeat at Caporetto a few months later. Benedict followed the spread of Fascist violence with considerable concern.

Despite these inauspicious beginnings, Il Duce eventually saw the light, realizing that in a country that was 99 percent Catholic and that contained the seat of the papacy there was no future for an intransigently anticlerical policy. Just as he abandoned the initial anticapitalism and antimonarchism of early Fascism, so he abandoned its vocal anticlericalism, and in his maiden speech to parliament in May 1921 he declared: "The only universal values that radiate from Rome are those of the Vatican" (Pollard 1985, 6). By 1929, in the form of the Lateran Pacts, he had successfully negotiated a solution to the "Roman Question," the sixty-year church-state conflict in Italy. But the resulting "marriage of convenience" between Fascism and the papacy, though a useful prop to the regime, was by no means to the taste of all Fascists, and in the late 1930s, Mussolini himself became more and more impatient with the limitations that the relationship imposed on his totalitarian ambitions, not to mention

the rivalry it constituted to the "Cult of the Duce." After the dispute with Pius XI over the introduction of the Racial Laws of 1938, he confided to his son-in-law, Galeazzo Ciano, that sooner or later he would need to clip the papacy's wings.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that several leading Nazis were former Catholics—Goebbels, Himmler, and even Hitler himself—German National Socialism was naturally hostile to the papacy and the influence it wielded over German Catholics, even if that was mingled with a grudging respect for the international organization's efficiency. Hostility to Catholicism and the papacy was pervasive among the Pangerman and *Völkisch* precursors of the National Socialist movement, as is evidenced by the *Los von Rom* ("Away from Rome") movement and Erich Ludendorff's tirades against "Jesuitical-Jewish-Roman" conspiracies. More important, it was a strong feeling among those leading members of the party who were committed Lutherans. To be German one had to be a Protestant; one could not be a Catholic, because then one's ultimate allegiance would lie beyond Germany. Although Hitler wisely stayed above the fray, the religious question was a divisive one inside the Nazi Party, where some, such as Dinter, campaigned strongly against the papacy: "The Roman Pope's church is just as terrible an enemy of a *völkisch* Germany as the Jew" (Steigmann-Gall 2003, 60).

In practice, National Socialism treated the Catholic Church as an enemy, both within Germany and without. In 1933, however, Hitler made the very opportunistic decision to negotiate a *Reichskonkordat* with the Vatican, something that papal diplomacy had long sought but that had been denied by the Weimar Republic. The Vatican's many demands for the legal guarantees of the rights of the German Church were conceded in return for an assurance that the Catholic Center Party would not be resurrected, and the new Nazi regime received what was widely (but mistakenly) seen as the blessing of the papacy. After the publication in 1937 of the encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge*, which condemned Hitler's repeated violations of the *Reichskonkordat*, the Nazis feared further papal criticism of their policies. In consequence, as an international organization with the potential for undermining the total loyalty of the Germans to their *Volk*, Reich, and Führer, the papacy was placed under close surveillance by German intelligence agencies during the course of World War II, and the Vatican was subjected to various, not very successful espionage campaigns by the SS-Gestapo. Pius XII's close relationship with Roosevelt and the presence of Allied ambassadors inside the Vatican after Italy's declaration of war on the

Western democracies in 1940 intensified Hitler's suspicions, and he seriously contemplated seizing the Vatican and deporting the pope during the German occupation of Rome between September 1943 and June 1944.

Two regimes with at least some fascist element to them, the Slovakian Republic of 1939–1945 and the Independent Croatian State of 1941–1945, also sought Vatican diplomatic recognition of their existence. The Vatican accorded this to the Slovak state on the grounds that it was not born out of a state of war, but the papacy's subsequent relations with Slovakia were clouded by a number of problems. The first was that the Slovaks refused to allow the papal nuncio to be doyen of the diplomatic corps, as was usual in Catholic countries, giving the German ambassador precedence instead. The second was closely linked to the first—that German influence increasingly predominated in Slovakia, leading to attempts to transform it in a national socialistic direction and, most important of all, leading to the deportation of Slovakia's Jewish community to the death camps, which the Vatican vigorously and repeatedly protested.

The Vatican's relationship with the self-proclaimed "Catholic" Croatian state was more ambiguous. Croatia clearly *was* a product of war, of the German invasion and destruction of Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941, from which the Croatian fascist Ustasha movement benefited by proclaiming independence. Thus the Vatican would not accord diplomatic recognition, though it did station an unofficial representative in Zagreb. But despite the fact that it must have known about the Ustasha regime's massacres of hundreds of thousands of Gypsies, Jews, and Serbs, the Vatican made no formal or informal protests, and after the war it turned a blind eye to efforts by Croatian clerics in Rome to smuggle the former Ustasha dictator, Ante Pavelić, and his lieutenants to South America.

John Pollard

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTICLERICALISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; CAPITALISM; CAPORETTO; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; CROATIA; DINTER, ARTHUR; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FUTURISM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GRANDI, DINO; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; IRELAND; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; LUDENDORFFE, ERICH; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MAURAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PACIFISM; PANGERMANISM;

PAVELIĆ, DR. ANTE; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PROTESTANTISM; RELIGION; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON; SERBIA; SLOVAKIA; SPAIN; SS, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; USTASHA; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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PAPEN, FRANZ VON (1879–1969)

Right-wing German politician who smoothed the way for Hitler's rise to power. He served as regular officer until 1918. During most of the 1920s he was one of the most prominent politicians of the right wing of the Catholic Center Party in Prussia. Tolerated by the NSDAP, he chaired, as Reich chancellor, the "cabinet of the barons" in 1932, when he repealed the ban on the SA and the SS and played an important role in the dismissal of the Social Democrat government in Prussia (1932). He was a member of the first Hitler cabinet as the bourgeois figurehead and, in subsequent years, served as German ambassador in Austria and Turkey. In 1947 a German court gave him a work camp sentence of eight years, but he was released in 1949.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; SA, THE; SS, THE

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PAPINI, GIOVANNI (1881–1956)

Autodidact Italian philosopher and man of letters who helped to prepare the ground for the Fascist movement in the era before World War I. Papini was active in the early-twentieth-century artistic avant-garde, which had its capital in the city of Florence. Politically close to the nationalists of Enrico Corradini, he established the review *Il Leonardo* in 1903. In the following years he collaborated with *Il Regno*, *La Voce*, and *Lacerba*. He had a polemical and aggressive style and was a proponent of philosophical pragmatism and (for a short period) of the Futurist aesthetic. He was also one of the promoters of the cult of virility and the warrior ethos. After the Fascists came to power, he was initially an open supporter of the policies of the Mussolini regime, but by 1937 he had abandoned political involvement and aligned himself with the positions of dogmatic Catholicism. He did not support the Salò Republic.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORRADINI, ENRICO; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NEW MAN, THE; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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PARAFASCISM

Building on Sternhell's alignment of interwar fascism with a type of "dissident" and distorted revolutionary nationalism, Griffin identified a number of interwar regimes (for example, Horthy's regime in Hungary, Metaxas's in Greece, and Salazar's in Portugal) as "parafascist" and therefore not directly comparable to

Italian Fascism and National Socialism. The reason was that they appropriated only the "fascist style" but never subscribed to a genuine revolutionary transformation of politics and society that would set them apart from conventional authoritarianism, even one glossed over with some radical "loans" from Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.

Predictably, the concept of "parafascism" created as many definitional and analytical problems as those that it aspired to resolve. While essentially intended to enhance the conceptual clarity of generic "fascism" as an autonomous category of political thought, it produced a dichotomy that was not (and could not be) negotiated in methodological terms. Many historians have questioned the validity of a definition of fascism that excludes from its remit a number of interwar and postwar regimes that had moved fairly close to the experience of the reference regimes in Italy and Germany. Others have upheld Ernst Nolte's view that fascism was a period-specific phenomenon to be located exclusively in the interwar European context, thus rejecting its application to postwar phenomena in Europe or indeed elsewhere. More alarmingly, so-called parafascism ran the risk of becoming the theoretical dumping-ground for all of those regimes that, while not easily dismissed as traditionally "authoritarian," could not be fitted into concrete definitions of "fascism." *Parafascism* has never been defined on its own terms; instead, it remains a shadowy limbo of qualified failure or insufficient success: neither "fascist" nor instantly rejected as nonfascist, neither revolutionary nor conventionally authoritarian.

At the heart of this complex definitional riddle lies a much wider issue of—at least partial—overlapping between "fascism" and particular traits of the conservative Right, particularly during the interwar period, that witnessed the emergence of fascism as a viable paradigmatic alternative to socialism, liberalism, and conservatism. As Martin Blinkhorn has demonstrated, it is problematic to assume two "ideal types" of "fascism" and "conservative Right," at least in the interwar period, when there was a highly permeable ideological and political barrier between them. It is true that the traditional Right proved amenable par excellence to the political message of fascism in its particular Italian or German form. In fact, as early as the late nineteenth century there were particular sectors in the conservative Right that sought to reconcile the idea of a national revolution with a more conservative framework of politics—such as the so-called conservative revolution thinking as articulated by Maurras before World War I and Spengler, Jung, and Jünger in the interwar period.

Conversely, the establishment of fascist regimes (even in the largely undisputed cases of National Socialist Germany and Fascist Italy) underlined the gap between radical revolutionary declarations and a generally more circumscribed political framework that did not involve a fundamental break with the past. Therefore, the historical experience of fascism as regime can be more accurately described as a process of approximating “fascism” from a more conservative starting point, be that as a result of initial compromises (as in Italy and Germany) or as a result of the (consciously or tactically) limited revolutionary agenda of the leaders themselves.

All these caveats point to a still unresolved relationship between “fascism” and “parafascism”—not on the level of ideology (since “parafascism,” because of its hybrid nature, cannot be regarded as an intellectual doctrine)—but on that of political practice and historical experience. Methodologically, it is still possible (and potentially fruitful) to talk about “parafascism” within the broad analytical framework of fascist studies, not least because the linguistic designation of this category suggests a certain degree of affinity with fascism *per se*. However, rather than being treated as a (partly but not totally) failed experience of fascism, parafascism can be incorporated into the wider matrix of fascism as a specific pattern and chapter of its history as regime. Taking into account that even the German and Italian fascist regimes found themselves at odds with crucial aspects of their ideological origins and declarations, as well as the particular kind of “revolutionary” potential of interwar radical conservatism, parafascism becomes in many ways a process, a stage in the otherwise dynamic process of a regime’s fascistization. This fascistization, indicating both an approximation of fascism and a qualitative departure from conventional notions of conservatism, points to a theory of fascist rule that may accommodate parafascism as a distinct model, phase, or avenue of the history of fascism.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: INTRODUCTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; AUTHORITARIANISM; CONSERVATISM; DICTATORSHIP; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GREECE; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; ITALY; JÜNGER, ERNST; LIBERALISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; METAXAS, GENERAL IOANNIS; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; PALIN-GENETIC MYTH; PORTUGAL; POSTWAR FASCISM; REVOLUTION; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SOCIALISM; SPENGLER, OSWALD; STYLE

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PARAGUAY

As in the rest of South America, the German community in Paraguay tended to be extremely loyal to the homeland, living in isolated groups and assimilating slowly. In 1928, a small group of Nazi Party members in Paraguay formed an “organization center.” Later, the Munich party chiefs designated the group as a foreign *Gruppenleitung* (“group leadership”). Then, in August 1931, the *Auslands-Ableitung* created a *Landesgruppe* (national party unit) in Asunción under the guidance of retired army officer Franz Reitzenstein. By 1933 there were sixty-two official Nazi Party members in Paraguay, the tenth largest group outside of Germany and the third largest in South America after Brazil and Argentina. However, in 1940, the group dissolved after the bombing of a *Landesgruppe* office in neighboring Uruguay.

In 1940, General Higinio Morínigo came to power in Paraguay on the death of President José Félix Estigarribia and ruled as a dictator with the support of the military. In particular, Morínigo had the backing of the *Frente de Guerra*, a group of three high-ranking, profascist military officers. Like many fascist leaders, Morínigo was also skilled at attracting the support of the masses. He brooked no opposition, either exiling his political rivals or sending them to concentration camps in the Chaco region. The Morínigo regime also practiced a great deal of censorship. However, after World War II, he was unable publicly to support fascism and sought to open Paraguay to a more democratic political system. He eliminated the profascist right-wing generals and briefly installed a coalition

government. However, in 1947, he abandoned the attempt to make Paraguay more democratic. Instead, Morínigo set up a new government with the backing of the military and the Colorado Party, and that led to a period of civil war. This new regime survived until June 1948, when his opponents deposed Morínigo.

Some aspects of fascism appeared in the strongly anticommunist government of Alfredo Stroessner, who ruled Paraguay from 1954 to 1989. Born in 1912 to a German immigrant father and a Paraguayan mother, Stroessner fought in the Chaco War and was a decorated officer. After the 1947 civil war, he emerged as one of the leaders of Paraguay's purged armed forces. Then, in 1954, Stroessner seized power for himself. Early in his regime, Stroessner had the support of the *guionista* faction of the Colorado Party. The *guionista* movement was linked to fascist ideologies, and some of its leaders had even witnessed fascist developments first-hand in Europe. Like other fascist leaders, Stroessner utilized the Colorado Party as a mass organization that linked him to the "people." He never truly incorporated them into politics, but rather used the Colorado Party to gather intelligence on the population. While not a very charismatic leader, Stroessner did succeed at appealing to the general population through frequent public appearances. He emphasized his role as the "leader" and stressed that all acts of government derived from the work of Stroessner himself. He developed an almost cultlike following among many Paraguayans.

Like the interwar fascist leaders, Stroessner sought to dominate the population, as he believed that the great majority of Paraguayans were not prepared for participatory politics. He allowed a small group of elites to run the country while discrediting most of the traditional politicians. As in Nazi Germany, Stroessner practiced ethnic exclusion and even genocide. His government embarked on the removal, resettlement, forced labor, and killing of the Aché people in order to clear land for mining and cattle raising. Stroessner's fascist tendencies can also be seen in the fact that he provided protection for many former Nazis. Paraguay became a haven for Nazis who escaped war crimes trials in Europe. Many former SS members even gained Paraguayan citizenship. Some former Nazis reportedly trained Paraguayan prison guards. Perhaps the most famous former Nazi to seek refuge in Paraguay was Josef Mengele.

Ron Young

See Also: ARGENTINA; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; BRAZIL; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; ELITE THEORY; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXISM; MASSES, THE

ROLE OF THE; MENGELE, JOSEF; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; NAZISM; NUEVA GERMANIA; ODESSA; SS, THE; STYLE

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PARAMILITARISM

Paramilitarism provided both the main value system and the key organizational form of the interwar fascist movements. Members of paramilitary organizations were always uniformed, marched in public, were armed and physically violent, made use of threatening and resolute symbols for their self-presentation, and aimed to destabilize the existing order. Three elements were important for paramilitarism: continuous violent propaganda, the image of the street fighter, and the presentation of paramilitary groups as mass organizations. An increase in popularity and the "bottom-up" quality of fascist paramilitarism made it attractive to traditional conservative elites who did not gain this mass support. Fascists always portrayed their violence against communists and socialists as a "defensive" method for winning the respect or support of state authorities. Paramilitarism was a new phenomenon of the early twentieth century whose emergence was facilitated by the economic, social, and cultural crises of the 1920s and 1930s. Paramilitary associations were attractive for persons who were affected by these crises because they offered a network that protected them from social isolation, and a diversion through its permanent activism and the possibility for its members to act out their frustrations in a violent manner. Members of fascist paramilitary organizations were characterized by their downward social mobility, although they had no coherent class background. Whereas storm troopers were mainly workers or members of the petty bourgeoisie, the Italian *squadristi* were members of the middle and upper classes. Fascist fighting corps were often made up of young, unmarried men who had little experience in the work force.

In contrast to the army, members of paramilitary organizations had political ambitions and defined themselves as political soldiers. Although they did not promote a clearly defined political program, they fought against the existing political system, communists, and socialists, and the alleged petty bourgeois mentality of security and respectability. The worldview of the paramilitarists was defined mainly by its destructive actions against socialists and ethnic minorities. Fascist paramilitaries marched in public (mainly in the streets), were equipped with weapons (if often very primitive ones), and made use of a hierarchy that was semidisciplined. Their organizational structure was characterized by a strong group mentality and the primacy of tiny groups. Paramilitary activities were time consuming, emotionally exhilarating, and tended to consume the life of each member. Discipline and obedience toward the leader was achieved through a form of comradeship that was generated by the commitment of its members on a horizontal level and through the voluntary recruitment of members. As a mass movement, fascist paramilitarism did not promote secret organizations.

Fascist paramilitary leaders claimed that violence could cleanse, purify, or regenerate the people and the national mentality. They promoted only vaguely defined political aims, but nevertheless viewed themselves as the idealistic avant-garde who fought for the moral regeneration of the nation. It was mainly the violence itself that functioned as a performative act and created meaning for the young street fighters. The experience of violence mobilized passions and resoluteness and was aestheticized by some fascist intellectuals as the beauty of surgical cleansing or the efficacy of will and strength. It was the emotional energy produced by acting violently that held the paramilitary groups together.

Fascist movements were dominated by their paramilitary arm. In Germany, 427,000 of the roughly 850,000 Nazis in 1933 were storm troopers, and nearly half of the 322,000 members of the Italian Fascist movement in May 1922 were *squadristi*. The same was true of the legionaries of the Romanian Legion of the Archangel Michael (sometimes called the Iron Guard), the Hungarian Arrow Cross, the assassination squads of the Croatian Ustasha, the guards of Degrelle's Rexist movement in Belgium, and the French Croix de Feu. The violent paramilitary corps of the fascists became increasingly dysfunctional when fascist movements gained power. The political activism and radicalism of paramilitary groups aggravated arrangements with traditional elites and threatened to disrupt political stability.

Sven Reichardt

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARROW CROSS; BELGIUM; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CROATIA; DECADENCE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HUNGARY; ITALY; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; REXISM; ROMANIA; SA, THE; SOCIALISM; *SQUADRISMO*; SS, THE; STYLE; SYMBOLS; USTASHA, THE; VALOIS, GEORGES; VIOLENCE; VOLUNTARISM; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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PARETO, VILFREDO (1848–1923)

Celebrated economist and sociologist and important precursor of Italian Fascism. Pareto was born in Paris, where his father, Raffaele, a follower of Mazzini, had been exiled on political grounds. After completing a degree in engineering at Turin Polytechnic in 1870, he worked first as employee and subsequently as manager for some important companies in the railroad construction sector. An anarchical and polemical spirit and a polyglot cosmopolitan in background, Pareto soon began to make a name for himself with articles and writings in which he criticized all forms of economic protectionism and hotly defended free trade policies. In 1887 he began his collaboration with the prestigious *Journal des Economistes*. At the same period he tried his luck at a political career as deputy in the Italian parliament, but without success. At the suggestion of the economist Maffeo Pantaleone, he then devoted himself systematically to the study of pure economics and mathematics. However, a crucial encounter with Léon Walras convinced him to follow Walras in the chair of

political economy at the University of Lausanne, to which he was appointed in 1893 (though for health reasons he was to abandon his university activity in 1911). In 1895 he edited with a substantial introduction extracts made by Paul Lafargue from Marx's *Das Kapital*, eliciting a very critical appraisal from Friedrich Engels. His fame as a scholar is linked to the publication in 1896–1897 of the *Cours d'économie politique*, which marked him out as one of the most original economists of his generation in the area of marginalist and neoclassical theory. Pareto's ambition at this point in his career was to make economics a formal science modeled on disciplines like physics and mechanics.

In 1901–1902 he published *Les systèmes socialistes*, a work in two volumes in which he maintained, in direct polemic with all the various forms of socialism, that the problem of social inequality can be resolved not by modifying the curve of distribution of wealth among the social classes (a curve that tends to remain constant in time whatever the socioeconomic regime of a country), but by increasing production and global wealth at a constant rate. Meanwhile he embarked on the redaction, destined to last about a decade, of his sociological magnum opus: the *Trattato di sociologia generale*, whose first edition appeared in Italy in 1916. It is an ambitious text that is difficult to read: in it, on the basis of a dichotomy between “logical actions” and “nonlogical actions” and of a distinction between “logico-experimental theories” and “non-logical-experimental theories,” he developed a scientific classification of social systems in which a central role was played by the principle of social heterogeneity, by the theory of dominant groups, and by the idea of a circulation of elites. According to Pareto, society is not a homogeneous closed system but a dynamic conflictual reality, within which groups and social classes tend to assume a hegemonic role and to occupy the summit of the social hierarchy. The elites that form within each society are not, however, stable and rigid: they are subject in their turn to the inexorable law of social change. Hence Pareto's celebrated dictum: “History is a cemetery of aristocracies.”

Like Gaetano Mosca (but unlike Roberto Michels), Pareto never ceased to be a convinced defender of economic liberalism and political liberty, so he cannot be considered an active, enthusiastic supporter of Italian Fascism, except in relation to the struggle that the latter led against socialism and in favor of the principle of authority. He was, however—though indirectly—a precursor of it on the intellectual level, through the emphasis in his writings on the criticism of the historical weakness of the bourgeoisie and the liberal state and through the importance that he attributed to force and

violence in the processes of social change. Nor should we forget his aversion to democratic ideology and humanitarian doctrines. As a social scientist, Pareto saw in Italian Fascism more a confirmation of his theses about the inevitable decline of political elites and about the role played by active minorities in the historical phases of transition than a real political solution. One of his last writings, the *Trasformazione della democrazia* of 1921, contains, alongside a harsh critique of the “demagogical plutocracy” that emerged victorious from World War I, a peroration in defense of elective parliamentary representation, administrative decentralization, and the independence of the magistracy; this certainly seems to confirm his substantial fidelity to liberal ideals. And yet in 1923, a few months before his death, he accepted first of all to represent Italy, and so the Fascist government, at the League of Nations, and subsequently to become a senator of the kingdom.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ARISTOCRACY; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CLASS; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOSCA, GAETANO; PLUTOCRACY; PROGRESS; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; SOREL, GEORGES; STATE, THE; VIOLENCE

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PARLIAMENTARISM

Already in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the protofascist movement of “national syndicalism” had identified the syndicates as a powerful antidote to the ineffectiveness of parliaments as the main vehicle of societal representation. Around the turn of the century radical nationalists in Italy and France attacked the individualism and agnosticism of the liberal state, arguing instead in favor of a single powerful and holistic expression of collective national will. The Action

Française—for Ernst Nolte the most significant pre-1918 fascist movement—rejected parliamentary rule in favor of a return to monarchical authority and an emphasis on national (as opposed to class) political agendas.

But it was during the interwar period that parliamentarism (as a symbolic expression of liberalism) and fascism found themselves locked in binary opposition. Although the end of World War I and the spirit of the Versailles Treaty, with its emphasis on democratic reform and national self-determination, appeared at first to spell a new era of liberal vitality, such hopes were crushed under the shadow of both socialist revolution and fascist mobilization across the Continent. In Italy the liberal establishment that had ruled the country from unification onward was increasingly discredited by its ostensible inability to promote national goals—first with its failure to bring Italy into the war in 1914, and then with its inability to ensure territorial concessions on the Dalmatian coast as demanded by the radical nationalist opposition and the emerging Fascist movement. In Germany, the end of the war ushered in the first truly liberal political regime (the Weimar Republic) but deprived it of much-needed political legitimacy in the eyes of large sectors of the population, as it identified the system with national humiliation, political weakness, inefficiency, and social division. Liberal-parliamentary rule was established in all successor states of the deceased Austro-Hungarian empire, as well as in the Iberian peninsula, only to give way soon to a wave of antiliberal authoritarian regimes that gradually phased out interwar democracy and deepened the crisis of parliamentary politics.

Interwar fascism used the fear of socialism as a pivotal argument in favor of dictatorship and against the allegedly divisive nature of parliamentary politics. In the 1932 *Doctrine of Fascism*, Mussolini claimed that “the Fascist State is . . . a unique and original creation. It is not reactionary but revolutionary, for it anticipates the solution of certain universal problems which have been raised elsewhere, in the political field by the splitting up of parties, the usurpation of power by parliaments and the irresponsibility of assemblies.” A few years earlier, Adolf Hitler had expressed his own views on parliamentary democracy in *Mein Kampf*, noting that “the starting point of [the national] plague in our country lies in large part in the parliamentary institution in which irresponsibility of the purest breed is cultivated. Unfortunately, this plague slowly spread to all other domains of life, most strongly to state life. Everywhere responsibility was evaded, and inadequate half-measures were preferred as a result.”

In fact, fascist leaders like Hitler and Mussolini associated national humiliation and weakness with the very nature of the institution of parliament, not with its abuse under liberalism. Il Duce showed the way when in January 1925—after having headed a coalition government within a semiliberal political arrangement for more than two years—he boldly announced the introduction of dictatorial rule and embarked upon the construction of a “totalitarian” fascist state. But an authoritarian antiliberal reaction—already underway in Europe by the early 1920s (for example, the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera in Spain in 1923; Admiral Horthy’s regime in Hungary in the 1920s)—had turned into an avalanche by the end of the decade and continued unabated in the 1930s. One by one, European countries succumbed to a strong antiliberal/antiparliamentary trend: Portugal and Poland in 1926, Austria in 1932, Germany in 1933, Greece in 1936, Romania in 1938, Spain in 1939. By the outbreak of World War II the majority of central, southern, and eastern European countries had decidedly abandoned liberalism in favor of an authoritarian alternative that was becoming increasingly informed by the “fascist” innovations in Italy and Germany. At the same time, fascist movements—whether in power or in opposition—continued to attack parliamentarism vehemently as an allegedly fundamental hindrance to the promotion of genuine national interest.

Therefore, while interwar fascism emerged as a clearly and passionately antiparliamentary movement and contributed to the decline of liberalism across the Continent, it formed part of a wider disaffection with democracy and what appeared as divisive representation that engulfed Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. For many, the move to authoritarian rule and the adoption of “fascist” characteristics went together. In other words, the fascist political experiment emerged as the most popular and seemingly effective alternative to the—wider and more profound—crisis of liberalism and the impasses of parliamentary rule.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACERBO LAW, THE; ACTION FRANÇAISE; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; AVENTINE SECESSION, THE; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; ENABLING ACT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREEDOM; GERMANY; GREECE; HITLER, ADOLF; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; INDIVIDUALISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; LAW; LIBERALISM; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MAURRAS, CHARLES; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; PARAMILITARISM;

POLAND; PORTUGAL; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; PROTOFASCISM; REICHSTAG FIRE, THE; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; SOCIALISM; SPAIN; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; VIOLENCE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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PARTITO NAZIONALE FASCISTA, THE:
See **FASCIST PARTY, THE**

PÄTS, KONSTANTIN (1874–1956)

First prime minister of Estonia, who instituted an authoritarian regime in his country. As leader of the conservative Farmers' Union, he served as prime minister five times. On 12 March 1934, together with General Johan Laidoner, he declared martial law and arrested the leaders of the radical right Veterans' League. Although claiming that he was saving democracy from the threat of fascism, Päts in fact erected his own authoritarian regime. In 1937 he proclaimed a new constitution under which he was elected the first president in 1938. In 1940 the USSR annexed Estonia, and Päts was deported to Russia, where he died in captivity.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; CONSERVATISM; ESTONIA; FARMERS; LATVIA; LITHUANIA; WAR VETERANS

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PAVELIĆ, Dr. ANTE (1889–1959)

Lawyer, ultranationalist, and leader (or *Poglavnic*) of the Ustaši (or Ustasha). With Benito Mussolini's patronage, Pavelić developed a fascist ideology partly modeled on Italian Fascism but strongly emphasizing Croatian racial ascendancy in the Balkans, political Catholicism, and regenerative violence, ultimately leading to a radical campaign of ethnic cleansing in the then-Yugoslavia. Rivalled only by National Socialism in fascist violence, Pavelić's *Ustaši* orchestrated the assassination of Yugoslav king Aleksandar in France on 9 October 1934, formed the NDH (Independent State of Croatia) between 13 April 1941 and the conclusion of World War II, and was responsible for the mass murder, torture, and forced conversion of ethnic and religious groups in Yugoslavia, such as Serbs, Gypsies, Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Jews, and other "undesirable" groups. Following the war, Pavelić escaped to Argentina and eventually died in a Spanish monastery on 26 December 1959.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARGENTINA; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CROATIA; HOLOCAUST, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SERBS, THE; USTASHA; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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PEARL HARBOR

Location of the legendary Japanese airborne strike (without any formal declaration of war) on the U.S. fleet moored in Hawaii on 7 December 1941, which drew the United States into war with Japan and subsequently into World War II. Hitler's occupation of France and The Netherlands in 1940 had opened up the prospect of a Japanese takeover of their oil- and

mineral-rich colonies in the East Indies and Southeast Asia. But Japan feared that strikes on those areas could lead to U.S. intervention, and the attack on the U.S. fleet was an attempt to make this difficult if not impossible. Five out of eight battleships were put out of action by Japanese air power in the raid, and the rest were damaged. For five months Japan was able to proceed with her planned imperialistic offensives unopposed. But the coup Japan had hoped to achieve in emasculating U.S. naval power was gravely weakened because the vital U.S. aircraft carriers were not in Hawaii, and in the long run the treacherous nature of the attack actually stiffened U.S. resolve to fight back. To this day argument rages over the possibility that prointerventionist U.S. president Roosevelt actually provoked the attack with the intention of inciting Japan's ally Germany to declare war on the United States (as it proceeded to do); for U.S. public opinion had been overwhelmingly hostile to any involvement in the war in Europe up to that point, whereas Roosevelt was in favor of it.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AXIS; FRANCE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; NETHERLANDS, THE; ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT FRANKLIN DELANO; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WORLD WAR II

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PELLEY, WILLIAM DUDLEY (1890–1965)

U.S. interwar anti-Semitic propagandist and enthusiast for Hitler. Born in Lynn, Massachusetts, Pelley dropped out of high school to pursue successive careers as journalist, relief worker in Siberia, popular fiction writer, and author of Hollywood scripts. As a result of a mystical experience that supposedly took place in 1928, he saw himself as divinely chosen to lead a political movement. Moving to Asheville, North Carolina, in 1933 he founded the Silver Legion of America, usually known as the Silver Shirts. Membership peaked in 1934 with

15,000 adherents but tapered off to 5,000 by 1938. His vehicles included a number of journals, including *Liberation*, *Pelley's Weekly*, and *Roll-Call*. Pelley openly praised Hitler, cooperated with the German-American Bund, and espoused a vehement anti-Semitism. Although he disbanded the Silver Shirts in 1941, he was imprisoned from 1942 to 1950. After his release he went into semi-retirement.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; MYSTICISM; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945)

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PEOPLE'S COURT, THE: See
VOLKSGERICHT, THE

PERÓN, JUAN DOMINGO (1895–1974)

Right-wing populist military dictator in Argentina; president of Argentina from 1946 to 1955 and from 1973 to 1974. The son of a farmer, he became a career soldier and spent a period in Italy as a military observer in the late 1930s. He entered the government as part of a military coup in 1943 but was forced out by enemies in the military in October 1945. He was then arrested, but such was his popularity that there were mass demonstrations organized by trade unions that brought about his quick release; in the elections of the following February he won the presidency. His political philosophy has been compared by many to fascism. Perón's popularity attained mythical proportions with his marriage to the legendary Eva Duarte (1919–1952), who, following her early death to cancer, spawned a posthumous legend of secular sanctity as "Evita." Perón was overthrown in a coup in 1955 and went into exile first

in Paraguay and later in Madrid. His brief return to government in 1973 came about by popular acclaim, but he died in office.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARGENTINA; AUTHORITARIANISM; ITALY; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; PARAGUAY; PERONISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; TRADES UNIONS

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PERONISM

The philosophy of Juan Domingo Perón, who had two spells as president of Argentina (1946–1955; 1973–1974): he admired European interwar fascism and especially accentuated fascists' success in putting economics at the service of the nation, which, according to Perón, was composed of its "living forces"—namely, its productive classes. Perón aspired to fulfill the type of productivist conception of fascism, although accompanied by social policies. That meant that, for him, the economic equilibrium which blended productivist policies based on "national interests" with populist social justice was biased toward the latter. At root, however, the idea of social justice was in his view far from being linked to any type of political autonomy for workers. The living forces of the nation were those that were identified with the Peronist syndicalist state, while social welfare was the basis for the transformation of Argentina from a dependent to an emancipated state. Indeed, Perón's labor policies continued the line promoted by his self-designed Syndical Statute, promulgated by the military government in 1943. It reflected the attempt to achieve corporatist authoritarian control of the workers' organizations. Housing rents were reduced and higher salaries were established for the most poorly paid workers in public administration. This trend of reforms gained momentum in November 1943, when the Departamento Nacional del Trabajo (National Department of Labor), until then an apparently minor branch of the interior ministry, became the Secretaria de Trabajo y Prevision (Secretariat for Labor and Planning), an autonomous department headed by Perón himself. Decree 156.074 of 27 November 1943

assigned to Perón the function of taking the necessary measures to increase harmony among the productive forces of the country. That role was the first step in Perón's meteoric rise to power. He had grasped the importance of the working class, and succeeded in disentangling pro-working-class ideology from communism. He was very clear on this point: "I am personally a syndicalist . . . and as such I am anti-communist, but I believe that labor must be organized on a syndicalist basis" (interview given by Perón to *El Mercurio* of Chile, republished in *La Prensa* (12 November 1943).

Perón made direct contact with union leaders through the good offices of Lieutenant-Colonel Mercante, the son of a railway worker. He met with syndicalists from the dissolved CGT, and in 1943 he intervened in favor of the workers in the Berisso "Frigoríficos" strike in La Plata. With his support, the first collective agreement was reached between labor and government. However, that was not achieved by the representatives of the strong FOIC, but by an autonomous union led by Cipriano Reyes, the most important figure of the Partido Laborista (Labor Party), which later supported Perón's rise to power (although Reyes subsequently became Perón's enemy and was jailed). It was clear that Perón aimed to co-opt the workers' movement, and most of his military comrades agreed with his social and political agenda. His visit to Italy between 1939 and 1941 increased his admiration of Italian Fascism, especially the way it offered a solution to the problem of the working class. Perón's approach to industrial relations resembled Mussolini's. As labor secretary in the military junta, he brought most of the unions under his control through the 1945 Law of Professional Associations, whose provisions were almost identical with Mussolini's labor code. The bargaining between the government and the growing unions culminated in decree 23,852 of 2 October 1945. That decree established the unions' full legal rights by eliminating parallel unions. This provided the structures for elections of delegates and stewards and a network of bargaining with employers, with vague allusions to coparticipation in management decisions. It also attributed to unions' legal rights to participate in politics, giving workers the green light to form the political party that would eventually win the elections of February 1946. However, legal status required recognition from the Labor Secretariat (Article 43). Under this law, only government-recognized unions and employers' associations could sign labor contracts, and only one employers' association and one labor union were to be permitted in each economic field. Strikes and lockouts were forbidden. However, what at first sight seems

a fascist type of antiworker authoritarianism was in reality a much more complex approach, because workers, in comparison with their previous situation, were the direct beneficiaries of a new authoritarian order, which they themselves negotiated with Perón.

The trade-off of concessions to labor in return for tentative support eventually paid off for both the working class and Perón himself. The decree of 2 October provided for the two largest unions, the commercial and the rail unions, to become the two first certified labor associations in Argentine history. The commercial union became the vanguard of the working-class resistance, which was to stand behind Perón when he was dismissed and then jailed by his army colleagues on 9 October 1945. The myth of 17 October 1945 was in reality a mass mobilization marking the definitive linking of labor's fate with that of the "worker colonel." On that day, which was to become an integral part of Peronist mythology, the workers of the capital, organized by Eva Duarte (the legendary "Evita"), Cipriano Reyes, and Colonel Mercante, invaded the streets. Perón was subsequently released, and on the same day he spoke to the people from the balcony of Casa Rosada of the "creation of an indestructible bond of brotherhood between the people and the army."

The military commanders realized that they had to yield to the pressure of the elections. Perón ran for office in 1946, together with two parties that symbolized the political synthesis between military populist nationalism, syndicalism, and the traditional intransigent wing of the Radical Party. Perón, together with Cipriano Reyes and the Union Civica Radical (Junta Renovadora), made up the nationalist coalition. They were opposed by a coalition of the parties—socialist, communist, "Alvearist" radicals, and conservatives that represented liberal democracy and socialist reformist political philosophy. This antinationalist coalition received the blessings of U.S. ambassador Braden, but U.S. intervention in Argentine politics undoubtedly contributed to Perón's success. Perón himself defined the political confrontation with a simple motto, "Braden or Perón," which transformed the confrontation between two different political conceptions into a confrontation between the nation and "American" imperialism. The determination of the United States to prove Perón's complicity with the Nazis actually guaranteed his success. Such complicity could never be proven. Nonetheless, Perón's corporatist intentions and his admiration for fascist labor policies were known to all.

After Perón had assumed the presidency, his government announced its intention of achieving a "just equilibrium among all the factors that take part in produc-

tion, . . . collaboration between labor and employer organizations, humanization of the function of capital . . . and improvement in workers' living conditions" (*Vicepresidencia de la Nacion*, 55–56, 68). This program was based on the conviction that, although Argentina was not a country with territorial ambitions, world politics demanded the development of a strong, autarkic nation. Perón wanted to develop heavy industry while promoting social justice. Indeed, mixed industrial complexes were created with the goal of exploiting national resources, and long-term loans were offered to national industry. All the instruments created by the state during Perón's administration were intended to further those ends. The symbol of the state regulatory economic power was the IAPI ("Argentine Institute of Production and Trade"), created to promote the *Plan Quinquenal*, an industrialization plan initiated in October 1946. Perón forced farmers to sell to the IAPI at low, fixed prices and then made profits for the government by selling those goods on the free market. The law that most frightened the rural oligarchy, however, was the *Estatuto del Peon*, which recognized agricultural laborers as workers with labor rights.

In a decidedly militaristic vein, the first Five Year Plan (1947–1951) was devised to transform a "civic and peaceful country into a country in arms," and the second Five Year Plan confirmed the tendency to "strengthen the armed forces in order to back the . . . decision to be a sovereign, just and free nation" (Perón 1954, 441).

The economic trend of combining corporatization and industrialization with social-welfare goals that faithfully reflected the integralist-populist formula could function only until 1949, the watershed year for labor in Argentina. From 1949 on, it was the principle of productivity rather than social justice that guided Perón's policies. Wages declined by more than 20 percent, while greater discipline was imposed upon the unions. In fact, from 1949 until 1955, Perón's populist policies resembled fascist corporatist practices more than they did under his pre-1949 social reformism. Perón promoted the organization of the working class, although only under state control, because "it suits the state to have organic forces it can control and lead rather than inorganic forces that escape its leadership. . . . We do not want unions divided into political factions, because what is dangerous is, precisely, the political unions." In other words, worker welfare could be guaranteed only under the tutelage of the state.

From an ideological perspective, welfare policy was clearly an issue that most Argentine nationalists of both the Right and the Left believed could be resolved

only in a national-syndicalist state that represented the popular classes. The entire Peronist ideology was tailored to the concept of *Justicialismo*. In contrast to fascism and to the pure materialism of liberal and Marxist ideologies, the “third position” of *Justicialismo* sought a unifying point between idealism, materialism, collectivism, and individualism. Rhetorically, however, *Justicialismo* was reminiscent of Italian Fascism in that it emphasized nationalism, authoritarianism, and leadership. In the final analysis, the rights of citizens were rated lower than their national responsibilities. The basic idea was that of an organized community in which the individual would reach personal happiness. However, the concept of personal happiness was disassociated from bourgeois egoism; for the ethical state, however, both the Peronist and the fascist definition of bourgeois egoism included the expression of independent ideas. “Some say that we must capture the independent opinion [holders]. Great mistake. . . . We must marginalize them. . . . They cannot be led” (Perón 1952, 55). In other words, the concept of community was opposed to that of civil society.

The fourth section of the first Five Year Plan covered the cultural sphere and raised the issue of creating cultural uniformity. It noted that Argentina’s various cultural institutions lacked both spirituality and a unifying framework, as well as the appropriate orientation needed to guide national culture. The program published in 1947 expressed the early tendencies of Peronism in shaping and molding a new national consciousness to be expressed particularly in the educational system. The second Five Year Plan, published in 1951, consolidated that plan under the concept of a national doctrine—namely, that national consciousness would be *Justicialista* doctrine. Indeed, from 1952 *Justicialismo* was legally charted as “National Doctrine.” It expressed the spirit of the Organic Statute of the Peronist Party. Its second article emphasized that the Peronist Party was a doctrinaire unity in which any position conspiring against that unity would be rejected. Article 74 affirmed that the best way to learn to command was to learn to obey, while article 77 stated that there were two top figures in Peronism, Juan Perón and Eva Perón. The resemblance to fascism is more than clear.

Peronism, the most baffling and least understood of all Latin American populist movements, owes its fame to the leader Juan Domingo Perón and his legendary wife, Evita. Long after Perón’s death and after the movement’s political and ideological transformation, Peronism as a political party still holds sway in Argentina’s political processes, to the extent that it is im-

possible to conceive of Argentina’s politics without Peronism. It is clear, however, that any interpretation of present-day Peronism as fascism is far from the truth. On the question of whether the original Peronism was fascist or not, scholarly opinions differ widely. Thamer and Wippermann argue that Peronism can be explained only with the aid of the concept of fascism, albeit a very broadly defined fascism. Stanley Payne claims that Peronism had most, but not all, of the characteristics of European fascism. Probably the most important scholar of Argentina’s political history, Tulio Halperin Donghi, asserts that Peronism shared some of the features of fascism, but, together with Cristian Buchrucker and Daniel James, he would not consider it a fully fascist phenomenon.

Alberto Spektorowski

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARGENTINA; AUTARKY; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; EDUCATION; EMPLOYMENT; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; ORGANICISM; PERÓN, JUAN DOMINGO; PRODUCTIVISM; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THIRD WAY, THE; TRADE UNIONS; WELFARE

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PERU

Fascism appeared in several forms in Peru during the 1930s. There was an “aristocratic” fascism that sought to restore traditional values. José de la Riva Agüero led this movement of Peruvians who were unhappy with the political and social instability of their country. Riva Agüero was the voice of the Catholic Right in Peru, supported Mussolini, and viewed fascism as a needed counterweight to the influence of communism. He and his supporters saw fascism as a return to medieval, Catholic, and Hispanic traditions in response to the rise of socialism, populism, and bourgeois capitalism. A second form of fascism took root among middle-class professionals and intellectuals. That movement was linked to Peru’s Catholic University and was inspired by Italian Fascism, the Nazis, and Spanish falangism. These middle groups sought to champion the process of *mestizaje*, which would reconcile the Native American and Western components of Peru. Furthermore, they disliked both the traditional elite and communists. The third and largest form was the “popular” fascism of the Unión Revolucionaria (UR) political party. The UR began as a vehicle to support Luis Sánchez Cerro in the 1931 presidential campaign. The party was nationalistic and strongly anticommunist. After Sánchez Cerro’s assassination in 1933, Luis Flores took over the leadership of the UR and adopted a more openly fascist stance.

The small but wealthy Italian community helped to finance a pro-Italian propaganda campaign in Peru during the 1930s. Many in Peru and abroad feared that fascism was spreading in the country. On the surface, this concern seemed merited, as Peru’s main newspapers took on a pro-Italian stance and supported Italy’s invasion of Ethiopia, fascist organizations grew, and the Peruvian government sought closer political and military ties with Italy. This propaganda campaign began in 1935 at the behest of Vittorio Bianchi, the Italian minister in Peru. The Peruvian Italian community helped to finance the Nucleo di Propaganda in order to shape public opinion. That organization was active during Italy’s Ethiopian campaign, but wound down in 1937 after the Ethiopian crisis ended. There were also some attempts to indoctrinate young people in Italian schools in Peru. However, while the Italian community in Peru was certainly pro-Italian, it was generally not profascist. Furthermore, the Italian government provided little financial support. By 1939, it was clear that the campaign had failed.

Fascism was an important issue in the annulled 1936 presidential elections in Peru. Two right-wing candidates had clear links to fascism. Luis M. Flores ran as the leader of the UR. A former interior minister, Flores openly admired fascist ideology, going so far as to organize a 6,000-member paramilitary force complete with black shirts to attack the Peruvian Left. Another candidate was Manuel Vicente Villarán, who enjoyed the support of many conservative intellectuals, including Riva Agüero. Neither candidate had a chance to implement his policies, however, as President Oscar Benavides suspended the elections. He then pressured the congress to extend his own term until December 1939. Fascism continued to be a key issue in the subsequent 1939 election. Benavides supported the candidacy of Manuel Prado, the strongly antifascist leader of the Concentración Nacional. Prado faced the fascist-influenced ticket of José Quesada Larrea and Luis Flores. Prado won the election easily, and his antifascist tendencies led him to a closer relationship with the United States during and after World War II.

During the 1930s, fascism also influenced Peru as the issues of the Spanish Civil War affected the country. Many elite Peruvians feared the Spanish Republic, claiming that it “proved” the damaging effects of partisan politics. Thus, most wealthy and powerful Peruvians supported the profascist uprising and subsequent regime of Francisco Franco. The Peruvian press was also generally pro-Franco. Furthermore, Peruvian president Benavides was a strong Franco supporter. Indeed, Peru was one of the most pro-Nationalist countries in Latin America. As early as August 1936, Peru considered recognizing Franco’s Burgos government. Peruvian authorities also tacitly recognized the Nationalist government when it allowed the Spanish minister plenipotentiary to remain at his post after defecting from the Republican government and declaring his support for the Nationalists. Peruvian support for Franco could also be seen in Madrid itself. Spanish refugees fleeing the Republican government sought asylum in the Peruvian legation. Leftist death squads operated in Madrid, and many opponents of the Republic received protection from Peruvian diplomats, who sometimes even aided the refugees in leaving the country. The issue came to a head in May 1937, when Spanish authorities attacked the Peruvian consulate in Madrid, claiming that Peru was aiding the rebel faction. The Republicans arrested more than 400 refugees and the honorary consul from Peru. The incident led to a formal break in relations between the two countries in March 1938. In May 1938, Peru recognized Franco’s Nationalist regime.

Ron Young

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSERVATISM; ETHIOPIA; FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; ITALY; MARXISM; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; UNITED STATES THE (PRE-1945); WORLD WAR II

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PETAÏN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE (1856–1951)

Commander-in-chief of French armies in 1917 and head of the Vichy government in German-occupied France (1940–1944), Pétain advocated peace with Germany in June 1940. Prime minister from 17 June 1940, he accepted the armistice on 25 June. Voted full powers by parliament at Vichy (10 July), he decreed himself head of state on 11 July. Blaming the Third Republic's democracy for defeat, he instituted an authoritarian, corporatist, anti-Semitic, pro-Catholic "National Revolution." He met Hitler on 24 October 1940 and advocated "collaboration." Pétain was sentenced to death in 1945, but the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.

Robert O. Paxton

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; FRANCE; GERMANY; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; NATIONALISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; VICHY; WORLD WAR II

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PHALANGE (Lebanon)

Established in 1936 as a Maronite paramilitary youth organization by Pierre Jumayyil, who was consciously imitating the fascist organizations he had come across while taking part in the Berlin Olympics of that year. Phalange (the Arabic name was *Kataib*) was an authoritarian, highly centralized organization whose leader was all-powerful, and it soon developed into a significant political force in Mount Lebanon. As a political party Phalange has been closely associated with France and the West, although in the early 1940s it was temporarily dissolved by the French Mandate authorities because it had been calling for independence. Its motto is "God, the Fatherland and the family." At the core of Phalangist ideology is a notion of a special "Phoenician" identity of the Lebanese nation that sets it apart from the neighboring Muslim countries. The party has followed a consistently anticommunist and anti-Palestinian line, rejecting pan-Arabism. By 1958 membership of the Phalange Party had reached almost 40,000, and it was getting more than 60 percent of its candidates into the Chamber of Deputies. Although the party and its militia played a prominent part in the 1975 civil war, its influence waned through the 1980s, a process that was accelerated with the death of its founder in 1984. In 1987, George Saadah was appointed to the leadership and attempted to revitalize the party, but it was weakened by internal divisions.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BERLIN OLYMPICS; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; LEADER CULT, THE; MIDDLE EAST, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALESTINE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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PHILOSOPHY: See ACTUALISM;
BAEUMLER, ALFRED; GENTILE,
GIOVANNI; HEIDEGGER, MARTIN;
NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH;

ORGANICISM; POSITIVISM;
RATIONALISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED;
VITALISM; WELTANSCHAUUNG

PIASECKI, BOLESŁAW (1915–1979)

Polish ideologue and leader of the National-Radical Movement (Ruch Narodowo-Radykalny; RNR), also known as the National-Radical Camp Falanga (Oboz Narodowo Radykalny “Falanga”; ONR “Falanga”), which emerged as a radical breakaway faction of the nationalist movement in 1935. Openly emulating Italian and German fascisms, the RNR was responsible for terrorist attacks against Jews and left-wing activists. It enjoyed some support among university youth. During World War II, Piasecki led his own resistance organization, the Confederation of the Nation (Konfederacja Narodu; KN). After 1945, he became the leader of the procommunist Catholic association “Pax.”

Rafal Pankowski

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; DMOWSKI, ROMAN; NATIONALISM; PILSUDSKI, MARSHAL JOZEF; POLAND; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; WORLD WAR II

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PIERCE, WILLIAM (1933–2002)

Globally renowned far-right U.S. author and broadcaster. A native of Atlanta, Georgia, Pierce acquired a Ph.D. in physics and taught for three years at Oregon State University from 1962. In 1966 he moved to Washington, D.C., where he became acquainted with George Lincoln Rockwell and took up the editorship of *The National Socialist World*, the theoretical journal of

the American Nazi Party. Pierce subsequently broke with the party and became leader of the racist National Youth Alliance. In 1974, the organization became the National Alliance. Pierce is best known for his authorship of *The Turner Diaries*, a novel that since it was first published in 1978 has reportedly sold more than 350,000 copies. *The Turner Diaries* depicts a terrorist campaign that eventually leads to a racist seizure of power. Following Pierce's death in 2002, the National Alliance has continued under new leadership.

Martin Durham

See Also: MCVEIGH, TIMOTHY; NEO-NAZISM; OKLAHOMA BOMBING, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; ROCKWELL, GEORGE LINCOLN; *TURNER DIARIES, THE*; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM

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PILSUDSKI, MARSHAL JOZEF (1867–1935)

Right-wing dictator of Poland, 1926–1935. Pilsudski started his political activity as a leader of the underground Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna; PPS) in the 1890s and became the commander of a Polish legion during World War I. From 1918 till 1922, Pilsudski was the head of the Polish state and commander-in-chief during the war against the Bolsheviks in 1920. Disillusioned with parliamentary democracy, he staged a military coup d'état with the support of the Left in 1926 and established an authoritarian regime. A lifelong opponent of Roman Dmowski and his *endecja* movement, Pilsudski denounced fascism.

Rafal Pankowski

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; DMOWSKI, ROMAN; PARLIAMENTARISM; PIASECKI, BOLESŁAW; POLAND; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; SOCIALISM; WORLD WAR I

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PINOCHET UGARTE, GENERAL AUGUSTO (born 1915)

Military dictator of Chile from 1973 to 2000, often branded “fascist” but fits the mold of a classic military dictator rather than that of a fascist. He participated in the military coup that overthrew the elected government of socialist Salvador Allende, and more than 3,000 supporters of the Allende government were disappeared or murdered during his regime; many thousands more were imprisoned, tortured, or forced into exile. In October 1998, Pinochet was arrested on charges of genocide, torture, and murder, and proceedings against him are ongoing.

Margaret Power

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; CHILE;
MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Reference

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PIUS XI, POPE (1857–1939)

Leader of the Catholic Church for most of the interwar period, during which he was obliged to contend with the threat to the Church from the two powerful new ideologies of Bolshevism and fascism. He was born Ambrose Damian Achille Ratti in Desio, Italy, on 31 May 1857, and elected pope in 1921, only five months after having been appointed archbishop of Milan. Popes at this time considered themselves prisoners in the Vatican. The problem extended back to the time when Italy had seized the remnants of the once-powerful Vatican States. With the capture of Rome on 20 September 1870, the papacy was left without a home. Italy gave certain concessions to the Holy See, but since they were not part of a negotiated agreement, the popes refused to recognize them. This difficulty between Italy and the Holy See was known as the Roman Question.

Benito Mussolini came to power in Italy only a few months after Pius XI's election. Il Duce had previously expressed a very hostile attitude toward the Catholic Church, but now it was to his political advantage to reach agreement with the Holy See. Negotiations began early in the fall of 1926 and continued over the next few years. An agreement, known as the Lateran Treaty was signed on 11 February 1929. Under its terms, the Church was granted an independent state (although it amounted to only about 100 acres); Italy recognized Catholicism as its official state religion; anticlerical laws that had been in effect since 1870 were declared null and void; and the Holy See received a cash settlement for the lands that had been confiscated in 1870. Despite this new relationship, Mussolini's government did not treat the Church well. Pius XI, who did not favor Catholic political parties (disbanding them in France, Italy, and Germany during his papacy), strove to energize the laity through the organization Catholic Action. In the spring of 1931, Mussolini's blackshirts physically harassed members of Catholic Action. By the early summer, the pope had issued an encyclical on the subject, *Non Abbiamo Bisogno*. In it, Pius speculated that the regime's apparent mildness toward the Church had in fact been a cloak for more hostile purposes.

Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor, the head of the German government, on 30 January 1933. By April of that year, Pope Pius XI had sent a message to his representative in Berlin, telling him to intervene with the new government on behalf of Jewish people who were being persecuted. Despite mounting tensions, on 20 July of that year, Germany and the Holy See signed a concordat. It has been incorrectly reported that this was Nazi Germany's first international treaty. In fact, the Four Powers Pact between Germany, France, Italy, and Great Britain was signed on 7 June 1933. The Soviet Union on 5 May 1933 renewed a trade and friendship agreement with Germany, and on that same day the British parliament voted to accept an Anglo-German trade agreement. Moreover, Hitler's representatives were fully accredited and recognized by the League of Nations and took part in the disarmament discussions in Geneva, which also came before the signing of the concordat. Nevertheless, the concordat has caused some to speculate that Pius XI was too friendly toward the Nazi regime. Pius XI used concordats to ensure the Church's ability to hold services and carry out its functions; it had nothing to do with expressing approval of a regime. Under his leadership the Church reached agreement with twenty-one countries, and Pius XI was known as “the pope of the concordats.” He had been

trying to secure such an agreement with Germany for the better part of the 1920s. Officials from the Weimar Republic, however, had refused to meet the Vatican's demands. When Hitler rose to power, things changed. He never intended to keep his promises, so he was happy to agree to all of the Church's long-standing demands. Moreover, Hitler made it quite clear that if the Church were to reject his offer, he would simply publish his own terms and blame the pope for having rejected a favorable treaty that the Holy See itself had proposed. In a private conversation with Ivone Kirkpatrick, British ambassador to the Vatican, Cardinal Secretary of State Pacelli made clear that the concordat was not to be seen as an approval of Nazism. In fact, he expressed "disgust and abhorrence" of Hitler's reign of terror. The Vatican signed only because of pressure put on it by the Nazi regime.

Before the ink had dried on the concordat, Nazi troopers began rounding up suspected "traitors," and Catholic presses were shut down, as were Catholic labor unions. Catholic youth groups were decimated as children were required to join Hitler Youth groups. Bishops were denied access to their congregations and the right to travel to Rome. Finally, on 14 March 1937, Pope Pius XI issued an encyclical on the status of the Church and her relations with the German Reich. It was entitled *Mit Brennender Sorge*. Unlike most encyclicals, which are printed in Latin, this one was printed in German. It was smuggled into Germany and read on Palm Sunday in every Catholic church. In the encyclical, the pope called the Nazi leaders "superficial minds" who "could stumble into concepts of a national God, of a national religion; or attempt to lock within the frontiers of a single people, within the narrow limits of a single race, God, the creator of the universe, King and Legislator of all nations before whose immensity they are as a drop of a bucket." Pius went on to equate Nazi racial beliefs with a false god, and he criticized any suggestion of racism and racial hatred. The encyclical angered Hitler, and Nazis responded with physical retaliation against German Catholics. In 1938, Pius condemned anti-Semitic laws in Italy and Germany, and in September of that year, in a statement that soon made its way around the world, he declared: "Mark well that in the Catholic Mass, Abraham is our Patriarch and forefather. Anti-Semitism is incompatible with the lofty thought which that fact expresses. It is a movement with which we Christians can have nothing to do. No, no, I say to you it is impossible for a Christian to take part in anti-Semitism. . . . Spiritually, we are all Semites." Nonetheless, controversy has arisen in the post-

war era regarding the adequacy of his dealings as head of the Catholic Church with the fascist powers and of his response to the plight of the Jews.

Ronald Rychlak

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; EDUCATION; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PACIFISM; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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PIUS XII, POPE (1876–1958)

Leader of the Catholic Church during World War II and the object of fierce critical scrutiny since the 1960s in respect to his dealings with fascist regimes and his response to the persecution of the Jews. He was born Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli; he proved an exceptional student and was accepted into a prestigious seminary in Rome, the Capranica. Pope Leo XIII had set up a program for training promising young clerics to serve in the Vatican diplomatic service, and two years after Pacelli was ordained, Cardinal Gasparri invited him into this program. In the summer of 1917, Pacelli was consecrated bishop and sent to Munich to replace the papal nuncio to Bavaria, Archbishop Giuseppe Aversa, who had died. Munich in the 1920s was also the home of Adolf Hitler. Pacelli watched with rising alarm the spread of nationalist ideas. In 1921 a German newspaper quoted him warning people about the rise of this new ideology. In 1923 he wrote to Rome that "followers of Hitler" were persecuting Catholics and Jews. In fact, of the forty-four public speeches that

Nuncio Pacelli made on German soil between 1917 and 1929, at least forty contained attacks on nationalism, racism, or other values that were central to Hitler and his followers.

In 1929, Pacelli was recalled to Rome and elevated to the cardinalate. Early the next year he was made cardinal secretary of state. In 1933, after the Nazis had eliminated the Catholic Center Party in Germany, they approached the Holy See, through Pacelli, to obtain a concordat. Pacelli eventually negotiated on behalf of the Vatican for an agreement that protected Catholic rights in Germany. The terms also kept priests and bishops out of the Nazi Party and ended up helping the Church protect Jewish refugees. As secretary of state, Pacelli made trips on behalf of the pope to France, the United States, Hungary, and Buenos Aires. In the United States he met with Jewish leaders and reaffirmed the Vatican's 1916 condemnation of anti-Semitism. In two trips to France, Pacelli protested against the "superstitions of race and blood," spoke of "that noble and powerful nation whom bad shepherds would lead astray into an idolatry of race," and denounced the "pagan cult of race." The Reich and Prussian minister for ecclesiastical affairs wrote to the German foreign ministry that Pacelli's "unmistakable allusion to Germany . . . was very well understood in the France of the Popular Front and the anti-German world."

On 2 March 1939, Pacelli became pope. The Nazi invasion of Poland came on 1 September 1939. On 14 September, addressing the new Belgian ambassador, Pius described the Nazi invasion as "an immeasurable catastrophe" and declared that "this new war, which already shakes the soil of Europe, and particularly that of a Catholic nation, no human prevision can calculate the frightful carnage which it bears within itself, nor what its extension and its successive complications will be." On 26 September, addressing a group of German pilgrims, Pius called the war "a terrible scourge of God" and directly warned the German clergy not to celebrate German militarism. On 30 September, while addressing Cardinal Hlond and a group of Polish pilgrims, Pius made an unmistakable reference to the Nazis as "the enemies of God." Pius followed these statements with a strong statement of antitotalitarianism, *Summi Pontificatus*. This profound encyclical made reference to "the ever-increasing host of Christ's enemies" and noted that these enemies of Christ "deny or in practice neglect the vivifying truths and the values inherent in belief in God and in Christ." The encyclical also dealt with racial matters and expressed the pope's conviction that through the Church "there is neither Gentile nor

Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free. But Christ is all and in all." The equating of Gentiles and Jews was a clear rejection of Hitler's fundamental ideology. Allied forces dropped thousands of copies of it behind enemy lines for propaganda purposes.

Pius followed his first encyclical with a Christmas address in which he spoke of "a series of deeds, irreconcilable either with natural law or with the most elementary human feelings. . . . In this category falls the premeditated aggression against a small, hardworking and peaceful people, under the pretext of a 'threat' nonexistent, not thought of, not even possible." His 1942 Christmas statement, coming at the end of the year in which the Nazis had decided on the "Final Solution," spoke of "the hundreds of thousands who, through no fault of their own, and solely because of their nation or race, have been condemned to death or progressive extinction." Pius also supported priests and bishops around the world who stood against the Nazis. His opposition to the Nazis was well recorded in the press, particularly in Christmas day editorials in the *New York Times* in 1941 and 1942.

When Hitler occupied Rome in September 1943, Pius opened Vatican City to Jewish and non-Jewish refugees. He offered gold to pay ransom to protect Jews; he opened St. Peter's, Castelgandolfo (the papal summer home), seminaries, convents, and other Church properties to shelter refugees; and he operated a relief program to help people across Europe. With his encouragement, a vast underground of priests, religious, and laity served as a covert organization dedicated to protecting Jewish and non-Jewish refugees from the Nazis. It is commonly estimated that the Church under Pius aided more than half a million Jewish refugees during the war. This work so infuriated Hitler that at least twice he planned to invade the Vatican and kill or kidnap the pope. He was dissuaded only because his military leaders convinced him that such a course of action would make continued occupation of Italy too difficult. One of the Jewish people sheltered by the Vatican was the chief rabbi of Rome, Israel Zolli. Shortly after the war, he converted to Catholicism. In tribute to the pope for all he had done to protect Jews and others, Zolli chose the name Eugenio for his Christian name, and Pius XII served as his godfather. Zolli lived long enough to see the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra play a concert of thanks to Pius XII and the Catholic Church in Vatican City in 1955.

Upon the liberation of Rome in 1944, Pius made one of his most fervent pleas for tolerance. "For cen-

turies,” he said, referring to the Jews, “they have been most unjustly treated and despised. It is time they were treated with justice and humanity. God wills it and the Church wills it. St. Paul tells us that the Jews are our brothers. Instead of being treated as strangers they should be welcomed as friends.” The end of the war saw Pius XII hailed as “the inspired moral prophet of victory.” He enjoyed near-universal acclaim for aiding European Jews through diplomatic initiatives, thinly veiled public pronouncements, and the unprecedented continentwide network of sanctuary. When he died at Castelgandolfo on 9 October 1958, the messages of condolence included tributes from Jewish leaders Golda Meir, Nahum Goldmann, and Rabbi Elio Toaff, as well as from the Anti-Defamation League, the World Jewish Congress, and the Rabbinical Council of America.

One of the things Pius had feared in his lifetime was that the spread of Soviet influence would bring persecution to the Church (which in fact it did). He had used his enhanced postwar status to try to offset communist influence in Western Europe, especially in Italy, where communism almost took over in the late 1940s. It seems significant that it was precisely during this political campaign that communists first voiced the allegations that were later used by papal critics to argue that Pius XII was “silent” in the face of Nazi persecution of Jews. These allegations were picked up and given global publicity in 1963, when East German playwright Rolf Hochhuth wrote a play entitled *The Deputy* (*Der Stellvertreter*). It was a scathing indictment of Pius XII’s alleged indifference to Jewish suffering in the Holocaust. Although the play was fictional, Hochhuth wrote an appendix in which he drew on communist propaganda from the late 1940s to justify his work. The play spawned a great deal of academic writing about the role of the Church and the papacy during World War II. Several works, critical and supportive, appeared in the 1960s and up through 1980.

In 1964, Pope Paul VI, who knew and strongly defended Pius XII, asked a team of three Jesuit historians (later joined by a fourth) to conduct research in closed Vatican archives and publish relevant documents from the war years. The project was completed in 1981 with the publication of the eleventh volume of the *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la seconde guerre mondiale*. These volumes seemed to quell the controversy. The diplomatic correspondence contained therein, as well as notes and memoranda from meetings with diplomats and Church leaders, clearly showed that the pope and the Catholic Church were

heavily involved in many efforts to rescue Jewish and other victims from the Nazis. They also showed that Pius XII was opposed to Hitler and that he was concerned about Jewish victims. Very little was written about this controversy from 1981 until the release of John Cornwell’s book *Hitler’s Pope* in 1999. Cornwell changed the terms of the debate. Rather than arguing that Pius XII was anti-Semitic or that he sympathized with Nazi ideals, Cornwell argued that the wartime pope was concerned primarily about establishing a strong papacy and that he lacked moral courage. Therefore, Cornwell argued, he was a perfect pope for Hitler. Much of his evidence was quickly discredited, and serious scholars—even those critical of Pius XII—largely rejected his claims, but Cornwell had reignited the argument about the role that the pope had played during World War II. Since 1999 there have been numerous books and articles critical of Pope Pius XII and the Catholic Church for their role in the war. Hochhuth’s play *The Deputy* was even filmed and released as a motion picture entitled *Amen*. There have also been some more nuanced books and many that praise Pius XII and Catholic efforts during that era. This flurry of attention has resulted in several new allegations, many of which are inconsistent with the charges raised by other critics. The controversy seems likely to continue.

Ronald Rychlak

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BLOOD; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CLERICO-FASCISM; COLD WAR, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; MARXISM; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PAPACY, THE; PIUS XI, POPE; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RELIGION; SLOVAKIA; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; WORLD WAR II

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PLUTOCRACY

Term of abuse in the lexicon of interwar fascists. Their underlying argument was that “privileged minorities”—small numbers of extremely wealthy individuals (“plutocrats”)—were pulling the strings and holding countries to ransom. The fact that many Jews were wealthy, and in positions of power and influence, added to the poignancy of “plutocracy” as an issue for fascists. Key fascist leaders employed the term liberally. Mussolini declared that the “old plutocracies” denied Italy wealth and power. Goebbels used the word four times in quick succession with reference to Britain in a speech to celebrate Hitler’s birthday in 1940. For the Nazis, the term was often simply a code word for “the Jews.”

P. J. Davies

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BANKS, THE; CAPITALISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA

PNF: See FASCIST PARTY, THE
POETRY: See ART; D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; ECKART, JOHANN DIETRICH; GEORGE, STEFAN; JÜNGER, ERNST; MODERNISM; POUND, EZRA; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SOUTH AFRICA; YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER

POL POT (1925–1998)

Nom de guerre for Saloth Sar, prime minister of Kampuchea (1976–1979), who advocated an extreme form of communism reminiscent of fascism by its combination with extreme nationalism and terror. He joined the French Communist Party in 1952. By 1963, he

headed what would become the Communist Party of Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge). When the Khmer Rouge took power in 1975, he unleashed a radical communist revolution with nationalist tendencies. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, he fled to the Thai-Cambodian border and remained there until his death.

Susan Ear and Sophal Ear

See Also: BOLSHEVISM; KAMPUCHEA; KHMER ROUGE, THE; MARXISM; NATIONALISM

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POLAND

Because of its fate during World War II, Poland has traditionally been seen as a victim of fascism rather than as a homeland of indigenous fascist movements, but a number of Polish fascist or parafascist groups existed throughout the twentieth century. Nevertheless, despite their relative strength they never came close to seizing power. Boleslaw Piasecki’s fully fledged fascist National-Radical Movement was popular among university youth in the late 1930s, but its wider influence remained limited. After the re-emergence of Poland in 1918, this Central European country could be seen as a potentially fertile soil for fascism. The new state included some 35 percent of national minorities, and ethnic tensions were a constant feature of the country’s political life right until 1939. Popular anti-Semitism in particular was growing, directed against the country’s sizable (10 percent) Jewish community. The parliamentary system disappointed many in the early 1920s, appearing unstable and corrupt. Moreover, the economic situation remained difficult for the greater part of the interwar period, and the results of the global Great Depression for Polish industry were particularly devastating. The right-wing nationalist movement *endecja* (National Democracy) was clearly impressed by the success of Mussolini, and the slogan “Long Live Polish Fascism!” was popular among its supporters, not least during the mass demonstrations that preceded the assassination of the liberal president Gabriel Narutowicz in December 1922. Nevertheless, despite the gradual radi-

calization of *endecja* in terms of its antidemocratic and, especially, anti-Semitic ideology, it never transformed itself into a truly fascist movement. One reason was the internal division within *endecja*: its “old” leadership remained committed to economic liberalism and the parliamentary road to power, while the “young” generation, supported by the main ideologue of *endecja*, Roman Dmowski, pressed for a more militant political policy.

After the 1926 coup d'état by Pilsudski, which was perceived as a preventative move from the Left, the frustration at the inability of *endecja* to seize power grew. Dmowski tried to emulate Italian Fascism by setting up the extraparliamentary Greater Poland Camp (Oboz Wielkiej Polski; OWP). The OWP was banned by the authorities in 1932–1933, which contributed to the further alienation of “young” activists who were disappointed by the allegedly passive reaction of *endecja* leaders. In 1934 a breakaway organization was formed under the name of the National-Radical Camp (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny; ONR). It consisted of some 4,000 former *endecja* activists, mostly university students. The ONR called for the stripping of the Jews of Polish citizenship and criticized the capitalist system. The ONR saw itself as the vanguard in the struggle against the Pilsudski regime. After the ONR was banned in 1934, two rival factions emerged as its successors: the so-called ONR “ABC” and the National-Radical Movement (Ruch Narodowo-Radykalny; RNR), also known as the ONR Falanga (*ABC* and *Falanga* were the titles of rival nationalist publications). Both “national-radical” groups remained active semilegally until 1939. The RNR, led by Boleslaw Piasecki, espoused an overtly totalitarian program, calling for a “National Revolution.” In 1937 the RNR came close to being incorporated as part of the ruling National Unity Camp (Oboz Zjednoczenia Narodowego; OZN), a new mass organization set up by former followers of Pilsudski, which itself gravitated to the nationalist Right. This move, however, was met with a counteraction from the left-liberal wing of the ruling elite. Both ONR factions were responsible for terrorist attacks against Jews and left-wing activists in the late 1930s. They succeeded in forcing some universities to introduce the physical segregation of Jewish and non-Jewish students at university lectures. They gradually radicalized their demands for removing Jewish students from Polish universities altogether. *Endecja* and its splinter groups pledged their strong allegiance to the Catholic faith, and they were supported by a significant part of the clergy. Nevertheless, a neopagan fascist group with a limited appeal also ap-

peared in the late 1930s: the Zadruga group, led by Jan Stachniuk.

There was no political collaboration with Nazi occupiers in Poland during World War II on a scale comparable to France or Norway. Apart from the traditional anti-Germanism of *endecja*, this can also be explained in terms of a lack of interest on the German side: the founder of the short-lived collaborationist National Radical Organization (Narodowa Organizacja Radykalna; NOR), Andrzej Swietlicki (pre-1939 member of the RNR), was eventually killed by the Nazis in 1940. Nevertheless, the level of the involvement of some Poles in the Holocaust has been the subject of a lively debate since the publication of Jan Gross's book *Neighbors* about a 1941 pogrom in Jedwabne. Piasecki himself was arrested by the Gestapo in 1939 and released after intervention by his friends in the Italian Fascist establishment. With a group of followers he continued his activity in the framework of his own resistance organization, the Confederation of the Nation (Konfederacja Narodu; KN). Imprisoned by the Soviet security service, NKVD, in 1945, he agreed to form a procommunist Catholic group that became known as “Pax.” Its ideology blended elements of Catholicism, Marxism, and nationalism.

In the 1990s, extreme nationalist and fascist groups reappeared on the Polish political landscape, most notably the Polish National Community (Polska Wspolnota Narodowa; PWN), led by Boleslaw Tejkowski, and Adam Gmurczyk's National Rebirth of Poland (Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski; NOP), which is a part of the London-based International Third Position (ITP). Neo-Nazi skinhead networks such as “Blood and Honour” appeared in Poland in the late 1990s, too, and found themselves a niche in youth popular culture. A number of skinhead activists joined larger political parties—such as the post-*endecja* League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin; LPR) and the populist Self-Defense (Samoobrona)—that received a combined 18 percent of the vote in the 2001 parliamentary election.

Rafal Pankowski

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DEMOCRACY; DMOWSKI, ROMAN; FRANCE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORWAY; PARAFASCISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PIASECKI, BOLESLAW; PILSUDSKI, MARSHAL JOZEF; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROGRESS; SKINHEAD FASCISM; THIRD POSITIONISM; TOTALITARIANISM; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR II

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POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY

The Polish republic founded in 1918 was composed of Polish-speaking territories in Russia, Austria, and Germany. These areas contained significant sectors that were not, however, Polish by culture or language, and there were significant German elements. The Treaty of Versailles established a “Polish Corridor” of land that gave access to the sea, and this was a particular focus of conflict. The ancient port of Danzig (modern Gdansk) at the mouth of the river Vistula had traditionally been one of the Germanic Free Ports of the Hanseatic League, but at the same time it had been subject to the old Kingdom of Poland. The Versailles Treaty enacted its demilitarization as a “Free City.” That and the creation of the “Polish Corridor” caused huge offense to German nationalists.

France viewed the new Polish state as a valuable buffer against any future German expansion. In 1934, Hitler attempted to weaken Polish ties to France by signing a ten-year nonaggression pact with Poland. But in March 1939 the German dictator demanded an end to the Versailles status of Danzig and the Polish Corridor, and made the “liberation” of the German part of the population a pretext for his invasion and conquest of Poland in September 1939. German-speakers in Poland were treated as citizens of the Reich, but the rest were subjected to brutal treatment as racial inferiors. In western Poland, German settlers were encouraged to take over land belonging to Poles. Poland was the location for many of the concentration camps in which the Holocaust was implemented.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EXPANSIONISM; FRANCE; *GENERALGOVERNMENT*/GENERAL GOVERNMENT, THE; GERMANY; GHETTOS, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PANGERMANISM; POLAND; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR II

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POLITICAL CATHOLICISM

The response of Italian Catholic parties to the rise of Mussolinian Fascism was generally hostile: led by Luigi Sturzo, the Popolari opposed Mussolini's new movement and consequently became one of the chief targets of squadrist violence. Very unwillingly, Sturzo agreed to his party's participation in Mussolini's first government, formed in November 1922. A not dissimilar situation was to be found in Germany: there the Center Party and its Bavarian sister party, the BVP, suffered little from Nazi electoral inroads. In both cases, however, the Catholic parties' internal divisions were successfully exploited to defeat them. In Italy, Mussolini managed to attract supporters from among the right-wing Popolari and leading Catholic businessmen and financiers: these “clerico-fascists,” as they were called, played an important role in Mussolini's consolidation of the Fascist dictatorship and in his early contacts with the Vatican. In Germany, a major defector from the right of the Center Party, Franz Von Papen, helped to prepare the way for Hitler's installation as chancellor in 1933.

The greatest problem for the Catholic parties in their efforts to resist the rise of Fascism was the attitude of Pope Pius XI, who did not like Catholic political

parties in and of themselves. In addition, Pius was averse to priests having a political role: Sturzo of the Popolari, Kaas of the Center Party, Seipel of the Austrian Christian Socials, and Hlinka and Tiso of the Slovak People's Party were all both clerics and leaders of their respective parties. Thus Pius was happy to oblige Mussolini by forcing Sturzo to resign in 1923, and he sent Sturzo into exile the following year. Mussolini was equally happy when the PPI (Popolari) was dissolved in 1926 and the Center Party brought about its own dissolution in 1933.

Catholic politicians and groups played an important part in the resistance to Nazism in Belgium, Holland, and France. In the latter case, Catholic participation brought about a renewal of French Catholic political activity, culminating in the formation of the Christian democratic Mouvement Républicain Populaire at the end of the war. In Italy, though the majority of former Popolari did not actively resist the Fascist regime, a small nucleus of them went into exile, and Alcide De Gasperi, the future Christian Democratic prime minister, was put on trial and imprisoned. During the period of the Salò Republic, from 1943 to 1945, several Catholic groups organized partisan brigades to fight Mussolini, and with the former Popolari they would form the nucleus of the postwar Christian Democratic Party. Similarly, though on a very much smaller scale, Catholics in Germany participated in the resistance to Hitler, and some paid with their lives for their role. It can be argued, in the longer term, that Catholic opposition to Fascism and Nazism provided the springboard for the post-1945 "triumph" of Christian Democratic parties in the countries of Western Europe.

In Slovakia, however, the involvement of the Slovak People's Party regime in alliance with Nazi Germany, its secession from the Czechoslovak state, and its complicity in the deportation of Slovakian Jews to the death camps led to the executions of its leaders, Tiso and Tuka.

John Pollard

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CENTER PARTY, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CROATIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; DEMOCRACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PAPA-PACY, THE; PAPPEN, FRANZ VON; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SCHMITT, CARL; SLOVAKIA; TISO, MGR. JOSEF; TUKA, DR. VOJTECH; USTASHA

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POLITICAL RELIGION: See RELIGION
POPULISM: See NEOPOPULISM

PORTUGAL

Despite the fact that it was governed by an authoritarian right-wing regime for almost half of the twentieth century, there is remarkably little evidence of active fascist movements in interwar Portugal. Some political movements did adopt some of the radical fascist-type programs popular in early-twentieth-century Europe, but they enjoyed limited popular support. Having said this, there were exceptions. As an organized movement, the radical integralist group Integralismo Lusitano, which was formed by students at the University of Coimbra in 1914, adopted and adapted many of the ideals being espoused in France by Charles Maurras's Action Française. Yet while the Integralists were only too willing to push a vision of a corporatist, integralist, and authoritarian state, they did not advocate any of the more radical policies associated with fascism, nor indeed the racial doctrines of German Nazism. Created as a radical monarchist response to the recently created republic, the Integralists were basically nationalists whose main goal was the regeneration of the Portuguese nation through the re-establishment of traditional forms of societal control. While their views were unquestionably elitist, insofar as they advocated the top-down reform of Portuguese society, they did not create any violent heroic myths of their own.

The continuing failure of the First Republic to legitimate itself created a set of social, economic, financial, and political factors that were conducive to endemic instability within civil society. The decision of the Republic's leaders to engineer Portugal's entry into World War I on the side of the Allies was crucial in providing the



The Portuguese National Syndicalist Movement salute their leader, Francisco Rolão Preto, in typical fascist style. The Portuguese regime under Salazar is sometimes referred to as a 'fascist' dictatorship, but Salazar showed his true colors by banning this fascistic movement and exiling its leader. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

catalyst that would tear Portuguese society apart in unforeseen ways. The decision to enter the war was, above all, a party political one, and it was taken against the wishes of both the Portuguese armed forces and the governments of Britain and France. The fact that it was common knowledge that Portugal's entry into the war was not desired provided a fillip for antirepublican and anti-Republican Party forces. Far from uniting Portuguese society under the Republic against a common external enemy, entry into the war created new divisions within Portuguese society and exacerbated existing ones. One of the major consequences, however, was the politicization of the armed forces. With the partial exception of the navy, the Portuguese military had studiously avoided taking a position with respect to the nature of the political regime. From being neutral on-lookers during the republicans' overthrow of the monarchy in 1910, the military now became a major

player. In effect, the politicians had somehow overlooked the fact that the Portuguese military was a top-heavy and elitist institution, with an officer corps that was drawn largely from the old aristocracy. While they may not have been willing to risk their positions to save a corrupt and generally disliked monarchy, they were similarly unwilling to risk their lives to fight in a war against an enemy they admired, on the side of the "great democracies" that they so distrusted.

Matters came to a head when the majority of the officer corps simply refused their orders to fight. The government backed down and allowed them to remain in Portugal, while hastily training a new republican officer corps to fight in their stead. This was to create new problems. In the meantime, however, the antirepublican officer corps was able to remain in Portugal, where they were to become a major problem for the republican government, which had now lost that part of the

army upon whom it could depend to defend it. Political agitation within the army was not slow to spread, culminating in the attempted uprising led by Machado Santos in October 1916. Nevertheless, while the ideals that were gaining some popularity within the armed forces were undoubtedly authoritarian and right-wing, they were much more reactionary than radical; rather than promoting the ideals that were to become associated with twentieth-century Italian Fascism or Nazism, they tended to advocate the overthrow of the Republic and the re-establishment of Portugal's monarchy.

In December 1917, Major Sidonio Pais took advantage of the Republican Party's unpopularity and the absence of any forces capable of defending the government, to launch a coup against it. Pais's coup was supported by a heterogeneous collection of groups that were discontented with the existing republican regime, ranging from Integralists to traditional monarchists, socialists, trade unionists, and many more. Their common enemy was the Republican Party, but there was no agreement on what type of regime should follow. While Pais adopted many of the characteristics that were to become associated with fascist leaders in the future (for example, the creation of a personality cult around him as the national savior), these characteristics were developed as a reaction to his failure to create a unified movement that would be capable of promoting a new vision. Basically, he used his charismatic appeal to compensate for the lack of any real ideological movement. His attempt at creating a single party in his image, his adoption of populist policies (such as the program of government-supported soup kitchens), the creation of a unicameral chamber, and his advocacy of corporatist and presidentialist solutions to the regime question—all failed to unite the Portuguese people. His continued advocacy of republicanism and his failure to take Portugal out of the war cost him his monarchist allies, who refused to join his single party. His failure to address any of the real social problems affecting the Portuguese working classes lost him the support of the working-class organizations that had manned the barricades with him. The disrespect he displayed to his party's leader, Brito Camacho, lost him the sympathy of many republicans. In the end, devoid of any real ideas as to how to resolve the regime question, Sidonio stuttered from one crisis to the next until, in the course of an attempt to assuage a promonarchist military movement in the north of the country, he was assassinated by a prorepublican World War I veteran. Within one month of his death the republicans were back in power in Lisbon and the south, while the monarchists controlled Oporto and the north. Sidonio's legacy was civil war.

Obviously, the civil war of 1919 hardened opinions on all sides of the political spectrum. The Integralists, who had become one of the most precocious political groups of the time, had been damaged as a result of their collaboration with Sidonio. Their program, which was still largely that of Action Française, advocated the creation of an absolute monarchy and the establishment of local corporatist-style representation. While this may have had something in common with the ideals being espoused by Mussolini in Italy, it is not sufficient grounds to claim that Integralism was fascistic. Nevertheless, there were elements within Integralism that did express their admiration for Italian Fascism. One leading Integralist, Francisco Rolão Preto, wrote a series of articles in 1922 in which he openly praised the political ideals espoused by Mussolini. As the decade progressed, and as the political, financial, social, and economic instability of the Republic grew worse, more and more radical and reactionary grouplets of varying size and importance appeared. Some of these groups, such as the Cruzada Nuno Alvarez, were openly sympathetic to fascist ideology, and some, such as Homens Livre, even had important political supporters. Nevertheless, these groups had very little—if any—influence at the political level, and even at the grass roots they were little more than small gangs of thugs, never amounting to a serious political force. Consequently, all of the attempts to overthrow the Republic were made by conservative groups within the armed forces, and not by the fascistic groups. Following the successful coup of May 1926, the small radical movements were very quickly trampled underfoot by the successful military.

One slight exception to this general survey was the National Syndicalist Movement that was formed by Rolão Preto in 1929. Rolão Preto had left the Integralists because he believed that they had undermined their own position by supporting factions within the post-May 1926 military leadership, a leadership that very early on had shown itself to be republican. He had then become increasingly alarmed at the path that the recently installed military dictatorship was taking. He believed that it was far too conservative, and that the appointment of the former Catholic Party deputy and university economics professor António Salazar as minister of finance, with veto authority over all aspects of government policy, meant that there would be little chance of any movement toward his preferred option of an absolute monarchy. The National Syndicalist Movement brought together radical students, disillusioned republicans, absolutist monarchists, nationalists, and some trade unionists in a loose ideological movement. While its declared aim was to

overthrow the regime and establish a corporate state, and while it did establish a blue-shirted militia organization and institute a cult of personality around Preto, the real motivation driving the National Syndicalists was, undoubtedly, their common desire to rid Portugal of Salazar. He was the obstacle preventing the attainment of all of their privately disparate goals. Salazar, however, was far too astute for them, and he simply banned the movement, while offering its members positions within his regime and its party, the National Union. More than half of the movement accepted Salazar's offer and moved into positions within the party and the many party and regime organizations. Rolão Preto and his deputy, Alberto de Monsaraz, were exiled to Spain. The National Syndicalist movement ceased to exist.

After banning the only overtly fascist movement that Portugal had known, Salazar set about creating his own institutions, which were to adopt fascist-style rituals, rites, and symbols, such as the Roman salute and the leadership principle. At the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the Portuguese regime introduced the Portuguese Legion, a volunteer corps that would fight alongside Franco's insurgents, and also the Portuguese Youth, which was loosely modeled on the Italian Balilla. Nevertheless, such organizations were kept at arm's length from the regime: they were little more than window-dressing, with no political power or influence whatsoever. As soon as the Spanish Civil War was over, the use of fascist-style symbol and ritual was officially discouraged by the regime, which was increasingly protective of its pro-British orientation. By the time that World War II broke out, Portugal was quite clearly within the British sphere of influence. While Portugal remained neutral during the war, and while it did trade with Germany, Salazar's intervention was crucial in securing Spanish neutrality and the protection of shipping lanes. In an act that bordered on belligerent, Portugal offered first Britain, then the United States, use of the Azores Islands for refueling and resupply.

In the few tumultuous months immediately following the military overthrow of the dictatorship of Salazar's successor, Marcello Caetano, in 1974, there was a sudden appearance of extremist political groups, each with its own agenda and goals. While the vast majority of these groups were on the left of the political spectrum, there were one or two that continued to espouse ideals that bordered on the fascistic. These groups, however, were very rarely more than one- or two-man enterprises, and they disappeared almost as quickly as they appeared. The restoration of democracy

and the country's promised accession to the European Union very quickly undermined the extremists, depriving them of a receptive audience.

Stewart Lloyd-Jones

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; MARXISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; PARAFASCISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; REVOLUTION; ROLÃO PRETO, FRANCISCO; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SALUTES; SOCIALISM; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; STYLE; SYMBOLS; SYNDICALISM; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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POSITIVISM

A theory that had a special significance in the vocabulary of fascist propagandists. Revolutionary Syndicalists like Georges Sorel and early fascist theoreticians in general often regarded their program as conceived directly in opposition to what they regarded as the materialistic superficialities of a positivistic approach to solving intellectual problems; their ire was especially aroused by positivism's naive optimism and superficial faith in social progress and equality. (In its original meaning, as defined by Claude-Henri Saint-Simon and adopted by his disciple Auguste Comte, positivism denoted the factual analysis of phenomena based on science, apart

from any form of metaphysics.) The idea that Italian Fascism emerged as a direct response to positivism has been stressed in the writings of prominent historians such as Norberto Bobbio and Zeev Sternhell, especially in the latter's *Birth of Fascist Ideology* (1994). This analysis is undermined by the fact that the term *positivism* became a virtual misnomer in Italy during the final decades of the nineteenth century, because by that time its content had departed substantially from its original nonmetaphysical Comtian framework of ideas and intentions. Rejection of the ideas of Auguste Comte was explicit among a number of Italian "positivist" leaders. Thus, what is generally taken to be "positivism" in Italy, and generally considered as a system of ideas against which nascent Fascist ideology rebelled, was actually an inspiration behind some of the key concepts of Fascist ideology. Sternhell's argument that fascism arose as a concerted reaction against positivism therefore requires some fine tuning.

The main branch of Italian positivism under the leadership of Enrico Morselli (1852–1929), Roberto Ardigò (1828–1920), and Giuseppe Sergi (1841–1936), writers and scientists under the direct tutelage of the monism of the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel, contributed to Fascism a basic antipathy toward the values of traditional Western civilization, a support for policies of extreme Social Darwinism, and a commitment to the spread of a new faith based on secular mysticism. Above all, Fascism derived from positivism a belief that science constituted the foundation of its understanding of the nature of man and society. After Fascism attained political power in Italy in the 1920s, many statements of its basic principles appearing in official Fascist publications clearly reflected the influence of the Italian positivist tradition. Fascism's assumption that it was proceeding along the paths marked out by the tradition of the scientific revolution and the findings of modern evolutionary science bore the imprint of the positivist tradition. In addition, a good number of former positivist writers, such as the anthropologist Giuseppe Sergi and the criminologist Enrico Ferri (1856–1929), warmly embraced Fascism.

Daniel Gasman

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MOSCA, GAETANO; ORGANICISM; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SPIRITO, UGO

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Sternhell, Zeev. 1994. *The Birth of Fascist Ideology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

POSTWAR FASCISM

The political and social climate that prevailed after World War II condemned all attempts to create mass-based parties with a paramilitary wing to failure, but the tenacity of fascism as an ideological force led some of its most ardent activists to adopt three basic tactics to survive in a climate now hostile to all forms of revolutionary nationalism: internationalization, whereby concern with reversing decadence of the nation (increasingly often conceived as a homogenous ethnic group or culture rather than as a nation-state) was located within anxieties over the fate of Europe, the white race, or the West as a whole; groupuscularization, whereby fascism assumed the form of small units or cells of ideological or violent activism with no aspiration to be a mass party, and often with no ambition even to become an electoral presence; and metapolitization, whereby resources were concentrated not on winning power in political space but on achieving cultural hegemony in civic (or what has been described as "uncivic") space as the precondition for radical sociopolitical change. These tactics, adopted more out of necessity than choice, mean that postwar fascism typically no longer manifests itself in the type of visible political formation familiar from the party rallies and theatrical events of the 1930s, with a conspicuous leader and uniformed followers. Instead, much of it increasingly operates "rhizomically," spawning new groupuscules that together operate not as a movement but as a network, analogous to the World Wide Web, which has come to play such an important role in disseminating (or attempting to disseminate) fascist ideas of inaugurating a new era.

Those historians who hold that postwar fascism is an irrelevancy can point to the fact that, in marked contrast with interwar Europe, hardly any fascist parties have made inroads into the sphere of democratic politics since 1945. The partial exceptions are the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands and the Movimento Sociale Italiano, both of which once gained some notoriety in their attempts to perpetuate German Nazism and Italian Fascism, respectively. They could do so only by drastically watering down the revolutionary programs of their interwar forebears, despite which they remained utterly marginalized by mainstream politics. It was only when in 1994 the MSI transformed itself into the democratic right-wing and "postfascist" Alleanza Nazionale under Gianfranco Fini that it

managed to become sufficiently electable to form part of the government coalition, having publicly jettisoned its Fascist baggage. Other fascist parties, such as the United Kingdom's National Front in the 1970s, have been able to ride high on occasional waves of national anxiety about mass immigration and have attracted considerable news media attention, but they have never seriously threatened the status quo. As for high-profile parties that espouse overt forms of xenophobia or make covert appeals to fascist sentiments, such as France's National Front, Germany's Republicans, the Austrian Freedom Party, or the Belgian Vlaams Blok, non-Marxist political scientists generally classify these not as fascist but as forms of right-wing populism, or "neopopulism," that pursue policies aimed to put the (ethnically conceived) nation first without calling for a radically "new order." It is a sign of the times that the British National Party, which was originally neo-Nazi in its core values, was by the early 2000s presenting itself as a populist party in order to gain more votes, thereby underlining the basic impotence of fascism as an electoral force. This trend is conformed by the utter political failure of Italy's Fiamma Tricolore, the party formed by intransigent Fascists who refused to participate in Fini's "sell-out" in 1994, and the rapid rise and fall of the extreme xenophobe Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, whose party program mixed fascist and neopopulist elements, as a possible presidential candidate in the new Russia.

The internationalized and metapoliticized subculture of extremism created by fascist groupuscules forms the backcloth to more high-profile political and cultural pressure groups at work in particular countries; it can easily generate the illusion of a vast virtual community of believers working for the fascist cause all over the world, either trying to create the spark that will ignite the final conflict or keeping the faith for the duration of the protracted "interregnum" that must precede the transformation as long as liberal materialism holds sway. Fascism may have largely evacuated conventional party-political space and hierarchical organizations for civic and rhizomic ones, but it now constitutes an aggregate antisystemic force greater than the sum of its component parts, one that cannot be analyzed adequately using the historiographical techniques and assumptions appropriate to interwar Europe.

This organizational transformation has been accompanied by some significant changes in ideology. Not only have some groups renounced the prospect of the imminent rebirth of the nation and abandoned the nation-state as the primary unit of regeneration, but many "modern" fascists now campaign on such is-



Alessandra Mussolini, who has become a torch bearer of the Far Right in modern Italy; her grandfather was the Fascist Dictator Benito Mussolini. (Alessandra Benedetti/Corbis)

sues as the need to transcend capitalism—sometimes advocating a new synthesis of Left and Right known as Third Positionism—to combat globalization and the One-World system, to stem the tide of multiculturalism and mass migration that is eroding cultural difference (producing a form of racism known as "differentialism"), and to resolve the crisis of the ecosystem, often arguing in terms that bring them close to revolutionary left-wing critiques of international capitalism. Much fascist ideological energy and pseudo-scholarship has also been channeled into Historical Revisionism and Holocaust Denial in the attempt to remove the psychological blocks that prevent people from being drawn to policies that they still subliminally associate with the horrors of Nazism. There is also a flourishing subculture that has spawned occult

and neopagan forms of Nazism in Germany, created new blends of Bolshevism with fascism in Russia, and fused Christianity with racism in the United States in ways that in practice bring it very close to fascism (post-Soviet Russia and the contemporary United States are now the most important laboratories for new variants of fascism). At the same time, heavy metal music and ballads have been used as vehicles for spreading the fascist hatred of modern multiculturalism, internationalism, and materialism, thereby creating a “white noise” music industry that has come to be a major source of revenue for revolutionary nationalism. The most creative forms of fascism’s ideological adaptation are associated with the European New Right, which has deliberately abandoned party politics, paramilitary violence, and any overt links with interwar fascism, especially Nazism, in its quest to destroy the hegemony of liberal democratic values whose globalization it regards as a form of totalitarianism that is largely responsible for a profound crisis in human history.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; AUSTRIA; BELGIUM; BOLSHIEVISM; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CAPITALISM; CHRISTIANITY; COLD WAR, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; CYBERFASCISM; DEMOCRACY; ECOLOGY; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FREY, DR. GERHARD; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; GRECE; GROUPUSCULES; HAIDER, JÖRG; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; IMMIGRATION; ITALY; KÜHNEN, MICHAEL; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; NATIONAL BOLSHIEVISM; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE), THE; NATIONAL FRONT, (UK) THE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NEOPOPULISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; RACISM; REVOLUTION; ROCK MUSIC; RUSSIA; SKINHEAD FASCISM; TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF; THIRD POSITIONISM; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POST-1945); VLAAMS BLOK; WHITE NOISE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; XENOPHOBIA; ZHIRINOVSKII, VLADIMIR VOL'FOVICH

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POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND (1920–2003)

French right-wing populist politician whose Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans (UDCA) briefly enjoyed electoral success in the 1956 elections; he gave his name to the Poujadiste movement of small shopkeepers and businessmen who felt that he articulated their grievances. Poujade portrayed himself as an “ordinary guy” fed up with an unjust and corrupt political system, but in fact he had been involved in his teens with Doriot’s PPF and for a while had associated himself with the Vichy government. After organizing a movement of resistance against a visit by tax inspectors to his region in 1953, he traveled throughout France calling for lower taxes and a new corporatist constitution and vilifying other politicians and the news media. As time passed, his movement grew increasingly nationalistic, xenophobic, and hostile to parliamentary institutions. *Poujadisme* passed into French political vocabulary as a term suggestive of support for protest, dislike of taxation, and defense of the small man. This is in spite of the fact that Poujade enjoyed prominence for only two years, from 1954 to 1956. He found himself quarreling with the deputies elected in his name and showed signs of megalomania, acquiring the nickname Poujadolf. He gradually retired from public life, and when he re-emerged to put forward candidates in the 1979 European elections, they were a dismal failure at the hustings. However, National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen won his first election victory on the Poujadiste ticket in 1956.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CORPORATISM; DORIOT, JACQUES; FRANCE; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE), THE; NATIONALISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; VICHY; XENOPHOBIA

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POUJADISME: See **POUJADE, PIERRE MARIE RAYMOND**

POUND, EZRA (1885–1972)

One of the major modernist poets of the twentieth century, notorious for his enthusiasm for Italian Fascism and for his broadcasts from Radio Rome during World War II. The son of a U.S. government employee, Pound was born on 30 October 1885 in Hailey, Idaho. From early on he started traveling to Europe, first as a child and then as a student, eventually spending most of his adult life in Europe and particularly in Italy. He studied languages at Hamilton College, Connecticut, and later embarked on postgraduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania that he eventually abandoned in 1907. Having crossed the Atlantic the following year, he fell in with the modernist avant-garde in Venice. In London in 1914 he married Dorothy Shakespeare and became a close friend and admirer of W. B. Yeats. He first began work on his (unfinished) poetic magnum opus the *Cantos* in 1915. With Wyndham Lewis he had launched the magazine *Blast* in 1914 and coined the word *Vorticism* as a name for an artistic movement analogous to Italian Futurism, similarly hailing the dynamic volitional element of forward-moving modernism. Pound settled in Paris after World War I and befriended James Joyce (whose work he helped see through the press), Hemingway, and T. S. Eliot. In 1924 he moved on to the Italian coastal town of Rapallo, near Genoa.

In the mid-1920s, Pound espoused a Fascist and anti-Semitic political ideology and in 1925 wrote a letter in favor of Mussolini. He also began to use a letterhead bearing Mussolini's motto: "Liberty Is a Duty not a Right"; he met Il Duce for the first and only time in 1933 and immediately fell under his spell. Pound bombarded Mussolini and the Fascist government—as well as politicians all over the world, bankers, the U.S. president, and virtually everyone in power—with his theories on political economy, monetary matters, and whimsical financial reforms. He developed a lifelong hatred of usury, which he saw as the major evil behind modern political, economic, and moral decadence. He made some strange ideological connections, comparing Mussolini and Hitler to Confucius (whom he was translating), though later he complained that the two European dictators did not follow the Chinese master faithfully. He was convinced that Mussolini was working for peace and that Il Duce and Hitler (whom he began to praise after Mussolini's fortunes became increasingly bound up with Hitler's) would "free us from international capital." His fanatical anti-Semitism and lifelong anticommunism grew steadily in tandem with his admiration for Italian Fascist policy and his loathing for British politicians and the British press—which he labeled "Judo-cratism"—and the League of Nations. He even wrote an article praising the Nazis in Oswald Mosley's magazine *Action*.

On 23 January 1941, as a seven-minute part of the "American Hour" program on Radio Rome, Pound embarked on his wartime propaganda broadcasts on behalf of Fascism. Initially he was thought to be a double agent, and his texts were checked by radio censors prior to the broadcasts. These continued at the rate of roughly ten per month until Pearl Harbor and America's official involvement in the war early in 1942. Increasingly erratic and incomprehensible, most of the later programs ended with Pound being carried away and seeing Jews everywhere—including in the U.S. presidency. Following his broadcast of 25 July 1943, an indictment for (radio) treason (the first of its kind) was formally issued against him by the D.C. District Court in the United States. On the same day in Italy a coup ousted Mussolini, and on hearing of this Pound exclaimed: "Our culture lies shattered in fragments." He fled in fear of his life but eventually came back to serve the Salò Republic, working as a speechwriter for Radio Milan.

On 28 April 1945, Pound was arrested by Italian partisans and handed over to U.S. troops. In an American newspaper interview he declared that "Hitler was a Joan of Arc, a martyr." There followed a six-month

military internment near Pisa, where he wrote the famous *Pisan Cantos*, and then on 18 November 1945 he was flown to the United States to face a court of law and a new grand jury indictment. His counsel advised him to plead insanity, and he was committed to St. Elisabeth's Hospital Asylum in Washington, D.C., following an examination by psychiatrists who pronounced him mentally unstable. He was officially released on 7 May 1958 after the treason indictment had been dismissed. He left almost immediately for Italy. Toward the end of his life he claimed that his worst mistake was that "stupid, suburban prejudice of anti-Semitism." Some modern scholars have tried to demonstrate an influence of fascism in his poetry, criticism, and wider literary work.

Byron Kaldis

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; DECADENCE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MARXISM; MODERNISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PEARL HARBOR; PROPAGANDA; RADIO; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WORLD WAR II; YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER

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PRECURSORS OF FASCISM: See PROTOFASCISM

PRESS, THE

Like their Soviet counterparts, the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler regarded the press as a means of disseminating propaganda, contemptuously rejecting the liberal notion of the press popularized in the nineteenth century by thinkers such as J. S. Mill, according to which it was (in addition to a source of news) a useful arena for public debate over issues of importance to society. Such issues had for the fascist mindset largely been resolved by their doctrine or else were to be decided by

the leadership without reference to the masses. When Mussolini (himself an experienced and successful journalist) came to power in 1922, the press was still the only significant means of propaganda available, but by the 1930s radio broadcasting and cinema newsreels had grown in importance and were exploited with particular success by Hitler's regime. A year after the inauguration of Mussolini's rule, the government took wide powers to confiscate or close publications regarded as constituting a threat to national interests, and that measure was reinforced in 1926, when the Communist and Socialist party newspapers were closed down. From that time on, editors were kept on a tight leash by Mussolini's press office, and after 1930 regular written announcements informed them of how they were to propagate the image of the renewed and revitalized Italy that Fascism believed itself to have achieved. The chief uncensored source for foreign news was the *Osservatore Romano*, which was published by the Vatican; its circulation had increased massively by the late 1930s, by which time it was selling 250,000 copies daily. It reprinted stories from other European papers whose sale was forbidden in Italy.

The Nazi regime in Germany also took measures to convert the press into a propaganda arm. In Nazi propaganda prior to their assumption of power in 1933 and before they were able to control it, the press was regularly associated with "Jewishness"; "the Jewish press" was an expression they were fond of. Branding the press in this way came naturally to a mentality steeped in conspiracy theories, and it offered a means of explaining why the press might be critical of themselves. In 1933, Communist and Socialist papers were closed down, and thereafter all papers were required to conform to the Nazi worldview, with rebellious journalists suffering persecution by the regime. Even an illustrious paper like the *Frankfurter Zeitung* was unceremoniously closed down when it caused offense by criticizing Hitler's favorite architect. The paper that acted as a direct mouthpiece for the regime was the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which broke new ground in becoming something close to a national daily (with a circulation of more than a million by 1941) in a country that had previously had only a regional press. The task of bringing the German press to heel was carried out by the press chief of the Reich, Otto Dietrich (1897–1952), a highly qualified graduate in economics, philosophy, and political science who worked for a newspaper in a management capacity and who was also married to the daughter of an influential newspaper owner.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BOLSHEVISM; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; COMMUNITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PAPACY, THE; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; SOCIALISM; STREICHER, JULIUS; *STÜRMER, DER*; TOTALITARIANISM; *VÖLKISCHER BEOBSACHTER*, THE

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PRETO: See **ROLÃO PRETO, FRANCISCO**

PREZZOLINI, GIUSEPPE (1882–1982)

Italian nationalist critic of democracy who helped create the environment that nurtured Fascism. In 1908, Prezzolini founded *La Voce*, the most important Italian review in the years preceding the outbreak of World War I, among whose collaborators were to be found historian Gaetano Salvemini, philosopher of idealism Giovanni Gentile, theoretician of Marxism Antonio Gramsci, and Benito Mussolini himself. Although he was a nationalist and critic of the liberal political class and of democracy, as well as a collaborator in the *Popolo d'Italia*, Prezzolini moved abroad after the victory of Fascism.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; WORLD WAR I

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PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO (1903–1936)

The son of the Spanish dictator General Miguel Primo de Rivera, José Antonio was a charismatic, aristocratic, eloquent, and handsome lawyer, fascinated by Fascist Italy. His first political steps came as vice secretary of the Unión Monárquica Nacional, and as an “independent” at the 1931 Madrid by-elections; he then went on to edit *El Fascio*, before founding the fascist *Falange Española* in October 1933. He preached national syndicalism and the “dialectic of the fists,” and actively conspired against the Republic. José Antonio was imprisoned in Alicante on 6 July 1936 and was executed by a Republican firing squad on 20 November. The nascent regime made a martyr of him, elaborating a powerful cult of the “absent one” *el ausente* and his body lies at the Valley of the Fallen, alongside that of General Franco.

Sid Lowe

See Also: FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

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PRODUCERS: See **PRODUCTIVISM**

PRODUCTIVISM

In the columns of his newspaper *Popolo d'Italia*, the young Mussolini called for the creation of a new post-World War I Italy of “fighters and producers”: this was to replace the existing domination of the parasitic financial speculators. They had profited from wartime speculation and in the aftermath of the war were comfortably enjoying the fruits of that speculation and dominating the regime while the war veterans found themselves excluded. The term *producers* was also intended to distinguish those who worked for a living from the hereditary aristocracy. Mussolini clearly imported the idea from his socialist days, for socialism is, of course, a crusade against those like financial speculators whose profits are deemed to derive from unproductive activities, as well as against the “capitalist class” whose income is considered to be essentially based on theft from the workers of the results of their labor. In preferring the word *producers* over that of *workers*, Mussolini was harking back to an early-nineteenth-century pre-Marxian kind of socialistic thinking that called not for a war of all workers against bosses, but for a war of “the productive” against the “drones”—by which term was mainly intended the hereditary aristocracy. Thus Mussolini was able to tap into the proletariat’s resentment of the “idle rich” while retaining the possibility of a national solidarity that could include the bosses insofar as they were themselves involved in productive activity as employers and as entrepreneurs. This was the “utopian socialism” of the Frenchman Henri Saint-Simon (1760–1825), and it allowed for the promotion of the philosophy of corporatism—with its stress on solidarity rather than class war—by the Italian Fascist regime. Saint-Simon himself had combined ideas taken from the Traditionalist (that is, right-wing) critique of the revolution with a (left-wing) belief in the need for association or collaboration of the productive in society (by which he meant workers and bosses) with the representatives of science to counterbalance the influence of the aristocracy and the speculators. This might qualify him to be a distant precursor of Italian Fascism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; BANKS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; ITALY; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO AN-

DREA; PERONISM; PLUTOCRACY; SOCIALISM; TRADITIONALISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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PROGRESS

Interwar fascism believed itself to be at the forefront of social progress, defining itself aggressively over against bourgeois society, which it called reactionary; it believed that bourgeois society had bankrupted itself with World War I and was standing on the edge of collapse. As an agent of progress, fascism set itself up as a rival to organized socialism and Marxism—especially Bolshevik-style Marxism—which portrayed itself as “spearhead of the Proletariat” at the head of “the progressive forces in society.” Bolshevism and fascism alike set themselves up at the start of the 1920s to step into the place of “dying” bourgeois society. Italian Fascism entered into an alliance with the “progressive” forces of society—not merely the technological forces but also the artistic and literary avant-garde. By contrast, National Socialism, while equally enthusiastic for technological progress, condemned all modernism in art as “cultural Bolshevism.” There was a rapprochement between early Italian Fascism and Futurism, both of them combining an aggressive hostility to the bourgeois as it had been formulated by Marinetti, the leading spirit of Futurism, with the cult of speed, movement, dynamism, technology, and revolution.

Interwar fascism in general combined an aggressive taste for modernity with a call for a return to national traditions and “soldierly values,” which won it the cooperation of right conservative and anti-Marxist circles. Italian Fascism and later also National Socialism made a point of selling themselves to the young; they saw themselves as “young” organizations, as the Nazi propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels emphasized in a speech of 15 November 1933: “The revolution that we have accomplished is a total revolution. It has embraced all areas of public life and transformed them from the bottom up. It has completely changed and

reformed the relations between man and the state and indeed the whole question of existence itself. It is nothing less than a breakthrough to a young worldview.”

Like organized socialism and Marxism, Italian Fascism and National Socialism favored their own form of group solidarity, known by them in the soldierly tradition as “comradeship,” and gave their supporters the consciousness of belonging to a social (or racial) elite called to be at the forefront of social progress. Italian Fascism and National Socialism made extensive use of the then most modern means of communication, such as radio, amplification, and film, for purposes of propaganda and the manipulation of the masses. They also made extensive use of cars and airplanes in order to keep on the move and appear “omnipresent.” Both Italian Fascism and National Socialism liked to talk about “marching together into the future” in order to stress the progress that the “young world view” brought. Thus Adolf Hitler in a speech of 10 April 1933: “Today we have conquered power. . . . [O]ur highest duty is to think of those to whose sacrifice we owe this power. . . . [We] march with them into a great future.”

In Italian Fascism and National Socialism, the concepts of “mastery, conquest, domination” of the future were used for progress; both celebrated the “mastery and conquest” of machines and technologies in the production process, which was seen as the sign of a decisively future-oriented “will to power” of the new man marked by fascism. Even the use of free time was subjected to a “total mobilization” by Italian Fascist and National Socialist Youth and Sports Organizations with marches, parades, military and gymnastic exercises, or hikes. All these served the Italian Fascist and National Socialist philosophy of the “steeling and hardening” of bodies and spirits, in order to make modern men fit for the “new era about to dawn.” Both movements aimed to control and channel the general activism and forward movement of modernity in paths of their choice, while associating it with an unashamedly conservative ideal of order and discipline.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; AUTOBAHNS, THE; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; ELITE THEORY; FILM; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEISURE; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NEW AGE, THE; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE;

PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; PROTOFASCISM; REVOLUTION; SCIENCE; SOCIALISM; SPORT; STATE; TECHNOLOGY; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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PROPAGANDA

The Italian Fascist and German Nazi leadership were among the first in the political arena to grasp the opportunities offered by new media and communications technologies for the rapid dissemination of ideas and by the development of techniques of persuasion on a mass level. They not only realized that the new mass media were there to be used but they also understood how to use them. They saw that a symbolic event like the nationwide burning of books in Germany, communicated at a mass level through the medium of newspaper and magazine pictures and newsreel clips, had more impact than a hundred printed explanations of the Nazi philosophy. In other words, they understood that propaganda is all about the communication of images and symbols and the exploitation of emotions. Events like the carefully orchestrated and choreographed Nuremberg Rallies had an immediate emotional impact on those who took part, generating a sense of huge excitement in participants, a dramatic sense of being involved in an unprecedented national adventure with limitless potential under the magic leadership of the Fuehrer. The extent of their propagandist impact and converting power even on foreigners can be measured in accounts like that to be found in Anne de Courcy's life of the wife of British fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley. But these were also events designed to be photographed and communicated across the nation and

worldwide, to convey an impression to a global audience of the awesome greatness and power of Germany, her military might, and the huge enthusiasm of her people for the Nazi regime. If the German people believed in Nazism, it was in no small part because of the skillful manipulation to which they were subjected through newsreel, newspaper, and radio. In addition to their exploitation of the image and the appeal to the visual imagination, the Nazis invested very substantially in the new medium of radio. At the same time, they had at their disposal the *Völkischer Beobachter* newspaper. But their propagandistic drive penetrated much further into the psyche of their citizens by the enforcement of gestures used daily, such as the *Heil Hitler!* greeting, which meant that the Fuehrer's name was on everybody's lips many times each day. Equally, the Nazis saw the nation's leisure time as an opportunity for propagandization, which they exploited through control of mass leisure organizations that inculcated the desired ethos.

All of this went according to plan, and the plans were those of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's minister for public enlightenment and propaganda. Goebbels was a man with a Ph.D. and a very powerful mind, a keen student of U.S. advertising methods; indeed, he made a particular study of the psychology of propaganda. Goebbels was, in fact, a master of what we would now call "hype." He took the idea of a mass rally, which of course was nothing new in itself, and "hyped it" into an enormously more powerful instrument for intensifying the convictions and the purpose of the participants. He did this by transforming the rally into a gigantic spectacle involving thousands of persons and forests of flags, all to the accompaniment of inspirational music and, in the evenings, a background of searchlights throwing their beams dramatically into the night sky. The intoxication of being a participant in such events is hard to imagine. Their power is shown by the fact that, even today, when newspapers or publishers desire to provide a symbolic pictorial representation of what the Hitler regime was all about, they often reproduce a picture of one of the Nuremberg Rallies. Moreover, even today the celebrated rally film made by Leni Riefenstahl has the power to move. A similar kind of propaganda effort was the revival of an old Teutonic tribal assembly known as the *Thing*. In huge open-air locations with an appropriate backdrop, shows were mounted that involved military tattoos, pagan oratorios, circus acts, and displays of prowess on horseback. Mock battles were put on by large numbers of Hitler Youth members, and there were special ceremonies in honor of Nazi "martyrs."

But the mass rallies, powerful though they were, represented only a part of Goebbels's propaganda expertise. He had also grasped the power of the slogan. His slogans appeared on banners, on newspaper mastheads, in pamphlets, and in graffiti all over Germany. One of the most widely propagated was the slogan *Die Juden sind unser Unglück!*—"The Jews are our misfortune." Goebbels understood that a phrase repeated incessantly by agents considered authoritative easily takes on the status of a statement of fact. Another of his favorite slogans was *Volk ohne Raum* ("A people without space")—suggesting as a fact that Germany was somehow strait-jacketed in her territory and was therefore justified in adopting a belligerent policy of expansionism. And always the slogans were accompanied by the omnipresent swastika. Goebbels did not invent the swastika or choose it as the symbol of Nazism, but in plastering it everywhere he fulfilled the advertisement manager's dream—he turned the regime's symbol into a universally recognizable logo: essentially, Goebbels "branded" Nazism. So devoted to his task was Goebbels that he had literally hundreds of staff working shifts on propaganda teams twenty-four hours a day. He also appointed propaganda attaches for German embassies around the world.

To enter on the subject of fascism and propaganda with Nazism is not to imply that Italian Fascism was not also adept at propaganda. Mussolini's regime was equally well attuned to propaganda opportunities, in which it was to some extent perhaps influenced by D'Annunzio's tactics at Fiume. But the historical fact is that Nazi propaganda has made a much more profound historical impact than has Mussolini's. Goebbels's skills as a propagandist have lasted the test of time, in that even many decades after his death, the images and slogans that he promoted continue to resonate in the German imagination and undoubtedly constitute one of the reasons for the continuing appeal of neo-Nazism. To focus on the images of the Nuremberg Rallies today is to feel that somehow the regime was "successful" in generating national pride and in heightening Germany's prestige.

Mussolini too used the mass media to promote the images of Fascism that he wanted to implant in the imaginations of his people and the wider world. He disseminated pictures of himself to encourage a leader cult. But perhaps the most effective means of indoctrination that he shared with the Nazis was the mass movement for youth. He and Hitler both grasped the simple, fundamental truth that the battle for the mind must focus on the rising generation, and he devised

the method of enrolling young people—forcibly if necessary—in youth movements, where they could be made the target of propaganda during their leisure time; the pill could, of course, be sweetened by the provision of pleasurable activities like sport and hiking. In Germany the “propagandization” of leisure accompanied the Nazification of education, which of course offered the main means of reaching young minds. From early years, anti-Semitic themes were introduced into the imagery and the texts of school textbooks. The great events of the Nazi calendar, such as the Munich Putsch, were introduced into the teaching of history. Biology lessons and textbooks offered endless scope for indoctrination with Nazi ideas about race. Religious instruction was downgraded. Likewise, Mussolini went to great lengths to inculcate the identification of his regime with the greatness of Ancient Rome, ordering newspaper editors to devote space to it and organizing the release of Gallone’s film *Scipione l’Africano* after the conclusion of the war in Ethiopia. His adoption of the Roman salute and the *passo romano* were all part of the same propaganda strategy, which was reinforced by the performance of Latin dramas at night in specially illuminated ancient amphitheaters.

Along with all the exploitation of modern communications technologies went the exploitation of architecture and the arts. The architecture of the Nuremberg Rally Grounds was designed to create the maximum impression of size and greatness. Albert Speer was commissioned by Hitler—for whom architecture was a passion—to plan a new Berlin whose dramatic boulevards and massively imposing buildings adorned with Nazi symbols would carry a message about the greatness of Nazi Germany. The project was never completed because of the war. Mussolini wanted his capital to become the new Rome, and he undertook archaeological excavations at the expense of dwellings, isolating and rehabilitating ancient monuments so that they looked more impressive to the eye. After five years of planning, a massive exhibition opened in the city, designed to celebrate the two-thousandth anniversary of the death of the emperor Augustus. The exhibition was devoted not simply to Ancient Rome but also to making the connection with twentieth-century Italian Fascism. Every attempt (including the classic incentive of reduced rail fares) was made to encourage tours by school children and youth groups and students to visit this propagandistic phenomenon. The presentation of a live eagle to Mussolini at the closing ceremonies suggested that he had taken on the mantle of Ancient Rome.

The technique of the exhibition was also employed by the Nazis, but in a very different way; they used their Exhibition of Degenerate Art to send out a powerful message to the nation and the world about how they saw the purpose of art and the role of the artists—namely, to propagate the values of the regime. Again, this means of propaganda was infinitely more powerful in its impact than a mere pamphlet or pronouncement would have been. Events like this, and the burning of the books, sent out powerful signals whose meaning was unmistakable; as communications of intent and warning, they were outstanding in their efficacy. Another arena where Mussolini and Hitler both exploited propaganda opportunities to the full was that of sport. As “young” movements they had a natural affinity for the sporting world, with its emphasis on physical prowess and perfection. Realizing that the eyes of the world were increasingly focusing on great international sporting occasions, Mussolini exploited the opportunities provided by Italy’s hosting of the soccer World Cup as Hitler did those provided by the Berlin Olympics.

There was nothing new about propaganda in the 1920s and 1930s; what was new was the sheer scale, ambitiousness, and systematic organization of the barrage of influences to which the citizens of Italy and Germany were subjected under Mussolini and Hitler. The same techniques were of course employed by the Soviet communists and were later imitated by many others. But it is arguable that fascist propaganda was particularly successful because the fascist perceptions about human nature and the importance of emotional and imaginative responses were substantially accurate; at any rate, they certainly play a fundamental role in modern Western advertising techniques, where visual impact and the role of repetition are fundamental. The Nazis made great efforts to propagandize the British during the war with radio broadcasts by William Joyce, the celebrated “Lord Haw-Haw.” This classic technique of using an enemy “national” (though, in fact, Joyce was not a British citizen) to demoralize the enemy apparently backfired, for the popularity of the nickname suggests that the broadcasts were regarded primarily with amusement in Britain. The Mussolini regime exploited the talents of the much more celebrated Ezra Pound on Radio Rome, but his attitudes were too eccentric and extreme to be convincing. Both regimes made use of the lesser-known British profascist agitator John Amery (1912–1945), who was hanged as a traitor at the end of the war.

Since the 1990s the growth of the Internet has opened up a whole array of new propaganda opportu-

nities for fascists, as for other political movements. Holocaust deniers and white supremacists and others have availed themselves freely of the opportunities opened up to them by a means of mass communication that is difficult if not impossible to police effectively.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; EDUCATION; ETHIOPIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FIUME; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GOOSESTEP, THE; *HEIL HITLER!*; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; ITALY; JOYCE, WILLIAM; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; LEISURE; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; MYSTICISM; NEO-NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; POUND, EZRA; PRESS, THE; PROGRESS; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RADIO; RELIGION; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; ROME; SALUTES; SPEER, ALBERT; SPORT; *STÜRMER, DER*; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; TECHNOLOGY; THEATER; TOTALITARIANISM; *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL*; *VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER*, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM

National Socialist writers like Alfred Rosenberg, Dietrich Klagges (1891–1971), Graf Ernst zu Reventlow (1869–1943), Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, and many others all saw Martin Luther, the founder of German Protestantism, as a folk hero who inspired their work. Some historians have attributed blame to German Protestantism as at least partially responsible for the disaster of National Socialism—for example, a recent work by Steigmann-Gall. But the claim that Martin Luther's theology led directly to National Socialism has little scholarly support. Uwe Siemon-Netto (1995) discusses this issue at length, refuting the claims of William Shirer and various other writers who promoted the viewpoint. There is, however, considerable evidence that nineteenth-century German liberal theology indirectly contributed to the growth of National Socialism. For example, the works of authors like Adolf von Harnack were very popular among National Socialists. Reading his *What Is Christianity?* (1901) appears to have led to a widespread loss of faith among many young intellectuals who later embraced National Socialism as a political religion. This relationship was recognized in the 1930s by authors like the Swiss theologians Karl Barth (1886–1968) and Arthur Frey (born 1897) in the *Cross and Swastika: The Ordeal of the German Church* (1938) and E. O. Lorimer in her *What Hitler Wants* (1939). Similarly, in *Germany's New Religion: The German Faith Movement* (1937), Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, Karl Heim (1874–1958), and Karl Adam (1876–1966) all agreed that the theological roots of National Socialist ideology were to be found in the emergence of liberal Bible criticism and the development out of Protestant liberalism of increasingly heterodox versions of traditional Christianity. More recently, Alan Davies (1988) confirmed this argument, as did James Biser Whisker (1990), demonstrating the connections between German Protestant Liberalism and Nationalist thinking.

Further evidence of the degeneration of Liberal Protestant theology leading to a complete rejection of Christianity that paved the way for conversions to National Socialism is found in numerous archival documents, particularly private letters. These documents

PROSTITUTION: See **SEXUALITY**

show that many intellectuals understood their personal involvement with National Socialism in terms of a process of conversion in which Protestant Liberal Theology led them to view orthodox Christian teaching as “unscientific” and unsuited for the modern world. Instead of embracing Protestant liberalism, they realized that it failed to answer the very questions that it raised against traditional theology. The classic spiritual journey was from orthodox childhood Christian belief, often in the form of Pietism, through Liberal Theology, which they embraced during their early years at university, to agnosticism. As agnostics, particularly following their experiences in the army during World War I, they began to read Nietzsche, and through his works they saw what they perceived to be the logic of National Socialism, often experiencing intense emotional conversion experiences that caused them to repudiate the teachings of Christ in favor of a new Germanic identity. Apart from people and movements that sought to create a new personal and national identity based on a spiritualized version of National Socialism, there were others that claimed to be discovering a new form of German Christianity. The most famous of these groups was the Glaubensbewegung “Deutsche Christen,” or Faith Movement of the German Christians, which attracted large numbers of Protestant clergy and laity during the 1930s. While some sincere Christians were initially misled by this movement, the truth was that its leaders embraced religious beliefs that clearly placed them well beyond the fold of historical Christianity.

Irving Hexham

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH; CHRISTIANITY; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; DINTER, ARTHUR; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LUTHER, MARTIN; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; THEOLOGY

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PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE

Anti-Semitic Russian literary invention dating from the end of the nineteenth century, describing an international Jewish elite plotting to subvert and control society. This myth of Jewish world conspiracy with demonological and millenarian motifs was an early element of Nazi ideology in the 1920s. Addressing perennial concerns about Jewish separation and success, such conspiracy theory invariably projects believers’ fears, hopes, and intentions onto a demonized “other,” who may be then legitimately persecuted or exterminated. Described as a “warrant for genocide,” the *Protocols* encouraged pogroms in czarist Russia and contributed to the atmosphere of opinion in which the Holocaust became possible. The tract sets out the Elders’ secret plans for a Jewish world government. The first nine protocols criticize liberalism and outline methods for achieving global power, while the remaining fifteen outline the nature of the final world state. The first protocol indicates that a plot has been in operation over many centuries to place political power firmly in the hands of the Elders of Zion (that is, the Jewish elite). All traditional order and authority are supposedly being dissolved by liberalism and democracy, thus identified as the best means to destabilize the traditional Gentile world and render it more amenable to Jewish despotism. The Elders have destroyed religion, especially the Christian faith, through the intellectual fashions of Darwinism and Marxism. The Elders’ final goal is the Messianic Age, when the world will be ruled by a Jewish sovereign of the House of David. Such dominion will be divinely ordained, since the Jews are God’s chosen people.

The origins of the *Protocols* lie in medieval anti-Judaism in the Christian world. Jews were then sup-

posed to worship the Devil, and a corresponding political myth described a secret Jewish government in Muslim Spain, directing a war against Christendom with the aid of sorcery. The myth of Jewish world conspiracy represents a modern adaptation of this old demonology. During the French Revolution conspiracy theories involving philosophes, liberals, and Freemasons circulated among those disturbed by the profound revolutionary challenges to traditional authority of the Church and monarchy. By the early nineteenth century, Jews had become fellow suspects in this political mythology of subversive and secret elites. By the mid-nineteenth century, democracy, liberalism, secularism, and socialism had become significant political factors abhorrent to many conservatives. Their fears and anxieties about the future of the old order led to a rearguard action against the proponents of the new, mobile society. As this political transformation offered manifold new opportunities to Europe's Jews, they in turn became the target of this powerful reaction.

Norman Cohn has traced the origin, motivation, and development of the *Protocols* through French, German, and Russian anti-Semitic texts of the nineteenth century up to their actual composition sometime around 1897 by the Russian secret police or other reactionaries wishing to defend the autocratic czarist regime. At the same time, these conspiracy texts were used by agitators to incite pogroms against ordinary Jews living in the Pale of Settlement. Mythical accounts of the *Protocols*' origins vary. The earlier editions, published by Russian anti-Semitic agitators between 1903 and 1906, claimed that the translation was made from a document taken from the "Central Chancellery of Zion, in France"; White Russian emigres believed that they originated among late-nineteenth-century French occultists and Theosophists. A mystical-apocalyptic edition of the *Protocols* was first included in the second edition of *The Great in the Small* (1905) by Sergei Nilus (1861–1930). A fanatical defender of the czarist autocracy, Nilus hated secular modernity, seeing in democracy and technological progress the omens of Antichrist. A later edition of 1917, *He Is Near, Hard by the Door*, was read by Alfred Rosenberg in Russia. Nilus described the *Protocols* as a strategic plan for the conquest of the world, worked out by Jewish leaders during the many centuries of dispersion, and finally presented to the Council of Elders by Theodor Herzl at the first Zionist Congress, held at Basle in August 1897.

Following the Russian Revolution and the Civil War (1917–1921), many White Russian refugees brought

the *Protocols* to Germany, and a German edition appeared in 1919. The myth of a secret Jewish plot in Russia was then transformed by Nazi ideology into powerful political propaganda, implicating all Jews in the subversion of nations, cultural Bolshevism, and international finance, and thereby legitimizing the Holocaust. The *Protocols* appealed to international readerships dislocated by war, defeat, and economic loss in the 1920s, and they were translated into English, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, Romanian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Polish, Bulgarian, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Japanese, and Chinese. Arabic and South American editions have continued to be published since the defeat of Nazi Germany, while reprints of older European editions circulate among small neo-Nazi parties and groupuscules in Europe, Russia, and the United States up to the present.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BOLSHEVISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GROUPUSCULES; HOLOCAUST, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; OCCULTISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; RUSSIA; SECULARIZATION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; TRADITIONALISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POST-1945); ZIONISM

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PROTOFASCISM

Term used to categorize what is seen as an earlier or primitive, rather than fully fledged, form of generic fascism. Applied to individual personalities, political thinkers, and intellectuals, as well as to intellectual and cultural currents and political and cultural movements, it indicates their partial ideological kinship to interwar

fascism and usually, though not necessarily, identifies them as precursors of it. The term *protofascism* can be applied to the ideas and practices of a wide range of ideologues and movements. It may be applied to individual figures such as Maurice Barrès, the French novelist and militant “integral” nationalist who fought an election campaign in 1898 on a platform of what he called “socialist nationalism,” and was an acknowledged ideological inspiration to interwar French and other European fascists; Giovanni Papini, a major Italian nationalist intellectual whose writings both before, during, and after World War I influenced the Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini and gave a general cultural credibility to the Fascist regime; Gabriele D’Annunzio; Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, the French poet, novelist, and essayist who in the late 1930s joined and then left Jacques Doriot’s fascist movement, the PPF, and who was a collaborationist writer during the Nazi wartime occupation of France; Julius Evola, the artist and maverick philosopher who, while never holding any official political or cultural position in the Italian Fascist regime, was one of the voices behind the emergence of “totalitarian” and racist extremism of the late 1930s, continuing to publicize his views after 1945.

Barrès, D’Annunzio, and Papini were themselves contributors to and participants in the development of a general European protofascist cultural climate in the decades immediately before the outbreak of World War I that affected a significant minority of Europe’s intellectual and cultural elites and its educated classes, especially in France, Italy, Germany, and the Austrian Empire. New ideas challenged what was and remained the dominant mode of thinking, that human “progress” would ensue from the application of reason and the scientific method to the management of society as well as to material production. The “revolt against reason” drew on the sometimes misapplied works of the English naturalist Charles Darwin and the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, and on the findings of the new social sciences, which in the rational pursuit of knowledge about human society and mentality were exposing the irrationality of much of human behavior. The French thinker Georges Sorel’s revision of a materialist Marxism, which made violence and “myth” the inspiration of mass revolutionary action, greatly influenced the outlook of the prewar syndicalist movements of Italy and France, and of other unconventional socialists like Mussolini, a revolutionary socialist leader in Italy before the war.

Some of the carriers and proponents of the “counter-culture of unreason” straddled the worlds of culture and politics. The Italian Futurists, later among

the earliest members of the Italian Fascist movement in the 1920s, were cultural iconoclasts who promoted politics-as-art, celebrating the dynamism, speed, and excitement of the modern machine age and vandalizing everything that was old, established, and traditional. A prewar Florentine cultural journal, *La Voce*, which also influenced Mussolini, anticipated a new national spiritual consciousness among Italians to be realized by imperialist war. These ideas were also given a more obviously political shape by extreme nationalist movements—for example, the Action Française and various prewar patriotic and anti-Semitic leagues in France—and in Italy, the Nationalist Association formed in 1910.

In other areas of the prewar European radical Right touched by the late-nineteenth-century counterculture, particularly in Germany and the Austrian empire, there developed a *völkisch* nationalism that—in place of what was seen as the soulless materialism and rootless individualism and anonymity of secularized mass urban industrial society—offered a “superior” and distinctive ethnic German “folk” culture and way of life. *Völkisch* nationalism was often racist, with “Germanic” blood regarded by Julius Langbehn, one of its most widely read exponents, as literally the carrier and transmitter of the German people’s moral virtues and qualities. Politically, *völkisch* nationalism marked the various anti-Semitic movements and parties in the German-speaking parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and in Germany itself, the Pan-German League, an umbrella organization for a collection of racist and middle-class special interest and pressure groups.

After, and as a result of, Germany’s traumatic defeat in World War I in 1918 and transition to the democratic Weimar Republic, the country’s protofascist counterculture was broadened by new streams of radical nationalist ideas. These were expressed, as before the war, in cultural circles, the press, books, and pamphlets, wherein the main authors of the denunciation of Weimar as national cultural humiliation and decline were the “conservative revolutionaries” Arthur Moeller van den Bruck and Edgar Jung, and “national revolutionaries” such as the soldier-writer Ernst Jünger, who, like the war veterans’ paramilitary leagues, made a myth of the experience of wartime combat and of the frontline soldier as the basis of national regeneration.

Philip Morgan

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BARRÈS, AUGUSTE MAURICE; BLOOD; BOULANGISM; CAESARISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES;

D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; DECADENCE; DORIOT, JACQUES; DRIEU LA ROCHELLE, PIERRE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; FRANCE; FUTURISM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; IMPERIALISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; JÜNGER, ERNST; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; PAPINI, GIOVANNI; PARAMILITARISM; PARETO, VILFREDO; PROGRESS; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACISM; ROOTLESSNESS; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOREL, GEORGES; SPENGLER, OSWALD; SYNDICALISM; TECHNOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITIONALISM; VIOLENCE; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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PSYCHIATRY: See EUGENICS

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Both the ideals of this movement—antiauthoritarian, individualist, secular, and egalitarian—and the ethnic composition of its leadership and its membership could lead only to a head-on collision with the interwar fascist regimes in Europe. Psychoanalysis was officially condemned and eliminated by the Nazis wherever they went. However, following the departure for exile of all Jewish psychoanalysts in Germany, there were psychotherapists, those considered of pure Aryan race, who continued to work in Nazi Germany, using psychoanalytic techniques, under the aegis of the German Institute for Psychological Research and Psychotherapy, led by M. H. Goering.

Most of those identifying with psychoanalysis who had regarded themselves as German-speaking intellectuals in the new modern Europe found themselves after 1933 (or even before) threatened with annihilation. Not only their ideals but also their physical survival was at stake. The encounter with Nazism meant becoming exiles and refugees. The great human tragedy was not only a shock and a trauma. For intellectuals committed to Enlightenment ideals, this was also a challenge. From their places of exile, mostly the United States, early generations of psychoanalysts offered their contributions in an attempt to account for the massive failure of modernity in the form of fascist mass movements. To do that, what was needed was a combination of political (Marxist, or Marxian) and psychological (psychoanalytic) analysis. Attempts to combine Marxism and psychoanalysis were common during the twentieth century. Freud himself, however, had been an elitist, almost a reactionary, and a combination of psychoanalysis and Marxism was not something he could fathom. What Wilhelm Reich, Herbert Marcuse, Erich Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, and others claimed was that vulgar Marxism, which views culture as a mere appendix to the relations of production, had failed. Marxism had to be combined with cultural-psychological analysis in order to explain historical processes. The challenge was to uncover the psychological mechanism underlying political domination. With the help of psychoanalytic concepts, focusing on unconscious learning in early childhood, new questions were being posed and then answered. Is conformity a matter of realistic adaptation, or is it internalized? Could domination become a permanently assimilated part of one's personality structure? The unanimous opinion was, following Wilhelm Reich, that the suppression of all spontaneity in the authoritarian family is the prototype for all oppressive social structures. Because it is tied to the character structure of all individuals, it gains the support of the masses. This led to the authoritarian personality concept, and to the legacy of the idea of authoritarianism in the social sciences. Authoritarianism, despite its limitations, still plays a role in social science research on fascism all over the world.

There have been other approaches inspired by psychoanalysis. Erik H. Erikson, another exile who grew up in Germany and wrote about Germans with real empathy and identification, initially offered an interpretation of Adolf Hitler as an individual and of the Nazi movement that was quite classical in its emphasis on Oedipal elements. Hitler presented as a glorified older brother, rebelling against a harsh father and attached to an idealized mother. Subsequently, however, Erikson preferred using his own formulation, focusing on adolescence and

identity. He described a “traumatic identity loss” that overtook Germany following the 1918 defeat and the Treaty of Versailles and that resulted in a widespread “historical identity confusion,” leading to a takeover by a gang of overgrown criminal adolescents. During World War II, Walter C. Langer produced a secret personality analysis of Hitler that focused on his attachment to his mother, expressed in his always using the term *Motherland* for Germany, and on his hostility toward his father, projected on the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Bruno Bettelheim, who spent time in the Dachau Concentration Camp in 1938, offered an original and controversial analysis of prisoners’ behavior in the camp situation, using psychoanalytic terms, that has been a classic since its publication in 1943.

Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; AUTHORITARIANISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; ELIADE, MIRCEA; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FAMILY, THE; FREUD, SIGMUND; FROMM, ERICH; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; REICH, WILHELM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE

The psychodynamics of the palingenetic myth, which has been identified as the core of generic fascism, are irreducibly complex. However, aspects have been illumi-

nated by Klaus Theweleit’s theory that some of the more fanatical Nazis were plagued by deep-seated fears of dissolution and disintegration and the drive to be reborn in a highly regimented and structured new order devoted to destroying external enemies that were at bottom projections of inner “demons.” Another fruitful approach, pioneered by Richard Fenn, attributes the conspicuous role played by fascist mythopoeia and liturgy in interwar Europe to the recourse to ritualistic emotions and behavior provoked by the apparent collapse of society and Western civilization as a whole that unleashed fears that the “world” is literally running out of time. This reflex can be seen as driven by a profound urge to escape from what Mircea Eliade has called the “terror of history,” the deep-seated fears unleashed at a time of social breakdown of falling into the well of meaningless linear time that is devoid of transcendence and denies the prospect of even a secular redemption and immortality. Clearly, all these notions are deeply imbued with archetypal mythic elements that underline how much the contents of “political myth” are still shaped by the patterns of sacred myth.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARENDT, HANNAH; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CIVILIZATION; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; MYTH; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHOLOGY; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SECULARIZATION; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TOTALITARIANISM

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PSYCHOLOGY

First, psychology contributed to the development of some key ideas in Nazi racial ideology. There were notable psychologists who claimed that there are inherent differences in the capacities and temperaments of the different “races.” Eugenics, or the so-called science of racial improvement, was established by Francis Galton, the founder of British psychology. Racial and eugenic psychology has declined since the end of World War II, but it survives in the work of several psychologists who

continue to assert racial differences in intelligence. The second connection between psychology and Nazism is that many psychologists, especially those who emphasize the role of learning rather than biology in human behavior, have sought to understand the psychological roots of racist beliefs. It has been claimed that one personality type—the authoritarian personality—is particularly susceptible to the message of generic fascism.

Much early psychology developed as a form of Social Darwinism. Francis Galton, who was Darwin's cousin, attempted to construct a psychology based on the principles of the new evolutionary theory. He sought to show that there were inherent differences in ability between individuals and between groups. Accordingly, humanity could be divided into separate biological "races" that could be graded as "superior" or "inferior" on the basis of their inherited characteristics. According to Galton, European "races" possessed the highest, most evolved qualities, while African races had the lowest, least evolved ones. In keeping with later theorists of race, Galton worried that the racial strength of the "superior races" was under threat, because their biologically inferior members were breeding at a higher rate than their superior members. Galton devised the concept of "eugenics" as an applied psychology that would recommend measures for improving the racial quality of the nation. Eugenics, in the Galtonian version, sought to implement a "scientific" politics that would discourage, or even forbid, the "inferior" members of society from breeding—and also prevent members of "superior races" from breeding with members of "inferior" ones. Societies for the promotion of eugenic ideas were set up in Britain, the United States, and other European countries. Many of the eugenicists, including Galton, believed that democracy imperiled the biological health of "the superior" race because the "inferiors" outnumbered the "superiors." Eugenic policies, therefore, would be possible only in a society governed by an elite oligarchy, for the masses would not willingly restrict their own right to breed.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the biological and eugenic aspects of psychology were particularly influential. Galton's successor at London University was Karl Pearson, who is known within psychology for having developed complex statistical techniques for differentiating clusters of characteristics. Pearson, even more than Galton, was concerned about the deleterious effects of breeding between races. William McDougall, whose *Introduction to Social Psychology* (1908) was the first textbook of social psychology, was another eugenicist desperately worried by the racial state of the Northern Europeans. When he immigrated to the United

States, McDougall joined a growing band of psychologists who believed that immigration policy should be determined by strict racial and eugenic considerations. McDougall was cautiously hopeful that the rise of fascism would enable eugenic politics to be put fully into operation.

The ideologues of Nazi Germany took over the key ideas of eugenic philosophy, as they claimed that their policies were based on "race-science." There were a number of psychologists in Germany who explicitly supported the Nazi regime, most notably E. R. Jaensch, whose book *Der Gegentypus* (1938) contrasted the healthy Aryan personality with the biologically degenerate personalities of liberals, communists, and Jews. Despite this, Nazi race science tended to draw more upon the work of physical anthropologists, biologists, and anatomists than psychologists. However, the assumptions of Galtonian eugenics can be detected within the Nazi policy of "euthanasia," designed to eliminate so-called unhealthy racial characteristics within the "superior race" and to weaken or destroy "weaker" races.

After 1945, when the full horror of eugenic politics was revealed, the racist elements of psychology went into decline. Not only was the very notion of "race" questioned by social anthropologists, but behaviorists and social psychologists disputed the extent to which human characteristics are fixed by genetic inheritance. However, the eugenic tradition was given a boost in the late 1960s and the 1970s, when Arthur Jensen in the United States and Hans Eysenck in Britain claimed that blacks are genetically less intelligent than whites. These findings were greeted with enthusiasm by neofascist groups. A network of conservative and racist foundations has continued to fund such work. Jensen and Eysenck based their arguments on the results of IQ studies reporting that African-Americans tended on average to have lower scores than white Americans. They argued that individual differences in intelligence can be largely explained in terms of genetic factors. Accordingly, group differences, such as the average IQ scores of whites and blacks in the United States, could also be assumed to be genetically determined. Critics claimed that the argument was flawed because it is illegitimate to generalize from findings about individuals to those about groups. The genetic determination of individual differences within a group does not mean that differences between groups must be explained genetically. For instance, one might suppose that individual differences in height are determined to a large extent by heredity. However, the fact that one generation might be taller on average than their parents does not mean

that these group differences should be explained genetically. Therefore, the mean differences in IQ scores between blacks and whites can be explained in terms of social factors, such as poverty and social discrimination.

Within the history of psychology, the emphasis on biological factors has always been contested by those psychologists who stress the importance of learning and culture. In the 1930s, many psychologists, especially Jewish psychologists in Germany, transformed the psychological issue of race. For them, the key issue was not the racial determination of psychological characteristics but the unwarranted belief in race differences. Thus the problem of race became recast as the problem of race prejudice. This transformation was to be seen clearly in the work of experimental psychologists who fled from Nazi Germany to settle in the United States. For example, Kurt Lewin explored the social conditions in which groups were likely to develop antidemocratic and prejudiced attitudes. Lewin was particularly influential in inspiring a younger generation of U.S. social psychologists to study group relations and prejudice. This work provided the foundations for much modern experimental social psychology.

Another trend to emerge from opponents to Nazism was the incorporation of insights from psychoanalysis to understand the psychological basis of fascism. This was particularly marked in the work of the Frankfurt School, which combined unorthodox Marxist social theory with Freudian insights. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno argued that the irrational appeal of fascism was based in the conditions of advanced capitalism. Wilhelm Reich suggested that sexual frustration lay at the core of fascism's appeal. Erich Fromm claimed that modern society produces existential insecurity; consequently, many people sought to find psychological security in the certainty of authoritarian beliefs and racist prejudices.

The most systematic attempt to study the psychological basis of fascism came after World War II in the United States. Adorno, in collaboration with psychologists Frenkel-Brunswick, Levitt, and Sanford, constructed a series of opinion and personality scales, as

well as conducting in-depth psychoanalytic interviews. They claimed that there is a "fascist personality" that displays an "authoritarian syndrome." Authoritarians need firm, hierarchical beliefs as a reaction against their own inner psychological insecurities. Race prejudice was one component within this attitudinal and emotional syndrome. The theory of authoritarianism provoked a huge amount of empirical research, not to mention methodological critique. Although there is some evidence that contemporary fascist and right-wing groups may recruit proportionally more authoritarians, the support for fascism is not necessarily confined to one particular personality type. Moreover, it is now recognized that not only authoritarians will obey orders to commit cruel, even genocidal actions. Fascism, as a complex social phenomenon, cannot be explained in terms of a single personality dimension.

Michael Billig

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; EYSENCK, HANS JÜRGEN; FREUD, SIGMUND; FROMM, ERICH; GERMANY; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LIBERALISM; LORENZ, KONRAD; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REICH, WILHELM; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIOLOGY; *SONDERWEG*, THE; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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QADHAFI (GADDHAFI), MU'AMMAR (born 1942)

Effective sole ruler of Libya since 1969 and practitioner of a political philosophy with echoes of classic fascism. Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi was born in 1942 in a desert location some 30 kilometers from Sirta. He distinguished himself in his schooldays by being punished for his antimonarchist political activities. His studies culminated in a course of higher military education in Benghazi that he completed in 1965. He also attended a course at the British military academy at Sandhurst. After World War II, with the termination of Italian occupation and later British administration of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, and French administration of Fezzan, king Idris al-Sanusi returned in late 1950 to reign over Libya as the grandson of the founder of the Sanusi dynasty. Libya joined the League of Arab States (1953) and UNO (1956). From the mid-1960s the rich oil and natural gas reserves of the country were exploited, transforming a hitherto poor land into a rich country. Arab nationalist and socialist agitation, in line with the ideas of Egyptian president Gamal Abdel Nasser, suppressed in Libya by the royal authorities, resulted nonetheless in the formation of a clandestine Central Committee of Unionist Free Officers, with Mu'ammār al-Qadhafi as its leader. On 1 September 1969 the monarchy was toppled by a twelve-member Revolutionary Command Council headed by Qadhafi. From

then onward he became the effective sole ruler of the country, called initially the Arab Libyan Jamhiriyya (Republic)—to which a list of other adjectives was progressively added: “Socialist,” “Popular,” and “Great.”

In general terms, Qadhafi's ideas have elements of puritan Islam, a sense of mission, and a radical populism. He has not limited his agitation to Arab or Islamic countries, extending it to Africa and even the entire world, as openly declared in his booklet *Al-Kitāb al-Akhdhar (The Green Book)*, widely disseminated and translated into many languages. His consolidation of absolute power started in the early 1970s (Zuwara speech of 15 April 1973) with a number of measures, including the abrogation of all existing legislation, “freeing” Libya (the country of the “Revolution”), eliminating the “nation's enemies,” an administrative revolution, a cultural revolution in the direction of the desired consciousness (that is, state-imposed mode of thinking), and the introduction of paramilitary organizations (branded as the “armed nation”). In early 1973, so-called people's committees were introduced with the aim of promoting direct participation by the masses in public life, as opposed to the parliamentary form of government, which was rejected. Arab, African, and Islamic elements of the ideology were emphasized, Qadhafi's vanguard rule in all these spheres being promoted. *The Green Book* treated Libyan practices as the final solution to the problem of democracy. According to it, only the Libyan option is truly democratic, all others being distorted, false versions of democracy.

Next, Qadhafi claims that he has solved the economic problems of humanity by the introduction of socialism. Finally, he deals with the “solution” of the social problem by introducing the concepts of the individual, family, tribe, nation, state, and community—defining all of these terms and claiming to have found the final solution to humanity’s major problems.

Qadhafi has subjected all state institutions and virtually every citizen to the will of an authoritarian-type hierarchical rule, with himself at the top. The range of discretionary powers includes the persecution of Libyan opposition both inside the country and abroad, assassination of opponents abroad, support for extremists in the Arab world (especially extremist Palestinians), interference in African affairs, and organization of terrorist acts (openly admitted in the case of the 1987 Lockerbie bombing).

Hassan Jamsheer

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; ECONOMICS; FAMILY, THE; LIBYA; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MIDDLE EAST, THE; PALESTINE; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WORLD WAR II

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QUADRUMVIRS, THE

The four Fascist leaders (*Quadrumviri*) appointed by Mussolini to plan and lead the March on Rome: Michele Bianchi, Emilio de Bono, Cesare M. De Vecchi, and Italo Balbo. The title recalled that of the four magistrates who governed a *municipium* in Ancient Rome.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BALBO, ITALO; BONO, EMILIO DE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA

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QUISLING, VIDKUN (real name Abraham Laurits 1887–1945)

Fuehrer of Norway’s fascist party, NS, and (unlike some of his colleagues in European fascism) a man of considerable moral reputation when he entered politics in 1933. Quisling’s early military education had won him awards as a most gifted army officer, but in 1922 he abandoned his career in the general staff to devote himself to international relief and refugee work, acting as the Red Cross representative in Ukraine in 1922–1923, later as a League of Nations envoy in the Balkans, and ending up in Moscow from 1925 to 1929, working for Dr. Nansen’s Armenian repatriation project. During these years he also was employed by the Norwegian legation to take care of the then empty British legation, 1927–1929, which earned him an MBE. Originally left-leaning and somewhat of an amateur philosopher, Quisling was by the 1920s seduced by racist and rightist ideas. In 1931 he founded an unsuccessful clandestine “Nordic” movement that he had to leave when serving as minister of defense in the agrarian cabinet from 1931 to 1933. Thereafter, the movement was transformed into a political party, Nasjonal Samling (NS; National Unity), but even though its ranks seemed to be swelling with enthusiastic young fascists, the NS polled so unsuccessfully in the elections of 1933 and 1936 that it subsequently almost disintegrated. Quisling, however, trusted that his time would come; indeed, after the September 1939 outbreak of World War II, when his minuscule party acted as one of the very few organizations in Norway sympathizing with Germany, he managed to make his way to Berlin and to Hitler himself, with whom he conducted two long secret talks in the Reich chancellery on 14 and 18 December 1939. Through these talks Hitler became convinced that German control over Scandinavia would be vital in the war with Britain, and Quisling in return received generous subsidies for his party. When the Wehrmacht struck on 9 April 1940, Quisling, confident of Hitler’s backing, proclaimed himself prime

minister, but he had to step down as his coup proved counterproductive for the German army's campaign. Later he was summoned to Hitler, who promised to re-install him as soon as his party, bolstered with new German grants and enjoying the position of the only legal movement in Norway, had gained sufficient strength. Thus, by January 1942, Quisling became prime minister for the second time.

The Quisling regime in Norway, from 1942 to 1945, was a failure, squeezed as it was between Germany's steadily more repressive occupation measures and the growing hostility of the Norwegian population. Quisling's stubborn attempts to implement Nazi principles in public life and to encourage young Norwegians to enroll in the Waffen-SS increased his unpopu-

larity further. When he was arrested after the liberation and put on trial in Oslo, the verdict quite naturally was that of capital punishment. Ever since, the word *quisling* has served as a synonym for *traitor* in the world's major languages.

H. F. Dahl

See Also: ARYANISM; EXPANSIONISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NORWAY; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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RACIAL DOCTRINE

A crucial element in the ideology of German Nazism but not in that of Italian Fascism; consequently, not a part of the core of generic fascism. The origins of allegedly “scientific” classifications of mankind on the basis of “race” are to be found at the end of the eighteenth century (for example, Christian Meiners, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach). These classifications were results both of Enlightenment efforts to reconstruct a complete world order based on logical criteria and of the urge of a Protestant religious revival movement known as pietism to define the position of man in nature. They set up a hierarchy of the races based on the criterion of aesthetics. There was considerable debate as to whether the development of the races was affected up to a certain degree by the environment (for example, J. B. Antoine de Lamarck) or whether racial characteristics were completely determined by heredity.

In the nineteenth century, different thinkers interpreted history and society as a function of human “races” and their rivalry for supremacy. There were several attempts to assess “races” and their mixtures statistically. In close relationship with these theories, which were frequently subject to fears about the “decline” of the “white race,” was the development of eugenics or racial hygiene, established by Francis Galton (1822–1911). Eugenics was aimed not simply against hereditary diseases but also against the mixture of races.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, politicians picked up on racial doctrine. It played a substantial role as a legitimizing ideology for imperialist expansion. Two variations are to be differentiated: Darwinist racism postulated a right of the “higher races” to subjugate and exterminate the “lower” ones. The ideology of the civilizing mission legitimized imperialist expansion with the obligation to transfer the achievements of civilization to the “lower races.” In the remaining slave-owner states (the United States and Brazil), the racial doctrine played an important political role. In addition to racism directed against people of color, there emerged also a new form of racist anti-Semitism. In contrast to traditional anti-Judaism, it did not reject the Jews because of their religion but regarded them as an “alien” and essentially hostile nation or hostile race (for example, Wilhelm Marr). This ideology, which was a reaction to the gradual emancipation of the Jews, did, however, partly merge with religious anti-Judaism (for example, Adolf Stoecker). Anti-Semitism culminated in theories of a Jewish world conspiracy. Richard Wagner’s “Germanism” had a great impact, as did the racial theories of Joerg Lanz von Liebenfels, whose magazine *Ostara*—“newspaper for blond people” (founded in 1905)—was eagerly read by the young Adolf Hitler. The shock of World War I was favorable to the further proliferation of racial doctrine. The collapse of apparently eternal institutions made plausible race theories with their inherently apocalyptic visions. Race theories experienced a boom in politics, journalism, and science

during the interwar period, especially in the states on the losing side at the end of World War I. The *Rassenkunde* (“race lore”) of Hans F. K. Guenther, for example, sold several hundred thousands of copies in Germany between 1922 and the end of the Nazi period. Within the ideology of National Socialism, racism, which postulated an antagonism between Aryans and Jews, was always in competition with Pangermanist nationalism in the categories of traditional power politics. Racial doctrine was transferred into law soon after Hitler’s seizure of power: The *Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* (Act for the Re-establishment of the Civil Service with Tenure) of 7 April 1933 excluded “non-Aryan” people from public office. The Nuremberg Laws of September 1935 excluded Jews from the citizenry and prohibited marriage as well as sexual intercourse (considered as “race dishonor”) between non-Jews and Jews. Racial doctrine culminated in the millionfold murder of “non-Aryan” people in the course of World War II.

In other fascist movements, racial doctrine played a less important role. For instance, in Italy it did not become part of the official state ideology until 1938. However, the borders between nationalism and the racial doctrine had already become fluid. After World War II, racial doctrine had lost its legitimacy. States that based their constitutions on it were internationally outlawed (South Africa, Rhodesia). Nevertheless, neofascist organizations like the NSDAP Aufbau- und Ausland organisation, White Aryan Resistance, or Blood and Honour continued to espouse a racial ideology.

Christian Koller

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CHRISTIANITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; EUGENICS; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GÜNTHER, HANS FRIEDRICH KARL; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; MEDICINE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; PANGERMANISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROTESTANTISM AND NAZISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACISM; ROOTLESSNESS; SCIENCE; SEXUALITY; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOUTH AFRICA; SS, THE; STOECKER, ADOLF; UNITED STATES, THE (POST-1945); WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; ZIMBABWE

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RACIAL HYGIENE: See EUGENICS;
MEDICINE; RACIAL DOCTRINE

RACISM

A distinctive feature of German Nazism—though not of Italian Fascism—that it proclaimed enthusiastically and unapologetically as based on “scientific” findings. This new layer of “scientific” racism was superimposed on a pre-existing tradition of racial, cultural, and religious prejudice that had taken various forms in previous centuries. Perhaps its most dominant—and definitely its most widely shared—form was anti-Semitism. A number of historians have invoked the Nazi regime’s unique emphasis on “eliminationist anti-Semitism” and its distinct obsession with an extreme form of “racial revolution” as evidence of its departure from the generic mold of fascist ideology as established by Mussolini. It is true that, on the level of both ideological fanaticism and political determination, National Socialist Germany went far beyond any comparable form of racialism sponsored by fascist movements or regimes in the rest of interwar Europe. If, however, one accepts that fascism’s itinerary to racism passes through specific indigenous traditions (which, in turn, signified particular notions of “rebirth”) and an overriding focus on national elitism, then neither anti-Semitism nor any other form (or intensity) of racism should be considered as either a sine qua non or a qualitative *differentia specifica*. Fascist ideology remained flexible enough to endorse or reject particular strands of racialism, to prioritize, mitigate, or abandon racist intentions.

It is, indeed, more accurate to speak about fascism’s propensity for some form of racism as an integral aspect of its self-legitimation as an elite force. Italian Fascist ideology—which had shown little inclination to subscribe to either biological theories or cliché anti-

Semitism prior to the late 1930s—used the experience of imperialism after the victory in Ethiopia (1936) to promulgate a racist doctrine of segregation between “white” (Italian) and “coloured” (Ethiopian) people. At the same time, anti-Semitism (biological or not) became a point of ideological convergence between a host of interwar fascist movements—from Hungary’s Arrow Cross (whose leader, Szálasi, propagated his vision of an “a-Semitic” country) to the BUF’s conversion to an anti-Jewish platform to combat what was seen as the principal “threat” to the supremacy of the British Empire. The experience of National Socialist policy in the direction of actively persecuting and, later, murdering Jews and other forms of “life unworthy of living” acted as a political catalyst, moral instigation, and psychological legitimation for the launching of similar projects of racism (though not comparable in intensity) across the continent.

While the pseudo-scientific model of interwar racism was brought into overwhelming disrepute in the shadow of the revelations concerning the “Final Solution,” racism’s relevance to ethnocentric models of nationalism has not worn off. Generic economic shifts—first with the wave of immigration during the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s, and subsequently through the “unwanted” influx of immigrants desperate to escape from the poverty of the Third World—have kept a reservoir of racially motivated resentment alive in some sectors of postwar European societies. Extreme-right-wing movements or parties—from the violent neo-Nazi groups in Germany to “systemic” parties in many European countries (National Front in France, British National Party in the United Kingdom, the Swiss People’s Party)—have championed (though by no means monopolized) the case for recapturing a nationally homogeneous society and impeding further alleged “erosion” of the national and wider European population pool. For different reasons, verbal and sometimes physical assaults on immigrants barely conceal the persistence of a racist discourse that remains the preferential terrain of extreme-right-wing movements but that has also made substantial inroads into more mainstream contemporary political discourse. The primary emphasis may have shifted—from the biological to the economic and social field—but patterns of continuity between interwar and postwar arguments (as well as of their primary sponsors) are unmistakable.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS; ARYANISM; CROATIA; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; ELITE THEORY; ETHIOPIA; EUGENICS; EXPANSIONISM; FÖRSTER-

NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; IMMIGRATION; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; MEDICINE; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT (FRANCE), THE; NATIONAL FRONT (UK), THE; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROCK MUSIC; SCIENCE; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SOUTH AFRICA; SWITZERLAND; SZÁLASI, FERENC; UNITED STATES, THE; USTASHA; WHITE SUPREMACISM; XENOPHOBIA; ZIMBABWE

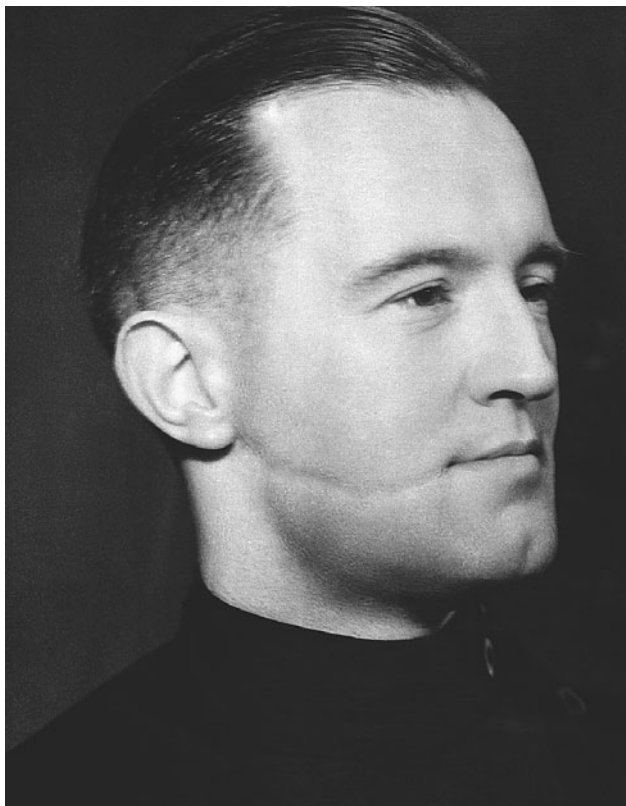
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RADIO

The rise of Italian Fascism and Nazism in the early twentieth century coincided with a golden age of radio. As the tool of choice for propagandists, radio also dominated mass communications in the domestic sphere. Totalitarian movements generally valued mass participation in politics. Traditional autocracies had distrusted the masses and sought to exclude them as much as possible, but communists and fascists wanted to mobilize the masses—albeit under conditions in which they could be easily manipulated. The marriage of totalitarianism and radio broadcasting was an important marker of the shift from elite to mass society.

Lenin’s description of radio as a paperless newspaper that could reach the masses would have had particular appeal to the Nazis. For Hitler and Mussolini, radio was an extension of the mass rally, although it lacked the feedback provided by the roar of the crowd. Ultimately, the Nazis aimed to systematize the propaganda process as an integral part of a new political system. They drew on early communications research into the relationship between the communicator and the audience. Propaganda effects were to be more important than debates about the message. Truth, half-truth, or downright falsehood could be used to mobilize the



William Joyce, known as 'Lord Haw Haw' in Britain, was a leading figure in Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists in the 1930s who later broadcast Nazi propaganda from Germany to the UK during World War II. (Corbis)

population once the technique was properly mastered. As soon as they came to power, the Nazis quickly dismantled the Weimar Republic's fledgling public service broadcasting network, and radio became the responsibility of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, rather than of the state telecommunications apparatus. This ministry was headed by Joseph Goebbels, propaganda chief of both party and state. Goebbels's closeness to the Fuehrer at the end testified to his commitment to Nazism, as well as to the value that Hitler attached to propaganda. Radio was undoubtedly the primary instrument in his arsenal.

The national domestic service, *Deutschlandsender* ("German Transmitter/Station"), accompanied by regional stations, was soon subject to tight control. Censorship not only prevented criticism, as in traditional autocracies, but also prescribed "correct" opinion. Although light entertainment or classical music softened the pill, even low culture was politicized. Supposedly "Jewish" musical forms and African-American jazz were

frowned upon. All things "Aryan" or German were glorified. Political mobilization of the masses was facilitated by their mobilization behind the new medium. State radio was to have a monopoly of audience time and attention. There were severe penalties for unauthorized listening to foreign broadcasts, access to short-wave radios was restricted, and many foreign stations were jammed. The Reich mass-produced inexpensive receivers, the *Volksempfänger*, optimized for easy tuning to *Deutschlandsender* frequencies. These were found in homes and workplaces alike. The drama of Nazi rallies was conveyed through live broadcasts. In the absence of the satellite feeds of today, short-wave radio links were used to relay coverage of events over great distances. There were direct radio links with Italy and even with Japan. Radio thus contributed to the globalization of the Axis system.

Guglielmo Marconi, the radio pioneer, helped Radio Rome in its early years. Italy also hired Ezra Pound, the poet, to broadcast in English to North America. Radio was obviously more than a domestic propaganda tool: radio signals ignore political boundaries. There was a fear of their potential power, especially among the democracies. Symptomatic of the desire to control aggressive nationalist broadcasts was a 1936 League of Nations declaration outlawing war propaganda altogether. As in other things, German and Italian broadcasters merely ignored these League pronouncements. Ironically, fascist international broadcasting was a spur to the development of BBC external services. The British initially believed that propaganda was essentially a wartime activity. The vitriol of Italian broadcasts to Arab countries, exploiting British human rights violations in Palestine, convinced them, however, to begin regular peacetime transmissions in Arabic and to see international broadcasting as more than a home service for the empire.

Radio played a crucial role in the prelude to war in Central Europe during the late 1930s. Initial Nazi efforts focused on German-speaking populations across European frontiers where Hitler had irredentist claims. Germany's medium-wave transmitters were ideal for broadcasting over short distances. Moreover, the message frequently fell on receptive ears. Because of their chauvinist tone, fascist external services were more successful in reaching German or Italian cultural communities abroad than at persuading foreigners. Germany therefore directed concerted broadcast campaigns at the Saar region, which was disputed with France, at Austria, at Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, and at Germans in Poland. Alleged discrimination against those populations was a common theme. In the case of

the Saar and Austria, expectations were raised that they would eventually be rejoining the Reich. The barrage was not entirely unexpected. Yet, as the Nazis matched their broadcasts with other provocative acts, ranging from coup plots in Austria to troop movements on several frontiers, international broadcasting became even more controversial and elicited diplomatic protests. As with risky military maneuvers, the Germans were capable of toning down broadcasts when realpolitik demanded it.

The outbreak of fighting posed a new and exciting challenge for Goebbels. Despite efforts to soften some of his overseas output, the bombastic tone of domestic propaganda came through. Victories were announced with a loud, sometimes trumpeted announcement, the *Sondermeldung*. While propaganda broadcast into Russia emphasized liberation from Bolshevism, Hitler sometimes hinted at future coexistence with a weakened Britain. This led the Germans to vary the hostility of messages beamed to the United Kingdom, depending on the prevailing mood. Prefiguring later communist transmissions in esoteric languages during the Cold War, they tried to broadcast in West European minority languages, including Breton and Irish, though with derisory results. There were also black propaganda stations like the New British Broadcasting Station, purporting to represent fascist supporters in Britain. The programs actually came from German-occupied territory. Such tactics, of course, occur in all propaganda wars. Yet their use by the fascists was particularly ironic, because it was doubtful if ethnic groups cultivated by Hitler would really have thrived in a future German-dominated world order.

The seminal figure in Germany's broadcasts to Britain was William Joyce, nicknamed "Lord Haw Haw" by the British press. He was born in the United States of Irish parents but had a British passport. He had been a supporter of Mosley's fascists when he lived in London. As war approached, Joyce went to Berlin to work for Germany's overseas radio service, the Rundfunk Ausland. His broadcasts, featuring much sarcasm and anti-Semitic content, aroused as much amusement as support for the Nazis. He was captured, tried for treason, and hanged by the British at the end of the war. Japan's star broadcaster was Ikoku Toguri, dubbed "Tokyo Rose" or "Orphan Ann." Her "Zero Hour" programs targeted U.S. troops in the Pacific, though there were also broadcasts to North America itself. Many were relatively professional—certainly more so than those of postwar Asian totalitarian states like North Korea. The Japanese interspersed jazz request shows with the seductive tones of Tokyo Rose. She

sounded caring and easy-going. Newscasts were blatantly biased but framed to sound factual rather than emotional. The overall tone was lighter than that of Germany's broadcasts. (For audio excerpts, see Kaelin 2002). However, the shriller Japanese domestic radio censored U.S. cultural fare, including much of its popular music, as "decadent." In both domestic and foreign output, the Japanese could not bridge the gap between the reality of heavy losses and the theme of struggle until victory. Because the war was supposedly fought for a near-divine emperor, many simply believed the propaganda from the national radio, Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK). The decision to put the emperor on air to announce surrender, albeit without using the word, finally rendered him human and compelled the Japanese people to reassess their fate.

The Italian Fascist and Nazi regimes invested heavily in technology as a symbol of power. Germany built a state-of-the-art radio-transmitting complex to compete with the facilities of the BBC. The Zeesen transmitter site near Berlin had only two weak short-wave transmitters in 1933. Up to seven 50-kilowatt transmitters were added in 1936, to provide coverage of the Olympic Games. More were added in 1939 and during the war. Some could operate at 100 kilowatts. In addition, there were numerous medium-wave transmitters on Germany's borders with most European states. Since medium wave was used for national broadcasting in Europe, this increased the prospects of accidental reception by potentially new listeners. Transmitters seized in captured territories were also used. These included the powerful Luxembourg station that was later recaptured by advancing Allied armies. It was particularly well sited for broadcasting to Britain.

Italy also had well-designed short-wave transmitters, though fewer than the Germans. In addition, Italy used a medium-wave facility at Bari to reach Greece and the Arab countries. In the Far East, Japan established a chain of medium and short-wave relays, the *Toa Hoso*, incorporating stations in Korea, China, Singapore, and the Philippines. Yet despite much preparation for war, NHK had no relay stations in the Americas. Short-wave broadcasts had to cross polar regions to reach eastern North America and Europe, mostly by means of 50-kilowatt transmitters. This was relatively low power for transpacific broadcasting, and the polar route left signals vulnerable to atmospheric disturbance.

A spectacular but short-lived use of radio by extremists of the Right occurred in the early 1990s under the auspices of the Japanese Aum Shinrikyo cult. Although ostensibly religious, they engaged in quasi-military preparations and had a clear political agenda. Their

focus on tradition located them on the Right rather than the Left, although that is a relatively loose classification. Aum exploited the chaos in Russia as communism unraveled. The cult rented much of Radio Moscow's vast array of powerful transmitters to beam a daily half-hour short-wave broadcast across Eurasia. It was also broadcast locally in Japan. The programs were largely incoherent and inaccessible, and, as such, were more attractive to cult followers than to newcomers. Like Goebbels's transborder broadcasts to Central Europe, they reinforced the loyalty of the base. The Russian contract was terminated after Aum's sarin gas attack on the Tokyo subway system in 1995.

A fringe outgrowth of U.S. right-wing talk radio in the 1990s provided the next opportunity for far-right access to radio power. The AM broadcast band emerged as a home for mainstream conservative opinion in the Clinton years. However, the far Right were also quick to jump on this bandwagon. Armed groups holed up in shacks or on ranches pronounced themselves in revolt against Washington. Some declared sovereignty; others prepared for violence. Falling foul of the law, the militia Right was forced to regroup and redirect its message at core supporters to avoid further hostile attention. This underground movement required a new medium: short-wave radio, targeting a domestic audience. Private short-wave stations now carried programming by figures associated with neo-Nazism, or that backed far-right militia causes, such as those associated with the Waco and Ruby Ridge controversies. Militia programs and the more extreme neo-fascist output seemed to operate alongside a broader strand of "patriot" broadcasting. The patriots labored on survivalist themes, including advice on food storage under adverse environmental conditions, and preparations for biochemical or even nuclear warfare. They encouraged amateur and short-wave radio hobbies as alternative media outlets in a time of danger. Stations that carried patriot programming, such as WWCR in Nashville, were nominally evangelical services broadcasting to countries outside the United States. Yet their actual signal coverage area, program themes, and contact phone numbers pointed to a U.S. target audience. Short-wave was being used as a means of narrowcasting, consolidating a niche following rather than chasing the mass listenership sought by the 1930s fascist propagandists.

Derek Lynch

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; AXIS, THE; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CHRISTIANITY; COLD WAR, THE; COUGHLIN, FR. CHARLES EDWARD; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE;

GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; JOYCE, WILLIAM; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LEISURE; MARCONI, GUGLIELMO; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSIC (GERMANY); MUSIC (ITALY); MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PALESTINE; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; POSTWAR FASCISM; POUND, EZRA; PROGRESS; PROPAGANDA; SOVIET UNION, THE; SUDETENLAND, THE; SURVIVALISM; TECHNOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR II

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RASSENHYGIENE: See EUGENICS

RATIONALISM

National Socialism rejected "rationalism" as "one-sided intellectualism," the attitude of a "spiritually rootless modern man," or denounced it as "Jewish rationalism," although "irrationalism" was not presented as a positive

counterconcept. Italian Fascism spoke of the dissolution of everything firm in “pure movement” and made a cult out of the permanent, restless mobilization of the masses on the basis of a diffuse vitalistic feeling of life. Mussolini followed an innate sense of mission when he portrayed himself in the tradition of Augustus and the Roman emperors, while Hitler too spoke frequently of his and Germany’s “destiny.”

In National Socialism the formula “blood and soil” was one of the most blatantly irrationalist slogans of the movement. It implied an antirationalistic emotionalism of “rootedness, earthedness, love of home, connectedness to earth and blood.” In 1934 an official *Pocket Book of the National Socialist State* stated: “These two words [that is, blood and soil] comprise the whole National Socialist program.” But the Nazi leadership did not speak with one voice in this area. In the Nazi leadership there were terrifyingly “rational” political technocrats like Fritz Todt, Albert Speer, and a great number in the ministerial and administrative bureaucracy, as well as cold power politicians like Joseph Goebbels and Martin Bormann. Alongside them there were mystical-irrationalist dreamers like Himmler, with his mystique of a Blood Order and a racial elite, Julius Streicher with his pathological and pornographic race hatred, or the “Chief Ideologist,” Alfred Rosenberg, with his confused Germanic religion and his fantasies of colonizing the East. In general, irrational motifs in National Socialism resulted from a specific hostility to modernity combined with *völkisch*-reactionary race utopias and sentimental, antirational Romanticism. But there was also a contrasting embrace of “modernity,” with technocratic-rational features such as the mobilization and militarization of all areas of life and the politicization of the whole of existence, powerful and speedy industrialization of the economy, and bureaucratic efficiency—culminating in the “murderously efficient” registration and elimination of whole population groups.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BORMANN, MARTIN; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MATERIALISM; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATURE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSITIVISM; PSYCHOLOGY; RELIGION; ROOTLESSNESS; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCIENCE; SOUL; SPEER, ALBERT;

STREICHER, JULIUS; SYMBOLS; TECHNOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VITALISM; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*

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RAUSCHNING, HERMANN (1887–1982)

Nazi politician who turned into one of the most celebrated contemporary “insider” critics of Hitler. His book *The Revolution of Nihilism* and later books bore testimony to the ruthlessness of Nazism. Rauschnig spent his early years in Danzig as a farmer and acted as a conservative publicist. When the NSDAP won broad support, he joined its ranks (1931) and became president of the Senate of Danzig (1933). He was forced by Hitler to retire after he had some differences with Gauleiter Forster on questions relating to the economy. Rauschnig immigrated to Switzerland in 1936, and in 1948 to the United States.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NIHILISM

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RAUTI, GIUSEPPE ("PINO") (born 1926)

Important figure in Italian Neo-Fascism and disciple of Julius Evola. Rauti fought for the Salò Republic, and after the war he joined the Movimento Sociale Italiano. Initially he found its policies too moderate for him, and he left to form Ordine Nuovo. In 1969 he returned to the MSI and went on to be elected to both the Italian and European parliaments.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: EVOLA, JULIUS; ITALY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE

Reference

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REBATET, LUCIEN (1903–1972)

Novelist and journalist on *L'Action Française* from 1929, anti-Semite, antidemocratic advocate of dictatorship, and admirer of Hitler who was regarded by his fellow fascist Brasillach as "the most stubborn and the most violent among us all." His work *Les Décombres* (1942, later re-edited and enlarged as *Mémoires d'un Fasciste*) demonstrated that he had moved from being a supporter of the integral nationalism of Action Française to being an enthusiast for Nazi Germany: it contains a virulent attack on French "decadence." During the Vichy regime Rebatet worked as drama and film columnist. After the war he was condemned to death in 1946, but the sentence was commuted; he emerged from imprisonment in 1952. He later wrote further novels that attracted high praise in some quarters.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; FRANCE; GERMANY; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; NAZISM; VICHY

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REBIRTH: See PALINGENETIC MYTH
REDESDALE, LORD: See MITFORD
FAMILY, THE
REGENERATION: See PALINGENETIC
MYTH

REICH, WILHELM (1897–1957)

Psychoanalyst and student of fascism who popularized the idea that the prevalence of the pattern of the traditional family made the masses receptive to the appeal of authoritarian regimes. On account of his independent and unconventional opinions, Reich was expelled in 1933 from the German Communist Party and in 1934 from all psychoanalytical organizations. In 1933 he immigrated to Scandinavia and in 1939 to the United States, where he died in prison in 1957. He was the first to apply psychoanalytical methods to the phenomenon of fascism. The first edition of his *Mass Psychology of Fascism*, published in 1933, was an attempt at a psychoanalytical explanation of fascist movements and tried to answer the question of why the crisis situations of the 1920s and 1930s had not led—as Marxist ideologists had prophesied—to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the third edition, in 1942, Reich replaced all of the Marxist conceptions with general ones.

For Reich, fascism was the "expression of the irrational structure of mass man." In his view, the mediator of this irrational structure and the receptivity for mystique is the authoritarian family. The mediation takes place through moral inhibition of the natural sexuality of the child. The inhibition is accomplished with the help of religious angst. The result is an anxious child, timid, fearful of authority, and obedient. Sexual repression makes a person passive and apolitical and leads to a quest for satisfaction through substitutes, such as

sadism, a mass psychological foundation of war. It also makes people receptive to uniforms, military parades, and marching. The association of the masses with National Socialism took place, according to Reich, because of their identification with the Fuehrer, a father figure promising to be an authoritarian protector. On the grounds of their identification with the Fuehrer and the authoritarian state, Hitler's supporters could look upon themselves as defenders of "the people" and "the nation." Reich attributed particular importance to race theory. He pointed to its irrational character and posited a connection between sexual repression and class domination.

The concept put forward by Reich and others to explain the success of fascism with the help of a particular socialization, the authoritarian personality, has provoked a great deal of criticism. The main objection is that the relationship between the authoritarian personality and authoritarian behavior is not unambiguously defined. We cannot either deduce or prognosticate the behavior of a man out of a knowledge of the features of an authoritarian personality. Moreover, critics have questioned the close connection between social behavior in relation to psychic structures and the early childhood socialization process.

Michael Schäbitz (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ARENDT, HANNAH; AUTHORITARIANISM; DICTATORSHIP; FROMM, ERICH; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LE BON, GUSTAVE; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHODYNAMICS OF PALINGENETIC MYTH, THE; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; SEXUALITY; TOTALITARIANISM

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REICHSTAG FIRE, THE

On 27 February 1933, a few weeks after Hitler's assumption of power, the German Reichstag (parliament building) in Berlin was destroyed by fire. Dutch anarchist Marinus van der Lubbe was arrested on the spot, and the Nazi leadership, soon on the scene, spoke im-



The fire in the Reichstag (parliament building) in Berlin in February 1933; although a Dutch anarchist admitted to having caused it, the finger of suspicion has always been pointed at the Nazis themselves, well known for their hatred of parliamentarism. However, no proof of their involvement has ever been found. (National Archives)

mediately of a "communist torch" for an uprising against Hitler's regime. The following day the "Reichstag Fire Decree" annulled the personal freedoms guaranteed under the Weimar Constitution (freedom of opinion, of assembly, of the press, invulnerability of the home, property, letters, and postal secrecy) and increased the penalties for many crimes, while about 4,000 Communist Party and Socialist Party officials on a prepared list were arrested and held in "protective custody." The swift, prepared reaction of the Nazi leadership gave rise to the suspicion that the fire might have been started by the Nazis themselves, in order to push through their measures. However, no clear proof has ever been found of direct Nazi involvement, and the question has remained a matter of controversy among historians down to the present. The "Reichstag fire trial" ran before the Leipzig Reich court from 21 September

to 23 December 1933; the accused were van der Lubbe, Communist Party chairman Ernst Torgler, and Comintern officials Georgi Dimitrov (later president of Bulgaria), Popov, and Tanev. Van der Lubbe, who claimed to have been acting alone, was condemned to death—in accordance with a law introduced for the purpose—and executed; the other accused were acquitted. The Nazi leadership had to abandon their intention of mounting a show trial against the communists after Dimitroff had managed to make president of the Reichstag Hermann Goering, who was appearing as a witness, look ridiculous in public.

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: BOL SHEVISM; GERMANY; GOERING, HERMANN; LAW; MARXISM; NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; SOCIALISM; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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REICHSWEHR, THE: See WEHRMACHT, THE

RELIGION

The attitude of Italian Fascism and German Nazism and other leading fascist movements to religion was neither univocal nor consistent, but often marked by tensions, conflicts, and antagonisms. However much they may have purported to support and defend Christianity as the religion of the nation, Italian Fascism and National Socialism did not propose to model politics, society, and the state in accord with Christian doctrine. Therefore they cannot be defined as Christian political movements or as Christian in inspiration. Moreover, the only activity that the two regimes allowed the churches to undertake was their pastoral practice; no church criticism was permitted of their totalitarian policies, which subordinated traditional religion to the ideology of the totalitarian regime. The Fascist state, warned Mussolini in 1929, a few weeks after having signed the Concordat with the Holy See, “is Catholic, but it is Fascist, in fact above all, exclusively, essentially Fascist”; for that reason it claimed the monopoly of the education of the new generations for itself and did not hesitate on two occasions—1931

and 1938—to launch aggressive campaigns against Catholic Action to force the Church to remain confined within pastoral practice. The Nazi regime harshly persecuted practicing Protestants, and even more Catholics, who dared to criticize National Socialist ideology and politics. When, in 1937, Pius XI condemned the persecution of Catholics in Germany with the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*, though without mentioning Nazism, Hitler warned that the churches “have no title to criticize the morals of a state. . . . [F]or the morals of the German state and of the German people the leaders of the German state will be responsible.”

The truth is that as an integralist conception of politics that claimed uniquely for itself the prerogative of independently defining the significance and the ultimate end of human existence on this earth, fascism took on the essential features of a political religion. This interpretation of fascism as a political religion does not, however, derive from fascism’s own self-representation. Apart from Italian Fascism, which did officially define itself as “a religious conception,” no fascist movement presented explicitly as a new secular religion. The interpretation of fascism as a political religion was developed by antifascists of various stripes like Luigi Sturzo, Waldemar Gurian, Eric Voegelin, and Raymond Aron. These antifascists were motivated to define fascism as a political religion by a consideration of the concrete aspects of the fascist movements—that is: the claim of the fascists to be the sole and exclusive interpreters of the nation; the practice of violence to regenerate the nation by eliminating all of its internal enemies; the political style, which laid great emphasis on the symbolism of banners, uniforms, and collective rituals; the cult of the leader; and the collective enthusiasm, irrational and fanatical, that fascism inspired with its propaganda and its organizations.

All fascist movements had in common the sacralization of politics—that is, the tendency to confer on a secular entity the attributes of a sacred reality—supreme, unarguable, and intangible—placing it at the center of a system of beliefs, myths, rituals, symbols, and commandments that defined the significance and the ultimate end of terrestrial existence for the individual and the masses. Fascist movements shared a political mysticism that sacralized the nation, the state, and the race, as well as the movement itself. In all fascist movements, support, organization, and militancy were based not on knowledge, motivation, and rational choices but on an irrational adherence summed up in Mussolini’s commandment “Believe, Obey, Fight,” which can be considered the emblem of fascism. All fascist movements exalted faith as the foundation of political militancy.

Even devotion and obedience to the leader was conceived by fascism in terms of mystical communion.

Fascist political mysticism imposed dedication to the primacy of the national community, divinized as a supreme absolute reality, a transcendent totality, which is perpetuated in time, acting through the consciousness and will of an elect minority. "The totality of the nation," claimed Ferenc Szálasi, leader of the Hungarian National Socialist Movement Arrow Cross, "is the perfect totality." The fatherland, proclaimed José Antonio Primo de Rivera, founder of the Spanish Falange, "is a total unity . . . a transcendent synthesis, an invisible synthesis, with its own goals to fulfill; and we want this movement of today, and the state it creates, to be an efficient, authoritarian instrument at the service of an indisputable unity, of that permanent unity, of that irrevocable unity that is the Fatherland." For fascist movements, the mystical totality of the nation was realized in the unity of the new state, created and governed by a spiritual aristocracy of "New Men" that exercised absolute power to realize a homogenous, integral, national community, eliminating by any means possible persons and groups considered harmful to the existence of the national collectivity. "The new state," affirmed Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, founder in Romania of the Legion of the Archangel Michael, "cannot be founded on the theoretical concepts of constitutional law. The new state presupposes in the first place and as an essential a new type of man. . . . The New Man or the renewed nation presupposes a great spiritual renewal, a great spiritual revolution of the whole people." The political struggle was conceived by fascists as an apocalyptic war between Good and Evil. All fascist movements could have echoed—with due allowances for their particular version of the ideology—the statement of the leader of Norwegian fascism, Vidkun Quisling, that the Nordic Principle "is allied to the Divine," while its enemies, Jewish liberalism and Marxism, were allies of the devil.

Syncretism between political religion and traditional religion was another classic feature peculiar to fascist political mysticism. This occurred especially in fascist movements that professed a nationalist, racist, and anti-Semitic ideology that they considered wholly coherent with Christian doctrine. "God is Fascist," claimed a legionary of the Iron Guard. The version of the Christian religion actually professed by many chiefs and militants of National Socialism was in reality a hybrid racist ideologization of Christianity that "Aryanized" and "Germanized" Christ and God. The National Socialist revolution, said the Fuehrer in 1934, was a manifestation of the divine protection of the German people.

As to the legitimacy of the concept of political religion to define fascism, it should be noted that among the most important interpreters of fascism as a secular religion were Catholic and Protestant theologians such as Jacques Maritain, Paul Tillich, and Karl Barth; for them the use of the concept of religion with reference to a political phenomenon was not wholly metaphorical but aimed at defining an effective religious dimension of politics, which they identified with a modern manifestation of idolatry and paganism. For this reason they condemned every form of compromise and collaboration by the churches with fascism, considering it by its very nature incompatible with Christian doctrine. This, moreover, was also the conviction of Pope Pius XI. In 1931 the pontiff condemned the statolatrous religion of the Fascist regime with the encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno*, and shortly before his death in 1939 he was preparing to publish a solemn condemnation of totalitarian doctrines that sacralized the nation, race, or class in an encyclical entitled *Humani Generis Unitas*. This remained unpublished after his death at the desire of his successor, Pius XII.

Emilio Gentile

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTICLERICALISM; ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARROW CROSS; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CLERICO-FASCISM; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTS OF DEATH; EDUCATION; ELITE THEORY; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; LIBERALISM; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NORWAY; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; PROTESTANTISM; QUISLING, VIDKUN; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RATIONALISM; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SECULARIZATION; SPAIN; STYLE; SYMBOLS; SZÁLAZI, FERENC; THEOLOGY; TOTALITARIANISM; VIOLENCE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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REMER, OTTO-ERNST (1912–1997)

German army officer who played a crucial role in frustrating the July Plot against Hitler and who remained an unrepentant supporter of the Hitler regime till the end of his life. As commander of the Grossdeutschland guard regiment in Berlin, he moved quickly to suppress the revolt after the assassination attempt had failed and was promoted to major-general for his efforts. After the war, Remer was imprisoned by the Americans until 1947. In 1950 he founded the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party, but the party was dissolved in 1952. In 1992 he was sentenced by a German court for publication of Holocaust denial articles in a newsletter. He fled to Spain, and the Spanish authorities refused a request for extradition.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; JULY PLOT, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; SKORZENY, OTTO

Reference

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REPARATIONS

One of the many festering grievances on which Nazism fed in Germany was that of the reparations demanded of her as a result of the Versailles Treaty. Eventually, the sum of 132,000 million gold marks was settled on in 1921. By 1923, with the German mark collapsing, French troops entered the Rhineland to enforce payment of outstanding reparations. It was in November of that year, when 1 billion marks were the equivalent of one dollar, that Hitler launched the abortive Munich Putsch. The following year a new repayment scheme was fixed, known as the Dawes Plan after Charles Dawes, director of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget. It proposed repayment at a rate of 2,000 million gold marks per year. In 1929 the Young Plan (after Owen D. Young, successor to Dawes as chairman of the Allied Committee) scaled down the debt to 37,000 million gold marks, which were to be repaid over fifty-nine years. Two years later a conference in Lausanne resulted in the abandonment of reparations claims.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ECONOMICS; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INFLATION; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR I

Reference

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REPRESENTATION: See DEMOCRACY; PARLIAMENTARISM
RESISTANCE RECORDS: See ROCK MUSIC; SKINHEAD FASCISM; UNITED STATES, THE (postwar)

REVISIONISM: See *HISTORIKERSTREIT, THE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; IRVING, DAVID JOHN CAWDELL*

REVOLUTION

Fascism's ideologues have always claimed their movement to be revolutionary, and, though traditionally that claim has been routinely repudiated by most academics and antifascist activists, by the 1990s there was evidence of an increasing willingness on the part of serious scholars not to reject it out of hand. Ever since the violent attacks on socialists by Italian Fascist Action Squads in the "red biennium" (1920–1921), it has been axiomatic for Marxists that fascism was by its very nature a counter-revolutionary bid by capitalism to crush revolutionary socialism and the power of organized labor. Even those "sophisticated" Marxists prepared to accept that fascism may have been used by reactionary forces as an instrument of class repression have generally been reluctant to consider the ideology and ultimate goals of the instrument itself. They thus denied themselves the possibility of realizing that in the interwar period conservative interests (big business, the monarchy, the Church, the bourgeoisie) attempted in several countries to highjack fascism and deflect it from fulfilling its deeply anticonservative objectives as it saw them, in the case of Italy and Germany unsuccessfully but in Spain and Romania successfully, at least for a time.

Meanwhile in the liberal camp the untested (and erroneous) assumption that fascism's core social basis was the middle classes, plus the deep confusion that prevailed in the liberal camp about what constituted fascism, a confusion compounded by the deep sense of horror that pervaded the human sciences after 1945 at the atrocities committed by Nazism in the name of the "New Order," meant that fascism was widely treated as a phenomenon that could have been described only in negative terms (antisocialist, antihumanist, antiliberal, antimodern, anticulture, irrational, barbaric, pathological, nihilistic, and so forth). A further obstacle to recognizing any authentic revolutionary dimension within fascism has been the assumption that a "true" revolution involves first and foremost the transformation of the socioeconomic basis of society, the emancipation of all oppressed sectors of humanity from oppression, or a vision of the future that makes a definitive break with

the past—preconceptions that naturally dominate socialist thinking but that have had a deep impact on liberal theory as well. However, a close study of the archetypal European revolution, the French Revolution, confirms that at the heart of the attempted socioeconomic transformation lay the vision of inaugurating a new worldview, a new set of values, a new historical era, and a new type of man.

Once the semantic emphasis in the discussion of revolution shifts to highlight ideological, temporal, and anthropological transformation, then it is soon clear that fascism in all of its permutations seeks to revolutionize society and not merely to restore some lost Golden Age—even if one of its outstanding features is the way in which it tends to use the myth of some epic high point of cultural homogeneity and vitality as the inspiration for the future. The Ancient Romans, the Aryans, the Dacians, the Magyars, the Elizabethans, the Indo-Europeans, and especially the Ancient Greeks, the white settlers in the United States and South Africa, the Spaniards, the Brazilians, and the Russians that allegedly first created that nation in a heroic act of will—all have been used by fascists as mythic sources of inspiration for a new, postliberal future. At bottom this is no different from the way in which Republican Rome served as a role model for French revolutionaries, and utopian visions of primitive communism helped to inspire French revolutionaries, anarchists, Marxist-Leninists, and Hippies alike.

The pioneers of the recognition of fascism's revolutionary dynamic were G. L. Mosse, Stanley Payne (U.S.), and Zeev Sternhell (Israel), who by 1980 had all published insightful analyses of fascism's attempted regeneration of national culture, politics, morals, and art, to produce a "New Man." More recently the Italian scholar Emilio Gentile has added an important theoretical dimension to this analysis by revealing the nexus between a movement's aspiration to bring about an anthropological revolution, its totalitarian drive to gain political, economic, and cultural control of society, and its tendency to create a political religion that sacralizes the new state, a syndrome manifested in both fascist and communist societies. Once approached in this way it becomes obvious that fascism, far from being antimodern, is an attempt to create an alternative modernity that harnesses the power of modern technology, science, and the state while intensifying the sense of national identity and cultural roots by creating a ritual, liturgical style of politics and appealing to a mythicized national or racial history. The reason for its rejection of so many aspects of modernity (individualism, rationalism, and the like) can then be understood, not as

reaction, but as a bid to reverse the process of decay and create a new order based on the national community. At this point the collaboration in the fascist project of technocrats, scientists, engineers, artistic modernists such as the Futurists, and modern architects, not to mention millions of “modern,” well-educated, and socialized individuals, no longer seems paradoxical: even apparently reactionary elements like antiurbanism, collusion with organized religion, celebration of a mythicized past, and antifeminism, so prominent in some spheres of fascist ideology, can be seen as integral to the creation of a new sense of spiritual belonging, of nationhood, and collective purpose.

The revolutionary aspect of fascism is also central to an understanding of its most nefarious crimes against humanity—namely, the genocides committed by the Third Reich against such alleged racial enemies as Slavs, Jews, Sinti, and Roma. Although it is tempting to explain such highly organized and industrialized mass murder in terms of hatred and nihilism, there is deeper explanatory value in seeing them as concomitants of the attempt to realize the utopia of a racially and ideologically homogeneous national community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), and hence as “dialectically” related to the emphasis on the spiritual and physical health of the nation (“racial hygiene”) that manifested itself in the cult of art, music, nature, sport, and physical fitness. From that perspective the extermination camps are to be seen as products of the same logic of “creative destruction” that caused “decadent” books and paintings to be burned so as to make way for Germany’s intellectual and artistic renaissance, imbued with the spirit of Aryan values. The slaughter committed in the name of the reborn German *Volk* thus acquires deeply mythic connotations of the ritual cleansing, purging, and “sacrifice” through which a new cycle in historical time is inaugurated.

Even in its most purely metapolitical reincarnations, postwar fascism continues to have a revolutionary thrust, albeit a highly utopian one. The self-professed aim of the more politicized contributors to the European New Right is to “take over the laboratories of culture” and so achieve cultural hegemony for ideas that reject multiculturalism, materialism, and the globalization of Western/U.S. values, and to reinject a decadent European civilization with “Indo-European” cultural values and a new sense of identity and belonging. For modern intellectual fascists (a term they bitterly reject), we are very far from “the end of history” in a time that can expect no more major ideological upheavals, as the last pockets of resistance to the secular humanist and capitalist system of

values are eroded or capitulate. On the contrary, we are in a protracted “interregnum” that will one day be terminated in a dramatic reversion “back to the future,” when archetypal values are rediscovered in a new synthesis of old and new, a scenario that, were it ever to be actualized, would have to sacrifice yet more categories of human beings to the Moloch of the new order.

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; ARYANISM; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; BOURGEOISIE, THE; BRAZIL; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CAPITALISM; COMMUNITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSERVATISM; COUNTER-REVOLUTION; DECADENCE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEMINISM; FRANCOISM; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MODERNITY; MONARCHY; MULTICULTURALISM; MUSIC; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; ROMANIA; ROME; RURALISM; RUSSIA; SCIENCE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SOUTH AFRICA; SPAIN; SPORT; *SQUADRISMO*; STATE, THE; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITION; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

A term adopted by some contemporary neofascist groups (especially in France) who reject the term *fascist*

because of its persistent connotations of Nazism and genocide. However, from an outsider perspective it is to be seen as a militant postwar form of palingenetic ultranationalism, and hence of fascism.

Roger Griffin

See Also: FRANCE; HOLOCAUST, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM

Reference

[www://rosenoire.org/articles/bloodandsoil.php](http://www.rosenoire.org/articles/bloodandsoil.php).

REXISM

In the 1936 Belgian legislative elections, fascistic parties (Rexists and Flemish nationalists) stunned the Belgian electorate by winning 37 out of 202 parliamentary seats. This feat was remarkable, since the newly founded Rexist movement (which won 31 parliamentary seats) had no party organization or prior legislative experience. Belgium had seemed so unsuitable for fascism. Linz has noted that fascism is usually seen as a novel response to crises brought on by such postwar dislocations as defeat, ambivalence about a nation's entry into war, disappointment with peace terms, or unsuccessful revolution. But Belgium emerged as one of the victors in World War I and escaped the deprivation and humiliation associated with the postwar period. Moreover, Belgium had a stable and well-established parliamentary system, no tradition of indigenous right-wing groups, and minerally rich central African colonies.

The relative stability of Belgium's tripartite political landscape was severely shaken in 1936 with the unprecedented electoral success of the Rexist Party. The Rexists (from *Christus Rex*, "Christ the King") emerged from the ranks of the conservative Catholic Union. Accusing the Catholic Union of weakness and inactivity in the face of a corruption-ridden society, Rexist founder Leon Degrelle and his followers promised bold measures to restore order. At the heart of the Rexist program was a call for a corporate state modeled on Fascist Italy. According to Degrelle, corporatism was the best means to overcome the chaos of class struggle. The Rexist corporate state would be authoritarian and fully imbued with Christian values. As its first political act, the Rexist state would carry out a physical and

moral reform of the Belgian nation. The Rexists opposed the parliamentary system and called for the complete elimination of political parties. Rexists felt that political parties had sown national discord and that their leaders were to blame for the numerous politico-financial scandals that had riddled the country during the 1930s. On economic issues, the Rexists were decidedly anticommunist, seeing communism as the chief destructive force in the world. They were equally opposed to big business; they blamed the major financial institutions for the worldwide economic depression and the impoverishment of small- and medium-scale family-run businesses. But they were not opposed to private property or to capitalism, and they demanded that the state aid small- and medium-size businesses and farms. In particular, they called for more accessible agricultural credit and restrictions on large agrobusinesses. Among the competing political parties, the Rexists most strongly favored the family-owned farm.

One key Rexist concern was the well-being of the family. For them, the family was the core of society, and they felt that the state should do everything possible to protect, favor, and strengthen the family. The Rexists believed that the state should protect the family from such evils as pornography and prostitution, guarantee inheritance based on direct descendancy, and replace universal suffrage by the "integral family vote," which would have given a second vote to families with at least four children. By 1939 the electoral strength of the Rexists had waned. In 1939, the Rexist Party obtained only 4.4 percent of the national vote. The fascist character of the party, which might not have been totally apparent in 1936, had become quite clear by 1939, and many Rexists would go on to support the Nazi occupation of Belgium.

William I. Brustein

See Also: BELGIUM; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLASS; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; DEGRELLE, LEON; ECONOMICS; FAMILY, THE; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HEALTH; ITALY; MAN, HENDRIK/HENRI DE; MARXISM; NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; RELIGION; SEXUALITY; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WAR; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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tion forced the Smith regime into conversations with the moderate Black Freedom Organizations from 1974. In April 1979, the Smith regime reluctantly handed power over after international negotiations; the moderate black bishop Abel Muzorewa became prime minister. In 1980, Rhodesia's first free elections saw Robert Mugabe's ZANU take power in the country, which was officially renamed "Zimbabwe."

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: PARAMILITARISM; RACISM; SOUTH AFRICA

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**RHINELAND, THE: See FREEDOM;
REPARATIONS; VERSAILLES, THE
TREATY OF**

**RHODESIA/
ZIMBABWE**

Between the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (from Great Britain, whose colony the country had been) by Ian Smith in 1965 and 1979, a bloody race war raged in Rhodesia, in the course of which nearly 40,000 men, most of them blacks, were killed. The white settlers formed their own militias and paramilitary associations that to some extent had openly fascist forms of organization and ideologies, and they carried out massacres of black civilians not only in Rhodesia but also in neighboring countries, to which 10,000 had fled. They were supported by units of the regular Rhodesian army; the borderlines between "vigilante groups," militias, and army were often blurred, and racist and fascist ideas came with radical white soldier bands from South Africa and Namibia into Rhodesia. On the other hand, black guerrilla forces in some areas fell on the poorly protected farms of the whites and slaughtered the occupants. The escalation of violence and increasing isola-

**RIBBENTROP, JOACHIM VON
(1893–1946)**

Diplomat, close associate of Hitler, and fanatical anti-Semite who urged the extermination of Jews in the Occupied Territories. The son of an army officer, Ribbentrop went to Montreal in Canada, where he trained as a bank clerk (1911), worked for the railways (1912), and became a member of the national Canadian ice hockey team (1914). When World War I began he immediately returned to Germany to become a cavalry officer. At the end of the war he was a member of the German military mission in Constantinople, where he came into contact with Franz von Papen. In 1920 he married the heiress of the champagne producer Henkell and subsequently became a successful businessman, importing and exporting spirits. Having been editor of a nationalist political publication in the 1920s, he first met Hitler in 1930. Ribbentrop joined the NSDAP in 1932 and later became an SS officer. He played an important role as mediator between sectors of the conservative elite and the Nazi movement. After the Nazi seizure of power, he became Hitler's advisor in foreign affairs and was head of the "Ribbentrop Department," a rival to the state department led by Konstantin von Neurath between 1932 and 1938.

During the disarmament conference in Geneva (1934), Ribbentrop spoke up for the arming of Germany. In 1936 he became ambassador in London,

where his main task was to forge an anti-Soviet alliance between Great Britain and Germany. The failure of this attempt made him fiercely anti-British and later led him to serious political misjudgments—for example, about the likely British response in the event of a Nazi attack on Poland. Ribbentrop was appointed secretary of state in early February 1938; the Munich Agreement and the nonaggression pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939 marked the climax of his career. In the following years he focused on the consolidation of the alliance between Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Imperial Japan (Axis pact, 1940; convention on military affairs, 1942). Ribbentrop used the diplomatic apparatus to support the Holocaust; again and again the German diplomatic missions in the vassal states of Vichy (France), Slovakia, and Hungary, as well as in formally independent Denmark, were ordered to intensify their efforts to deport Jews to the extermination camps. In 1943, Hitler gave Ribbentrop gifts worth a million reichs marks, but in Hitler's will of late April 1945, Ribbentrop's name was replaced by that of Seyß-Inquart. At the end of the war, he went into hiding but was captured in mid-June 1945 in Hamburg. Sentenced to death in the Nuremberg Trials, he was executed on 16 October 1946. His memoirs appeared posthumously under the title *Between London and Moscow*.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AXIS, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DENMARK; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; ITALY; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PAPEN, FRANZ VON; SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR; SLOVAKIA; SS, THE; VICHY; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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Leni Riefenstahl, whose famous documentary of the 1934 Nuremberg Rally ("Triumph of the Will") was a propaganda triumph for the Nazis. (Austrian Archives/Corbis)

RIEFENSTAHL, LENI (1902–2003)

Controversial German film maker whose brilliant cinematographic techniques were applied to the glorification of the Nazi regime. Helene Bertha Amalie "Leni" Riefenstahl had already made her name as an actress and movie director during the Weimar Republic when Hitler personally chose her to direct two now infamous propaganda movies about the 1933 and 1934 Nuremberg Rallies. *Der Sieg des Glaubens* ("Victory of Faith") was released in 1933, while the better known successor, *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*), was shown nationally and internationally from March 1935 onward to promote the ideas of National Socialism. Ever

since, Riefenstahl has been seen as one of the main propagandists of the Nazi regime. It took her until 2002, the year of her one hundredth birthday, to see her first postwar film released, the deep-sea diving documentary *Impressions under Water*.

The mountaineer and film maker Arnold Fanck discovered the dancer Riefenstahl and made her the star of a movie in 1925. In 1932 she released her first feature film, the Alpine story *Das blaue Licht* (*The Blue Light*). She starred in and directed that film, which she had also co-written with Hungarian scriptwriter Bela Balazs. In 1933, she was approached by Nazi propaganda experts to direct a documentary film about the first Nuremberg Rally. While *Der Sieg des Glaubens* was far more conventional in its technique and imagery than her previous movie, *Triumph of the Will* is still hailed as a milestone in cinematography. Although it is crudely propagandistic, Riefenstahl has always maintained that she was interested in art, not politics, when shooting in Nuremberg. In many interviews, even late in life, she argued that she had partly choreographed the rally to suit her work, rather than just depicting what had happened. Innovative camera angles and the clever montage of images are among the modernist features of that film. Nevertheless, *Triumph of the Will* was by no means subversive of the Nazi regime. Hitler is always the center of attention, even when he is not in the picture: when the various Nazi organizations and paramilitary associations march by, all their eyes are turned toward the Fuehrer in unison. German military traditions were celebrated at a time when military activity was still severely curtailed by the Versailles Treaty, and the emblems of National Socialism, like the eagle and the swastika, were central to many shots.

A year after the release of *Triumph of the Will*, Riefenstahl was chosen to film a documentary about the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Generally known as *Olympia*, the two-part opus was released in Germany in 1938 as *Fest der Völker* (*Celebration of the Peoples*) and *Fest der Schönheit* (*Celebration of Beauty*). The language of images focused on masculinity and the body. Riefenstahl was the first cinematographer to use moving cameras to follow the athletes in action. It has been argued that it is mainly because of Riefenstahl's imagery that the 1936 Olympics are now remembered solely as the Nazi Games, whereas they should also have been remembered as the very last manifestation of tolerance and internationalism within Nazi Germany.

Riefenstahl started filming her second and last feature film, *Tiefland* (*Lowland*), in 1940, but it was not completed until 1953 and released only in 1954. Less than a year before her death in September 2003, con-

troversy flared up about Riefenstahl's use of more than 100 so-called Gypsies taken from concentration camps in Austria and Germany to participate in the filming of *Tiefland* as extras. Victims' organizations claimed that the Gypsies were returned to the camps afterward, where many of them were murdered. Riefenstahl, however, maintained that nothing happened to her extras, and that she saw many of them again after the war. In the postwar era Riefenstahl became a pariah in the film-making world because of her involvement with Nazi Germany. Disillusioned, she turned toward traveling and photography. Her photographs of the Nuba tribe in Sudan won awards, but also brought accusations of racism. As a septuagenarian, Riefenstahl discovered deep-sea diving. Her final documentary, *Impressions under Water*, was released in 2002 and was the product of more than 200 dives with a camera. In the last decade of her life, Riefenstahl's work experienced a renaissance: her role as a pioneer of cinematography was reassessed, her photographs were exhibited in major galleries, and internationally successful pop bands like Rammstein and U2 used images from her earlier films for their stage shows.

Christoph H. Müller

See Also: ART; AUSTRIA; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FILM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; MODERNISM; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PARAMILITARISM; PROPAGANDA; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SPORT; SWASTIKA, THE; *TRIUMPH OF THE WILL*; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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RISORGIMENTO, THE

The period during which Italian unification was achieved in the first half of the nineteenth century; literal meaning, "renewal." It had mixed connotations in Italian Fascist eyes, since on the positive side it had laid the foundation for a renewal of Italian national pride, but on the negative it had promoted a liberal ethos.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; SECULARIZATION

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ROCCO, ALFREDO (1875 –1935)

One of the most important conservative legal theorists of the twentieth century, legal architect of the Fascist state, and Mussolini's justice minister from 1925 to 1932. Before World War I, Rocco was a law professor and a prominent member of the Italian Nationalist Association. In 1919 he coedited with Francesco Coppola the periodical *Politica*, which proposed an imperialist foreign policy and a totalitarian conception of the state. Rocco drafted the syndical law of 1926, which formed the basis of the Fascist corporative state, and in 1931 completed a substantial revision of the Italian penal code.

Alex de Grand

See Also: CORPORATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LAW; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; TOTALITARIANISM; WORLD WAR I

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ROCK MUSIC

White power rock 'n' roll, or "white noise," with its burgeoning network of concerts, fanzines, and merchandise represents a particularly potent recruitment tool for the "hearts and minds" of white youth. As Ian

Stuart Donaldson, singer with the seminal "skinhead" band Skrewdriver noted, a pamphlet is read only once, but a song is sung a thousand times. The lyrics of white power music both reflect and reproduce the violent racist subculture in which band and listeners alike are immersed. Nowhere is this more evident than in the lyrics of the English band No Remorse, which celebrated the murderous attack on an asylum center in Rostock, East Germany, in 1992 with the song "Barbecue in Rostock." As well as vicious racist invective at their core, the lyrics of white power music also convey the "palingenetic" themes of fascist ideology, indoctrinating listeners who may not have realized the wider implications of the music.

White power rock 'n' roll emerged from the English "skinhead" culture during the 1970s before migrating to the United States in the 1980s. Today there are more than 540 white power bands, based mainly in Europe and the United States, though the reach is global. In the U.S., white power music is dominated by Resistance Records, formed in 1993 by George Eric Hawthorne, formerly a leading figure in the World Church of the Creator and singer in the band RA-HOWA (Racial Holy War). A lucrative undertaking, Resistance Records reportedly turned an annual profit of \$50,000 before falling foul of both tax and racial hate laws in 1997. The following year the concern was sold to Willis Carto, leader of the Liberty Lobby, though barely a year later it changed hands again, when Carto was declared bankrupt as a result of his feud with the Institute for Historical Review. Its new owner was William Pierce, leader of the violent National Alliance (NA).

White power music represents a small fortune to any groups able to control it, providing a welcome source of funding for impecunious neo-Nazi movements which can raise revenue through sales of CDs that are cheaply produced before being sold for several times their cost. The NA claimed that Resistance Records receives fifty orders per day, each totaling approximately \$70 worth of merchandise, leading Pierce to predict gross annual sales totaling \$1 million in 2001. Increasingly, white power music is being marketed, as is commercial music, through the Internet. Resistance Records, for instance, maintains a sleek, professional-looking website complete with on-line "radio station" and downloadable MP3s from its inventory to enable curious listeners to sample its music. The Internet enables white power concerts to be promoted to a far wider audience than a humble flyer could hope to reach. Its bulletin boards and fan sites also help to bring disparate white power music fans

together with the aim of forging them into a palpable racial community while also harnessing their purchasing power to fund the movements themselves.

Graham Macklin

See Also: CANADA; CARTO, WILLIS; CYBERFASCISM; INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE; MUSIC; NEO-NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RADIO; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SKREWDRIVER; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE NOISE; WHITE SUPREMACISM

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ROCKWELL, GEORGE LINCOLN (1918–1967)

Founder of the American Nazi Party in 1959. Rockwell, who was born in central Illinois, served in World War II and in the Korean War as a U.S. Navy pilot. Later he concluded that "Jewish propaganda" had deceived the American people as to the heroic nature of German National Socialism and its struggle against the Jews. He was assassinated in 1967 in Arlington, Virginia. His supporters like to present him as the "quintessential American folk-hero": tall, handsome, athletic, reminiscent of a John Wayne or a Clark Gable. In the American Nazi Party program issued by Rockwell in 1960, he proposed to protect workers from "political exploitation" and to offer free medicine, free health care, and free legal services. Speculation was to be abolished and monopolies were to be owned by the whole people, while "honest enterprises" were to be left alone. Rockwell had a strong leadership doctrine and had absorbed Gustave Le Bon's theories about how the "feminine" crowd responds to "masculine" leadership. Rockwell alleged that Americans had become feminized and believed that he could help to reverse this. He also espoused Social Darwinism, arguing that humans are territorial, aggressive, tribal, and patriarchal. Every tribe seeks "biological in-

tegrity" as well as territory. Thus, white Christian America inevitably fought for the preservation of the white race. The theories of liberalism simply ignore these basic facts of nature; liberalism is a "sin against nature." Ultimately, Rockwell's "Nazism" was a very American phenomenon.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; GERMANY; HEALTH; LE BON, GUSTAVE; LIBERALISM; MEDICINE; NATURE; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RATIONALISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR II

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- Simonelli, F. J. 1999. *American Fuehrer: George Lincoln Rockwell and the American Nazi Party*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

ROEHM, ERNST (1887–1934)

Fought as an officer in World War I and later joined the counter-revolutionary Free Corps Epp, a group that was a precursor of Nazism. As a good friend of Hitler, he took part in the attempted coup in 1923. On his return from Bolivia, where he had served as military adviser, Roehm was made chief of staff of the SA by Hitler in 1930. Differences in opinion about questions of strategy and the power that Roehm had as the commander of the million-strong SA led Hitler to the decision to eliminate him and others, arguing that Roehm had been preparing a coup. Roehm was shot dead on 1 July 1934 by SS officers.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: BOLIVIA; GERMANY; FREIKORPS, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOMOSEXUALITY; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; PARAMILITARISM; SA, THE; SS, THE

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ROLÃO PRETO, FRANCISCO (1894–1977)

Portuguese politician and admirer of Italian Fascism during the 1920s. In 1932 he founded the short-lived and overtly fascist National Syndicalism movement. Divisions within the movement resulted in a substantial number of its leaders integrating into the authoritarian regime one year later, however, and Preto became increasingly disillusioned with fascism. His gradual move away from fascism was completed when he published critiques of his own earlier writings on Mussolini and became involved with the Democratic Opposition Movement during the 1940s.

Stewart Lloyd-Jones

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PORTUGAL; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SYNDICALISM

Reference

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ROMA AND SINTI, THE ("GYPSIES," THE)

Targeted by the Nazis for destruction along with Jews and others in the Holocaust. Traditionally, there were never large numbers of Roma in the German states or in post-1871 Germany. However, the 30,000 to 33,000 Roma who lived there prior to Adolf Hitler's accession to power in 1933 were accustomed to harsh legal restrictions on their movements and activities. In fact, early Nazi officials considered such restrictions initially adequate to deal with what they regarded as the "Gypsy menace." But Nazi officials then began to use various immigration and racial laws to force foreign Roma out of the country or restrict the movements of German Roma. In 1935, the Criminal Police (Kripo) began to force Roma into special camps known as *Zigeunerlager*. Prior to the opening of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, police throughout Prussia raided Roma camps and homes

and force-marched them to the Marzahn Concentration Camp in the capital's suburbs. The 1935 anti-Jewish Nuremberg Laws were later applied to Roma, whom the Nazis regarded as a people, like the Jews, infected with *artfremdes Blut* ("alien blood"). In 1936, Dr. Robert Ritter was appointed head of the Eugenic and Populations Biological Research Station of the Reich Health Office, which would be the principal German research institute on the Roma. Ritter and his assistant, Eva Justin, did extensive genealogical surveys of 30,000 German and Austrian Roma, ranking them in five categories from *Vollzigeuner* ("full Gypsy") to *Nicht-Zigeuner* ("non-Gypsy").

Nazi racial laws, when combined with Ritter's later work with Kripo, gave German authorities the leverage they needed to initiate a massive campaign against the Roma, first in the Greater Reich and later throughout Europe. By the time that World War II broke out, the Roma of the Third Reich had been deprived of most of their civil and socioeconomic rights. A new wave of Roma deportations followed, usually in conjunction with *Aktionen* against Jews. In the fall of 1939, Kripo circulated a secret order that prevented Roma from moving, in preparation for the shipment of Roma with Jews to Nisko in the newly established General Government in German-occupied Poland. After that plan failed, the Nazis sent more than 5,000 Roma to the Lodz ghetto in Poland. Yet in 1941 there were still Roma registered for the draft, married to non-Roma, or even attending public school in the Reich. That quickly changed. In 1941–1942, new anti-Roma regulations removed many of these remaining rights. On 16 December 1942, Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS and the RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Reich Main Security Office), Nazi Germany's super police, ordered all Reich Roma deported to Auschwitz.

Himmler's decree was not all-inclusive, and it provided temporary exemptions for pure Sinti and Lalleri Roma. (The Sinti were the "pure-blooded" German Roma who had lived in the German lands for four to five centuries. The Lalleri were part of the larger subgroup of East European Roma who had migrated into the German states in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.) He later appointed a number of Sinti and Lalleri leaders to identify those who were "pure-blooded," with the idea of allowing those selected to live within specially confined areas. Martin Bormann strongly objected to Himmler's efforts to save this handful of Roma, and protested to Hitler. Himmler countered Bormann's arguments in a personal conversation with the Fuehrer, and the Sinti-Lalleri exemp-



Entrance to the gypsy camp in Lodz ghetto in Poland after their deportation to Chlemno concentration camp in 1942. The Nazi war on the gypsies was part and parcel of their endeavor to 'cleanse' the German people of 'alien' elements who would be a 'taint' in the racial stock. (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum)

tions remained. In reality, though, Kripo paid little attention to this special list of Roma. In early 1943, the RSHA decreed that there were no pure Roma in the Third Reich. Most had been sent to the Gypsy Family Camp at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, where some suffered from the inhumane medical experiments conducted by the Gypsy camp's physician, Dr. Josef Mengele, who was particularly interested in Roma twins. About 21,000 Roma would die at Auschwitz.

There were also widespread murders of Roma during the early stages of the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the summer of 1941. Specially trained killing squads, the Einsatzgruppen, systematically murdered Jews, Roma, and the handicapped as the units moved into various parts of Russia. The Roma in other parts of Central and Eastern Europe were more fortunate, though they did suffer persecution because of the application of Nuremberg-style racial laws in countries that were active Nazi allies during much of World War II. Estimates are that 5,000 Bulgarian Roma died dur-

ing the Holocaust (out of a prewar population of 150,000). Most of the 6,540 prewar Czech Roma were murdered in the Holocaust, while most of Slovakia's 100,000 Roma, some of them wartime refugees, survived. About a quarter to a third of Hungary's 72,000 to 100,000 Roma were murdered, while some 12 to 14 percent of Romania's 262,000 to 300,000 Roma perished. About half of Yugoslavia's 80,000 Roma died during the Holocaust.

David Crowe

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BLOOD; BORMANN, MARTIN; BULGARIA; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; EUGENICS; *GENERAL GOUVERNEMENT*/GENERAL GOVERNMENT, THE; GERMANY; GHETTOS; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; MENGELE, JOSEF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; POLAND; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROMANIA; SLOVAKIA; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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ROMANIA

Fascism in Romania was the result of the artificial creation of the modern Romanian state after World War I and of the abrupt introduction of democracy into a predominantly rural and patriarchal Romanian society. In 1919, Romania was rewarded for its role in the war with a doubling of its territory and population (including many non-Romanian minorities). Within Romania, World War I led to land for the peasants and to the introduction of universal suffrage. The bankruptcy of the democratic system in Romania in the 1930s was the result of the discrepancy between the programs of the political parties and their continuing role as traditional vehicles of power.

After a short period of populism in the first years after the war and nine governments in four years, the old prewar Liberal Party returned to power under Ion I. C. Brătianu. Brătianu's government lasted four years, and attempted to implement the reforms needed to lift the young state to a Western level. One important concern of the liberals was higher education. Romania lacked a middle class. It was believed that the best way to create such a class was through education. In the first years after the war, education for the children of peasants had become a tool for political parties to build a strong clientele in rural milieus. The liberals continued this policy. When the first of these students from the countryside entered the university, they began to realize that they would have to compete with their Jewish colleagues. Jewish students generally came from urban milieus, were intellectually better prepared, and were proportionally more strongly represented at the university than their Romanian colleagues. The wave of anti-Semitism this caused was concentrated at the second most important university of the country, the Univer-

sity of Iasi, near the Russian border. In 1922, the students called for a *numerus clausus* for Jewish students. In 1923, A. C. Cuza—a law professor in Iasi—founded the "League of National-Christian Defense" (LNCD). Cuza campaigned against the abolition of the article in the constitution that denied Jews any rights in the new Romanian state.

In 1926, the liberal government of Brătianu ended its four years in office. Meanwhile, an important new party had appeared on the political scene, the National Peasants Party. This party was the result of a merger between the Transylvanian Nationalist Party and the Peasant Party. The National Peasant Party was the first true alternative to the authoritarian Liberal Party. It addressed itself to broad layers of the population, and led to a temporary moderation of the extremism prevalent among the students. The elections of 1928 meant the end of the power of the Liberal Party, and the end of an era. The National Peasants Party was elected with an overwhelming majority (77.76 percent). The country had been making great economic progress under the Liberal Party, and the expectation was that the National Peasants Party would now also bring true democracy. Cuza's party participated in the elections but did not get elected. His anti-Semitic line, however, was continued by one of his students, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. Codreanu represented the hard core of Cuza's LNCD. In 1924 he killed the police prefect of Iasi, a crime for which he was acquitted. Codreanu's acquittal by the court strengthened him in his belief in violence as the basis of political struggle. On 24 June 1927, Codreanu gathered his former fellow inmates to found the Legion of the Archangel Michael, with himself as its leader. Initially, the legion was a modest society of students, with "no other program than the life of struggle" of Codreanu and his friends. Its ultimate goal, however, was the creation of a "New Man" through certain world-renouncing practices. Later, Codreanu organized the legion as a nationwide movement on the basis of "nests," groups of three to thirteen members. In the first months of its existence, however, the public impact of the legion was limited. The Romanians had put all of their hopes in the National Peasants Party and were still optimistic about the outcome of the democratic experiment.

The year 1929, the year of the Great Depression, brought this period of optimism abruptly to an end. The year 1929 was also the year of the legion's turn to the masses. On 3–4 January, Codreanu convoked in Iasi a meeting of all nest leaders. In December the legion held its first public rally. In the following months, Codreanu and the legionnaires marched singing from

village to village. Mounted on a white horse, Codreanu was hailed by the peasants as a messiah. In 1930, Bessarabia called. This was a former Russian territory, and only recently added to Romania. Codreanu planned a large anti-Jewish and anticommunist march through Bessara. To avoid the problems with the authorities that he had encountered on his previous marches, Codreanu founded a new group, the "Iron Guard." Codreanu received the authorization for his march from the minister of internal affairs, but under great pressure the decision was revoked and the minister replaced. The new minister, Mihalache, seized the first occasion to deal with the legion. In December 1930, after an attempted murder by a young supporter of the legion, Mihalache prohibited the organization. Codreanu was arrested and brought to Bucharest to stand trial. Once again, he was acquitted by the court.

Codreanu's second acquittal did not lift the ban on the legion. Encouraged by increasing popular support for the legion and strengthened by the knowledge that he had the law on his side, Codreanu ran for the elections under the pseudonym "Group Corneliu Z. Codreanu." His first attempt to get elected failed. Three weeks later, however, fresh elections were held in a county in which one seat had fallen vacant. Codreanu summoned all of his supporters to the county, and—after an intensive campaign—finally obtained his first seat in the parliament. In March 1932 the legion was banned for the second time, but its ascent proved to be irreversible. In elections four months later, the legion doubled its number of votes, which entitled it to five seats in parliament. In 1933, two new propaganda tools were adopted by the legion. The "death team" was a group of legionnaires who had solemnly pledged to accept death with perfect equanimity. In May, a first team was sent to tour around the country. A more lasting and efficient innovation were the "labor camps." The first large-scale labor camp was set up in response to an appeal by legionnaires in the countryside for help in the construction of a dam. On 10 July, more than 200 legionnaires turned up in what became the first of a series of labor camps.

The return of the Liberal Party to power (14 November 1933) presaged little good for the legion. In December 1933 the new prime minister (Ion Duca) ordered its complete elimination. Hundreds of people who were even slightly suspected of links with the legion were arrested and imprisoned. Public opinion was shocked, and the government was forced to release all detainees. On 29 December, the legionnaires took revenge and killed Duca. Codreanu was again acquitted and could continue with his propaganda. In 1936 the

legion lost its most important channel of recruitment, when the authorities prohibited all public works undertaken by private organizations. The legion now decided to set up a network of shops and restaurants. These would be run by legionnaires, and had the additional advantage that they would challenge the Jews in a sector that traditionally used to be theirs. The strongest display of the legion's presence in Romania, however, was the glorious return to Romania (in January 1937) of the bodies of two legionnaires who had fallen in the Spanish Civil War: Ion I. Moța and Vasile Marin. Hundreds of thousands of people turned out to greet the bodies, and in Bucharest legionnaires took an oath to follow in Moța's and Marin's footsteps. King Carol II was deeply impressed by the public support for Codreanu displayed at these events, and he offered him a share in power. Codreanu declined.

In 1938, the two decades of the democratic experiment came to an end. King Carol II abrogated the constitution and established an authoritarian monarchy. The new constitution made legionary propaganda virtually impossible: it significantly raised the minimum age for voting and prohibited political propaganda by priests or in churches, as well as all oaths other than those approved by the state. The pretext to deal with Codreanu himself came when Codreanu was sued for slander by one of the king's ministers. Codreanu was sentenced to six months in prison and then executed by secret agents of the king. King Carol's persecution of the legionnaires in 1939, and the fact that, in 1940, he ceded Transylvania to the Germans, led to his forced abdication on 5 September 1940. On 14 September 1940, General Antonescu invited the legionnaires to form a government. Antonescu was an important ally of the Germans in their plans to attack Russia. This assured him of their full support when in January 1941 he suppressed a rebellion of the legionnaires. The legionnaires and their leader, Horia Sima, were sent into exile, and on 14 February, Antonescu abrogated the National-Legionary State. The role of the legion was over.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; CULTS OF DEATH; FALANGE; FARMERS; GERMANY; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MILITARISM; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MOȚA, ION I.; NEW MAN, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PARAMILITARISM; RURALISM; SIMA, HORIA; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; VIOLENCE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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ROMANITÀ: See ROME

ROME

Whereas Rome, the historical Roman Empire, constituted the mythological core of Italian Fascist ideology, it evoked rather less enthusiastic responses from German National Socialists and their Pangerman and *Völkisch* precursors. Italian Fascism claimed to be inspired by *Romanità*, Roman values of order, discipline, and hierarchy. The 1932 statement of Fascist ideology, "The Doctrine of Fascism," proclaimed: "The Fascist state is the will to power and empire. The Roman tradition is also an idea of power" (*Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. 14, p. 85); Fascism in its propaganda promoted the idea of Fascist Italy's creating a "Second Roman Empire" in the Mediterranean, North Africa, and the Middle East. In May 1936, after the conquest of Ethiopia by Italy, Mussolini proudly announced, "The Empire has returned to the hills of Rome." All of the items on Mussolini's list of territorial claims in the Mediterranean—Malta, Nice, Corsica, Tunisia, Palestine, Albania, the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia, Greece, a large



Ancient Roman lictors (bodyguards to the magistrates) carrying fasces ('bundles') as the symbol of Roman authority. The term fascist as used by Mussolini's movement and regime in Italy was derived from the Latin 'fascio' ('bundle') and was a deliberate reference to an ambition to restore Italy to her ancient greatness. (Ridpath, John Clark, Ridpath's History of the World, 1901)

chunk of Anatolia and Egypt—had been part of the Roman Empire. From 1939 onward, mosaic maps of both the Roman Empire at the time of Augustus and of "Mussolini's Roman Empire" began to appear side by side on the walls of Italy's municipal buildings.

Fascist rhetoric was saturated with Roman imagery and Latin words. Even Mussolini's own title, Duce, was a translation of the Latin *dux* ("leader"), and the very symbol of Fascism, the *fasces*, was taken from the bundle of rods borne before the Roman lictors. As another visual prop to his Roman imperial ambitions, Mussolini proceeded to demolish parts of medieval Rome in order to excavate its classical past, thus revealing more of the Forum area; a new triumphal way, the present-day Via dei Fori Imperiali, was constructed from

Piazza Venezia (site of Mussolini's office) to the Coliseum. Fascist military parades and other public ceremonies were choreographed against a genuine classical Roman backdrop. And in the new suburb south of Rome constructed to house the Universal Exhibition of Rome planned for 1942, a magnificent Museum of Roman Civilization was set up.

Until the introduction of the Racial Laws in 1938, Italian Fascism also operated by the Roman concept of citizenship as an acceptance of superior cultural values by subject peoples, with the result that the Italian concept of race remained officially an essentially cultural one, defined by language, history, and even geography, rather than by blood. Thus the Jews of Italy were thoroughly assimilated and until 1938 were not subject to discrimination or persecution. The principle of *Civis Romanus Sum* ("I am a Roman citizen") may not in practice have been applied to the inhabitants of either Libya or Ethiopia in the Fascist period, but the Fascists did not seek to expel or exterminate the German and Slav minorities in the territories that Italy acquired in the Versailles Peace Settlement but rather to forcibly "Italianize" them. It was precisely Roman universalism, however, which was usually equated by its enemies with pernicious Catholic and Jewish influences, that some precursors of National Socialism rejected. The Austrian Pangermanist Guido von List, for example, exulted in the defeat of two Roman legions by Arminius at the battle of the Teutoberg Forest in A.D. 9 and a later defeat of the Romans at Carnuntum in A.D. 375. List and other *völkisch* writers in the decades before World War I rejected Roman civilization (including Roman law) in favor of the Aryan pagan values of "Germandom," arguing that they had produced a great civilization which the Germans needed to reclaim. But the Nazis between 1919 and 1945 do not appear to have been overly influenced by such thinking, though many would also have equated Rome with Catholicism and the power of the papacy. Despite that, Hitler's admiration for Roman art and architecture was unabated, as his state visit to Italy in 1938, with the tours of the art galleries and architectural sites of Florence and Rome, demonstrates.

Neofascist and neo-Nazi groups in the post-1945 period have demonstrated a rather less ambivalent attitude to Rome than their predecessors. The Italian neo-Fascist ideologue Julius Evola deplored the subversion and destruction of Roman ideas of duty and honor, as well as Rome's accession to Judaism and Christianity, a feeling shared by the more recent U.S. neo-Nazi organization the Church of the Creator; David Lane and

another North American group, the racial Odinists, accuse the Jews of destroying the Roman Empire through the "invention" and propagation of Christianity. Rome is thus for them an achievement of the Aryan race.

John Pollard

See Also: ALBANIA; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; ARYANISM; BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; BLOOD; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CORFU; DALMATIA; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; *EHRE* ("HONOR"); ETHIOPIA; EVOLA, JULIUS; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LIBYA; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PANGERMANISM; PAPACY, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); TRADITION; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR I

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ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO (1882–1945)

President of the United States and longtime opponent of the totalitarian ideologies of the Axis powers. Roosevelt was born into a wealthy background in New York and studied in Europe and at Harvard and Columbia Law schools. He embarked on a career first as a lawyer and then as a politician, becoming assistant secretary of the navy from 1913 to 1920. Despite being paralyzed by polio in the early 1920s, he was able to become governor of New York in 1928. He became U.S. president in 1932 and was subsequently re-elected on a record three occasions for a total of four terms. His success was partly the result of his celebrated "New Deal"

strategy of combating the Depression; the main planks of his program were the abandonment of the gold standard, the devaluation of the dollar, state intervention in the credit market, agricultural price supports, and the enablement of provision for unemployment and old age insurance. Roosevelt was not happy with the isolationist attitude of many of his compatriots in the face of the war that broke out in 1939, and in August 1941 he met with Churchill to frame the Atlantic Charter, which clearly signified the anti-Axis tendency of U.S. foreign policy. A few months later, after the Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor, he brought his country into the war. He was involved in further meetings with Churchill in 1943 and subsequently met with Stalin as well, in Teheran in December of that year, to coordinate the conduct of the war effort against Germany. Although again present at a meeting with Churchill and Stalin at Yalta in 1945, Roosevelt was already dying.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AXIS, THE; CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; ECONOMICS; INFLATION; JAPAN; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; PEARL HARBOR; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; TOTALITARIANISM; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR II

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ROOTLESSNESS

One of the “enemies” that interwar fascists saw themselves as called to oppose. “Rootless” persons were those regarded as lacking in connectedness to a specific nation. The classic models of rootlessness in the Nazi understanding were the Jews; they were a people who were present everywhere but who seemed to belong

nowhere. Anti-Semitic propagandists denounced them as owing loyalty only to their own people and none to the states in which they resided. Ironically, the Jews were sometimes denounced as “rootless” in the same breath as the Jesuits, who were directly answerable to the Holy See and therefore regarded as without any national loyalties. There was moreover a centuries-old tradition of “international conspiracy” theorizing about the Jesuits, and this made them well suited to be hooked up with the alleged “international conspiracies” of the Jews that became fashionable in nineteenth-century Europe. However, the main class of persons envisaged along with the Jews as being “rootless” were the socialist or communist Left, with their advocacy of internationalism, often denounced by interwar fascists as “cosmopolitanism.” Whereas for Italian Fascists “rootlessness” had a fairly straightforward reference to the classes of person mentioned above, for Nazis it could relate to a particular philosophy of “Germanness” according to which there was an intrinsically “rooted” quality that was characteristic of racially pure Germans. Their conception of the “rootedness” of the Germans in the soil of their country had a uniquely mystical quality and was expressed in a vague notion that German “blood” had a special relationship to German soil.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BARRÉS, AUGUSTE MAURICE; BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; EUROPE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM AND NAZISM; PACIFISM; PALIN-GENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOUL; UNITED NATIONS, THE; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT; THE

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ROSENBERG, ALFRED (1893–1946)

Chief Nazi philosopher and ideologue, editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, publisher, and promoter of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Rosenberg was born into a lower-middle-class family of German origin. His father was director of a local subsidiary of a German merchant company in the Baltic. As a member of the small German minority in Estonia and Latvia, young Rosenberg embraced German nationalism, devouring the works of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Gobineau, as well as books on German mysticism, Indian philosophy, and history. While he was studying in Moscow in 1917, the Russian Revolution swept across the country. Rosenberg then discovered *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a notorious anti-Semitic forgery, and he became convinced that the Jews were the architects of the revolution. In November 1918, Rosenberg left the fledgling Soviet Union and immigrated to Germany, traveling to Munich. While socialist politicians discussed Bavarian separatism and spoke of German war guilt, conservative, Catholic, and monarchist forces began to rally in the rancorous atmosphere of a lost war and a bewildered population. From February 1919, Rosenberg was employed by Dietrich Eckart as special correspondent on communism and Jewry for his magazine *Auf Gut Deutsch*. Rosenberg found a receptive audience for his eyewitness experience of the Russian Revolution and its interpretation as a nefarious Jewish world plot.

When revolution came to Bavaria in April 1919, Eckart and Rosenberg played an active part in the resistance against the Soviet regime in Munich. Rosenberg next linked up with the German Workers' Party (DAP), founded on 5 January 1919 out of the political workers' circle within the Thule Society. The leader of the DAP, Anton Drexler, was an admirer of *Auf Gut Deutsch* and introduced himself to Eckart and Rosenberg in May 1919, when they accepted his invitation to address the party on Bolshevism and the Jewish question on 15 August. Eckart's link with the party may well have been the reason that the army sent Hitler as an informant to the next meeting on 12 September 1919. Eckart and Hitler first met at the former's home during the drafting of the DAP program in November

and December 1919, and Rosenberg also met Hitler on such an occasion. Rosenberg joined the DAP in late 1919 and then settled down as the party writer and researcher. Between 1920 and 1923, Rosenberg published six books on Jewish conspiracy topics. *Die Spur des Juden im Wandel der Zeiten* (1920) identified the Jew as the source of both anarchism and communism. A list of leading Jews in England identified London as the center of world Jewry. *Das Verbrechen der Freimaurerei* (1921) added in the Freemasons, a nineteenth-century conspiracy favorite.

Now the official philosopher of the Nazi party, Rosenberg published *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik* (1923). With extended commentaries on brief excerpts, Rosenberg attempted to prove the validity of the *Protocols* by showing the persistence of the Jewish world conspiracy in current events and among leading political figures, including Herbert Louis Samuel; Edwin-Samuel Montague; Lord Reading, notorious as a speculator in the Marconi scandal, lord chief justice, and ambassador in New York, as well as viceroy of India; Sir Alfred Mond, world industrialist, newspaper magnate, and minister for public works, and an active Zionist. The list continues with French and Italian Jews in high places, before expanding into U.S. Jewry. Rosenberg concluded that New York had by 1920 succeeded London as the center of the Jewish world conspiracy. He and Dietrich Eckart together forged the radical anti-Semitic ideology of Nazism before Hitler appeared on the scene and were a powerful influence on the latter's ideological development. Rosenberg succeeded Eckart as editor of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Nazi Party newspaper, in 1921.

Rosenberg marched with Hitler as one of his closest comrades in the Munich Putsch of November 1923. When Hitler was jailed in 1924, he appointed Rosenberg head of the Nazi Party during his absence. In 1927 Rosenberg became head of the Nazi cultural and educational society, renamed the Kampf Bund für deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture) in 1929. This Munich-based organization codified and enforced Nazi racial notions in the arts and literature. Rosenberg next published his major work, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts* (*The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, 1930), which gave a comprehensive Nazi view on Aryan racial origins, religion, philosophy, aesthetics, and the racial interpretation of history. Second only to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, the book enjoyed massive sales with a million copies sold by 1942. Cou-

pled with Rosenberg's several offices in ideological education during the 1930s, this book was a major force in promoting ideas of German racial superiority and anti-Semitism throughout the Third Reich. After the 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union, Rosenberg was appointed Reich minister for the Eastern Occupied Territories in recognition of his special expertise on international Jewry, Marxism, and Russia. All orders for deportations and expropriations were routed through his office, yet his advice about the ethnic complexity of the Soviet Union was typically ignored, as were his protests against the excesses of the SS in the Ukraine. After the fall of the Third Reich, Rosenberg was tried at Nuremberg. Convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity, he was hanged on 16 October 1946.

Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DREXLER, ANTON; ECKART, JOHANN DIETRICH; ECKHART, "MEISTER" JOHANN; ESTONIA; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE; HITLER, ADOLF; LATVIA; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LUTHER, MARTIN; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; RUSSIA; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPANN, OTHMAR; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; THULE SOCIETY, THE; *VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER*, THE; WORLD WAR II; ZIONISM

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ROYAL FAMILY, THE BRITISH: See WINDSOR, EDWARD DUKE OF RSI: See SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE

RURALISM/RURALIZATION (Italy)

Mussolini's intention to "ruralize" Italy, announced in his Ascension Day speech in May 1927, took as its premise the belief that Italy faced demographic decline that could be reversed only by stopping the population drift to the towns and transferring resources to the countryside. In Mussolini's logic, the towns were centers of bourgeois materialism, hedonism, and corruption, and thus low birth rates. Rural society, on the other hand, encouraged hard work, frugality, and fecundity, and the ideal peasant type would provide both Italy's food and its manpower in the next war. As an alternative to politically unpalatable land reform, Fascism promoted land improvement and reclamation schemes. Ruralism was also a not very successfully camouflaged way of discouraging migration to the cities, which, in Fascist minds, threatened to undermine the rural agrarian social structure and render the cities more politically anti-Fascist than they already were: unemployment in the countryside was easier to deal with than unemployment in the towns. Such a policy made little sense in a country in which, culturally speaking, the city was everything and the countryside a backwater, and where agriculture, especially in the south, was technologically backward and there was serious rural overpopulation and landless poverty. Ruralism ultimately failed. Despite 1930s Fascist equivalents of the South African "pass laws," Italian country people persisted in migrating to the cities throughout the period of the Fascist regime, the birth rate continued to decline, and Fascist Italy never did become self-sufficient in grain production.

John Pollard

See Also: AUTARKY; BOURGEOISIE, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MATERIALISM; MODERNITY; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATURE; PROGRESS; RURALISM (GERMANY); TECHNOLOGY

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RURALISM (Germany)

In the context of interwar Germany, ruralism refers to the belief of certain movements like the Artamans in the decadence of urban societies and the need for a return to the land. This kind of thinking, chiefly associated in Nazism with the *Blut und Boden* (Blood and Soil) ideology, had a particular attraction for Heinrich Himmler and Walther Darré, both of whom were members of the Artamans. Although Darré was successful in spreading the Nazi message in the countryside with *Blut und Boden* propaganda, in terms of Nazi government policy and practice it was in fact sidelined. It remained largely a matter of theory because the main thrust of Nazism was toward a technologically and scientifically advanced society, for Nazism was essentially a party of progress and modernity.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARTAMAN LEAGUE, THE; BLOOD AND SOIL; COSMOPOLITANISM; DARRE, RICHARD WALTHER; DECADENCE; FARMERS; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; LEISURE; MATERIALISM; MODERNITY; NATURE; PROGRESS; RURALISM (ITALY); SCIENCE; TECHNOLOGY; *WANDERVÖGEL*, THE; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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RUSSIA

Extreme right-wing ideas were prominent in late czarist political discourse and found a variety of expressions in the writings of, among others, the novelist Fëdor Dostoevskii (1821–1881), biologist Nikolai Danilevskii (1822–1885), and philosopher Konstantin Leont'ev (1831–1891). Prefascist trends have been detected in the activities of the secret police officer Sergei Zubatov (1864–1917) and various organizations known collectively as the “Black Hundreds,” including the Union of the Russian People, founded in 1905 by Vladimir Pur-

ishkevich (1870–1920) and Aleksandr Dubrovin (1855–1918). However, no significant prerevolutionary Russian political thinker or group developed an ideology consistently combining integral nationalism with revolutionary aspirations. During the Soviet period, a number of proto-, crypto-, and fully fascist trends appeared in various sectors of society, including the Russian emigre community, but they had little impact on society at large. Since the gradual introduction of political pluralism in the Soviet Union in 1985, a broad spectrum of extremely right-wing groups have appeared in Russia, comprising several fascist political parties, intellectual circles, and groupuscules.

The first significant post-Soviet organization with affinities to fascism, merging ideas of prerevolutionary Black Hundred anti-Semitism, official Soviet “anti-Zionism,” and Orthodox monarchism was the National-Patriotic Front Pamiat' (Memory), which emerged in the mid-1980s. Extensively described in Western press reports of the late 1980s, Pamiat' was a small circle of activists that broke up into minuscule splinter groups in 1990. Although a marginal political phenomenon, the Moscow section of the initial Pamiat' emerged as significant by providing, around 1990, a training ground for the subsequent founders of numerous ultranationalist, fundamentalist, and neo-Nazi groupings that populated the lunatic fringe of Russia's nationalist spectrum throughout the 1990s. Fascists who began their political careers in Pamiat' included: Aleksandr Barkashov (born 1953), leader of Russkoe Natsional'noe Edinstvo (RNE; Russian National Unity); Nikolai Lysenko (born 1961), founder of the Natsional-respublikanskaia partiia Rossii (National-Republican Party of Russia) and state duma deputy, 1993–1995; Aleksandr Dugin, co-founder and chief ideologue, from 1994 to 1998, of the Natsional-bol'shevistskaia partiia (NBP; National-Bolshevik Party); and Viktor Iakushev (born 1963), founder of the groupuscule Natsional-sotsial'nyi soiuz (NSS; National-Social Union).

Until its split in late 2000, the RNE represented Russia's most important organization imitating interwar fascism. It was founded in 1990 as a paramilitary, hierarchical organization of young men dressed in black overalls and greeting each other with the Roman salute and cry *Slava Rossii!* (“Glory to Russia!”). Its symbol is a stylized left-handed swastika embedded in an eight-pointed star. Its ideology, too, contains Russian adaptations of German Nazi ideology, especially of the Aryan myth. The RNE's official program's major themes include national rebirth, antifederalism, imperi-



Russian National Unity Party member makes a Hitler salute at a conference in 1999. The aftermath of the breakup of the Soviet Union has seen a revival of Russian nationalism, though some scholars argue that much Soviet-era 'internationalist' rhetoric was in reality merely a cloak for this. (Yuri_Kochetkov/EPA/epal/Corbis)

alism, protectionism, autarky, militarism, eugenics, discouragement of interethnic sexual relations, a mixed economy, special appreciation of the peasantry, limitation of religious freedom to pro-Russian faiths, and creation of a new national elite. According to some sources, RNE documents spoke of plans to kill all Jews and Gypsies in Russia.

In spite of the RNE's imitation of Nazism, its founder, Barkashov, has rejected the labels *fashist* and *natsist*—though he admitted to be a *natsional-sotsialist*. Notwithstanding a high fluctuation of members, the RNE was of substantial organizational strength before its breakup in late 2000 and was estimated to have had, on the eve of its fracture, approximately 20,000 to 25,000 members. It constituted the most visible, obviously fascist Russian organization of the 1990s, and published the high-circulation newspaper *Russkii pori-*

adok (Russian Order). It participated prominently in the armed confrontation in Moscow in October 1993 and was involved in numerous homicides, robberies, and beatings as well as other crimes.

Russian neo-Nazism has drawn considerable attention and been often seen as the main manifestation of, or even been identified with, post-Soviet fascism. Although claiming to be preparing for the assumption of power and, until its split in 2000, to comprise a countrywide network of self-sufficient local cells, the RNE in fact represented only partly a properly political phenomenon. Using the symbols and ideas of a regime that caused a major catastrophe in recent Russian national history, this (until 2000) comparatively large organization represented as much a countercultural youth movement as a political party. The RNE's main bearing on post-Soviet Russian fascism has been indoctrination with racist ideas and the provision of skills in organization, combat, rhetoric, and legal matters to thousands of young Russian men who went through its ranks, its training, and its brainwashing during the 1990s.

The NBP, led by the notorious novelist Eduard Limonov (born 1943), is the second relevant extraparlimentary fascist party of post-Soviet Russia. Limonov, once a little-known avant-garde poet in the USSR, emigrated in 1974 and lived in New York and Paris, where, in the 1980s, he became a well-known prose writer acquainted with French far-right figures Jean-Marie Le Pen and Alain de Benoist. During glasnost, Limonov started to publish literary works and political articles in Russia. By the mid-1990s, he had become a widely read author known for his radical political opinions and frank autobiographical novels. Having returned to Russia, Limonov made, in 1992–1994, several unsuccessful attempts to enter political organizations and enjoyed temporary membership in the “shadow cabinet” of Zhirinovskii's so-called Liberal-Democratic Party of the Soviet Union in 1992. In November 1994, Limonov, Dugin, and Egor Letov (born 1966), lead singer of the popular Russian punk band *Grazhdanskaia oborona* (“Civil Defense”), founded the NBP and its organ, the biweekly *Limonka* (literally: “little lemon”; also: “hand-grenade”). The NBP's ideology is highly eclectic and merges elements of traditionalism, Leninism, classic Russian nationalism, anarchism, spiritualism, nonconformism, Stalinism, Satanism, situationism, and so forth. NBP publications have made reference to the Nazi SA, Romanian Iron Guard, and West German Rote Armee Fraktion, and shown affinities to the *Konservative Revolution* and *European New Right*. The NBP's aim is a total,

unitary, one-party Russian empire with an etatist autarkic economy. Demanding a radically anti-U.S. foreign policy, the NBP's immediate focus is reannexation of the former Soviet republics; its long-term aim is a "gigantic continental Empire" from Vladivostok to Gibraltar. National membership is defined by loyalty to Russia. The party became widely known in the late 1990s in connection with extravagant actions across the former Soviet Union and had, in 1999, approximately 6,000 to 7,000 active members. However, as Limonov was imprisoned for illegal possession of weapons from 2001 to 2003, the survival of the party as a noteworthy political force is under question.

Whereas the fascist character of the RNE and NBP is rarely questioned, adequate classification of the ideology of Zhirinovskii's LDPR—since 1993 an important player in the state duma, the lower house of the Russian parliament—has been a matter of dispute. While Zhirinovskii's publications have become relatively less revolutionary and more populist since the mid-1990s, the early history of the LDPR was marked by its inclusion, in its higher echelons, of, among other extremists, the neo-Nazi Iakushev (NSS) as well as Andrei Arkhipov (born 1954) and Sergei Zharikov (born 1956 or 1958), editors of the expressly fascist journals *Sokol Zhirinovskogo* (nos. 1–3), *K toporu*, and *Ataka*. Zhirinovskii's major idea, in 1993, of the need for Russia to complete her "last dash to the South"—that is, the annexation of Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan, reveals a fascist mindset: it implies Russia's national rebirth—her ultimate "soothing"—through a radical redrawing of her borders and redefinition of her international status. Official membership numbers given by the LDPR going into the hundreds of thousands are inflated, but the party may have had several thousand more or less active members in the late 1990s. Notwithstanding Zhirinovskii's and his party's weak performance in Russia's parliamentary elections of 1999 (6.1 percent), and presidential poll of 2000 (2.7 percent), the LDPR faction remains an important actor in the duma. In the December 2003 state duma elections, Zhirinovskii's party achieved 11.45 percent, its second best result in a federal-level poll.

As the relative importance of parties within Russian fascism declined in the late 1990s, a vocal "uncivil soci-

ety" has become important in the new century. It includes, among others: dozens of ultranationalist periodicals and websites, a racist skinhead movement, a fascistic countercultural youth scene, and various extremely anti-Western trends in intellectual life. Within the latter, Dugin's "neo-Eurasianism" especially has made inroads into mainstream political thinking, public discourse, mass media, and scholarly debate.

Andreas Umland

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUTARKY; BENOIST, ALAIN DE; BOLSHEVISM; DEMOCRACY; DUGIN, ALEKSANDR GEL'EVICH; ECONOMICS; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EXPANSIONISM; GROUPUSCULES; IMPERIALISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; IRON GUARD, THE; IRREDENTISM; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MILITARISM; NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; OCCULTISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; PROGRESS; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; REVOLUTION; ROCK MUSIC; ROMANIA; RURALISM; SA, THE; SALUTES; SEXUALITY; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; SYMBOLS; TRADITION; TRADITIONALISM; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; ZHIRINOVSKII, VLADIMIR VOL'FOVICH

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SA, THE

Founded in 1920 as the paramilitary wing of the NSDAP, the SA (Sturmabteilung), also known as the “storm troopers,” was the NSDAP’s most numerous subdivision until the early 1930s (1931: 77,000; January 1933: 700,000) after the world economic crisis had supplied many unemployed or socially marginalized recruits to its ranks. Its members were uniformed, armed, and, after 1926, subordinate to the supreme SA leadership. When Ernst Roehm took over the SA leadership in 1931, he introduced a brown uniform for the membership and this gave rise to their common nickname of “Brownshirts.” The SA provoked bloody clashes with the leftist worker parties and, after 1933, established the first concentration camps in which political opponents were tortured and murdered. SA members were mainly responsible for the boycott of shops owned by Jews (April 1933) and the murder and destruction on *Kristallnacht* (November 1938). After Hitler came to power in 1933 he began to fear the power of the SA and to doubt its loyalty, and he had its chief of staff, Ernst Roehm, killed in 1934, along with other potential rivals in the notorious Night of the Long Knives. From that time on, the SS, Hitler’s personal bodyguard, were in the ascendancy.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; KRISTALLNACHT (NIGHT OF BRO-

KEN GLASS); NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; PARAMILITARISM; ROEHM, ERNST; SS, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE

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SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA (1889–1970)

Portuguese prime minister and dictator from 1932 until 1968 whose regime has often misleadingly been regarded as fascist. After completing his doctorate at the University of Coimbra, Salazar went on to become one of Portugal’s most respected political economists. A devout Catholic, he was opposed to the liberal First Republic—not so much because of the nature of the regime as because of its anticlericalism. He was one of

the founders of the Christian Democratic Academic Center, a Catholic political party, in 1912 and went on to become one of its most capable promoters. It was in this capacity that he proposed and defended the thesis that Catholics should oppose the Republican regime's anticlerical policies, but not the regime itself. He was elected to the Portuguese parliament at the 1921 elections, although he never officially took his seat in Lisbon. He served as finance minister for five days in the short-lived cabinet led by Mendes Cabeçadas following the May 1926 coup that overthrew the liberal republic, returning to Coimbra as soon as he realized that the military dictatorship was itself internally divided. He came to popular attention in the winter of 1927, when he published in the Catholic newspaper *Novidades* a series of articles critical of the military dictatorship's economic and financial policies. The response to these articles was such that the president, General Carmona, came to believe that he was the only man capable of saving the country from bankruptcy. Thus the myth of Salazar the financial wizard (*magão financeiro*) was born. In April 1928, the newly appointed prime minister, Vicente de Freitas, asked Salazar to accept the post of finance minister in the new government, which he agreed to do only on condition that he was given complete, sole, and unquestioned control over all government spending. His conditions being accepted, Salazar succeeded in transforming Portugal's finances, and within a year of his appointment he had guided the country to its first budget surplus since 1913. He soon became indispensable and built up a network of adherents. Between 1928 and 1930 he effectively vetoed any government appointments and directed government policy. By 1930 it was apparent that he was the de facto leader of the Portuguese government, although he did not become prime minister until July 1932, a position that he retained until September 1968. He was responsible for the abolition of the liberal state through the promulgation in April 1933 of a new corporatist-inspired constitution that gave birth to the New State (Estado Novo). Although his regime has been described as fascist, Salazar in fact opposed fascism and successfully eradicated fascist movements in Portugal during the 1930s. While the Salazarist regime did adopt some of the trappings of fascism during the Spanish Civil War, these were little more than symbolic gestures, quickly abandoned or allowed to wither away. Portugal remained neutral during World War II, but Salazar's policies were motivated more by the need to protect Portugal's African possessions than by any other reason. At the height of the war, Salazar allowed the Allies

to use the Azores as a refueling base, paving the way toward Portugal's entry into NATO as a founding member.

In the postwar era, following the Indian occupation of the Portuguese colony of Goa and the outbreak of liberation wars in Portuguese Africa, Salazar adopted a policy of armed resistance, committing thousands of troops and almost half of the national product to maintaining Portuguese control over these territories in the face of world opinion. In 1968 he suffered a stroke after a domestic accident and remained bedridden until his death in 1970. He was replaced as prime minister by Marcello Caetano in 1968, although no one told him; he died believing he remained in charge.

Stewart Lloyd Jones

See Also: INTRODUCTION; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTICLERICALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; COLONIALISM; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; *ESTADO NOVO* ("NEW STATE"); POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; PORTUGAL; ROLÃO PRETO, FRANCISCO; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; VARGAS, GETULIO DORNELLES; WORLD WAR II

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SALGADO, PLÍNIO (1895–1975)

Leader of Ação Integralista Brasileira, a Brazilian fascist organization. Salgado became enthusiastic for fascism after meeting Mussolini in Italy. He ran for president, but was not elected. Salgado was very Catholic and represented the less radical wing of Ação Integralista Brasileira. After a failed conspiracy against President Vargas, he was exiled to Portugal from 1938 to 1945. He remained politically active after his return; in 1964 he spoke at a conservative rally against President Goulart and supported the military coup against him. Also known for his literary skills, Salgado wrote several novels in the 1920s and early 1930s that reveal his anti-Jewish and antifeminist feelings.

Margaret Power

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BRAZIL; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; FEMINISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PORTUGAL

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SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE

The Italian Social Republic (RSI), or Salò Republic (named after the seat of the regime on Lake Garda in northern Italy), arose as a consequence of the Italian withdrawal from World War II on 8 September 1943 and the occupation of northern and central Italy by the Wehrmacht. Mussolini had been dismissed by King Victor Emmanuel III on 25 July 1943 after the Grand Council of Fascism voted to unseat him; he was transferred from one detention place to another but liberated from imprisonment on the Gran Sasso by German paratroopers on 12 September 1943. Following a radio address by Il Duce from Munich on 18 September, a new republican-fascist government was formed in northern and central Italy, and the Fascist Party was revived along with the militia, which was later brought over with the Carabinieri into the Republican National Guard. The Salò regime continued the battle against the Allies on the side of the Germans in competition with the royal government under Badoglio in the south. But relations with the Germans and their governor, Ambassador Rahn, and with the army commanders Rommel, Kesselring, and Vietinghoff, as well as the SS under Wolff, were always difficult. Mussolini was unable to reassert his authority successfully, for not only the south, freed by the advancing Allies, but also a part of Italy controlled by the Germans remained wholly or more or less completely beyond his grasp. The *Alpenvorland* and “Adriatic Coast” zones were to all intents and purposes annexed by Germany and subjected to the Reich governors of the neighboring regions (Friedrich Rainer in Karinthia, Franz Hofer in Tirol-Vorarlberg). Mussolini retained what autonomy he could in the remaining area, and a new republican army under Marshal Graziani was established, whose four divisions were initially sent to Germany for training and from the summer of 1944 were used chiefly for the battle against the anti-Fascist partisans.

The RSI began by dealing with those members of the Grand Council who in the night of 24/25 July 1943 had voted against Mussolini and who had thereby made possible his fall, and with all who were classified in the widest sense as “traitors” to Fascism. In January 1944 the trial of the chief conspirators was held in Verona, concluding with eleven death sentences *in contumaciam*, of which five were carried out immediately (on 11 January 1944). Victims included Mussolini’s own son-in-law Galeazzo Ciano and the quadrumvir Emilio De Bono. At least 1,500 death penalties were also handed down and implemented by specially established provincial special tribunals. The Salò Republic manifested an intensification of violence and pursued a race policy that was deeply anti-Semitic, declaring all Jews to belong to a hostile nation and requiring them to be herded into camps and ordering that their property and investments be confiscated. The deportations organized subsequently by the Germans could never have been implemented without these preparations and without the collaboration of the organs of the Salò Republic. Altogether, more than 6,800 Jews were deported in forty-three transports to the East (for the most part to Auschwitz), of whom only 837 survived.

Salò had to engage in an increasingly brutal struggle with the developing resistance, and that struggle became the main job of the forces of order (police, national guard, black brigades) and the armed forces of the RSI. Assessment of this has remained a matter of controversy down to the present day, but it is increasingly interpreted as a real civil war. At the same time, relations with the German occupiers/allies worsened: agreement could not be reached as to the problem of the Italian military internees sent to Germany as forced labor, while the increasingly heavy-handed German reprisals—which degenerated into downright massacres in such cases as that of the Fosse Ardeatine on 24 March 1944—led to catastrophic consequences for the standing of Fascism in the country. Mussolini’s last public appearance in Milan, on 16 December 1944, was astonishingly successful, but four months later he was killed by partisans on 28 April 1945 as he attempted to escape to Switzerland in the face of the advancing Allied forces. The war in northern Italy ended with the capitulation of the German troops on 29 April, which came into force on 2 May, about a week before the complete capitulation of the Wehrmacht.

Carlo Moos

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AXIS, THE; BONO, EMILIO DE; CIANO, COUNT GALEAZZO;

FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA SICUREZZA NAZIONALE (MVSN); MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SKORZENY, OTTO; SS, THE; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SALUTES

The Roman salute, in which the right arm is raised in a straight and perpendicular manner, was adopted by both Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. It had been previously used by the Italian poet Gabriele D'Annunzio during his occupation of Fiume from September 1919 to December 1920. Like other rituals that were instituted by D'Annunzio in Fiume, the salute later became part of the rising Fascist movement's symbolic arsenal. In 1925, during Mussolini's work of fascistization of the state, the salute officially became part of the Fascist regime. In the fashion of imperial Rome, the salute was supposed to reflect a sense of discipline and respect. In 1932, the Fascist regime adopted the Roman salute as a substitute for the "bourgeois" handshake. The improper execution of the salute, or worse the continuation of the old habit of shaking hands, became a sign of a lesser Fascist spirit. The Fascist Party secretary, Achille Starace, issued daily injunctions during the 1930s reminding party members of the Roman salute's importance. The salute was believed to represent the physical, external sign of a truly transformed Italian man, whose gestures reflected his authentic Fascist nature. Like other rituals adopted by Mussolini's regime, the salute showed the enormous importance the Italian Fascists assigned to symbols and myths.

As part of its panoply of rituals and symbols that were supposed to identify and unify the members of the movement, Nazi Germany also adopted a version of the salute. Evidence of the first use of the salute by Hitler is found in photographs taken during a rally in Munich in late January 1923. By 1926, the straight-arm greeting had become standard in the Nazi movement and was prominently featured by party members

at the 1927 Nuremberg Rally. After Hitler took power, citizens showed their loyalty to the regime by greeting each other with the salute and a *Heil Hitler* cry. Failure to do so evidenced lack of allegiance. Together with the swastika, the salute became a most important symbol of the Nazi movement and testified to the great power that rituals and myths held for Hitler and his regime.

Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi

See Also: BOURGEOISIE, THE; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; GERMANY; GOOSESTEP, THE; HEIL HITLER!; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROME; STARACE, ACHILLE; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; TOTALITARIANISM

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SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA (1880–1961)

Journalist, art critic and patron, poet, novelist, and speechwriter for Mussolini, and his first biographer as well as his mistress and his muse—whose importance for the rise of Italian Fascism has only recently been fully revealed. She has been described as “the most powerful woman in Italy” or “the uncrowned queen of Italy” (Cannistraro and Sullivan, 1993) during the three years from 1927 to 1930 because of her influence over Il Duce. In 1923 she was appointed lady-in-waiting to Queen Elena, and the two women became firm friends. King Vittorio Emanuele was even hopeful of assuaging Mussolini's hatred of the monarchy through her.

Sarfatti-Grassini was born into the wealthy Jewish Grassini family in Venice and became an activist both in Italian socialism and in feminism while still a teenager, writing articles for numerous periodicals. She married a socialist lawyer named Cesare Sarfatti before World War I. She met Mussolini at the 1911 Socialist Party Congress, and by 1913 they had become very close. It was a relationship “across the tracks,” for he came out of a background of rural poverty whereas she was accustomed to the sophisticated metropolitan



Margherita Sarfatti-Grassini, wealthy Italian Jewish writer, journalist, art critic and patron, and for many years mistress of Benito Mussolini; her salons were a social focus for leading fascists. (Bettmann/Corbis)

world of culture and the arts. While his socialist colleagues and friends dropped away with his turn to nationalism, Sarfatti remained a faithful supporter and embraced nationalism with him. She became art editor for his paper *Popolo d'Italia*. For the first few months of its existence, she coedited Mussolini's magazine *Gerarchia* (founded in 1922), which became widely known as the semiofficial organ of the regime. After Mussolini's departure for Rome in October of that year, Sarfatti effectively became editor of *Gerarchia*, though she ran the articles by Mussolini each month over the phone. In 1924 she assumed sole editorial responsibility when Mussolini decided that as prime minister he was not in a position to take legal responsibility with regard to the journal.

For many years Sarfatti hosted salons in Milan and later in Rome that were a haunt of artists and intellectuals sympathetic to Fascism, and she played an important role in fostering modernism, helping to make that movement palatable to the regime (by contrast with

Nazi Germany). She was crucially involved in promoting both Futurism and the Novecento movement. By the late 1920s she was known as the "dictator of culture." Her salons were attended by the likes of the young (and later legendary) writer Alberto Moravia. She was a prominent participant in the Bologna Congress of Fascist Intellectuals that produced the *Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals*. In fact, she played a very significant role in endowing Italian Fascism with a cultural aura that counterbalanced the general impression of philistinism which clung to a movement that was addicted to violence and brutality. Fascist leaders like Balbo, Grandi, and Bottai frequented her salons, but she opened her doors to visitors of all persuasions, and some thought that she was acting as a spy for Il Duce. Many eminent foreign visitors were also invited. Sarfatti was unable, however, to sustain her earlier feminist viewpoint, which cut very little ice with the Fascist movement and which had very little appeal to Mussolini. Her semiautobiographical novel *il Palazzone* (1929) reflected the images and the thinking of the classic "romance."

For six years Sarfatti penned articles that appeared under Mussolini's name for William Randolph Hearst publications in the United States. *Dux*, her biography of Mussolini published in 1926 (and with a preface by its subject), was a huge best-seller, running to seventeen editions at home and being translated into eighteen languages. Some 300,000 copies were sold in Japan alone. It was a sanitized account that omitted all mention of the violent means by which its subject had contrived to attain power, and it played a massive role in creating a global myth of Mussolini as a man of heroic stature and a new Caesar.

By 1936, Sarfatti had become alienated from Il Duce, and in 1938 she fled to Argentina. One reason for the split between her and Mussolini may have been his turn to anti-Semitism in the late 1930s. In 1947 she returned to Italy and took up her writing again.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; BALBO, ITALO; BOTTAI, GIUSEPPE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEMINISM; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GRANDI, DINO; HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; ITALY; JAPAN; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MODERNISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ROME; SOCIALISM; *SQUADRISMO*; TRADITION; VIOLENCE

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SCHINDLER, OSKAR: *See* ANTIFASCISM

SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON (1907–1974)

From 1931, Reich youth leader of the National Socialist Party; in the late 1930s his pictures were used more widely throughout Germany than those of any other Nazi leader save Hitler himself. He was born in Berlin, his father being an army officer who later became a theatrical director, while his mother was an American lady who claimed descent from two signatories of the American Declaration of Independence. Schirach studied art history and German folklore in Munich, where he first joined the Nazi Party. He wrote flattering poems about Hitler: “His soul touches the stars/And yet he remains a man like you and me.” Schirach was a fierce opponent of Christianity and considered that his altar was the steps of the Munich Feldherrn Halle, spattered with blood during the 1923 Munich putsch. In 1929 he was appointed to the leadership of the German Students’ League, his brief stint being to bring the university system under the control of the Nazis. In 1931 he became Reich youth leader of the National Socialist Party, and in 1932 he gathered more than 100,000 young people in a massive parade in front of Hitler at Potsdam. In 1933 he had the title of youth leader of the German Reich conferred upon him by Hitler. As honors were showered upon him, Schirach was presented more and more as embodying all that was noble in German youth. But success also aroused jealousy around him and made him many enemies; in 1941, Hitler demoted him to *Gauleiter* of Vienna. At the Nuremberg Trials Schirach was condemned to twenty years’ imprisonment as a participant in the deportation of Jews from Vienna.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CHRISTIANITY; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE;

IRAN; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; UNIVERSITIES, THE (GERMANY); YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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SCHLEICHER, KURT VON (1882–1934)

Hitler’s predecessor as chancellor. He was from an old Prussian military family and had a career in the army, rising to the rank of colonel and becoming head of the Armed Forces division of the Reichswehr Ministry in 1926. A born political intriguer, he succeeded Von Papen as chancellor on 3 December 1932. He offered to support a National Socialist government on condition that Hitler gave him a seat in the cabinet and leadership of the Reichswehr. But Von Papen intrigued with Hitler, who became Von Schleicher’s successor himself on 30 January 1933, with Von Papen as his vice chancellor. Von Schleicher was one of those murdered on Hitler’s orders in the Night of the Long Knives.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; PAPEN, FRANZ VON; WEHRMACHT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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SCHMITT, CARL (1888–1985)

Legendary “crown jurist” of the Third Reich whose reputation has undergone a renaissance over the last decades of the twentieth century. Schmitt, a political

theorist as well as a jurist, was born at Plettemberg, a small town in the Sauerland. After a Catholic schooling he studied at the universities of Berlin, Munich, and Strasbourg and was subjected to the influence of philosophical neo-Kantianism. Germany's defeat in World War I had a crucial impact on his intellectual development: in the advent of the parliamentary republic and the multiparty system following the collapse of the Wilhelmine authoritarian state, he saw a victory for liberal individualism of Romantic origin, a tendency that he strongly opposed, following in the footsteps of reactionary Catholic conservative writers like Joseph de Maistre and Donoso Cortés. Basing himself on the conceptual distinction between “democracy” and “liberalism,” he became a radical critic of parliamentarism, the multiparty state, and the liberal constitutional state, to which he contrasted—in works like *Die Diktatur* (1921), *Politische Theologie* (1922), and *Römischer Katholizismus und Politische Form* (1923)—a conception of political order based on the decision of the sovereign, on charismatic authority, and on presidential power. From the juridical point of view, he contrasted with liberal constitutionalism a doctrine taken from the French Revolutionary tradition and based on the constituent power of the people: the constitution, as Schmitt wrote in his *Verfassungslehre* (1928), is not a document or a formal act, but a “fundamental decision” and a collective act of political will, on which depends the historical legitimacy of the political order.

The first edition of the essay “Der Begriff des Politischen” dates from 1928, and this is the work that mainly created his posthumous fame. Substantially revised in 1932 and 1933, it developed a competitive, conflictual idea of politics: Schmitt argued that it is a form of human activity based on the friend/enemy distinction, and his thinking reflected a pessimistic conception of human nature typical of the tradition of realism from Machiavelli up to modern times. Schmitt convinced himself, as shown in his book of 1931, *Der Hüter der Verfassung*, that the only way to save the weak Weimar Constitution from the combined attacks of communists and Nazis was that of entrusting extraordinary powers to the president of the republic, thus giving life to an “authoritarian democracy” supported by the military class and the bureaucrats. But the crisis of the German state had become unstoppable: in January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor, the first step toward the single-party dictatorship and the suppression of political liberties. Out of an excessive respect for the legalities and not without opportunism, Schmitt supported the new regime, within which he held various official posts over a period of several years: among oth-

ers, those of Prussian councilor of state, member of the Akademie für Deutsches Recht, and editor of the law review *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung*. But it was sensed that his was not an authentic ideological conversion, and repeated violent attacks were made on him by individuals in the ambit of National Socialist radicalism, who accused him of having remained an authoritarian Catholic and a neo-Hegelian, and of being a conservative supporter of the “total state” but not a defender of the authentic “national community.” Troubled by these attacks, which made him fearful for his physical safety in spite of the protection guaranteed him directly by Nazi chiefs like Hermann Goering and Hans Frank, Schmitt withdrew from public life. In the late 1930s his studies were directed almost exclusively toward international law. Central in this phase of his intellectual production was the concept of *Grossraum*, through which he sought to explain the transformations in the world political order.

After the end of World War II, Schmitt was imprisoned and tried for his collaboration with National Socialism, and was subsequently relieved of his university teaching work. He withdrew to his hometown, but although isolated and deprived of academic employment, he continued to exercise a vast influence on the German intellectual world through his numerous pupils. From the 1970s, his work became the object of an important critical debate that soon spread to a great number of countries and involved scholars of a variety of cultural orientations. His works were translated into numerous languages and became the subject of many commentaries. The *Kronjurist* of the Third Reich, for a long time marginalized by the global academic community, eventually came to be regarded as one of the most original and brilliant political thinkers of the modern era.

Alessandro Campi
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSERVATISM; DEMOCRACY; DENAZIFICATION; DICTATORSHIP; ELITE THEORY; FRANK, HANS; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GOERING, HERMANN; INDIVIDUALISM; LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MARXISM; NAZISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITIONALISM; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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SCHOLTZ-KLINK, GERTRUD (1902–1999)

Appointed by Hitler as Reich women's leader and head of the Nazi Women's League. She was born Gertrud Treusch, the daughter of a civil servant in Adelsheim. She worked as a teacher and journalist before marrying in 1920. Her first husband was Friedrich Klink, a teacher and later office-holder in the NSDAP, and she had six children by him, two of whom died. She herself joined the NSDAP in 1929. Klink died in 1930, and that year she became *Gauleiterin* of the Deutschen Frauenordens (DFO; German Women's Order), which was attached to the NSDAP. In 1931 she took over the leadership in Baden of the Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft (NSF; National Socialist Women's Association), which Gregor Strasser had set up as a single replacement for several like-minded women's organizations. She was then asked to take over running the work in Hesse, and she devoted herself to mobilizing women for the Nazi cause. In 1932 she married Günther Scholtz, a doctor. In 1934, in addition to the positions mentioned above, she became head of the Women's Bureau in the Labor Front and was regarded as the leader of all National Socialist women (*Reichsfrauenführerin*)—and as such the most influential woman in the Reich. She stated that the role of women in the Third Reich was the care of men. She was not expected to take leadership initiatives herself but officially acted as the representative of Erich Hilgenfeldt, head of the National Socialist People's Welfare Organization (Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt; NSV); this was an organization affiliated to the Nazi Party that was concerned with the welfare of party members and their families, especially mothers and children. In 1939, Scholtz-Klink visited Britain and was hailed in the British press as "the perfect Nazi woman." The previous year she had divorced Günther Scholtz, and in 1940 she married SS officer August Heissmeyer. After the war ended, Scholtz-Klink was interned briefly in a So-

viet camp but managed to escape; she hid for three years, and after her capture in 1948 she was imprisoned for a time. In 1950 she was given a further sentence of thirty months in a work camp and banned from political activities for life; she was also banned from journalism and teaching for ten years and fined. In her autobiography, published in 1978, she indicated that she remained an unrepentant Nazi.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LABOR FRONT, THE; NAZISM; SEXUALITY; SS, THE; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN

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SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON (1842–1921)

An early advocate of Pangermanism, Germanic religion, and anti-Semitism, and an important influence on the young Hitler. In 1869 and again from 1873 to 1888 and from 1897 to 1907, he was a member of the Austrian House of Delegates; in 1888, as a result of his involvement in an act of violence against political opponents, he was condemned to four months' imprisonment and loss of his parliamentary mandate. After 1907 he became politically very isolated in Catholic Austria on account of his Los-von-Rom movement, in which he called for people to leave the Catholic Church (on the grounds of her alleged "friendliness to Slavs") and to become Protestants. In 1879, Schönerer was involved in the foundation of the Pan-German Nationalist Party. In the *Linzer Programme* of 1882 he demanded the annexation of Austria to Germany under the leadership of the Hohenzollerns as a "fulfillment" of the German Reich, and the abandonment of the "Slavic territories." As leader of the Alldeutsche Bewegung he established a hero cult of Richard Wagner—whom he saw as liberator of German art from "Judaization"—and Bismarck, who remained reserved toward

him. Schönerer pursued an aggressively anti-Semitic campaign in his newspapers (*Unverfälschte Worte, Alldeutsches Tagblatt*). He claimed that a “Greater German Reich” was the “desire of all Germans” and pointed to the Jews as “an unproductive and alien element” (speech of 11 May 1882), undermining the “moral and material foundations” of the German *Volk*.

Schönerer regarded anti-Semitism as “the central pillar of the national idea” (28 April 1887), called for a battle for the “purity of German blood,” and attacked the “Jewish press.” Many of his demands anticipated later Nazi measures, such as his demand for special laws even for baptized Jews (“the swinishness is in the race”) to establish a limitation of freedom of domicile, exclusion of Jews from the civil service, from the teaching profession and the press, and the creation of special “Jewish registers.” From February 1884 his gatherings took place under a banner that read: “Entry forbidden to Jews!” In his newspapers Schönerer introduced the greeting “Heil to the Fuehrer!” (addressed to himself). His German nationalism took on more and more strongly religious overtones; in 1883, he had described “German *Volkstum* (national character)” as “the perfect replacement for religion.” With his cult for old Germanic symbols like runes and midsummer, midwinter, and Yuletide festivals, and his introduction of old Germanic names of the months and ways of living among his followers, he influenced the later Germanic cult of Heinrich Himmler and the SS. Schönerer also argued that his followers should marry only “Aryan partners” and must be investigated for the “healthiness of their line.” Hitler referred to Schönerer admiringly many times in *Mein Kampf* but criticized him for his failure to win mass support and his faith in the parliamentary system.

Markus Hattstein (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BLOOD; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; EUGENICS; EXPANSIONISM; FAMILY, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HEIL HITLER!; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MEIN KAMPF; NATIONALISM; OCCULTISM; PANGERMANISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SEXUALITY; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SS, THE; VOLK, VÖLKISCH; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD

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SCHÖNHUBER, FRANZ (1923–2005)

Well-known journalist before becoming the chairman of the far-right Republikaner Party from 1985 to 1994. Under his leadership the party entered the state parliament of West Berlin and the European Parliament (both 1989), where Schönhuber led his faction. Known for his fiery xenophobic rhetoric, he was ousted by his own party for cooperating too closely with other well-known right-wing extremists—notably Gerhard Frey. A highly talented figure but a hugely controversial one, as when he publicly defended his time with the Waffen-SS, Schönhuber remained active to the end as an author and publicist in right-wing circles with his own weekly column in Frey’s *National-Zeitung*.

Thomas Grumke

See Also: FREY, DR. GERHARD; GERMANY; NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; WAFFEN-SS, THE; XENOPHOBIA

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SCHOOLS: See EDUCATION

SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR (1788–1860)

German philosopher who was one of most influential figures in the late-nineteenth-century revolt against positivism of which Nazism (and according to some accounts, Italian Fascism) was one of the inheritors: Hitler carried a volume of Schopenhauer around with him during his war service. The starting point of his philosophy was idealism, but he developed on that basis a philosophy in which a unique place is occupied by the human will, as indicated by the title of his celebrated book *The World as Will and Representation* (1818). Schopenhauer observes that as well as being

aware of things existing in space and time, we are also aware of ourselves, both in the act of perceiving and as will, and more specifically, as will to live. We are aware of ourselves and our behavior as the phases of a will. It is reasonable, then, to assume that the same is true of the external world, whose inner being must likewise be constituted by will. This idea of the primacy of the will was mediated through Nietzsche to the interwar fascists, for whom it constituted something of a revelation, meeting up with the current of Social Darwinism to produce a strong emphasis on our calling to act to shape our world. Schopenhauer also exercised an immense influence through his interest in Oriental thinking. One of his main inspirations was the Hindu *Upanishads*. He was the first Western philosopher to relate his thought to Hindu and Buddhist ideas. He thus gave a powerful impetus to a trend that was very important in Nazism. The whole Aryan myth so central to the Nazi worldview was a product of Orientalism, and many Nazi ideologues found inspiration in Buddhism or Hinduism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACTUALISM; ANTHROPOLOGY; ARYANISM; *BHAGAVADGITA*, THE; BUDDHISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; POSITIVISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM; VOLUNTARISM; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON (1897–1977)

Chancellor of Austria, 1934–1938. He served as minister of justice, then education, in the cabinet of Engelbert Dollfuss and became chancellor after Dollfuss was assassinated in a failed Nazi putsch. Schuschnigg followed Dollfuss's authoritarian course while facing growing threats to Austrian independence from Germany. He capitulated to Hitler's demands for *Anschluss* on 11 March 1938. He was interned in concentration camps until 1945. Barred from the practice of law in postwar Austria, he taught history and politics at St. Louis University from 1948 to 1967, returning in that year to his native Tyrol, where he died in 1977 in Mutters bei Innsbruck.

Laura Gellott

See Also: *ANSCHLUSS*, THE; AUSTRIA; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM

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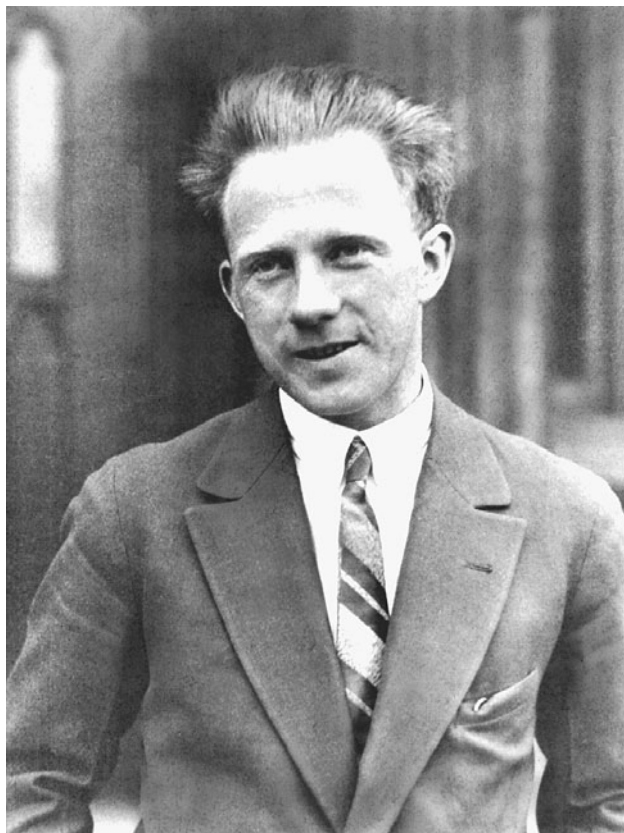
SCHUTZSTAFFEL, THE: See SS, THE

SCIENCE

With varying stringency, the interwar fascist states imposed racial or political criteria resulting in purges of scientific personnel; there were also ideological pressures, which again met with variable success, on the content and direction of research. On the other hand, many varieties of fascism claimed that they were, at some level, rooted in the findings of science—most notably, a supposedly “scientific” racism. Fascist states were also eager to promote modern science when it supported goals of national prestige, economic autarky, or militaristic expansion. This analysis applies particularly to National Socialist Germany. In the early twentieth century, Germany was, by most measures, one of the leading scientific powers in the world; hence, the fate of science under Nazism has been analyzed in considerable detail. Similar comments, though with some variations, also apply to Fascist Italy.

Science was strongly affected by Nazi purges directed against racially or politically undesirable individuals. The German Law for the Restoration of the Career Civil Service of April 1933 ordered the dismissal from government service—with a few exceptions, for seniority and war service—of “non-Aryans” and persons whose loyalty was suspect. The law applied to universities as well as to many nonuniversity laboratories, such as most institutes of the prestigious Kaiser Wilhelm Society. Jewish and politically dissident scholars also faced other pressures; for example, after 1933, a political evaluation by the National Socialist Teachers' League became a standard part of the dossier for any academic appointment.

The quantitative scope of the purges is hard to measure, in part because many scientists resigned rather



Werner Heisenberg, one of the greatest physicists of the twentieth century; although the object of hostility on the part of some Nazis who wished to promote 'an Aryan physics', he was given a university post after intervention from Heinrich Himmler. (Library of Congress)

than being officially fired. Examples included Albert Einstein, who was traveling abroad and who resigned in protest against Nazi policies, and Fritz Haber, director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute (KWI) for Physical Chemistry, who declined to make use of his war service exemption. The extent of the purges also varied widely from one institution to another; some universities had virtually no dismissals, but some departments lost the majority of their members. In any event, the number of dismissals was significant: as many as 25 percent of scientists in some fields, with an overall average probably between 10 and 15 percent. The qualitative effects were also considerable. The dismissals and resignations included twenty researchers who had won or who would later win Nobel prizes. Many dismissed scientists emigrated and pursued their careers elsewhere, making significant contributions to the scientific life of countries such as the United States and Great Britain, and playing major roles in fields such as nuclear energy and mo-

lecular biology. However, many other purged scientists were unable to find positions abroad or were unable to re-establish their careers once they did. Also difficult to assess quantitatively is the effect racial and political scrutiny had on the recruitment of a new generation of scientists.

The reaction of most scientific institutions toward these mandates was general compliance, along with selective noncooperation. Some "non-Aryan" or politically suspect scientists were sheltered through astute manipulation of the Nazi bureaucracy, but in the large majority of cases the relevant institutions implemented the purges as a matter of bureaucratic routine. This "self-coordination" preserved the semblance of professional autonomy, but at the cost of many individuals' careers. It should also be noted that although the purges had a dramatic effect on German science, they were by no means directed at science in and of itself: many professional and academic fields saw similar events.

In some fields the Nazi era saw attempts to transform the content of science along ideological lines. The most conspicuous controversy occurred in physics. A vocal minority, including the Nobel Prize winners Philipp Lenard and Johannes Stark, promoted the idea of an "Aryan physics," which rejected a number of recent theoretical developments, above all Albert Einstein's theory of relativity, as too abstract, mathematically formalistic, and unconnected to an intuitive understanding of nature. These supposedly undesirable traits were ascribed to Jewish influence in the field. But in many respects, this stance was a politicization of intraprofessional rivalries and nostalgia for the classical physics of the previous century.

The Aryan physicists sought to redirect physics through changes in the science curriculum and through influence on faculty appointments. A notorious case occurred when the Munich theorist Arnold Sommerfeld sought the appointment of his most famous student, Werner Heisenberg, as his successor. Heisenberg was attacked rhetorically in Nazi Party publications, and the post eventually went in 1939 to an obscure applied mathematician, Wilhelm Müller. Although this appeared to be a victory for Aryan physics, actually by this time the influence of its advocates was waning, and internal dissensions had divided the group. The public attacks on Heisenberg were stopped by order of Heinrich Himmler, and Heisenberg was appointed to a dual post at the University of Berlin and the KWI for Physics. An agreement was reached that relativity theory could be openly taught again—as long as Einstein remained unnamed. By this time, military authorities,

the SS, and the Reich Education Ministry were concerned about the state of defense research, and it was apparent that Aryan physics had little to offer in that regard. Analogous efforts to promote a distinctly “German” science in opposition to allegedly “Jewish” influences also occurred in chemistry and mathematics, but none of these campaigns had the impact of the *arische Physik* controversy.

The purges and the Aryan physics controversy, considered by themselves, might give the impression of an innately “antiscience” Nazi regime. But that would be an incomplete picture. There were also many examples of continuity in the German scientific tradition during the Third Reich. In fields such as oncology, biochemistry, biophysics, and nuclear physics, Germany remained at the forefront of world science throughout the 1930s. Moreover, there were also examples of a symbiosis between science and the state: racial, autarkic, and militaristic ambitions presented opportunities for scientists. Nazi race ideology purported to be an application of evolutionary biology, physical anthropology, and genetics. More than a few researchers in genetics, physical anthropology, and related fields offered their expertise toward the implementation of these policies and in turn garnered government support for their research. “Racial courts,” staffed by eugenics experts, were established to scrutinize marriage licenses. Ernst Rüdin, codirector of the KWI for Psychology and an authority on neurological diseases, helped to craft the 1933 eugenical sterilization law. Eugen Fischer, director of the KWI for Anthropology, even despite some political disagreements with Nazism, promoted the work of his institute as contributing to the national revival. Ultimately, the shift toward “medical killing” and genocide provided the context, in some cases, for a science without moral boundaries that included experimentation on human subjects.

The Nazi focus on autarky also bolstered government support of organic chemistry (especially geared toward production of synthetic fuels and rubber), silicates research (ceramics, concrete, and other construction materials), metallurgy (specialized alloys), and plant and animal genetics (the production of oils, fats, and fibers). Beyond alignment with perceived interests of their government patrons—a pervasive pattern throughout the history of science—some German scientists collaborated with the state in ways that were unique to the Nazi regime. For example, horticultural research stations were established in occupied territories to study indigenous plant material, and laborato-

ries in occupied regions of the Soviet Union, a country that in the 1920s and 1930s had developed a rich tradition in plant genetics, had their specimen collections appropriated by German researchers.

German rearmament also called to the attention of both scientists and government officials the importance of modern science to the Nazi state. Rocketry and aerodynamics provide two of the most obvious examples of generous state support of military-related research, but other fields ranging from applied mathematics to metallurgy to psychology benefited from governmental support in the form of funding, establishment of new research laboratories, and so forth. Scientists in fields deemed “necessary to the war effort” were also exempt from military service. Research on nuclear weapons was an exception that proves the general rule of scientific participation in rearmament and the war effort. Despite interest among both scientists and military officials, in view of perceived technical difficulties and shortages of materials it was decided to continue research but prioritize other projects during the war. Although evidence of deliberate sabotage of the project is debatable at best, there is little doubt that individual hesitations, as well as institutional rivalries, also hampered German nuclear weapons research.

Italy’s reputation in science, though venerable, had by the early 1900s fallen relative to that of other European countries. Fascism, though partly harking back to the supposed glories of Italy’s past, also presented itself as a forward-looking, modernist movement. The regime sought to reinvigorate Italian science, both for economic and strategic advantages and for reasons of national prestige. A National Research Council was founded in 1923 to channel government support to deserving projects; conversely, the main Italian professional organization for Italian scientists (the Italian Society for the Progress of Science), in its meetings in the 1920s, stressed the potential contributions of science to national defense. The most successful effort to bolster national prestige through science was Enrico Fermi’s laboratory for atomic research, established at the University of Rome in 1926 under the patronage of Orso Corbino, himself a physicist but also a senator and erstwhile cabinet member. During the 1930s, Fermi’s laboratory became perhaps the leading center of neutron research in the world, and certainly fulfilled Corbino’s aim of putting Italian science back on the map.

Alongside the promotion of science, the Fascists also became concerned about the ideological commitments

of scientists. An Academy of Italy was established in parallel, and essentially in rivalry, to the traditional Academy of the Lynx; appointments to the former clearly favored those who were sympathetic to the regime. In 1925, scientists were among the signatories of both the manifesto of profascist intellectuals organized by Giovanni Gentile, and also of Benedetto Croce's countermanifesto, but in 1931, when a loyalty oath was required of all university professors, only a few refused to sign and were consequently dismissed. Racism in general and anti-Semitism in particular played a less central role in Italian Fascism than in German National Socialism, and this was also reflected in science policy. Jewish scientists were not purged, although they faced considerable informal prejudice. Eugenics was also a popular theme in 1920s Italy, but more in the mode of pronatalist measures rather than efforts to screen out the genetically "unfit." That changed, however, with the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis. In 1938, Italy also promulgated racial laws that led to the dismissal of Jewish academics. Among the emigrants was Fermi; his political indifference had been largely shielded under Corbino's powerful patronage, but inasmuch as his wife, Laura, was Jewish, he decided to move to the United States following his receipt of the 1938 Nobel Prize. There, among other accomplishments, he headed the creation of the first successful nuclear reactor in association with the Manhattan Project.

Richard Beyler

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTHROPOLOGY; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUTARKY; AXIS, THE; CROCE, BENEDETTO; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANNES/ (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HEALTH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MEDICINE; MILITARISM; MODERNITY; NATURE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PROGRESS; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SS, THE; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; UNIVERSITIES; WAR

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SD, THE

Created in 1932 as the intelligence service of the SS, the SD (Sicherheitsdienst) eventually became the primary such agency of the Third Reich. By 1936 it was wedded to the national detective police force (Sicherheitspolizei) that included the Gestapo and the Kriminalpolizei, through which it shaped social control, crime fighting, and national security policies. Under the leadership of young Nazi intellectuals, it also sought to monitor and shape all aspects of the public mind through influence in education, social and political research and publication, cultural life, and the shaping and dissemination of "population policy." Thus it played a key role in the planning and execution of Nazi programs of genocide and ethnic cleansing.

George Browder

See Also: DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM

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SEARCHLIGHT

International antifascist magazine that has been published monthly since 1975. Its origins can be traced back to the early 1960s and the antifascist operations of the direct-action 62 Group. *Searchlight* actively investigates fascist and racist activities, scoring particular successes with its "shut down the peddlers of hate" campaign, which exposed the white music scene to name but one. It is the premier antifascist source of today, gathering and disseminating up-to-date information on fascism to media outlets, trades unions, and the

government. It was described by Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal as the best English-language publication of its kind anywhere in the world.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; RACISM; ROCK MUSIC; WHITE NOISE; WIESENTHAL, SIMON

Reference

<http://www.searchlightmagazine.com>.

SECULARIZATION

Interwar fascism had a complex relationship with the process of secularization. Unlike most right-wing ideologies, fascism was, in the main, a secular political system, though one that flirted with concepts of the sacred. To act as a resacralizing counterpoint to the materialism, rationalism, egalitarianism, and determinism manifest in liberal and Marxist political and economic systems, fascists turned to appeals to higher concepts, especially “the nation,” which they enriched through concepts such as the New Man and a renewed heroic mentality; philosophical tropes of vitalism, idealism, and the will to power; and an aesthetic that inspired awe toward the idea of the nation. Broadly, this was in order to generate an ideology that would transcend the sense of individualism manifest in secular and bourgeois culture by developing a new, “liturgical” form of politics and the generation of nationalized “civic religions.” Fascisms were, therefore, ideological systems that generated structures of nationalized myths that held the power to inculcate within the individual a level of faith and transcendence in the wider movement. Consequently, they synthesized a messianic aspect of “mission” and a sense of nationalized redemption with a “this-worldly” ideology. In this process they can be seen as conforming to a far wider trend for modern ideologies that sacralize politics in response to secularization and modernity—traditions which, for example, can also be seen in the rituals of the French Revolution and the public displays and leadership cults of Soviet communism. In order to achieve this, fascists sought to destroy, to subvert, or to reduce to a secondary aspect other religions—in the main Christianity, though also aspects of pre-Christian religious structures—in these projects, and often incorporated traditional religious rituals and narratives into their own

public semiotics. This co-option of a Christian semiotic was especially visible in the Falangist movement, the Romanian Iron Guard, the Croatian Ustasha, and the Afrikaner Ossawabrandweg.

In addition to this, the nationalized sense of the suffering and sacrifice of World War I formed a reservoir of mythopoeic resources for the interwar fascist movements. In Fascist Italy, the regime sought to build on a historicism from Mazzini and the *Risorgimento* in order to generate a new sense of an Italian civic religion, augmented especially through memories of the Battle of Caporetto. That event literally became the “Italian Golgotha” for some Italians, typical of resacralization through the suffering of war experiences. In the period 1923–1926, when Italian Fascism was consolidating its power, the use of sacralized politics was especially prevalent. One key ideologue of this period was Giovanni Gentile, who synthesized the ideal of a moral revolution from the Mazzini era with the Fascist project, and who provided an intellectual backdrop for the resacralization of politics in Fascist Italy. The various “civic religions” of fascism were little more than simulacra of religious faith, yet, no matter how hideous to our sensibilities, they should be understood as attempts by their protagonists to generate a new sense of moral consciousness—albeit one predicated on deeply flawed moral precepts. Consequently, fascisms should not be viewed as “genuine” religious systems but rather as modern political religions that emerge from and maintain a sense of collective sociopolitical crisis, necessarily eschew political and cultural senses of stability, and are the antithesis to thought systems that develop states of community open to all.

Paul Jackson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ARYANISM; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPORETTO; CHRISTIANITY; COMMUNITY; CROATIA; EGALITARIANISM; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; INDIVIDUALISM; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; OSSAWABRANDWEG, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; *RISORGIMENTO*, THE; ROMANIA; SOUL; SOUTH AFRICA; SOVIET UNION, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; USTASHA; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; VOLUNTARISM; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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SERBS, THE

Serbian fascism is epitomized by the right-wing movement Zbor (Rally), founded in 1935 by Dimitrije Ljotić. Zbor was the outcome of the unification of a number of profascist Yugoslav organizations, including Jugoslovenska Akcija (Yugoslav Action), which operated mainly in Croatia; Boj (Battle), based in Slovenia; and a group of Serbian journalists and writers assembled around the Belgrade-based right-wing publications *Zbor*, *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*), and *Buđenje* (*Awakening*). In 1937 the movement was formally joined by the local German fascist organization Kulturbund, which operated among Serbia's *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic German) community in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina. Although Zbor started out as a Yugoslav movement (its full title was the Yugoslav Popular Movement Zbor), its sphere of influence soon became confined to Serbia, especially in the aftermath of the election debacle in the winter of 1935. Zbor's political program consisted of a blend of Italian Fascism, German Nazism, and Orthodox Christian fundamentalism. Ljotić spoke of "the people" as an "organic being" that must abandon individualism, parliamentary democracy, communism, and other legacies of the Enlightenment and modernity. He argued that the nation must rally round a charismatic leader (preferably the king from the Karađorđević dynasty) and return to its religious and cultural traditions. Leaders of Zbor advocated a strong state based on the categories of "God, King and *domaćin* [that is, *pater familias*]," in which the teaching of Orthodox Christianity and Serbian peasant traditions would provide the main organizing principles. Zbor's uncompromising antimodernist stance was justified and rationalized by reference to a global international Jewish-Masonic-communist conspiracy against Serbs and other Orthodox Christians.

In the 1930s, Zbor's base was confined to students of the University of Belgrade (where the organization even had its own restaurant), the urban middle classes, and the Orthodox clergy. Zbor was also popular among the Devotionalists, a conservative Orthodox Christian evangelical movement that operated in the 1920s and 1930s under the patronage of a controversial Serbian

nationalist theologian, Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović (1880–1956). The clerical nationalist teachings of Bishop Velimirović strongly influenced the religious component of Zbor's fascist ideology. Zbor was for the most part an unpopular political movement. In the parliamentary elections of 1935 and 1938, Ljotić's organization, whose membership never exceeded a couple of thousand, attracted less than 1 percent of the vote and failed to win a single parliamentary seat. Most Serbs rejected Zbor because its ideology was considered to be too close to Italian Fascism and German Nazism. The late 1930s were a time of widespread support for Western powers among the Serbs, accompanied by an intense distrust of Germany and its supporters.

Before World War II, Zbor's *modus operandi* consisted mainly of public rallies and the publication of overtly fascist and anti-Semitic newspapers and magazines such as *Otadžbina* (*Fatherland*), *Naš Put* (*Our Path*), *Novi Put* (*The New Path*), *Bilten JNP Zbor* (*Bulletin of the Yugoslav Popular Movement Zbor*), and a German-language publication, *Die Erwache* (*The Awakening*), aimed at Serbia's *Volksdeutsche* community. As a profoundly antidemocratic movement, Zbor was subjected to regular police intimidation in the prewar years. Its assets were frequently confiscated, rallies interrupted, and prominent members arrested, especially after 1940, when the movement was officially outlawed by the authorities. During the German occupation of Serbia (1941–1945), Zbor and its military wing, the Srpski Dobrovoljački Korpus (SDK; Serbian Volunteer Force), were Serbia's most ardent collaborationist organizations. Members of the SDK fought alongside the Germans against partisan insurgents and were even involved in the organization of retaliatory executions of civilians. Ljotić founded the Serbian equivalent of the Hitler Youth and opened a prison camp in the town of Sremska Palanka, the aim of which was to reindoctrinate Serbia's communist youth. Also, a number of prominent members of Zbor obtained high positions in the Serbian collaborationist government of General Milan Nedić.

Zbor ceased to exist after 1945. Many of its members were executed by Tito's partisans, while others fled abroad. Strongly pro-Ljotić movements continued to operate among the Serbian expatriate communities in Germany, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. In the early 1990s, the publishing house Nova Iskra (New Spark), devoted to the promotion of the works of Dimitrije Ljotić, was established in Belgrade. Since 2000, political ideas similar to those once propounded by Zbor have been promoted by a number of relatively marginal Christian right-wing youth

organizations, most notably by Otacastveni Pokret Obraz (Patriotic Movement Dignity) and Srpski Sabor “Dveri” (Serbian Assembly “Dveri”).

Jovan Byford

SEE ALSO ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CROATIA; DEMOCRACY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; LIBERALISM; LJOTIĆ, DIMITRIJE; MARXISM; MODERNITY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROGRESS; STATE, THE; STOJADINOVIC, MILAN; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; YUGOSLAVIA

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SERRANO SÚÑER, RAMÓN (1901–2003)

Franco's brother-in-law, nicknamed the Cuñadísimo (Supreme Brother-in-law), Serrano Súñer was the architect of the Francoist New State and simultaneously interior minister and foreign secretary (October 1940 to September 1942)—Spain's most powerful man between 1938 and 1942. Having escaped Madrid early in the Civil War, he reached Franco's Salamanca headquarters in February 1937, where he masterminded the fusion of the nationalist coalition into a single party, FET y de las JONS, and laid the foundations of the regime. Pro-Axis, he was portrayed as a Nazi enthusiast who pushed an unwilling Franco toward Hitler during World War II—a depiction successfully debunked by recent historiography. After 1942 he withdrew from politics, dying in September 2003 at the age of 101.

Sid Lowe

See Also: AXIS, THE; FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GERMANY; HITLER,

ADOLF; NAZISM; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SEVEREN, GEORGES (“JORIS”) VAN (1894–1940)

Belgian far-right politician, leader of the Verbond van Dietse Nationaal Solidaristen (Verdinaso; League of Pan-Netherlandic Solidarists), a fascistic party. From 1921 until 1929 he was elected to the Belgian parliament as a member of an anti-Belgian Flemish nationalist party. In 1931 he took the lead of the *Verdinaso*, which initially agitated for the dismantling of the Belgium state and the annexation of Flanders to The Netherlands, and which subsequently worked toward a link-up of Belgium (including the French-speaking part, Wallonia) with The Netherlands, Luxembourg, and parts of northern France. On the day of the German invasion of Belgium he was arrested by Belgian state security agents and deported to France, where he was executed by the French military (in Abbeville). One part of Verdinaso collaborated with the German occupation; the other part joined the resistance movement.

Bruno de Wever

See Also: BELGIUM; DEGRELLE, LÉON; FRANCE; GERMANY; HOORNAERT, PAUL; NATIONALISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; REXISM; WORLD WAR II

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SEXISM: See: EMPLOYMENT; FAMILY, THE; FEMINISM; SEXUALITY; WOMEN

SEXUALITY

The Italian Fascist approach to sexual matters was characterized by a double morality that allowed men to have the extramarital sexual experiences that were precluded to women while hiding nonconformist behavior under the mask of a formal adherence to traditional morality. For this reason the Fascists neither opposed regulated prostitution—as prewar reformers had done—nor openly exalted it, preferring to stick to the traditional interpretation of prostitution as a necessary evil. They certainly did not subscribe to the definition of some Futurists who claimed that prostitution was a form of female sexual liberation. Instead, the 1923 “Mussolini regulation” reinstated an authoritarian approach to the problem, offering male clients an illusion of safety by forcing prostitutes to undergo medical checks for venereal disease.

After the seizure of power in 1922, and especially with the onset of the process of “normalization” after 1926, the Fascists gradually eliminated dissenting opinions either by using censorship and prohibitions or by taking control of existing activities and modifying their objectives. Thus the *Rassegna di studi sessuali* (*Journal of Sexual Studies*), founded by Aldo Mieli in 1921 with the aim of disseminating in Italy the results of German sexology and providing serious information about sexual matters, gradually lost its original character. It stopped publishing articles about controversial topics and was turned into an instrument of the Fascist pronatalist propaganda. With the Lateran Treaty of 1929 between the Catholic Church and the Fascist state, the regime formally adopted Catholic doctrine as the basis of its legislation regarding the family, sexuality, and other moral issues. Church and state joined forces in promoting large families and opposing any form of birth control. Contraceptives were outlawed and abortion became the object of an important—albeit not very successful—repressive campaign. The increase of the population had been the major aim of Italian Fascist population policies since Mussolini’s 1927 Ascension Day speech. Convinced that “number means power,” the regime invested much of its prestige and resources in this campaign, and both the carrot and the stick were employed to promote early marriages and big families: bachelors paid a surplus tax, fathers of big families were preferred over others for employment and career opportunities, and workers received financial

awards if they had large families. The propaganda directed at women was quite effective: it convinced many women that by giving birth to children they were fulfilling their duty as loyal female citizens of the new Fascist state. Most of the measures, however, were directed at men, thus confirming the Fascist belief that the male initiative was decisive in sexual matters, where women supposedly had only a passive role.

Compared with Italy, where the Roaring Twenties lasted only briefly, in the German Weimar Republic the public debate about sexuality reached more radical conclusions, and, generally speaking, the dominant ideology was liberal. Women received the vote in 1919, information about birth control and contraceptives was readily available, laws against abortion were made less severe, and sexual dissidents gained an important role in public debate. Moreover, a highly visible network of bars, publications, and organizations developed in the major German cities and allowed homosexual men and women to express their sexual preferences. Already in 1897, Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) had founded the Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres Komitee (Scientific Humanitarian Committee) with the intention of promoting homosexual emancipation and combating discrimination. The Institut für Sexualwissenschaft (Sexology Institute) founded in Berlin in 1919 continued this tradition by expanding scientific knowledge of human sexuality and endorsing sexual reform.

This rapid and radical process of modernization, however, generated a conservative backlash as a large part of public opinion became more and more worried about declining birth rates, increasing divorce rates, and rampant homosexuality, and complained that the decline of family values was contributing to the more general crisis of the German nation. One of the major targets of criticism was the 1927 law that abolished state-regulated prostitution, granting more rights to prostitutes and severely limiting the powers of the morals police. According to conservative Catholics and Protestants, the law showed the republic’s unwillingness to combat immorality and would result in a rapid increase of venereal disease. In its early phases the Nazi movement tried to exploit these fears by presenting itself as the defender of traditional notions of sexual morality, but soon after Hitler’s seizure of power, plans for the reintroduction of licensed brothels emerged, and streetwalkers became the target of ever more vicious repression. Completely disregarding traditional moral objections, by September 1939 the regime was openly promoting the creation of brothels under police control in an attempt to stop the spread of venereal

diseases among the military and to provide the large groups of foreign workers with a sexual outlet.

The racist context of these decisions emerges clearly in the creation of special brothels for foreign workers and in the severe punishments handed down for sexual relations between foreign workers and German women. The basis for similar legislation had been laid in the 1935 Nuremberg *Blutschutzgesetz*, the legislation that forbade “mixed marriages” and extramarital sexual relations between Jews and persons of “German or related blood,” incriminating formally only the male partners but often also subjecting women to harsh disciplinary measures, especially if they were adulterous. In comparison, Italian racism had a different approach: in the colonies after 1937 the law punished the cohabitation of Italians and indigenous women—which was considered a threat to the superiority of the Italian colonialists—but did not criminalize occasional sexual relations. Racial and gender stereotypes contributed to the creation of an image of African women as willing victims of the sexual lust of the Italian colonialists.

The sexual policies of the French Vichy regime expressed a reaction to the feminist and unruly *femme moderne* who had emerged during the Third Republic. Strongly influenced by pronatalist and profamily pressure groups, to whom a 1942 law attributed a formal role in deciding about family issues, the Vichy regime tried to stop the decline of the birth rate and to convince women that their patriotic duty was to give birth to children. Abortion was punished more severely than before, and in 1943 a woman convicted of having carried out abortions was even guillotined. In France, as in Italy, regulated prostitution was deemed necessary to control the sexual behavior of men and women.

Like many other countries in the interwar period, including democratic France, Belgium, and The Netherlands, Nazi Germany introduced measures aimed at promoting an increase in the birthrate. The Nazi regime gave a specific role in profamilist propaganda to the Reichsbund der Kinderreichen (National League of Large Families), which had been created shortly after World War I in an attempt to counterbalance the influence of the many birth-control organizations active in the Weimar Republic. Its major objectives were to subvert demographic decline and to uphold traditional family values. The provision of material assistance to families and of practical advice to mothers and children was the task of the organizations falling under the NS-Volkwohlfahrt. In addition, the state created a system of child allowances and grants and helped big families in finding housing, raising the necessary resources by taxing unmarried persons and

childless couples. All of these measures were aimed exclusively at those who were considered racially and socially “fit.” “Asocials” and “racial aliens” were instead subjected to an array of discriminatory measures by the Nazis, who were intent on creating a perfect and racially pure *Volksgemeinschaft*, a community in which there was no place for those who were defined as “inferior” human beings. In defining the categories of “asocial” and “racially alien,” the Nazis depended heavily on theories of racial hygiene elaborated by members of the eugenics movement since before 1933, when scientists like Alfred Ploetz and Fritz Lenz had promoted notions of “Aryan” superiority and proposed the elimination of “unfit” elements. The 1933 *Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses*—Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring—put these ideas into practice, leading to the compulsory sterilization of some 320,000 persons between 1934 and September 1939.

In Italy, the rules imposed on young women were much more severe than those applying to young men: it was considered normal and even necessary for young men to have premarital sexual relations, and their violation of Catholic morality was therefore easily excused. Women, on the other hand, were often blamed if they surrendered to male insistence. Unwed mothers and their children were often treated as social outcasts, while it was relatively easy for their male partners to escape all responsibility. Especially in small villages, unwed mothers were treated with mistrust, and they were accused of having offended the honor of their family and of their community. A 1927 law obliging the Italian Opera Nazionale per la Protezione della Maternità e dell’Infanzia (ONMI; National Foundation for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy) to assist unwed mothers with the aim of combating child abandonment was therefore severely criticized and scarcely implemented. In the countryside of central and northern Italy, however, premarital sexual relations were often tolerated, and pregnancies did not necessarily cause major problems: pregnancy was sometimes simply considered proof of the fertility of a woman and served to convince a couple to anticipate the date of their marriage. In large cities like Milan and Turin, a more secular attitude often annulled at least in part the effects of moral condemnation.

Notwithstanding all the measures taken in the context of the “battle for births,” the Italian Fascists failed in reversing the trend of a declining birthrate. Unforeseen consequences of the laws against birth control in Italy were the increase in the number of children born out of wedlock and a generalized recourse to abortion

as a method of birth control. Female networks of support helped women to find physicians, midwives, or others who would carry out abortions; even though abortion was considered a crime against the health of the Italian nation and as such was severely punished, persecution was not frequent.

In spite of the prevalence of public support for a return of women to a more passive and dependent role, which also inspired opposition to the presence of women in the labor force, both in Italy and in Germany fascist ideas regarding women's role in society were ambiguous. In Italy, attempts to mobilize women (and especially young girls) in the Fascist mass movements met with opposition from the Catholic Church and from conservative parents who considered the participation of their daughters in public events inappropriate and a potential danger to their honor. In Germany participation in the Bund Deutscher Mädel—the Fascist youth organization for girls—allowed girls to escape from parental surveillance and gave them the impression that they could make their own contribution to the national cause. Opposition to the strict norms proposed by the Fascist regime and the Catholic Church came also from other sources and was especially strong among young Italians. Jazz music, modern dances, and American movies and literature all contributed to create an alternative to the more austere way of life propagated by the regime, but did not become the object of the same level of repression as in Nazi Germany, where young people belonging to dissident groups like the Edelweißpiraten (Edelweiss Pirates) even risked their lives. The Gestapo and the Hitler Youth were, in fact, well aware of the challenge that these groups posed to the regime's aspirations for totalitarian control over youth by promoting cultural, political alternatives. At the same time, the Hitler Youth contributed to the spread of sexual experimentation among young people by undermining the authority of parents. Thus Nazi efforts to impose on youth a more severe morality failed, and court records show an increase of teenage promiscuity, sexual offenses, and venereal disease from the mid-1930s onward. The inability of the regime to channel teenage sexuality became even more clear with the outbreak of the war, which offered young people more opportunities to escape public control and parental surveillance.

A comparison between Italian Fascist and German Nazi sexual policies shows that while in Italy the regime never even attempted to elaborate an autonomous sexual ideology, in Germany, after the initial period in which the regime sided with the conservative backlash against the “moral corruption” of the Weimar Repub-

lic, the Nazis did develop their own views, increasingly moving away from the mere repression of sexuality. Nazi leaders like Heinrich Himmler in fact proposed a more positive vision of sex, but reserved it for the exclusive enjoyment of the “racially fit” and gave it the political objective of strengthening the German nation. Moreover, Nazi repression of sexuality was founded first and foremost on racial and political considerations rather than on moral or religious values. Both in Italy and in Germany, racism and sexism played a role in sexual discourse, but only in Germany did racist ideology become the decisive element.

Bruno Wanrooij

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; ASOCIALS; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EDELWEISS PIRATES, THE; EUGENICS; FAMILY, THE; FEMINISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; HEALTH; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOMOSEXUALITY; ITALY; MEDICINE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RELIGION; TOTALITARIANISM; VICHY; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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SEYSS-INQUART, ARTHUR (1892–1946)

Leading Austrian Nazi who held positions of power in Austria and The Netherlands. After taking part in World War I, the attorney Seyss-Inquart joined

nationalist groups (Deutsch-Österreichischer Volksbund, Steirischer Heimatschutz) in Austria in the mid-1920s and the NSDAP in 1931. He played a prominent role with the annexation of Austria in 1938 and became Reich governor in the Ostmark in 1938. A year later he was second most senior leader in occupied Poland and became Reich commissioner in The Netherlands, where he was responsible for the deportation of the Jews, for the plundering of the country, and for the persecution of the resistance. Sentenced to death in the Nuremberg Trials, he was executed on 16 October 1946.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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SHOAH: See HOLOCAUST, THE
SICHERHEITSDIENST of the *Reichsführer SS*: See SD, THE

SIEG HEIL!

Rallying cry meaning “Hail to victory!” used at Nazi meetings and mass rallies. After Hitler had completed a speech, it was a common practice for Rudolf Hess to lead the crowd in chanting the words rapturously over and over again.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: HESS, RUDOLF; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; SALUTES

SIMA, HORIA (1907–1993)

Successor to C. Z. Codreanu, first leader of the Romanian Iron Guard. Sima organized the guard after it had been banned under King Charles II (1938). The execution of Codreanu on 29–30 November 1938 forced Sima to flee to Germany. From there he continued to coordinate the struggle against the king in Romania. On 6 September 1940, Sima was officially appointed as Codreanu’s successor. He served as the vice president of the Council of Ministers under the short-lived Legionary (that is, Guardist) State in Romania (1940–1941), organized German resistance against the Russians in Romania (1944), and died in exile in Spain in 1993.

Philip Vanhaelemeersch

See Also: CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; GERMANY; LEGION OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, THE; ROMANIA; SOVIET UNION, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SINTI: See ROMA

SKINHEAD FASCISM

The diverse currents of fascism espoused by minoritarian elements within the international skinhead youth subculture. Since the 1980s, skinheads have been a highly visible component of the broader neofascist milieu and have been responsible for a significant portion of the opportunistic street violence—as opposed to the well-planned terrorist violence—associated with the radical Right in recent years. The original skinheads evolved out of one of the subgroups within the British “Mod” subculture, specifically the “hard Mods,” who had gradually adopted a more masculine sartorial style



Far-right skinheads protesting in Prague against a meeting of the G-8 finance ministers. Neofascist and neo-Nazi ideas and music have met with some receptiveness in a particular skinhead subculture. (Reuters/Corbis)

than the foppish Mod majority. The first skinheads appeared in late 1966 or 1967 and carried the rough working-class style of the hard Mods to even greater lengths. The quintessential skinhead “look” consisted of closely cropped hair, Fred Perry shirts, suspenders (braces), shortened and sometimes bleached jeans, and Doc Martens work boots, though this uniform has since undergone a variety of subtle modifications, including complete head-shaving and the addition of “bomber jackets.” The early “skins” preferred ska music and sometimes hung out in Jamaican clubs, but they generally disliked blacks, South Asians, homosexuals, and “middle-class” hippies and students, were often uncritically patriotic, and were periodically involved in “Paki-bashing” (physical assaults on Asian immigrants) and violence against other despised out-groups. By the

turn of the 1970s, however, only a few remnants of these original skins still survived.

Paradoxically, the skinhead subculture re-emerged in the wake of the mid-1970s rise of the punk counterculture, an avant-garde, taboo-breaking youth movement that was intrinsically ironic and antiauthoritarian and, to the extent that it was consciously political, tended toward libertinism, libertarianism, left liberalism, or anarchism. Although punk was largely a middle-class youth movement, punks adopted a “tough” and menacing image, played very aggressive and primitive rock ‘n’ roll, engaged in rowdy behavior at gigs, and affected the sort of antibourgeois, working-class “street” ethos that inadvertently appealed to some genuinely violent blue collar thugs. So it was that the gigs of certain “street punk” bands, notably Sham 69, soon attracted

contingents of soccer “hooligans” who adopted traditional skinhead garb, gave Nazi salutes, and attacked punk rockers. Later, a musical subcategory of punk rock with gruff vocals and soccer-style choruses, known as “Oi!” (“hey!” in Cockney slang), was embraced by these neoskinheads, who increasingly separated themselves from the mainstream of the punk scene.

Among the chief reasons for this subcultural separation was the overt politicization of the punk scene itself. In response to the appearance of violent working-class youths at some punk gigs, the Socialist Worker’s Party and other sectarian left-wing groups created front organizations like Rock Against Racism (RAR) to rally left-leaning and antiracist punks against the new “fascist” danger. Far-right organizations (especially the British Movement) then responded by making increasing efforts to mobilize and recruit neoskinheads, in part by creating front organizations of their own, such as the Young National Front’s Rock Against Communism (RAC). Although most punks and skins ignored self-styled political organizers, the activist elements within the punk scene became increasingly associated with the Left, whereas the activist elements within the new skinhead scene increasingly adhered to the far Right. It would be wrong to conclude, however, that the majority of skinheads have since adopted overtly fascist ideologies or become affiliated with fascist or far-right political movements and parties. The most that can be said is that the skinhead subculture tends to be a “macho” milieu whose members are prone to violence, whatever their political ideology, and that many skinheads have unreflective nationalistic and conservative social values.

In the course of the 1980s and 1990s, a significant minority of skinheads did in fact become associated with fascist or far-right organizations. In Britain, a decisive step in the creation of an organized fascist skinhead scene was the establishment of the White Noise record label in the early 1980s, whose initial release was the re-formed band Skrewdriver’s “White Power” EP. This label was perhaps the first to enable openly neo-Nazi, neofascist, racist, and ultranationalist skinhead bands to circumvent censorship, release records, and attract a larger national and international following; it served as an inspiration to fascist sympathizers in other countries. Soon after, Herbert Egoldt’s Rock-O-Rama label in Germany began releasing right-wing skinhead bands along with diverse punk bands, and in France, Gaël Bodilis of the left-leaning fascist group Troisième Voie (Third Way) founded the Rebelles Européennes “Oi!” label in Brest. Meanwhile, shifts in the British National Front’s leadership and ideology, away from

barely disguised neo-Nazism and toward a radical left-fascist Third Position doctrine, caused Skrewdriver’s vocalist Ian Stuart Donaldson and other Nazi skins to break away and form their own organization, label, and publication, called Blood and Honour.

Since that time, neo-Nazi and neofascist labels have cropped up all over the industrialized and industrializing world, wherever the skinhead subculture has been transplanted, including in Eastern Europe, Russia, Japan, and parts of Latin America. In 1994 the Canadian George Burdi co-founded Resistance Records, a North American label that released skinhead “Oi!” records along with “white power,” hard rock, metal, and metallic hardcore bands; it was then purchased by the late William Pierce’s National Alliance. Certain types of underground music have therefore served as an effective mechanism for recruiting alienated youth into radical right politics, and during the past two decades individuals and organizations associated with the fascist skinhead milieu have committed numerous acts of violence against immigrants and “undesirables.” Perhaps the most notorious of these actions involved setting fire to various buildings housing Turkish immigrants in Germany, which resulted in several deaths.

In response, groups of so-called traditional (1960s-inspired), nonracist (such as the Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice, or SHARP skins), and left-wing skinheads (known as Redskins) have arisen to contest the subcultural influence of fascist skins, whom they refer to as “boneheads.” Yet most skinheads continue to eschew organized politics of all types, in part because they tend to be much too unruly to follow orders or to engage in sustained political activism. Skinhead fascism thus remains a minority phenomenon, both within the neofascist and the skinhead subcultural milieux. Nevertheless, in recent years various types of music with far-right themes have become more mainstream, having spread far beyond the skinhead subculture and other so-called *Rechtsrock* genres.

Jeffrey M. Bale

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ARYANISM; BLACK METAL; BOLSHEVISM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CARTO, WILLIS; CLASS; FOOTBALL/SOCCER; GERMANY; HOMOSEXUALITY; IMMIGRATION; MARXISM; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (UK); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROCK MUSIC; RUSSIA; SALUTES; SKREWDRIVER; THIRD POSITIONISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE NOISE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; XENOPHOBIA

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SKORZENY, OTTO (1908–1975)

Hitler's personal bodyguard and world-famous Nazi adventurer. Skorzeny was born in Vienna and joined the Freikorps when studying engineering. He was later a member of the Heimwehr before becoming a Nazi in 1930. In the 1930s he worked in business management but was appointed Hitler's bodyguard in 1939. He went on to serve with the Waffen-SS in France and Russia. In April 1943 he was appointed a colonel in the security services. In September of that year he won worldwide fame for leading an airborne raid by glider to release and take to freedom Mussolini, who had been imprisoned high in the Apennines after being forced out of office by the Grand Council of Fascism. The rescue involved a takeoff from a rocky field. Skorzeny was also involved in the aftermath of the abortive July Plot, organizing the reassertion of Hitler's authority. In October 1944 he kidnapped the Hungarian Regent Horthy to prevent him carrying out his intention of surrendering his country to the advancing Russians. Skorzeny was arrested by U.S. troops in May 1945 and put on trial but acquitted. He was subsequently arrested by the German authorities but escaped in July 1948. Using an assumed name he set up a secret organization (Die Spinne; "The Spider") that is said to have been formed to help his former SS colleagues escape from Germany. Eventually he settled in Spain and set up in business.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: FREIKORPS, THE; GERMANY; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; HEIMWEHR; HITLER, ADOLF; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; ITALY; JULY PLOT, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; ODESSA; REMER, OTTO-ERNST; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SS, THE; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SKREWDRIVER

Formed in 1977 by Ian Stuart Donaldson, Skrewdriver was the seminal Nazi rock band and the driving force behind the burgeoning "white noise" music scene in the 1980s. Donaldson was killed in a car crash in 1993. His influence on the white power music scene continues to be widely felt.

Graham Macklin

See Also: NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROCK MUSIC; SKINHEAD FASCISM; WHITE NOISE; WHITE SUPREMACISM

Reference

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SLAVE LABOR: See FORCED LABOR

SLAVS, THE (and Germany)

Denotes a variety of ethnicities and nations in Central, Eastern, and South-East Europe whose tongues belong to the Slavic language group: "the Slavs" were seen by the Nazis as inferior peoples. In comparison to the Jews however, they occupied an indeterminate position in the Nazi racial hierarchy. They were collectively or separately characterized as *fremdvölkische* ("nationally alien"), *Untermenschen*, or "Asiatic," and constituted the majority of victims of Nazi annihilation, deportation, and exploitation policies from 1938 to 1945. Nevertheless, representatives of all three Slavic subgroups—Western, Southern, and Eastern—were, at one point or another, accepted as German allies. A number of Nazi publications considered parts (and some all) of the Slavs as belonging to

the original “Nordic” or “Indogermanic” peoples. The Third Reich’s attack on Eastern Europe may have been primarily determined by motives other than anti-Slavism, such as anti-Bolshevism and the quest for new *Lebensraum*. Yet implementation of the latter aims accounts only partly for the deaths of the millions of Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, and other Slavs who perished not only in combat against, but primarily under the occupation of, the Wehrmacht and the SS during World War II.

Nineteenth-century German public opinion and research on Eastern Europe and Russia showed, along with certain russophile tendencies, strong currents of anti-Slavism that continued earlier negative stereotypes about Poles and Russians. Views of Slavs as “unhistorical,” “cultureless,” or “barbaric” were voiced by representatives of both Right and Left—including Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. In the *völkisch* discourse of late Imperial Germany, Slavs were described as “racially mixed” or “mongolized.” A significant minority of nationalist and racist publicists with influence on the Nazi movement, including Houston Stuart Chamberlain, did, however, write positively about the Slavs. The Slavs played a relatively minor role in interwar German racist discourse in general and Nazi racial thinking in particular. Both official statements and unofficial procedures of the Third Reich regarding Slavic people continued to be marked by contradictions and shifts right down to 1945. Although the Czechs were viewed by Hitler in the 1920s more negatively than the Poles, German occupation policies in the *Reichsprotektorat* of Czechoslovakia were more permissive and less violent than those in the *Generalgouvernement* and other annexed Polish territories. Whereas “only” 40,000 or so Czechs perished during Nazi occupation, the overwhelming majority of the 1.8 to 1.9 million Polish civilian victims of World War II were killed by Germans. In spite of manifest SS anti-Polonism, Himmler’s *Generalplan Ost* of 1942 made a distinction between *eindeutschungsfähige* Poles (“those who can be Germanized”) and Poles who were to be deported to Siberia within the next decades. Earlier, the greater part of the Czech population had become regarded as assimilable by the Nazis, while the Slovaks had been allowed to form their own satellite state.

Whereas in the Balkans Orthodox Serbs were among the nations least respected by Hitler, Orthodox Bulgarians (seen as being of Turkic origin) occupied a relatively high position in the Nazi racial hierarchy and were referred to by Joseph Goebbels as “friends.” Bulgaria was permitted to abstain from participation in the attack on the Soviet Union and to pursue an independent policy

with regard to its Jews. The Soviet people were labeled “beasts,” “animals,” “half-monkeys,” “hordes,” and the like. Among the approximately 10 million Soviet civilians who perished under the Nazis, there were 3.3 million POWs, most of them Eastern Slavs. Yet, as the German advance into Russia halted, the Waffen-SS recruited, among other soldiers from the USSR, a specifically Ukrainian division (“Galicia”) and a Byelorussian unit. Impressed by the phenotype of the Ukrainians, Hitler, in August 1942, proposed the assimilation of Ukrainian women. Toward the end of the war, German troops were assisted by General Andrei Vlasov’s Russian Popular Army of Liberation, consisting of tens of thousands of Russian POWs and emigres. The Cossacks—though being Eastern Slavs—were even seen as “Germanic.” Shortly before his suicide, Hitler described the “Slavic race” as stronger than the Germanic one—whose destiny it was to succumb.

Andreas Umland

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; BULGARIA; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CULTURE; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”); EXPANSIONISM; *GENERALGOUVERNEMENT*/GENERAL GOVERNMENT, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; *LEBENSRAUM*; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; NAZISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SERBS, THE; SLOVAKIA; SOVIET UNION, THE; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TURANISM; *UNTERMENSCHEN*; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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SLAVS, THE (and Italy)

Under the interwar Fascist regime, Italy’s Slavic minorities suffered discrimination as a result of the state’s Italianization campaign. Although unification incorporated autochthonous populations of Slovenes (in the

Veneto) and Croats (mainly in the Molise) into the new Italian state, after World War I the size of these populations expanded as a result of Italy's acquisition of former Habsburg lands in Friuli, Venezia Giulia, Istria, and Fiume. Estimates by Slovene scholars put the number of ethnic Slavs in these new Italian provinces at 350,000 Slovenes and 200,000 Croats.

Anti-South Slav feeling under Fascism drew on deep-rooted prejudices that contrasted a "superior" Italian *civiltà* ("civilization") to the "barbaric" and backward culture of the Slavs. These attitudes became particularly pronounced in the context of the Italian irredentist movement, which claimed eastern Adriatic territories on the grounds that they bore a historical Italian cultural imprint. Many Italians in the new ("redeemed") eastern provinces expressed sympathy for the Fascist movement well before 1922, in part because local Fascist squads targeted the associations of the ethnic minorities, together with those of leftists. Fascist squads in Trieste burned down the Narodni Dom, or National House, of the Slovene minority in 1920, for example, in an action emblematic of this "frontier Fascism." In 1923, the Gentile Reform eliminated the minority language schools that had existed under the Habsburgs for Slovenes and Croats. Minority language newspapers and associations were shut down, and the regime went as far as to forcibly Italianize personal names.

The suppression of the political and cultural life of Italy's Slovene and Croat populations prompted some of the earliest forms of armed resistance to Fascism in the 1920s by the groups Borba and TIGR (standing for Trieste-Istria-Gorizia-Rijeka). When Italy attacked Yugoslavia in April 1941, there thus already existed an underground network of Slavic resistance that would be joined by the Yugoslav communists in fighting against Fascism. The Italian military occupation of what became known as the Province of Lubiana (Ljubljana) and of Dalmatia led to widespread rebellion on the part of local populations. That, in turn, prompted Italian forces to intern and often mistreat Slavic civilians in camps on the grounds of antiguerrilla measures. The only Nazi extermination camp within Italy was established after 1943, with the complicity of local Italian Fascist authorities, at the Risiera di San Sabba (a former rice-processing plant) in Trieste. Of the estimated 3,000 persons executed at San Sabba, the majority were anti-Fascist Slavs.

At the end of World War II, both Italy and Yugoslavia claimed large parts of Venezia Giulia on ethnic grounds. Yugoslavia also cited the brutal policies that South Slavs had suffered under Fascism and the "blood sacrifice" made by Slovenes and Croats to "liberate" the

territory. After a bitter nine-year territorial dispute, the region was partitioned, with Slovenes remaining a minority in Italy and Italians a minority in Yugoslavia; the mass migration of Italians from Istria between 1945 and 1955 significantly diminished the Italian population in Yugoslavia.

Pamela Balling

See Also: AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; CIVILIZATION; CROATIA; DALMATIA; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; ROME; TRADITION; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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SLOGANS: See PROPAGANDA

SLOVAKIA

The first Slovak Republic existed as a nominally independent nation from 14 March 1939 until 8 May 1945, and in that time, as a clericalist authoritarian state with residues of democracy, it came under strong pressure to adopt National Socialist policies. The Slovak Republic was born essentially as a result of Hitler's decision, in March 1939, to occupy the territory left to the Czechoslovak state by the terms of the Munich agreement of September 1938. The prime minister of the autonomous region established in the wake of the Munich agreement, Msgr. Tiso, was summoned to Munich and offered independence by Hitler on 13 March. The following day the regional assembly declared Slovakia independent, and Tiso became president of the

new state. This move was very welcome to those Slovaks who had felt overruled by a hitherto fairly centralized Czechoslovak state system. Arguably the two parts of post-World War I Czechoslovakia were very different, which caused tensions between them. Bohemia and Moravia were more urbanized, industrialized, and secularized than strongly rural, agrarian, and Catholic Slovakia. The Slovak People's Party of Msgr. Andrej Hlinka, renamed the Hlinka Slovak People's Party (HSL'S) after his death, was an essentially conservative Catholic party (25 percent of its MPs, as well as its two successive leaders, were priests), with a more radical and anti-Semitic wing led by Vojtech Tuka that campaigned in the Prague parliament for Slovak autonomy. Although by no means a majority party, from 1939 onward the HSL'S, with its paramilitary Hlinka Guard and Hlinka Youth movement, was the core of what was in effect a one-party state.

The six-year history of "independent" Slovakia was a difficult one. Within a few months of its foundation, the state had to fight wars against Poland and Hungary over lost territory, and, surrounded as it was by the Axis powers, it became effectively a client state of the Greater German Reich. The Germans insisted that Tuka, prime minister after October 1939, replace Durcansky as foreign minister, and Mach, one of Tuka's leading supporters, was made minister of the interior. This had two effects: it put Tuka and the radical faction of his HSL'S, supported by the paramilitary Hlinka Guard, in a stronger position in the state. Consequently, Tuka sought to give the party and the state a strongly National Socialist policy. It also obliged Slovakia to accept German dictates in both foreign and domestic policy, most notably the establishment of German bases in the country, adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact and involvement in the war against the Soviet Union, and agreement to deport the country's Jewish population to concentration camps in Poland.

Tiso, who belonged to the more moderate wing of the HSL'S, resisted both of these trends, seeking to preserve genuine Slovak independence under difficult circumstances, though with less and less success as time went by. He had opposed the anti-Jewish law, Codex Judaicus, of September 1941, which assigned a 51 percent shareholding of Jewish businesses to Christians and imposed other disabilities on Jews, including loss of citizenship rights, and he stopped the deportation of Jews to Poland when he discovered their destination, Auschwitz. In the end, the bulk of Slovakia's Jewish population perished, despite the repeated protests of the Vatican and its nuncio, Burzio: of approximately 130,000 Jews who had lived in Slovakia before World

War II, some 60,000 died. In August 1944, following the unsuccessful uprising of the Slovak resistance led by the Slovak National Council, which included both communists and social/liberal democrats, German forces occupied Slovakia, and the deportations of the Jews resumed. By this time Russian troops had invaded the east of Slovakia, Ruthenia. In May 1945, Slovakia was liberated by the Red Army. Following the end of the war, Tiso was executed; Tuka died in prison.

Despite some discernible resemblance between the HSL'S and the Croatian Ustasha movement—that is, in that they were both fundamentally Catholic and seeking independent statehood for their people—and despite the presence of pro-Nazi elements in the HSL'S and the role played by the party's paramilitary wing, the Hlinka Guard, in the rounding up of Jews, the complex set of circumstances explained above demonstrates that the first Slovak Republic, unlike the Independent State of Croatia, was not fascist.

John Pollard

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; APPEASEMENT; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AXIS, THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CROATIA; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; NAZISM; PAPACY, THE; PARAMILITARISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; TISO, MGR. JÓSEF; TUKA, DR. VOJTECH; USTASHA; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

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SLUMP, THE: See WALL STREET CRASH, THE

SMETONA, ANTANAS (1874–1944)

Leading figure in the Lithuanian national movement and first president of Lithuania (1919–1920). In the 1920s, Smetona worked as a newspaper editor and uni-

versity lecturer and led a small opposition party, the Nationalist Union (Tautininkai). After a military putsch cut short parliamentary democracy in 1926, Smetona became president. Smetona altered the constitution to strengthen the presidency. He believed that democracy was alien to Lithuania, and he built an authoritarian nationalist regime claiming to have uniquely Lithuanian characteristics. Smetona was referred to as *Tautas Vados*, or “leader of the nation.” In 1940, when the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania, Smetona fled the country. He died in a house fire in Cleveland, Ohio.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; DEMOCRACY; DICTATORSHIP; ESTONIA; LATVIA; LEADER CULT, THE; LITHUANIA; NATIONALISM

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SOCCER: See FOOTBALL

SOCIAL DARWINISM

A social theory developed in the second half of the nineteenth century that applied Darwinistic evolutionary ideas to human society, a significant element in Nazi ideology. Natural selection became a central concept in social and political thought soon after the first popularization of Darwin’s evolutionary theory, both in Europe and in North America. Socialist thinkers emphasized the inevitability of social evolution, at the end of which the classless society would arise. Others used Darwin’s thesis to justify the bourgeoisie’s claim to power and social distinctions. Conflicts within societies were now interpreted as much on the premise of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest as on the premise of conflicts between peoples and nations. The oppression of colonial peoples and imperialistic expansion projects now acquired a significant natural scientific justification. But within Europe, too, representatives of certain nations such as Britain, France, and Germany thought of themselves as supe-

rior to each other and with the help of Darwinistic ideas argued the necessity of conflict. War and soldierly virtues were glorified as necessary and beneficial for men and progress.

With the popularization of racist ideas in the second half of the nineteenth century through Gobineau and others, a synthesis of racism and Social Darwinism was quickly made. In order to be able to survive the necessary struggle between the nations, one’s own “race” must be strengthened. At the end of the nineteenth century many in Europe and North America thought that they could perceive massive signs of degeneration. The mass misery of the workers caused all kinds of rapid physical and mental decline, violent criminality, and alcoholism. Civilization was interpreted as a disturbance of natural selection, allowing a greater number of the allegedly biologically unfit to survive. Prophets of cultural pessimism prophesied unstoppable decline, unless and until the reproduction of “unworthy” life was blocked and the reproduction of the fittest furthered by massive state intervention.

Social Darwinism and racism were well entrenched both in North America and in Europe by the beginning of World War I. They entered even more into mainstream thinking, a store of ideas that well-known politicians and scientists and many racist, *völkisch*, nationalistic, and fascist movements (but also reformist groups and splinter groups) could make use of. From the beginning of the twentieth century, population policy concepts developed both in Europe and in North America that were intended to assist natural selection through sterilization and control. Some of these concepts were implemented in a few of the U.S. states and in Sweden. Although the U.S. laws on sterilization of the seriously handicapped passed before World War I were applied only in a few cases, they were put forward as a model in Germany. In Sweden a law was passed on 1 January 1935 that made possible the sterilization of persons with mental and physical illnesses, and it was applied as late as the 1970s.

Social Darwinism served National Socialist ideology as a justification for eugenics, euthanasia, the persecution of the Jews, and war. The radicalization of popular Social Darwinism took place during World War I and during the economic crises of the 1920s and 1930s. With Hitler and the NSDAP, a man and a party came to power that implemented Social Darwinistic ideas bound in with racism and anti-Semitism in a regime of terror. The law on the prevention of reproduction by those with inherited disorders, which came into force on 1 January 1934, belongs in this context, like the Nuremberg Race Laws of 18 October 1935 and the

Marriage Health Law of 18 October 1935. After the beginning of World War II all of the remaining barriers fell, and millions—including thousands of persons with mental and physical handicaps—were murdered in the “race war” in which the main targets were Jews and Slavs.

Michael Schäubitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CIVILIZATION; COLONIALISM; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GERMANY; GOBINEAU, COMTE ARTHUR DE; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IMPERIALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MOSCA, GAETANO; MICHELS, ROBERTO; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; PARETO, VILFREDO; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SCIENCE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIOLOGY; TERROR; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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SOCIALISM

FASCISM AS SOCIALISM

Discussion of the relationship of socialism with interwar fascism is complicated by a number of factors. On the face of it, fascism should seemingly be regarded as a variety of socialism. The Nazi Party in Germany was unabashedly, openly, and proudly the National *Socialist* Party. In Italy, Mussolini was reared in a socialist family and the Christian names he was given were in honor of socialist leaders; he himself was moreover for a while actually leader of the Italian Socialist Party. In calling for Italy to enter World War I, he did not abandon socialism as such but internationalism, to which he preferred nationalism. In theory he represented a strong policy of state interventionism, something much more favored by socialism than by conservatism. However, the Left has almost from the beginning universally regarded itself as being at the opposite extreme from fas-

cism of any stripe. Classic histories of European socialism do not pay any attention to the possibility that there could have been any socialism in National Socialism. This seems paradoxical, but the key to the enigma lies in the word *national*. “Mainstream” socialism has always regarded itself as a universal doctrine transcending national boundaries and proclaiming the shared interests of workers in every part of the world. It can no more be tied to national borders than can the Christian religion, which equally proclaims itself a universal dogma. There have been many internal disputes within socialism, and some, such as the followers of Marx, have excommunicated other brands that did not espouse such doctrines as dialectical materialism. But one thing they all have in common is a belief that they represent (at least in theory) a global belief system with some kind of priority being given to the worldwide proletariat or working class, irrespective of the nation to which they belong. This goes hand in hand with a proclaimed pursuit of the ideal of equality. Elites, aristocracies, and hierarchies are, generally speaking, objects of denigration in socialist thinking.

In combining the ideal of unashamedly elitist nationalism with that of socialism, Mussolini and Hitler caught the Left on the hop and popularized a kind of thinking that was not in essence new but that had not previously been successful. (A group of British socialists had, in fact, created a “National Socialist Party” in 1916 to emphasize their patriotism at the height of World War I, though only four years later they renamed themselves the Social Democratic Federation.) But the origins of National Socialism as a German creed go back to the end of the nineteenth century. The celebrated sociologist Max Weber was preaching an “economic nationalism,” and he and Hans Delbrück sowed the idea of political nationalism in the mind of the Christian Socialist Friedrich Naumann and his followers. In July of 1895, Naumann observed that the best of social policies would be useless should Germany be invaded by the Russians. All good domestic policy required being built on the foundation of securing the fatherland and its boundaries, so as to provide for national power. Naumann argued that this was the Achilles heel of Social Democracy, which needed to be superseded by a nationalistic socialism. This was a potent mix indeed. What Hitler and Mussolini realized, and what the Left failed to realize, was that for many people the cosmopolitan ideal pursued by traditional socialism remained an abstraction. The ideal of universal “fraternity” as proclaimed by the French Revolution may have been attractive as a theory, but ties of family and nation always tended to prove the stronger in times

of crisis. The tendency of “socialists” to catch “war fever” in 1914 was symptomatic of this; in theory they regarded the war as an affair for international capitalism and nothing to do with the workers, but in practice the feverish chauvinism that swept through the belligerent nations from the start infected them, too.

Another confusing aspect of fascism for its opponents was its claim to be a revolutionary movement. The term *revolution* had always been a bugbear for conservatives, and it was traditionally considered part of the panoply of socialism, although by the early years of the nineteenth century a trend had developed among some socialists that was evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The frank affirmation of revolutionary credentials by both Italian Fascists and National Socialists was another feature of their ideology that connected them to socialism. In reality, of course, the difference lay in the notion of what the “revolution” aspired to be. For socialists, it was to be an egalitarian revolution with a transformation of property ownership in favor of the workers; for fascists, it was a totalitarian revolution concerned with the regeneration of the nation from a prevalent state of decadence and the creation of a “new man” whose value system would privilege qualities like pride in the nation, honor, the virile and manly virtues of the soldier, and self-sacrifice for the sake of the collectivity.

Logically, it seems hard to deny that *national* socialism should simply be regarded as a variety of “socialism” tout court. After all, there have been so many varieties in the Broad Church of Socialism. The problem is, who is to define “socialism”? If Engels is to be believed, nobody can be a socialist who does not believe in dialectical materialism. Who can gainsay him? Stalin too called himself a socialist and was responsible for even more murders than the Nazis. In a country like the United Kingdom, “socialism” can even be regarded as an ideal in the twenty-first century by a Labour Party that believes in privatization of nationalized industries. If state interventionism is regarded as one of the hallmarks of socialism, then the Italian Fascist and German Nazi regimes do look socialist in some degree, although their proclaimed policies were often not matched on the ground. If adherence to class over nation is considered one of the hallmarks of socialism, then both regimes fail totally. Further complication is added by the fact that there were “left” and “right” variations within fascism itself: for example, in Germany the Strasser brothers represented a more left-wing and anti-capitalist current that lost out when they were murdered in 1934.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; AUTARKY; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; CHRISTIANITY; CLASS; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; COUNTER-REVOLUTION; DECADENCE; ECONOMICS; *EHRE* (“HONOR”); FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; REVOLUTION; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPANN, OTTMAR; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STATE, THE; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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FASCISM AGAINST SOCIALISM

Where fascism came to power, the prohibition of the labor movement and the persecution of its representatives were among its first measures. At the beginning was the murder of the socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti in Italy in 1924. In November 1926, the Socialist Party of Italy (together with all other nonfascist parties) was forbidden. German socialists and communists hardly offered any resistance against Hitler’s seizure of power in 1933. Although the left parties had their own militias—the communist Roter Frontkämpferbund and the socialist and republican Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold, which united with the Social Democratic Party, the free trades unions, and the workers’ sports organizations into the antifascist Eiserne Front (Iron Front) in December 1931—there was no serious attempt to prevent Hitler’s seizure of power by military means. However, the Social Democratic Party was the only one to vote against the *Ermaechtigungsgesetz*, which transferred all legislative power to Hitler’s government, in the Reichstag in March 1933 (the Communist Party having already been suppressed). On 2 May 1933—one day after their pompous Day of National Labor—the Nazis destroyed the socialist-oriented free trades unions, replacing them with the Deutsche Arbeitsfront. In June 1933, the Social Democratic Party was forbidden. Up to the end of the Third Reich, thousands of Social Democrats and communists continued to be deported to the concentration camps.

In February 1934, the Austrian Social Democrats tried to resist Engelbert Dollfuss's Austro-fascists with an armed uprising of the party militia Republikanischer Schutzbund, after the failure of which the Socialist Democratic Labor Party and all its affiliated organizations were forbidden. Thereupon, a part of its membership went underground as "Revolutionary Socialists." The proliferation of fascism made the Comintern change its politics in 1935. It now pleaded for creating antifascist people's front alliances between Social Democrats, democratic bourgeois parties, and communists. The French government of the Front Populaire, elected in 1936, accomplished several social reforms and was able to prevent a fascist seizure of power. And in Spain, the Frente Popular won the elections in 1936. The civil war that followed there, in which numerous foreign volunteers took part on both sides, was generally regarded as a decisive battle between socialism and fascism.

In World War II, socialists and communists took a prominent part in antifascist resistance movements in several fascist and occupied countries. Fascists considered socialists and communists as their main political opponents. They rejected socialism in particular because of its stress on the idea of equality and international solidarity, as well as its alleged "Jewishness." Benito Mussolini, a former socialist himself, thought that the "leftist" era that had started in 1848, an important element of which had been the socialist labor movement, had come to an end after World War I. In his article "The Doctrine of Fascism," published in the *Enciclopedia Italiana* in June 1932, he stated that man was nothing outside history. Fascism had picked out of the socialist (as of the liberal) doctrine all those elements that had preserved their vitality. He praised Italian Fascism for having integrated syndicalism into a corporatist system that served the state, whereas the socialists had misused it as a means of class warfare that had weakened the state.

In Germany, conservatives and Nazis accused the socialists of having deliberately caused the German defeat in World War I. The 1918 revolution had been a "stab in the back" for an undefeated German army. Speaking of the Social Democrats and their democratic allies, the Nazis and other right-wing extremists normally used the term "November criminals." Adolf Hitler was convinced that Marxism—which he carefully separated from his own "socialism"—was an ideology invented by the Jews in order to transfer the whole world to Jewish power. In *Mein Kampf*, he stated that Marxism was the Jewish attempt to eliminate in all fields of human life

the outstanding importance of personality and to replace it by the quantity of the masses. The parliamentary system corresponded politically and economically to the system of a trade union movement that did not serve the real interests of the workers, but the destructive intentions of the international "World-Jew."

Christian Koller

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; AUTROFASCISM; BOLSHEVISM; COMINTERN, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DOLLFUSS, ENGELBERT; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GRAMSCI, ANTONIO; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; *MEIN KAMPF*; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADES UNIONS; WORLD WAR II

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SOCIOLOGY

The relationship between sociology and interwar fascism has three related aspects. The first involves respects in which sociology as a social doctrine was a scholarly forerunner to fascism. The second concerns the complicity of sociologists with fascism. The third concerns sociologists as critics and analysts of fascism, both before and after 1945.

SCHOLARLY FORERUNNERS OF FASCISM

Because sociology was denounced by some Nazis as a “Jewish” science, it had the reputation of being an “oppositional science” hostile to Nazism. The reality is more complex. Sociology emerged as a discipline in the nineteenth century as a response to individualism and liberalism, and shared with fascism a concern for “community” and “solidarity.” Emile Durkheim, the founder of academic French sociology, was a French “spiritual” socialist who regarded the capitalist division of labor as pathological because it lacked the organic, morally integrative character of the medieval guild system. The preface to the second edition of his *Division of Labor in Society* (1893), in which he argued for a kind of syndicalism in which collective obligation would have a large role, is similar to Italian Fascist syndicalism. The German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies was famous for his ideologically freighted distinction between *Gemeinschaft* (“community”) and *Gesellschaft* (“society”). His ideas were appropriated by the Nazis, whose similar critique of modern society pointed to the racialized notion of *Genossenschaft*. The prominent Austrian Catholic sociologist Othmar Spann argued for a society of ranks in which the classes would accept the responsibilities ordained by their hierarchical relations.

Another strand of early sociology concerned elites and leadership. In Germany, Max Weber, who introduced the nonreligious use of the term *charismatic* to apply to leaders, proposed a constitutional regime that retained parliamentary powers but that maximized the possibility of charismatic leaders rising to power and a presidency sufficiently powerful to overcome the constraints of interest politics. Robert Michels, Max Weber’s friend and follower, became an enthusiastic supporter of Mussolini, to whom he applied Weber’s concept of charisma, calling him the *capo carismatico*. Michels was also famous for the so-called Iron Law of Oligarchy, and in Italy such elitist antiliberal thinkers as Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto were used in justification of the Fascist notion of elites and the idea of the necessary replacement of corrupt elites by new, more vigorous elites.

SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE FASCIST AND NAZI PERIODS

The overt involvement of sociologists with the Nazi regime and its “restructurings” was considerable, but the relationships were complex, and events, such as the

forcible retirement of sociologists—for example, Alfred Weber (brother of Max)—often occurred behind the scenes. Nazism was a generational movement, it had a predominant attraction to the young, so the sociologists who were party members were generally obscure. Generational conflicts between older compromisers with the regime and ardent young Nazis who wanted to make sociology a practical science in service to the state, were central to the demise of the German Sociological Society in the early Nazi period. Sociologists had roles throughout the Nazi polyarchy, but they played a particularly large role in various planning exercises that related to the future of Nazi-occupied lands in the East. The Nazis were subject to internal ideological quarrels and sensitive to ideological competitors, and they did not welcome attempts to legitimate the regime by non-Nazis. Spann, for example, though a Nazi enthusiast, was rebuffed when he attempted to join the party; others were discovered to have Jewish blood, and still others, such as Hans Freyer, were pushed out of influence after being used.

“Empirical” sociologists both within fascist countries and elsewhere tended to treat the regimes as normal. In the United States, for example, William Fielding Ogburn noted the commonalities between the centralizing ideology and practices of the Roosevelt, Stalin, Italian Fascist, and Nazi regimes, and accepted these trends as inevitable. Similar arguments about centralization were put forward by the Italian statistician and sociologist Corrado Gini. Sociological criticism of fascism tended to be politically or morally motivated. Prominent sociologist Charles Ellwood, who spent time in Italy in 1927 and subsequently became an ardent antifascist, gave public lectures on the fascist danger and communicated with Italian anti-Fascists on his return. Ellwood’s criticism, however, assimilated Italian Fascism to the spiritual failures of modernity and reflected his Christian viewpoint. Criticism from the Left took a different, ambiguous approach. The Frankfurt professor Henri de Man, a Belgian, was led to embrace the idea of fascism as a necessary step toward socialism, with the thought that the socialist revolution needed to inherit a strong state to bring about its goals, and that fascism would establish precisely that strong state. The early writings of the Frankfurt School tended to portray fascism not as an aberration but as the final stage of capitalism, characteristic of what it took to be the most advanced capitalist regime, Germany.

An important practical concern of sociologists in the United States prior to the war was to protect citizens against propaganda of the kind characteristic of World

War I, which had emphasized atrocities. Ironically, skepticism about propaganda may have been one of the factors in the reluctance of Americans to believe reports of the systematic extermination of the Jews.

POSTWAR SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF FASCISM

The Frankfurt School eventually developed a sociological analysis of fascism, combining the concepts of false consciousness and Freudian ideas, leading to *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), with contributions from Adorno and others. This work, which assimilated Frankfurt School methods to the emerging interdisciplinary behavioral science paradigm, became the standard “sociological” account of Nazism after the war. There were a few scholarly studies of fascism that were not ideologically motivated. The Polish American sociologist Theodore Abel contributed a significant study of Nazism based on biographies of party members that he had collected in the 1930s in Germany. Both before and after the war a significant amount of effort was spent on the question of who had voted for Hitler, primarily oriented to the hypothesis promoted by such figures as Hans Speier and associated with the Left, that the source of Hitler’s support was the “New Middle Class” of office workers. More recently, rational choice analyses of Hitler’s electoral successes has stressed the details of the tariff politics of the Nazi program.

Steve Turner

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BELGIUM; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; CLASS; COMMUNITY; ECONOMICS; ELITE THEORY; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MAN, HENDRIK/HENRI DE; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MOSCA, GAETANO; NAZISM; PARETO, VILFREDO; PROGRESS; PROPAGANDA; PSYCHOANALYSIS; PSYCHOLOGY; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SCIENCE; SOCIALISM; SPANN, OTHMAR; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; YOUTH

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SOLDIERLY VALUES: See WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

SONDERKOMMANDOS (“SPECIAL DETACHMENTS”)

I

Squads of male Jews entrusted with the disposal of bodies and other tasks in the concentration camps. In Auschwitz they were bribed to work in the gas chambers and crematoria, escorting groups of prisoners to their deaths. Given preferential treatment during their four-month duty periods, they were themselves killed when their period was over.

See Also: AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; SS, THE

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II

SS units assigned to policing and political roles in the Eastern occupied territories during World War I.

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SONDERWEG (“SPECIAL PATH”), THE

Term used by historians of Germany to label a German tradition and way of thinking that was considered to have deviated for many centuries from the trend of the rest of Europe. The horrors of Hitlerism and the Holocaust are regarded by these historians (for example, Peter Viereck, A. J. P. Taylor, William Shirer, and Daniel Goldhagen) as the inevitable result of a “pattern of ag-

gression” and an ingrained Jew-hatred that long predated them. Far from being an aberration, the Third Reich was, in the eyes of these scholars, simply the logical continuation of what had gone before.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; *HISTORIKERSTREIT*, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LANGBEHN, JULIUS; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PANGERMANISM; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WORLD WAR I

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SOREL, GEORGES (1847–1922)

Former engineer turned social theorist whose doctrine of revolutionary syndicalism is claimed to have influenced Italian Fascism and notably the thought of Mussolini. Born into a bourgeois family in Normandy, Sorel was an engineer for the Department of Public Works until the age of forty-five, when he resigned and devoted himself to personal studies. Central to the trajectory of Sorel's subsequent studies and publications was a search for a moral grounding to a society that had seen “the dissolution of traditional morals into rationalistic individualism and hedonism.” This could be achieved only by a “heroic effort” to regitalize a culture that was always under threat of returning to barbarism, a vision that was clearly influenced by the work of the philosophers Bergson and Nietzsche.

Initially supportive of orthodox Marxism, Sorel gradually moved in the direction of revolutionary syndicalism as the vehicle for achieving his ethical ideal. He proposed a form of socialism aimed at the placing of the means of production in the hands of the workers who made up the Republic of Producers. Such ideas led Sorel to become increasingly antiparliamentary and antidemocratic, believing in the syndicate as the only means for change. In a key text of his revolutionary syndicalism, *Reflections on Violence* (1908), he called on workers to express their will through the myth of the general strike, described by Sorel as “a body of images

capable of evoking instinctively all the sentiments which correspond to different manifestations of the war undertaken by socialism against modern society” (Sorel 1972, 127). Through the violence of the general strike, the masses would turn away from those who would like to move them in the direction of compromise. The emphasis here on myth as opposed to reason in historical development meant that there was no necessary inner logic directing the course of history toward socialism, nor was the proletariat to be regarded as the privileged vehicle of social transformation. This explains to some extent the subsequent variety of foci for his political action, ranging from a sympathy for the monarchist nationalism of the Action Française as a potential anti-bourgeois ally against the republic, to support for Lenin via his prediction in 1912 of a great future for Mussolini. This latter prediction, together with Sorel's dalliance with monarchists and support for violence, has led some to suggest that Sorel and his work were a great influence on Italian Fascism. Commentators such as Roth, however, give a more nuanced picture of that influence; Roth has described Mussolinian Fascism as “an organized and vulgarized transformation of the pre-War Sorelian movement” (Roth 1980, 211). Contemporary extreme-right groups—generally those propagating some form of “left” fascism—continue to claim Sorel as an intellectual progenitor.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; BOURGEOISIE, THE; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; INDIVIDUALISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; MARXISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MONARCHISM; MOSCA, GAETANO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; PARETO, VILFREDO; PARLIAMENTARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROTO-FASCISM; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; SYNDICALISM; VIOLENCE

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SOUL (*die Seele*)

Extremely important concept in the vocabulary of Nazism. “Soul” was considered synonymous both with an inward depth of feeling and with a mystical kind of relationship to the outside world, both of which were held to be a particular strength of the German character. It was held to be the antithesis of terms such as *materialism*, *individualism*, *abstraction*, and *rationalism*, as well as of “mechanistic” philosophies. These were frequently regarded as characteristic of the Jews, who could have no pretension to possess “soul” and its noble, spiritual qualities, since they were alleged to be entirely bound up with materialism. On the positive side, “soul” was associated with vitalism and intuitionism and with the uniquely “German” way of perception, involving looking at/contemplating/seeing the world, as opposed to thinking rationally about it in the “Western” tradition of Descartes and the rationalists.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; *EHRE* (“HONOR”); GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; INDIVIDUALISM; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; RATIONALISM; VITALISM; *WELTANSCHAUUNG*/WORLDVIEW

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SOUTH AFRICA

A number of pro-Nazi organizations developed during the 1930s in South Africa, the most important being Oswald Pirow’s (1890–1959) Neue Orde, the Os-sawabrandweg (OB) of J. F. J. van Rensburg (1897–1966), and various “shirt movements,” such as the Brownshirts and the Greyshirts. Although at its height the OB had around 100,000 members, its pro-Nazi influence and anti-Semitism need to be treated with caution. The Christian wife of Ferdinand Postma (1879–

1950), the chairman of the powerful Broederbond, was Jewish in terms of the Nuremberg Laws, and many leading Afrikaner Nationalists had strong pro-Jewish feelings and ties based on personal relationships and their Calvinism. Afrikaner Nationalism, which its supporters usually called “Christian Nationalism,” cannot be equated with National Socialism or with Italian Fascism. Nevertheless, it may be viewed as a form of generic fascism that represented a uniquely nationalist response to perceived decadence, requiring national regeneration. Its origins lie in the First Language Movement of the 1870s, the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (Fellowship of True Afrikaners), founded in 1875 by a Dutch immigrant, Arnoldus Pannevis (1838–1884), who was influenced by the founder of the Dutch Anti-Revolutionary Movement, Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801–1876); his work was taken up and turned into a powerful political party by Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), whose ideas were popularized in South Africa by S. J. du Toit (1847–1911). Du Toit’s 1877 book *Di geskiedenis van ons land in di taal van ons volk* (*The History of Our Land in the Language of Our People*) led to the founding of South Africa’s first political party—the Afrikaner Bond—in 1880. The ideas expressed by du Toit and a small group of enthusiastic supporters, like the converted Dutch Jew Jan Lion Cachet, (1838–1912), were spread through magazines like *Di Patriot* and later *Jong Suid Afrika*. Here the idea of an antirevolutionary worldview (by which was meant a rejection of the ideas of the French Revolution) was articulated as the basis for a “Christian Nationalism” that was said to express the true nature of the Afrikaner.

Following the defeat of the Boer Republics in the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), the newly developing Afrikaans language, which separated from Dutch between 1875 and 1925, gave expression to a highly nationalistic poetry and literary movement. This artistic renaissance depicted Afrikaners as an aristocratic people destined to create a new civilization in Africa. A focal point of the movement was the Women and Children’s Monument in Bloemfontein, commemorating the more than 30,000 noncombatants who died in British concentration camps during the war. Books like those of Willem Postma (1874–1920) and Dr. O’Kulis—*Die Eselskakebeen* (*The Jawbone of the Ass*, 1909) and *Die Boervrou* (*Boer Women*, 1919)—lamented the victimization of the *Volk* by the British and evoked a longing for national regeneration. The poetry of his brother-in-law, J. D. du Toit (1877–1953), Totius, expressed the same themes in powerful images that provided catharsis for those still suffering from the effects of the war. These

and other works created a cultural foundation upon which General Hertzog (1866–1942) could build his political movement centered on the National Party. They also provided a mythic vision for the growth of the Broederbond.

Intellectually, the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism was articulated in the three-volume *Koers in die Krisis* (1935, 1940, and 1941), while at a popular level it was promoted through *Die Tweede Trek-Reeks* (*The Second Trek Series*) published in 1940. Neither set of books espoused National Socialism. Volume 2 of *Koers*, published in 1940, contained an insightful critique of National Socialism that identified it as a state-inspired form of totalitarianism originating with the ideas of Machiavelli that promoted racism on the basis of a neo-pagan ideology. The works of Nazi writers such as Ernst Bergman (1881–1945) and Alfred Rosenberg were analyzed and rejected as anti-Christian, while opposition leaders like Martin Niemöller were praised. Afrikaner thinking about race—found in books like the *Tweede Trek* volumes *Die Afrikaner* (1940) and *Rasse en Rassevermenging* (1942) and Professor G. Conjé's *Regverdig Rasse-Apartheid* (1947)—clearly acknowledge the influence of German race theorists like Hans Günther, yet they cite U.S. writers like E. T. Thompson (born 1900) and the Swede Gunnar Myrdal (1898–1987) more than German authors. The possibility that at least some sections of Afrikaner Nationalism were influenced by ideas and movements that helped create National Socialism cannot be ruled out. For example, General Hertzog (1866–1942) was an admirer of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whose works influenced National Socialism.

After the Afrikaner Nationalists won the 1948 election using the slogan *swartgevaar* (“the Black danger”), they were accused of being fascists in the tradition of German National Socialism. Probably the earliest writer to link Afrikaner Nationalism with fascism in general and National Socialism in particular was Arthur Keppel-Jones, in his *South Africa: A Short History* (1949). The idea became enshrined in popular consciousness through Brian Bunting's *The Rise of the South African Reich* (1964) and continued to be promoted until at least 1983 through books like Sipo E. Mzimela's *Apartheid: South African Nazism* (1983). Essentially, the identification between Afrikaner Nationalism and National Socialism seemed fairly simple. National Socialists were racists; so too were Afrikaner Nationalists. National Socialists segregated Jews; Afrikaner Nationalists segregated Blacks. National Socialists built heroic monuments and promoted folk dancing; so too did Afrikaner Nationalists. Both move-

ments used terms like *Volk* and *National* in their self-definition. Both looked to a history of suffering to justify their actions. Both saw themselves as victims. Many Afrikaner Nationalist leaders, such as Nico Diederichs (1903–1978) and Henrik Verwoerd (1901–1966), studied in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. Most were interned during World War II, and some, like Oswald Pirow (1890–1959) and B. J. Vorster (1915–1983), appeared to identify with Nazism. Therefore, it seemed clear that the two movements were virtually identical. This facile identification was challenged, however, in *South Africa: A Study in Conflict* (1965) by Pierre L. van den Berghe, who argued that the roots of Afrikaner Nationalism should be sought in nineteenth-century colonialism rather than twentieth-century fascism. This judgment was supported by Heribert Adam in *Modernizing Racial Domination* (1971), arguing that National Socialism was essentially expansionist, while Afrikaner Nationalism was defensive. Furthermore, while acknowledging superficial similarities, Adam argued that Afrikaner nationalism was structurally different from fascism because it rejected the *Führerprinzip* and control by terror in favor of a racially based democracy.

Dunbar Moodie (1975) and Irving Hexham (1981) further undermined the simplistic link between Afrikaner Nationalism, apartheid, and National Socialism through their historical studies of the origins and growth of the early Afrikaner Nationalist movement in South Africa. Both writers emphasized the role of Dutch neo-Calvinist thought, particularly the work of the Calvinist theologian-prime minister Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920) in shaping Afrikaner thought from the 1870s until the Nationalist victory in 1948. Their essential arguments were confirmed by revisionist Afrikaner writers who rejected Nationalist ideology, such as André du Toit and Herman Giliomee. Some neo-Marxist writers, such as Dan O'Meara in *Volkskapitalisme* (1983), have disputed these arguments, but none have suggested resurrecting the idea of a South African Nazism at the core of Afrikaner Nationalism.

Albrecht Hagemann (1989) explored historical links between Afrikaner Nationalism and National Socialism, as did Patrick J. Furlong (1991). Although links did exist between those movements, neither writer found evidence that Afrikaner Nationalism drew its primary inspiration from German National Socialism. Along similar lines, Milton Shain explored *The Roots of Anti-Semitism in South Africa* (1994), drawing attention to rising opposition to the acceptance of Jewish refugees and the impact of National Socialist

propaganda among South Africans. Furthermore, the Voortreker Monument in Pretoria bears an uncanny visual resemblance to the Völkerschlachtdenkmal (“Battle of the Nations Monument”) in Leipzig. Perhaps behind both movements and other manifestations of fascism there is a common intellectual, social, and cultural ethos—but until the intellectual and cultural influences on a number of key figures such as Hertzog, Diederichs, and Verwoerd are investigated, the question will remain unclear.

Irving Hexham

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; BROEDERBOND, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; DECADENCE; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; OSSAWABRANDWEG, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; TERRA’BLANCHE, EUGÈNE; TOTALITARIANISM; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR II

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SOVIET UNION, THE

The Soviet Union’s victory over Nazi Germany in the “Great Patriotic War” of 1941 to 1945 was one of the founding myths of the Soviet Union; until its breakup in December 1991, the Soviet Union played an important role in the history and interpretation of European fascism. Already in the 1920s, it had become an object of allusion in the first journalistic and scholarly comments on Mussolini’s emerging dictatorship. Until 1945, the development of the Soviet Union was closely linked to the emergence, rise, and fall of the interwar European fascist movements. The Soviet Union–sponsored Comintern definition for *fascism*, voiced, in its fi-

nal version, by the Bulgarian communist Georgi Dimitrov (1882–1949) in 1935—“the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, and most imperialistic elements of finance capital”—remained obligatory for the Moscow-controlled world communist movement for decades. The Soviet Union’s successful defeat of Nazi Germany’s attack on its European territories constituted the foremost reason for the Allies’ victory over the Axis powers in World War II.

On the other hand, Soviet ideas and institutions were, during Stalin’s rule in particular, characterized by a number of features and tendencies that bore similarities not only to the structure but also to certain ideological elements and further attributes of the Italian Fascist and German Nazi states. Since the start of the gradual erosion of the Soviet political system in 1987, moreover, the Stalinist legacy has heavily informed the rise of post-Soviet Russian ultranationalism. The USSR represented the first one-party state with the ambition to create a new society and new human being by means of radical social engineering, rapid economic development, cultural and anthropological revolution, thorough re-education, and mass terror. It thus became a major reference point in the conceptualization of, and important object of comparison with, policies and institutions implemented by fascists in power. There are further remarkable similarities between the fascist and, particularly, Stalin’s rule: (1) absolute rule by a charismatic leader; (2) militarization of society; (3) the dualism of their governments, composed of ministerial cabinets operating in parallel and, often, in conflict with party apparatuses; (4) treatment of real and imagined political enemies within the GULag (Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel’no-trudovyykh lagerei: Chief Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps) in the case of the Soviets, and KZ (Konzentrationslager: concentration camps) in the case of the Nazis; (5) aggressive foreign policies; (6) aggressiveness of their various security organs, including the Soviet NKVD (Narodnyi kommissariat vnutrennykh del: People’s Commissariat for Domestic Affairs) and the Nazi RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt: Imperial Security Chief Directorate); and (7) the two states’ indoctrination instruments, such as their youth organizations—the Soviet Komsomol (Communist Youth League) and the Nazi Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth), as well as their exploitation of the mass media. The similarities between the two states are generally reckoned to have outweighed the differences. The Third Reich during World War II, and the Soviet Union under Stalin, became, therefore, both paradigmatic cases for “totalitarianism”—a state-typological concept connoting institutional structures designed to

secure the government's maximal control of, and influence over, all of its subjects.

While it is generally acknowledged that the USSR and Third Reich showed, in the late 1930s and, especially, in the 1940s, striking resemblances, the issue of how such similarities had become possible, in view of the fundamental incompatibility of the two states' official ideologies, remains a source of confusion. Researchers within the extremism-theoretical paradigm emphasize the uniformly revolutionary ambition, similar moral relativism, and comparable teleological utopianism of left- and right-wing radicals, of Marxists and fascists. Characteristics such as these are taken to account sufficiently for the correspondence of Hitler's policies with those of Stalin, as well as of other leaders of officially communist regimes. A related attempt to capture certain analogies in the social radicalism and political style of communist and fascist movements, including their eschatology, rituals, totalizing ambitions, and Manichean world views, has been to see them as permutations of a generic "political religion." Other interpretations go further, and highlight, apart from structural and stylistic similarities, also substantive parallels between official Nazi doctrine and the unofficial ideology of Stalin's government. These included nationalism, anti-Semitism, bigotry, sexism, as well as xeno- and homophobia, which, in encoded forms, became increasingly manifest in the Soviet Union from the mid-1930s until the early 1950s. In theories emphasizing the political and social importance of the latter developments, the relative likeness of Stalinist and Nazi political institutions and actions is explained not simply by a similar transformational drive but also as resulting from partly hidden yet nevertheless far-reaching resemblances in the social visions and political aims of the major decision-makers of both regimes.

A different version of this approach has been developed by A. James Gregor. Gregor has proposed a major reconceptualization of fascism that excludes Nazism and, instead, uses *fascist* to signify a generic nationalist ideology common to many contemporary mass-mobilizing developmental dictatorships, including not only Mussolini's Italy, but also Stalin's Russia, Mao's China, and a number of other nominally left-wing modernizing regimes, particularly in Asia and Africa, of the post-war period. Since the breakup of the Soviet Union and the partial opening of its archives, new studies have confirmed earlier hypotheses concerning the close linkage between unofficial non-Marxist ideas held within Stalin's ruling elite and official Soviet policies in the 1930s to 1950s. In particular, recent research has corroborated earlier suggestions on the relevance of Rus-

sian nationalism (disguised as "Soviet patriotism") and anti-Semitism (disguised as the battle against "cosmopolitanism" and an idiosyncratically defined "Zionism") to Stalin's outlook and policies. Whether such conclusions—as well as further findings showing the continued relevance of Russian nationalism to the Soviet regime after Stalin's death—justify as fundamental a reconstruction of the concept of generic fascism as suggested by Gregor remains, however, debatable.

The ferment of ideas in Russian exile circles in the 1920s to 1930s saw the rise of a number of trends that, after the breakup of the USSR, were to provide ideological ammunition for the formation of post-Soviet Russian fascism. They included such neonationalist movements as Eurasianism, represented, among others, by Nikolai Trubetskoi (1890–1938) or Petr Savitskii (1895–1965) and the *Smena vekh* (Change of Signposts) group led by Nikolai Ustrialov (1890–1938). Some members of these right-wing intellectual circles, consisting partly of serious scholars, welcomed, with qualifications, the Bolsheviks' restoration of the Russian Empire. More radical Russian emigre nationalists developed, at about the same time, a number of explicitly anti-Bolshevik political projects that later also became reference points for Russian nationalists inside Russia. They included, in Munich and Paris, the Union of Young Russians led by Aleksandr Kazem-Bek (1902–1977) and a Russian solidarist organization that became known under its short title of People's Labor Union and which was led, in the 1930s to 1940s, by Viktor Baidalakov (1900–1967).

The varieties of explicit imitations of Italian and other forms of interwar fascism within the Russian emigre scene included the Russian Fascist Party (later renamed the Russian Fascist Union), founded by Konstantin Rodzaevskii (1907–1946) in Manchuria in 1931, and the All-Russian Fascist Organization (later renamed the All-Russian National-Revolutionary Labor and Worker-Peasant Party of Fascists), founded by Anastasii Vonsiatskii (1898–1964) in the United States in 1932. During the period of Bolshevik rule in Russia, tendencies such as these were located not only outside the Soviet Union and its political establishment but also inside them. Russian ultranationalist and fascistic views continued to be permitted, encouraged, and in part represented by branches of the Soviet ruling elite throughout the Cold War. This trend became particularly pronounced after Nikita Khrushchev's (1894–1971) replacement in 1964 by a neo-Stalinist group of party apparatchiks under the leadership of Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), the first—and later general—secretary of the CPSU Central Committee until his

death. The so-called era of stagnation included, apart from Brezhnev's rule, also the short reigns of Iurii Andropov (1914–1984) and Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985), and lasted until the start of perestroika in 1985, when Mikhail Gorbachev (born 1931) became general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During the stagnation period, anti-Semitic nationalists infiltrated, and at times dominated, the central apparatuses of the Komsomol, official cultural syndicates (above all the Union of Writers), and certain public organizations such as the All-Russian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments. Although not much firsthand information is available on the political thinking of the officers of the Soviet secret services, a majority of the staff of the higher echelons in the KGB (Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti: Committee on State Security) is believed to have been heavily anti-Semitic throughout the postwar period.

By the early 1970s, the editorial boards of some semiofficial, high-circulation literary-publicistic journals, including *Molodaia gvardiia* (*Young Guard*) and *Nash sovremennik* (*Our Contemporary*), had come under the permanent control of ultranationalist writers and literary critics including Sergei Vikulov (born 1922), Anatolii Ivanov (1928–1999), Vadim Kozhinov (1930–2001), and Sergei Kuniaev (born 1932). Although contributions to these so-called thick journals had to be written in Aesopian language, they provided an important medium of communications among Russian right-wing intellectuals. While some prominent crypto-nationalist intellectuals and cultural workers—such as the novelist Mikhail Sholokhov (1905–1984), the poet Sergei Mikhalkov (born 1913), and the painter Iliia Glazunov (born 1930)—became full members of the Soviet establishment, others were kept on the margins of Soviet society, put in prison, or driven into emigration by the Soviet authorities. They included the famous mathematician Igor' Shafarevich (born 1923) as well as the ethnologist Lev Gumilev (1912–1992). Gumilev's pseudoscholarly works have, since the breakup of the Soviet Union, been published in several editions; they are widely used as textbooks among the social science, humanities, and geography faculties of post-Soviet Russian and Central Asian higher education institutions. Whereas Shafarevich became notorious for blaming the presence of a "small people" (that is, the Jews) inside the Russian nation for Russia's misfortunes, Gumilev is known for his theory of ethnogenesis: this conceptualizes nations as biological units influenced by cosmic emissions and threatened with decline when mixing with other ethnic groups.

The "era of stagnation" also saw the rise of a new nativist-preservationist literary movement that became known as the "village prose" school; it included such prominent writers as Valentin Rasputin (born 1937) and Vasilii Belov (born 1932). More often than not, the representatives of this school were radically anti-Western and had affinities to other brands of Russian ultranationalism and anti-Semitism. Also during the 1960s, Stalinist "anti-Zionism" reappeared in Soviet propaganda and pseudo-academic writing. It matured, in the 1970s, into a full-blown school of "Zionology"—a term introduced by the Russian-Jewish emigre analyst of Russian anti-Semitism Semyon Reznik. This circle of notorious social activists and political publicists included Vladimir Begun (1929–1989), Valerii Emelianov (1929–1999), Iurii Ivanov (1930–1980), Evgenii Evseev (1932–1990), and Valerii Skurlatov (born 1938). Books and articles by some of the "Zionologists" were printed in large numbers and to some extent constituted assigned reading in Soviet study programs. They mixed anticapitalist, anti-American, anti-Judaic, and anti-Israeli agitation into a relatively new—if particularly primitive—anti-Semitic theory that, among others, saw Zionism as a variety of fascism, and, in some instances, made Jews coresponsible for the rise of the Nazi movement and the Holocaust. In the post-Soviet period, some of the "Zionologists"—such as the late Emelianov or political adventurer Skurlatov—became founders of small fascist parties.

In distinction from official Soviet Zionological literature, or the crypto-nationalist novels and short stories of the "village prose" of the 1960s to 1980s, the circulation of openly fascist texts remained, under Soviet rule, limited to illegal *samizdat* ("self-printed") and *tamizdat* ("printed abroad") literature, which had little impact on society at large. The nationalist dissident scene inside and outside Russia included different, often conflicting, tendencies that are difficult to classify adequately. Many of the dissidents, such as Vladimir Osipov, had—as anti-Soviet revolutionaries—ideas of a radically nationalist-palingenetic kind; they were aptly labeled by John Dunlop as *vozrozhdentsy*—"those aspiring to rebirth." They formed a peculiar kind of national liberation movement, and to call all of them "fascist" would thus be misleading. Instead, some of the most extremely anti-Western and anti-Semitic among the dissidents had considerable sympathy for the Soviet order as constituting Russia's shield against Westernization. Such putatively fascist activists of the nationalist spectrum of the Russian dissident movement included, among others, A. Fetisov

(1912–1990), Mikhail Antonov (born 1927), and Gennadii Shimanov.

Andreas Umland

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARENDT, HANNAH; AXIS, THE; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; CHINA; COMINTERN, THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITIANISM; *DRANG NACH OSTEN* (“DRIVE TO THE EAST”); FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; HOMOSEXUALITY; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MILITARISM; MUSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; RELIGION; RUSSIA; SEXUALITY; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STATE, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; WOMEN; WORLD WAR II; XENOPHOBIA; YOUTH MOVEMENTS; ZIONISM

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SPAIN

Despite its identification with the Franco regime (1939–1975), and although Alfonso XIII described the military dictator General Miguel Primo de Rivera



Poster for Falange Española, the Spanish nationalist political party associated with General Francisco Franco's regime in Spain. Although Franco himself cannot be called a fascist, the ultranationalist Falangist creed did have some strong resemblances to Italian Fascism. (Library of Congress)

(1923–1930) as “my Mussolini,” Spanish fascism’s appearance was belated and, most historians have agreed, unsuccessful—certainly on its own terms. Spanish fascism (generally, if narrowly, seen as synonymous with Falange Española) remained minuscule until 1936, but within a year it had become the single state party of a regime that survived four decades. Its origins are found in February 1931, when Ramiro Ledesma Ramos set up La Conquista del Estado (The Conquest of the State), a radical national socialist movement that in October merged with the Juntas Castellanas de Actuación Hispánica (Castilian Juntas of Hispanic Action), led by the Catholic nationalist Ónesimo Redondo. The new party was called Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Socialista (JONS; Juntas of the National-Syndicalist Offensive). In early 1933, Ledesma Ramos met with the charismatic son of the late dictator, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, and together they launched the journal *El Fascio*.

José Antonio maintained conversations with Mussolini and called a meeting at a Madrid theater on 29 October 1933—the “first fascist meeting in Spain,” according to contemporaries. Four days later Falange Española was officially founded, an amalgam of rhetorical leftism (yet underlying conservatism), antiliberalism, and extreme nationalism. On 3 February 1934, Falange and JONS merged, becoming Falange Española y de las JONS, under the triumvirate of José Antonio, Ledesma Ramos, and Julio Ruíz de Alda. By October, though, José Antonio was sole national chief. Ledesma Ramos then departed in January 1935, irritated at José Antonio’s social conservatism and aristocratic outlook. José Antonio continued to court monarchists, as well as visiting Mussolini and Hitler, but the party remained minuscule. At the February 1936 general election, it received 40,000 votes nationally, nowhere topping 4.1 percent. Existing right-wing options—especially the Catholic CEDA’s radical youth movement, the JAP—closed political space. But the electoral defeat, inertia, and collapse of the Right changed everything: within six months Falange had doubled its membership, conspiring against the Republic and providing radicalized foot soldiers as well as the ideological machinery to drive a war effort (although Catholicism proved even more important). José Antonio’s execution, however, left the party vulnerable, and in March 1937, Ramón Serrano Suñer fused it with *Comunión Tradicionalista*, making a single state party in the Nationalist zone the basis of the Franco regime—Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS. A wide umbrella, it provided the regime with the litany, theater, and rhetoric of fascism. Some “old shirt,” prewar Falangists complained of lost identity; the payoff was preferment.

When the World War II tide turned, Franco downplayed the regime’s, and the party’s, fascist characteristics. Falange was domesticated, and, with the return to the United Nations in 1950 and economic liberalization thereafter, Spain came increasingly under the influence of “apolitical” technocrats. Falangists still manned the state machinery, though, even as “old shirts” tentatively mobilized in opposition. Franco’s death and the dismantling of his regime spawned *Fuerza Nueva* under Blas Piñar and a wealth of “Falanges,” none of which enjoyed success—such as FE [not FET] y de las JONS, Falange auténtica, and Falange independiente. The majority of the politically active from within the regime joined *Alianza Popular*, forerunner of the center-right *Partido Popular*. Some fascist groups, including Falange Española, still exist,

alongside groupuscules of radical rightists and neo-Nazis, but fascism in Spain is now a minor force.

Sid Lowe

See Also: INTRODUCTION; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CONSERVATISM; FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GROUPUSCULES; GUERNICA; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; PERU; POST-WAR FASCISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; SERRANO SUÑER, RAMÓN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SPANDAU PRISON

The prison in the Berlin suburb of Spandau was constructed by the four Allied Powers to hold National Socialists sentenced at the Nuremberg Trials. In 1947, seven prisoners were interned: Karl Doenitz, Walther Funk, Rudolf Hess, Konstantin von Neurath, Erich Raeder, Baldur von Schirach, and Albert Speer. The Allies took monthly turns in guarding the prison. Hess was the only prisoner from 1966 until the time of his suicide on 17 August 1981. In order to prevent the site from becoming an attraction for neo-Nazis, the building was then knocked down, the rubble dispersed in the North Sea, and the area turned into a parking lot.

Christoph H. Müller

See Also: DOENITZ, ADMIRAL KARL; FUNK, WALTHER EMANUEL; GERMANY; HESS, RUDOLF; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SPEER, ALBERT; WORLD WAR II

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A soldier in General Franco's nationalist forces during the Spanish Civil War in 1938. This was widely seen as a conflict between fascism and the left, and as such it attracted volunteers from abroad on both sides of the political spectrum. However, the regime that Franco established after his victory cannot unambiguously be called fascist. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE

Hugely symbolic three-year conflict in which the Second Spanish Republic, governed by a center-right coalition including both conservative Catholics and liberals, was overthrown by right-wing nationalist forces led by General Franco, who went on to establish a dictatorship that lasted until his death. The impact of the war was felt far beyond Spain, and it aroused a huge emotional response across the world on both sides of the

political divide. Franco's cause was widely identified with the cause of fascism, and many volunteers made their way to Spain to help support or oppose him. Franco was, however, a devout Catholic, and his real ethos had more to do with authoritarian conservatism than with fascism. His true sympathies were obscured for a long time because he accepted military assistance from Mussolini and from Hitler. Moreover, in the public mind his cause was indelibly bonded to that of Nazism as a result of the horrific bombing of Guernica by the Condor Legion, an event that foreshadowed the mass bombings of World War II.

The uprising followed a period of considerable political and social unrest with general strikes, street fighting, and in 1934 a miners' uprising in Asturias. Its immediate cause lay in a lurch to the left in Spanish politics in 1936. The elections of 16 February brought to power a popular front government backed by the Left and the Center and opposed by the Right. This regime did not manage to stabilize the situation, and on 7 April the president was deposed by the parliament and replaced by Prime Minister Manuel Azaña. Whereas the fascist Falange movement founded in 1933 had obtained only 0.07 percent of the vote in the February elections, membership had grown rapidly to 40,000 by July. Tensions continued to rise, and on 17 July a conservative uprising was initiated. In principle, the uprising—whose main leaders were Sanjurjo and Mola—had been agreed for 18 July 1936, but at 5:00 P.M. on the evening of the day before in Melilla, a group of military men jumped the gun with a coup; in a few hours the rebellion had spread to Morocco, where the high commissioner was imprisoned. On 18 July, Franco left Las Palmas de Gran Canaria for Tetuan, where he took command of the Moroccan troops on 19 July. However, at this point the scenario on the mainland was not very encouraging for the insurgents. The uprising collapsed disastrously in the majority of the industrial areas and in places like Valencia and the Basque Country, which fought to defend the Republican regime in exchange for the promise of obtaining the longed-for Statute of Autonomy, which in the end was promulgated by the Cortes on 1 October 1936, the same day that Franco took over as head of the Spanish state. However, the rebellion did triumph in Zaragoza, Valladolid, Burgos, Pamplona, and Galicia. In Seville, General Queipo de Llano managed to take control of the city in the space of a few hours. There were different scenarios in Madrid and Barcelona, where militants of the parties of the Left and the unions in collaboration with the Guardia de Asalto and the Guardia Civil

held firm against the uprising. General Goded had reached Barcelona on 19 July to put himself at the head of the insurgents, but he was taken prisoner by Republican loyalists.

The government of the Republic acted with extreme pusillanimity. Casares Quiroga resigned, unable to cope with the situation; his successor, Martínez Barrio, held the position for only the 18th and 19th and tried to negotiate with the rebel general Mola, offering him the war portfolio, which he rejected. Finally, under the leadership of Barrio's successor, José Giral, between 19 July and 4 September the government decided to arm the voluntary popular militias. The vacuum of power grew, with committees and patrols everywhere corresponding to each party and union. A part of the army and the Civil Guard remained loyal to the Republic, and the rebels failed in their objective of taking Madrid; hence the rising turned into a civil war that lasted for about three years.

José Primera de Rivera, founder of Falange, threw in his lot with the nationalists, and Falange became the dominant political movement on that side. The Falange manifesto of November 1934 was highly nationalistic and spoke of Spain as entitled to a position "of pre-eminence in world affairs" as "the spiritual axis of the Spanish-speaking world." Its tone was jingoistic, and it played on nostalgia for Spain's great seaborne empire, which had been lost for more than a hundred years. It spoke unashamedly of the need for the Spanish state to be totalitarian and advocated the establishment of a corporatist system. It promised to abolish the parliamentary system and do away with divisive parties—the unity of the nation was to be paramount. It specifically rejected both capitalism and Marxism but spoke of nationalizing the banks while promising to preserve private property. The mission of the state in education was to "produce a strong, united, national spirit and fill the souls of future generations with joy and pride in their Fatherland." The role of "the Catholic spirit" was accepted, and it was indeed described as "glorious," although the Catholic Church was told not to do anything to "undermine the dignity of the state." The implied or expressed contempt for the Christian religion to be found in Italian Fascism and in German Nazism was absent here. The program was certainly ultranationalist, and it clearly proposed a "third way" between capitalism and socialism. But a number of powerful ingredients of classic fascism were missing, or at least muted—the glorification of violence, the warrior ethos, the elevation of a political creed to a new political religion that excluded the Catholic Church.

One of the declared aims of the rebellion was to combat the anticlericalism of the Republican government, and the war was a painful experience for the Catholic Church: a dozen bishops, nearly 300 nuns, well over 2,000 monks, and more than 4,000 priests were murdered by the progovernment forces, and that did little to endear the Republican cause to Catholics. Many churches and religious properties were torched. (The situation was different in the Basque region, because of the issue of Basque nationalism.) There were, however, a range of political ideologies on the two sides. Generally speaking, though, it is fair to say that the progovernment Republican side held leftist/liberal principles, while the Nationalists were rightists.

From the beginning, the Spanish Civil War acquired an international character. The government of the Republic had to draw on the gold reserves of the Banco de España to obtain arms abroad ("Moscow gold"); Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy sent aid to the rebels in the form of every type of military equipment, men, and money. However, the France of Leon Blum—although favorable to the Republic—with the energetic support of Great Britain proposed the formula of "nonintervention" between 4 and 5 August 1936; on 6 August the USSR adhered to this accord, although with reservations. In practice the measure did not work, and the Germans and the Italians continued to send help to the rebel side, while the Communist Party was acquiring an increasingly influential role with the resolute support of the USSR for the Republican side. Meanwhile the International Brigades were being established to bring help to the Republic and for the cause of liberty in the battle against a cause widely identified as "fascist"; they comprised volunteers (intellectuals, workers, journalists, writers) of different nationalities.

In addition to the support they received through the German and Italian (and also Portuguese) governments (amounting to more than 100,000 professional soldiers), the Nationalist insurgents also attracted volunteers. Their numbers were modest, at around 12,000, compared with the 35,000 to 40,000 who flocked from all quarters to join the International Brigades, but still symbolic. Their motivations for rallying to the nationalist flag were diverse. They came from France, White Russia (mainly from Parisian emigre circles), Romania, Ireland, and the United Kingdom, among other places. For the Russians the battle seemed like the first step toward overturning the 1917 Revolution. There were romantic Catholic intellectuals like Roy Campbell and true fascist sympathizers like Eoin O'Duffy, who

brought with him an Irish brigade 670 strong. The French integral nationalist Charles Maurras made many visits and reported what he had witnessed on his return home. The English Catholic convert Sir Arnold Lunn made two trips to the Peninsula that were orchestrated by Franco's propaganda agents and produced *Spanish Rehearsal*, which has been described as "a handbook for Franco's supporters in the English-speaking world."

Between April and October 1937 the last redoubts of the Cantabrian coast—Vizcaya, Santander and Asturias—fell into the hands of Franco with the help of the Carlist forces and the German air force, which on 26 April literally destroyed the city of Guernica with phosphorus bombs. On 7 May, General Moral died in a plane crash and was replaced by General Davila. On 19 June the rebels succeeded in occupying Bilbao, and the *gudaris*—Basque nationalist battalions—surrendered to Italian troops in Santoña. In July the Spanish episcopate, favorable to the Nationalists from the start, signed a collective letter—though without the signatures of the archbishops of Tarragona and Vitoria—giving support to the insurrection and recognizing its legitimacy. From May 1937 the military situation worsened for the Republican side; Largo Caballero resigned and was replaced by Negrin, until then minister of finance; the anarchists left the executive, and the government moved from Valencia to Barcelona on 30 October 1937. In December 1937 the battle raged around Teruel. The army of the Republic had taken the city on 7 January 1938 but lost it again on 22 February. Franco's troops razed government positions in Aragon, occupied the slopes of the Ebro, the zone of Maestrazgo, and reached Vinaroz on 15 April. Catalonia was isolated. Then they divided, one part headed East to Lerida, and the other south to attack Valencia. In May the Negrin government drew up a document—the "Three Points"—in which they proposed ending foreign interference and guaranteeing the continuity of democracy and the exclusion of all political persecution after the conclusion of hostilities; others proposed a peace treaty to avoid an anticipated cruel repression. By the end of 1938, Catalonia had fallen into the power of the rebels, who on 26 January 1939 took Barcelona to get to the Pyrenean front on 10 February. The Negrin government favored continuing the war at all cost, hoping that a world war would break out and that Spain would become an integral part of the international war scenario. However, on 27 February, one month after the fall of Barcelona, the United Kingdom and France recognized the Franco government. On the

following day Azaña—from his exile in France—resigned his position as president of the Republic.

On 28 March 1939, Franco made his entrance into Madrid, and the members of the Defense Council—with the exception of Julián Besteiro, who was taken prisoner, judged by a military tribunal, and condemned to thirty years' imprisonment—fled Spain. Meanwhile, Italian troops entered Alicante on 30 March and blockaded the port, and surrender soon followed. On 1 April 1939, Franco signed the last communique of the war: "The war is over." The Republic had been crushed.

Marta Ruiz Jiménez
and Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTICLERICALISM; ANTIFASCISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BLITZKRIEG; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CLERICO-FASCISM; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; EXPANSIONISM; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; GUERNICA; HITLER, ADOLF; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES, THE; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; IMPERIALISM; IRELAND; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; O'DUFFY, EOIN; ORWELL, GEORGE; PARLIAMENTARISM; PERU; PORTUGAL; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; RELIGION; ROMANIA; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPAIN; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; VIOLENCE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SPANN, OTHMAR (1878–1950)

Austrian national conservative sociologist and philosopher who exercised a notable influence on early Italian Fascism and German National Socialism with his book *Der Wahre Staat—Vorlesungen über Abbruch und Neubau der Gesellschaft* (1921). In 1908, and from 1911 to 1919, Spann was professor of sociology at Brunn Technical College; from 1919 until his expulsion from his post by the Nazis in 1938, he was professor of political economy and social teaching at the University of Vienna. As a nationalist he opposed the *Anschluss* and was for that reason briefly interned in Dachau and banned from publishing. Spann founded a “universalistic sociology” that opposed all individualism and emphasized the priority of the “whole,” of the state, over its “members,” individuals: the individual must understand himself in terms of his “belongingness” to a corporative and hierarchically structured state. All individualism and egalitarian democracy destroy culture, while universalism furthers the life of the spirit and “righteousness.” For Spann the individual does not derive his “spiritual being and essence” from himself, for it emerges first in society. He compares the state to an “organism” that first of all builds up the individual “cells” (individuals) in itself. As an Idealist, Spann understood society first of all as “spiritual community”; he stressed the “national community” resting on the shared knowledge and feeling of a people. He understood “the nation” as a cultural community, which meant that the term could never be used of the Slavs, whom he branded an uneducated passive mass. The original power of Germans, by contrast, lay in the “*völkisch* community, which is the pure community of our spirituality.”

For Spann—following here a great tradition from Plato to Hegel—the state was the “expression of the community/*Gemeinschaft*” to be compared with human society/*Gesellschaft*. The state was the “most general and highest institution . . . , i.e., appearance of unity, bearer of unity.” The model for this identity of society and state was for Spann the corporative order from antiquity up to the Middle Ages, and in *der Wahre Staat*, Spann sketched out a corporative order taken from Plato’s *Politeia*, with “the wise” (the teaching class) at its head; he depicted a layered hierarchical order with gradations down from state and economic

leaders to the “higher workers” (spiritual and artistic workers) and manual laborers. Spann spoke of democracy as an unstable constructed individualism; he argued that the “true state” does not reside in the struggle between individual groups but in a “general labor contract” and a “general order of labor” (collective wage agreements) of all social groups, which were all represented in the assembly of orders. The influence of Spann on early Italian Fascism, which borrowed this theory, cannot be overemphasized. Spann argued for the establishment of “guilds,” in which all working people, especially industry and the unions, must be brought together. Their joint committee was to be an independent political body: the “council of orders” or the “house of orders.” Spann strove—as did the young Mussolini later—not to exclude the workers but to associate them organizationally in a “higher whole,” the “people’s community.” Unlike Italian Fascism, Spann argued, however, not for a strong unified state but for the decentralization and independence of organizations, though in the context of a common labor of all for the same whole.

Spann’s influence went beyond the circle of his disciples, who began to meet regularly after 1919 (the Spann Circle), and who occupied the most important teaching positions in Austria. His greatest influence was on the syndicalist early phase of Italian Fascism, especially on the agreements between industry leaders and Fascist corporations (October 1925) and the Italian “trade union law” of 3 April 1926, milestones on the way to the social unification of Italy. According to Spann’s conception of the state as “overall leader of economic associations” that were to put an end to economic competition within the people’s community, Mussolini brought together all the employers’ and workers’ syndicates into central “corporations,” retaining the capitalist way of production. The Spann Circle welcomed the Fascist order of syndicates unanimously but was split over the question of the strong authoritarian state. In 1933 and 1934, Mussolini made a change in the economic constitution that subjected the corporations to massive state control and viewed them more and more strongly as “compulsory associations.”

After 1929/1930 the Spann Circle in Austria increasingly favored the emerging “clerico-fascist movement,” especially with the regime of Dollfuss of 1932–1934 and its support by the Heimwehren. In September 1933, Dollfuss defended the introduction of a corporative state with a Catholic stamp, as Pope Pius XI had recommended in his encyclical *Quadragesima anno* of 1931 with the formula “Unity in well-organized multiplicity.” The Spann Circle saw itself in

agreement with the Church and the “Fatherland Front” of Dollfuss. The Catholic Church took over the social model of Spann in its political teachings, but proposed the concept “solidarism” (orientation to the common weal without prejudice to the property order) in preference to the more romantic “universalism.” Spann criticized the idea of a free association of the orders in “solidarism” and called for a break with democracy and party rule in favor of a corporative order put in place from above. On 1 May 1934, Dollfuss proclaimed a corporative order for Austria (“Austrofascism”), which Spann rejected on account of the strong role of the authoritarian state; for him the state was to be only “overall leader of the orders” and so itself an “order.”

The Spann Circle was ambivalent toward National Socialism. It welcomed the early NSDAP formula (“the common good goes before the individual good”), German national imperialism, and also the struggle of the Nazis for the annexation of Austria to Germany. Many also favored the idea of an exclusion of the Jews as “alien people”; Spann’s call for the Jews on German territory to be placed in their own great ghetto had a significant influence on the early Nazi propagandists Rosenberg and Feder. In 1929, Spann became personally connected with Rosenberg, whom he at first supported. Several friends of Spann were active in the (illegal) NSDAP of Austria, which Spann secretly joined in 1933. Spann influenced the corporative state ideas of early National Socialism as they were represented before 1933 by the Strasser wing, the so-called Party Left of the NSDAP.

Spann abandoned the Romantic Pangerman ideas that he associated with National Socialism after the bloody putsch attempt of the National Socialists in Austria in 1934. The National Socialist “Reich orders” took on the ideas of the Spann Circle after the destruction of the German trades unions in May 1933, especially the “institute for orders,” an association of interests of heavy industry around the Hitler financier Fritz Thyssen in Düsseldorf. Spann himself, however, explicitly rejected the National Socialist planned economy (in the form of the Four-Year Plans) and called for the self-regulation of the economy. With the annexation of Austria the Nazi leaders forcibly ended the political activities of the Spann Circle, after some members had already incurred speaking and publication bans in 1934.

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(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ACTUALISM; ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; AUSTROFASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; DOLL-

FUSS, ENGELBERT; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FEDER, GOTTFRIED; GERMANY; GHETTOS; *HEIMWEHR*; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PANGERMANISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PIUS XI, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHUSCHNIGG, KURT VON; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; STATE, THE; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; SYNDICALISM; THYSSEN, FRITZ; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADES UNIONS; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH; VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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SPEER, ALBERT (1905–1981)

Impressed by a Hitler speech, Speer joined the NSDAP and SA in 1931, later becoming Hitler’s architect, carrying on gigantic building schemes like the New Reich Chancellery or the Reich Party rally venue in Nuremberg. He played a particularly important part in the creation of the special effects—such as the massive use of flags and banners and the special lighting effects—that made the Nuremberg Rallies so powerful as propaganda exercises. Hitler had had aspirations to be an architect himself, and that endeared Speer to him. He appointed Speer general architectural inspector of the Reich in 1937, and one of his tasks was to turn Berlin into the kind of magnificent city that Hitler considered appropriate to be the capital of his planned Third Reich. Hitler was full of admiration for the designs that Speer produced. As the Reich secretary for armament and war production, Speer successfully organized industrial production for “total war” after 1942 by using forced labor extensively; his skills in this role were undoubtedly a factor in enabling Germany to sustain the war effort. Speer was also given many other tasks, including being put in charge of the party’s chief technology

office. For a time he was one of the most important figures in the German leadership and played a very powerful role in the sphere of the economy. Sentenced to twenty years in the Nuremberg trials, he was released in 1966. His *Spandauer Tagebücher*, published in 1969, shows a strong apologetic tendency.

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See Also: ARCHITECTURE; ECONOMICS; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PROPAGANDA; SA, THE; SPANDAU PRISON; SYMBOLS; TECHNOLOGY; THIRD REICH, THE; WORLD WAR II

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SPENGLER, OSWALD (1880–1936)

German cultural philosopher whose “Morphology of World History” prophesied not only the decline and the end of European civilization but also a future domination of the world by the German Reich with a new “Caesar” at its head. The one-time grammar school teacher lived from 1912 until his death as a freelance author in Munich. Spengler regarded the immensely successful first volume of his major work, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes (The Decline of the West)*, which was published in April 1918, as his personal contribution to World War I—when he still firmly believed in the establishment of a German protectorate over the continent as far as the Urals. It was not until after Germany’s defeat that his reputed cultural pessimism became central to the public perception of him.

Spengler’s major thesis was that there was a law of the historical development of all past and present cultures. According to him, all cultures are subject to the organic rhythm of birth, maturity, aging, and death. Any culture will reach a turning point in its development in civilization whereby the loss of further creative

development is accompanied by an irreversible general decadence, until the emergence of “barbarians” heralds a new historical epoch. It is the duty of “late” peoples to accept this “destiny” in the sense of Nietzsche’s *amor fati*. Looking at the civilized European nations, Spengler associated with decadence the dominion of intellect and money, the concentration of all life in the cosmopolitan cities, home to irreligious atomized individuals, and the extinction of biological fertility as a counterpart to the “spiritual” infertility and moral decay of modern mass man. These phenomena were accompanied politically by the emergence of imperialism. Without being aware of it, the “young” nation of Germans would be the main player in the dawning imperialist era; they would take up the torch of Ancient Rome. “Blood” and instinct would regain their rights, while the erroneous belief in our ability to attain rational mastery of the world would finally and forcefully be shown up as absurd.

In 1919, Spengler wrote *Preußentum und Sozialismus* in the anti-English “Ideas of 1914” style of Johann Plenge and Werner Sombart. In this book he preached against English liberalism and parliamentarism and for a national socialism freed from Marx, for which a complete subordination of the individual to the state within a corporative organization would be necessary.

Having been a member of the board of the Nietzsche Archive since 1923, Spengler maintained numerous political contacts with the National Right between 1919 and 1924, mixing with people in big business and paramilitary circles. The expression of his ultimately unsuccessful political ambitions was a kind of agenda for government that he drew up in his *Neubau des Deutschen Reiches* of 1924. *Der Mensch und die Technik* (1931) was Spengler’s swan-song on Enlightenment ideals and an apology for the “will to power” potentiated by technology. For Spengler man is not “good,” but rather survives as a “predator” solely through attack and destruction. With *Jahre der Entscheidung* (1933), this admirer of Mussolini tried to offer his services to the politically powerful one final time, sending Hitler a copy and requesting a meeting with him. Like many conservative revolutionaries, Spengler welcomed the destruction of democratic institutions, parties, and trades unions following Hitler’s seizure of power.

The extraordinary success of this last work—which within a few months overtook the entire edition of the *Decline of the West*—forced the NSDAP into a public debate with Spengler. A National Socialist press campaign launched by Alfred Baeumler against *Jahre der Entscheidung* focused on Spengler’s reservations about

Hitler, his anti-working-class ethos, and his assumed fatalism. It accelerated after Spengler had turned down Goebbels's offers of participation in representative events organized by the new regime. Following this, Baeumler, in a lecture at the end of 1933 that was much discussed in the press and in three radio talks at the beginning of 1934, discredited Spengler the despiser of the masses as "Enemy of the people (*Volk*)." At about the same time the press was forbidden by the Reich Propaganda Ministry to promote any further discussion of the works of Spengler.

While the National Socialist Left saw in Spengler's *Jahre der Entscheidung* counter-revolution and a capitalist restoration at work, those critics who represented the party line could not deny the fundamental agreement of the political ideas of Spengler with those of National Socialism. Not least for this reason Spengler was—for example, in the Hitler Youth Organ *Wille und Macht*—rehabilitated in the middle of 1935 as a prophet of national revolution. Beyond a direct influencing of National Socialist ideology by Spengler there is unquestionably a spiritual kinship—to which Alfred Rosenberg referred in his *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1930). This is reflected in the circumstance that *Jahre der Entscheidung* was never publicly banned. Even in times of paper shortage at the beginning of the 1940s there continued to be new editions of Spengler's complete works. He did not break with the Nietzsche Archive, which was loyal to National Socialism, or with Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche, who admired Hitler, until 1935.

In Fascist Italy the ideas of Spengler were spread particularly through the translation of *Der Mensch und die Technik* and *Jahre der Entscheidung*, as well as through essays and debates about his writings. While Spengler was reproached by Benedetto Croce for dilettantism and an unscientific approach, Mussolini was impressed above all by the fanatical anti-Marxism of Spengler's critique of civilization, as well as by his theses on the development of population. Mussolini wrote an introduction to the Italian translation of a study by Richard Korherr, *Über den Geburtenrückgang* (1927), for which Spengler had already provided an "introduction" to the German edition. Spengler's *Jahre der Entscheidung* was reviewed by Mussolini at the end of 1933 for the newspaper *Popolo d'Italia*, and in an interview after 1933 he lamented the lack of impact of Spengler's writings in Italy. Mussolini's relationship to Spengler was positive, but in this Il Duce clearly had ulterior motives; it was not least a response to the unconcealed veneration for himself expressed by the German writer and to his description of Italy under Mus-

solini as "a great power." The critique of Spengler's determinism, his cultural pessimism, and his Pangermanism was left by Mussolini to other authors—like Julius Evola or the author of the Spengler entry in the *Dizionario di politica* produced by the Fascist Party in 1940.

Susanne Pocaï

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ARISTOCRACY; BAEUMLER, ALFRED; BLOOD; CIVILIZATION; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; CROCE, BENEDETTO; CULTURE; DECADENCE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NIHILISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROPAGANDA; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROME; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOUL; STATE, THE; TECHNOLOGY; TRADITION; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH

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SPIRITO, UGO (1896–1979)

Leading supporter of Fascism in Italian intellectual circles. At the University of Rome in 1918 he was drawn from an initial enthusiasm for positivism to the idealism of Gentile and others. By 1922 he had adopted Fascism under the influence of Gentile, whose doctrine of actualism he also espoused. In 1927, Spirito took on the editorship of the journal *Nuovi studi di diritto, economica e politica* together with fellow actualist Arnaldo Volpicelli. By now Spirito was applying actualist principles to the sphere of economics, and in particular to the advocacy of corporatism, and this found expression in a number of works between 1927

and 1932. Spirito held professorships at Pisa, Messina, Genoa, and Rome. He eventually fell out of favor with Mussolini.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ACTUALISM; CORPORATISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; ITALY; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; POSITIVISM

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SPORT

Sport has been used as a propaganda, recruiting, and militaristic tool by all the major ideologies of the twentieth century. Fascism, in its various forms, has been no exception. The apparent allure of the strong, aesthetically pleasing body, which could be turned into a military tool, has been a common feature of fascism. Whether publicly at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, through the resultant film spectacle of Leni Riefenstahl's *Olympia*, or in the local sports events hosted by a variety of fascist movements, organized physical games have appeared to go hand in hand with the ideology of fascism. Given the natural fit between the healthy body, the spectacle of sport, and the ideology of fascism, it is perhaps surprising to record that neither Hitler, Mussolini, nor Franco were sports enthusiasts. Their rise to power in the interwar years coincided however, with an upsurge in public interest in international sporting competition that was aided by a rapidly expanding mass media. Most fascist regimes or movements recognized the power of sport as a part of their propaganda mission and embraced it. The great value of sport, especially at the international level, was the public spectacle of winning. In an era when fascist governments and parties promoted nationalist and racist ideologies that spoke of their supremacy over other countries, sport allowed them to measure their superiority in a direct fashion. Sport was a natural agent with which to demonstrate, both domestically and to the wider world, the values of society as imagined by fascism.

Of the fascist leaders in Europe it was Mussolini who was first to recognize the power of sport. In 1934, Italy staged the World Cup finals, and the event was used as a way of showcasing the rebirth of Italy by transposing the athletic imagery of Ancient Rome with the modernism of contemporary Italy. Mussolini dictated which referee would officiate at the Italian games, and some questionable decisions during the tournament ensured that an average Italian team won the trophy. It was a great propaganda coup for Mussolini, and encouraged fascists across Europe to embrace sport more fully. As well as promoting team sports, both Mussolini and Hitler were keen to promote the individual sport of motor racing. This sport not only allowed fascism to chase the morale-boosting victory but also provided a natural synergy between brave, fearless manhood and the skills of modern fascist technology and engineering. Hitler promoted and funded Mercedes on the grand prix circuit, while Mussolini did the same for Alfa Romeo; they duly dominated the sport.

The Nazis harnessed the biggest international sporting event, the Olympic Games, in 1936 as a way of displaying German skill and superiority to the world. Both the winter and summer games were awarded to Germany, to be held at Garmisch-Partenkirchen and Berlin, with twenty-eight and forty-nine nations in attendance, respectively. Both events were used to promote the Nazi regime and ideas of Aryan racial superiority. In terms of spectacle, the Nazis were innovative. The Berlin games were the first to include a torch relay across Europe from Olympia; broadcast images of the events to theater screens across the city attracted a record-breaking 4.5 million spectators; and Leni Riefenstahl's documentary treatment of the games (*Olympia*) forever changed conceptions of how sports events should be filmed. Hitler officially opened both the winter and summer games, events that were fully funded by the state (at an estimated cost of \$8 million) and ruthlessly promoted by the local organizers: Carl Diem for the German Olympic Committee and Joseph Goebbels as head of the Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda Ministry. To assist in the planning of the games, the Reich Sports Office, headed by Hans von Tschammer, which had overseen all German sports bodies and clubs and pursued an Aryans-only policy since 1933, was mobilized to make the event truly national.

Despite threats of a boycott, all competing nations (with the exception of the Soviet Union) did attend Berlin, although some individual Jewish athletes chose to stay away. The stage was set for a showdown between the cream of the Nazi athletes and representatives from



American black boxing champion Joe Louis (back to camera) and the German fighter Max Schmeling in a bout in 1938 which was widely seen as a symbolic struggle between totalitarianism and freedom. (Library of Congress)

supposedly “lesser” races. Germany topped the medal table at the close of the games, winning thirty-three medals more than their nearest rival. On those terms, and as a spectacle, the games were a tremendous success for the Nazi regime. However, high-profile victories by African Americans, most notably the four medals won by Jesse Owens, undermined Nazi claims of race supremacy.

The changing geography of Europe during the Nazi expansion period transformed the sporting map of Europe. To ensure that Germany became the best possible football team in the world, the Austrian team was abolished after the annexation in 1938, and its best players were drafted into the German squad. The only Austrian player to refuse to play for Germany, Matthias Sindelar, was killed by the Nazis within a year. In 1938 the English football team traveled to Berlin to meet their Ger-

man counterparts. On the direct orders of the foreign office, and in line with Chamberlain’s policy of appeasement, the English team famously gave the Nazi salute during the prematch ceremonies. Although England won the game 6–3, the players were widely criticized in the British press for their salute.

The final pre–World War II clash between emblematic fascist sportsmen and their democratic counterparts came in June 1938, when Germany’s Max Schmeling met America’s Joe Louis in New York for the world heavyweight boxing title. When Schmeling had beaten Louis two years earlier, he had been heralded by the Nazis as the great Aryan sportsman and was used as an emissary to convince the Americans not to boycott the 1936 Olympics. In 1938 the Schmeling–Louis bout was touted by the press as a battle between Nazi Germany and free America. Interest was intense, and the

bout was broadcast around the world, with a huge audience listening in Germany. In the match, Louis won in the first round: as Schmeling hit the canvas for the first time, the Nazi authorities stopped broadcasting the commentary.

The use of sport as a vehicle for the promotion of strength, order, and readiness for battle, as well as an important component of public display, was well understood by fascist movements in general. For example, Oswald Mosley, a keen sportsman, ensured that the British Union of Fascists had sports facilities installed at their London headquarters, and he encouraged boxing, football, and other sports across the country. Likewise in Ireland, the Blueshirts formed tennis and cycling clubs and started Gaelic football teams.

Mike Cronin

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; APPEASEMENT; ART; ARYANISM; BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FOOTBALL; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; IRELAND; ITALY; LEISURE; MODERNITY; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; ROME; SALUTES; SOVIET UNION, THE; TECHNOLOGY; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; YOUTH

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SQUADRISMO

The organized campaigns of intimidation and violence by the Fascist squads (often known as "Blackshirts" on account of their uniform) against their socialist, communist, and Catholic opponents in the provinces of northern and central Italy from the autumn of 1920

onward. The *squadristi*, comprising nuclei of former servicemen from World War I together with other younger elements, operated as armed paramilitary units not unlike the German *Freikorps* and performed the same counter-revolutionary function. Operating from bases in provincial towns, and often with the collusion of police and judicial authorities as well as of local garrison commanders, they systematically destroyed the physical centers of both Marxist and Catholic political parties, trades unions, and, above all, peasant organizations, intimidating their members and frequently murdering their leaders. This guerrilla activity in the countryside was essential to Mussolini's rise to power. By 1922 they were actually engaged in the seizure of political power from their opponents at a local level, a process that was the necessary prelude to Mussolini's bid for power at a national level, which he launched at the end of October 1922 in the March on Rome.

John Pollard

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREIKORPS, THE; ITALY; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARAMILITARISM; SOCIALISM; TERROR; TRADES UNIONS; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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SQUADRISTI: See SQUADRISMO

SS, THE

Set up as a personal bodyguard for Hitler, the SS (*Schutzstaffel*: "Protection Squads") later developed into an army that formed the foundation of Nazi power. Like no other institution of the National Socialist dictatorship, the SS was the embodiment of the ideology and practice of its master-race worldview. The precursor had been the *Stabswache* (Staff Guard), banned after the Hitler coup in late 1923. In 1925 it was re-established, mainly in order to protect the party leadership and the party's meetings. Led in the early years of its existence by Julius Schreck, Joseph Berchthold, and Erhard Heiden, the SS gained growing importance after command had been handed over

to Heinrich Himmler at the beginning of 1929. As the Reichsführer SS (“Reich Leader SS”), he not only multiplied membership numbers to some 52,000 in late 1932 (nearly 250,000 by 1939) but also set up the Rasse- und Siedlungsamt (Race and Settlement Office) and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) as the NSDAP’s internal police. After the SS played a prominent role in the murder of the leadership of the SA in 1934, it was rewarded by Hitler with removal from subordination to the rival SA and placed under his direct command.

Members of the SS swore unquestioning loyalty to Hitler (“My honor is loyalty”). They were selected according to their height (above 6 feet) and had to submit an *Ariernachweis* (proof of Aryan descent), including an account of their ancestry back to the year 1750. It was Himmler’s aim to give the SS the character of an elite community similar to an order. In 1931 he decreed that every SS member had to ask for a marriage allowance; by controlling the intimate partnerships of “Hitler’s elite” he aimed at the creation of a German Nordic kinship group free of hereditary illness. The mentality of the SS was characterized by blind idealism toward its leadership, drastic discipline, loyalty and bonhomie, and by the exercise of brutal and merciless force against those classified as “racially inferior.” Its members used symbols like the death’s head and runes from the Old Teutonic World and wore black uniforms. The weekly publication of the SS, first published in early 1925 and entitled *Das Schwarzes Korps*, was an outspokenly racist and elitist paper with a circulation of 750,000 copies as late as 1944.

In the years following the National Socialist takeover, Himmler and Heydrich brought the police under their control step by step: Himmler became the *Reichsführer SS und Chef der deutschen Polizei* (“Reich leader SS and chief of German police”) in June 1936, and he made the SS the most important instrument for the persecution of political opponents and the translation of racist beliefs into action. After 1939 the SS had twelve *Hauptämter* (“Departments”), their composition and tasks expressing two of the ideas basic to the National Socialist worldview: “extinction” and “selection.” The *Hauptämter* headed a polyplike structure that was deeply involved in the intimidation, terrorization, and murder of the civilian population in the districts occupied by the German Wehrmacht, and also became responsible for the Holocaust. At the same time, they made efforts to strengthen Aryan-ness and to expand the German settlement areas; for example, in order to create a Greater German(ic) Reich, the SS Race and Settlement Office, following a Hitler order

from late 1939, organized the (re-)settlement of Germans in the occupied countries.

There was another sphere of activity in which the SS involved itself, the sphere of industry, for it came to be involved in running industrial concerns, and the operation of those concerns was often closely bound up with SS involvement in the implementation of Nazi racial policies. The Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt (Economic and Administration Department) dealt mainly with economic affairs. In July 1938, SS-controlled companies that were active in industries like wood-processing, civil engineering, textiles, stones, and brickworks were merged into the Deutsche Wirtschaftsbetriebe GmbH (German Economic Industries). Most of the enterprises came from the exploitation of forced labor in the concentration camps. As part of the SS, the WVHA in particular—and with it the SS-Totenkopfverbände (SS Death’s-Head Units)—were responsible for running the whole system of concentration camps, including the guarding, administration, and exploitation of the men and women taken into detention. Further acts of genocide and mass murder were undertaken by the Einsatzgruppen (Special Task Groups), highly mobile killing units that followed close behind the German Wehrmacht in the invasion of Poland and the Soviet Union. While the Einsatzgruppen consisted mainly of members of the SD and the Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police), many German army units as well as auxiliaries from the Ukraine and the Baltic states collaborated in the mass murder of Jews, communist politicians, and so-called saboteurs, a term used to legitimize the killing of civilians. As the war expanded, the Einsatzgruppen—which were responsible for killing more than half a million people—extended their area of operations into Greece, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary. From these countries, too, hundreds of thousands of Jews and Gypsies were deported to the extermination camps controlled by the SS. Further parts of the SS included the Waffen-SS, which acted largely as elite combat units. Units of the Waffen-SS were subordinate to the commanders of the Wehrmacht on a tactical level but remained part of the SS in principle.

The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg classified the entire SS as a criminal organization, only the Reiter-SS (Mounted SS) being exempted from the ban.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: AHNENERBE FORSCHUNGS- UND LEHRGEMEINSCHAFT; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARISTOCRACY; ARYANISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; ECONOMICS; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; GREECE; HIMMLER,

HEINRICH; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; INDUSTRY; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PANGERMANISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; ROMANIA; SA, THE; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SD, THE; SLOVAKIA; TERROR; TIBET; TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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STAB IN THE BACK, THE: See NOVEMBER CRIMINALS, THE

STAHLHELM ("STEEL HELMET")

Militant right-wing German nationalist association of war veterans established in 1918 by Franz Seldte. By 1923, Stahlhelm comprised 14,000 local groups, and membership was up to a million. Seldte's co-leader, Theodor Düstberg, ran for the presidency in 1932 and won 2.5 million votes but withdrew in favor of Hitler. When Hitler became chancellor he appointed Seldte minister of labor, and Seldte put the Stahlhelm directly under the chancellor's control. Eventually, the organization was absorbed into the SA.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; NAZISM; SA, THE; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH, known as "Josef" (real surname Dzhughashvili, 1878–1953)

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party from 1922 and, with varying official titles, autocrat of the Soviet Union from 1929 until his death. His adopted name, "Stalin," is derived from the Russian word *stal* ("steel"). While most observers agree that there were similarities between the institutional transformations, political styles, terror apparatuses, and foreign policies implemented by Stalin and Hitler (as well as, to a lesser degree, Mussolini), the ideological foundations of such parallels are contested. Although many pre-perestroika studies acknowledged the presence of Russian nationalist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, traditionalist, and similar features in Stalin's political thought, mainstream scholarship has continued to conceptualize Stalinism as clearly left-wing. A number of post-Soviet Western and Russian studies, however, are lending support to the centrality of a cryptic but nevertheless virulent Russian organicist and imperialist nationalism to Stalin's thinking, and are thus casting doubt on unambiguous classifications of his worldview. Some commentators have gone as far as to call Stalin a fascist.

Born in the small Georgian town of Gori, Stalin grew up under poor circumstances. In spite of an underprivileged background, he managed to enter the reputed Tbilisi Theological Seminary, from where he was expelled in 1899 without having finished his course. After an apparent involvement with the Georgian nationalist movement, Stalin became a member of the Tbilisi branch of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party upon its foundation in 1898. In spite of his earlier interest in Georgian nationalism, Stalin, in his first writings inspired by Marxism, denied the concept of a cultural identity of nations. At the same time, he expressed special appreciation for the Russians as a modern nation and a peculiar wrath against Jews as being uniquely reactionary. In doing so, he followed a distinction that had been introduced into Marxism by Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), who juxtaposed historical nations playing a progressive role with nonhistorical nations destined to disappear.



Ruthless Soviet dictator Iosif Stalin. Fear of Stalin and Soviet Bolshevism drove many into the arms of Hitler and Mussolini. (Library of Congress)

During the years preceding the 1917 revolution, Stalin gradually abandoned his nihilistic view of the nation and embraced partly Austro-Marxist approaches, acknowledging the continued relevance of national communities during the period of transition to world communism. Gradually, moreover, Stalin developed into the Bolshevik Party's expert on the national question and became the Soviet government's first people's commissar (that is, minister) of nationalities. Although insisting on the necessity of cultural autonomy for national republics, Stalin represented within the Soviet leadership a neoimperial solution to the nationalities question. His major opponent was initially Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) himself, who accused Stalin of waging a “truly Great Russian nationalist campaign” and who, in 1922, resisted Stalin's proposal to incorporate the nominally independent Trans-Caucasian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian Soviet republics into the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. Instead, a new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was created that, though de jure a hybrid between a federation and confederation, became an increasingly centralized unitary state largely along the lines imagined by Stalin.

Shortly before his death, Lenin became disillusioned about Stalin's qualities as a party functionary, and he demanded, in a famous letter, a limitation on his growing political power. As Lenin was seriously ill, however, Stalin managed to limit the circulation of this letter and to preserve his eminent position in the Soviet leadership. Although Stalin had assumed the party post of general secretary in 1922, that did not automatically secure unchallenged leadership after Lenin's death. Through a series of cunning political maneuvers and manipulation of cadre policies, Stalin gradually removed his political competitors, including Lev Trotskii, Grigorii Zinoviev (1883–1936), and Lev Kamenev (1883–1936), as well as, somewhat later, Nikolai Bukharin (1888–1938), from their leading posts. Subsequently, all of them were killed as “enemies of the people,” on Stalin's orders.

In the course of the 1930s the Soviet Union went through a transformation amounting to a second social revolution “from above,” marked by an agricultural collectivization campaign causing, among others, the deaths of 3 to 6 million mainly Ukrainian peasants in a famine in 1932–1933, a particularly violent onslaught on a loosely defined category of, allegedly, better-performing anti-Soviet peasants labeled kulaks (*kulak*, “fist”; Russian term for peasant with midsize farm); an industrialization drive leading to a rise in urban population of about 30 million from 1926 to 1939; and the creation of an enormous forced labor camp and colonies system known under the Russian acronym GULag (Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh lagerei: Chief Directorate of Corrective Labor Camps). Depending on widely varying estimates and the particular time period in question, the GULag had between 1.7 and 8 million inmates from the late 1930s until the early 1950s. Altogether, more than 20 million people probably went through Stalin's detention system. A part of the GULag population was provided as a result of a cardinal change in the composition of the Soviet administrative organs and large-scale purges at most party levels, governmental institutions, enterprises, and social organizations. Until the late 1920s, Soviet state terror had been applied primarily to presumed adversaries of communism, including priests, noblemen and -women, former czarist officials, or non-Bolshevik political activists. In contrast, among the victims of Stalin's “repressions” (a post-Stalinist Soviet euphemism denoting arrest, imprisonment, torture, and execution) in the 1930s were, to a disproportionately high degree, party functionaries including “Stalinists” as well as the staff of the highest echelons of the secret services and Red Army. Along with hundreds of thousands of

ordinary citizens, tens of thousands of Soviet administrators, including most members of the so-called Old Bolshevik guard, were shot or tortured to death. Many more perished from malnutrition, cold, and disease in prisons, trains, and camps. The so-called Great Terror of 1937–1938 hit, also to a disproportionately high degree, representatives of a number of Soviet national minorities, including the Poles, Germans, Finns, Greeks, and Estonians. Some prominent personalities, among them highly placed party functionaries and representatives of the Soviet cultural establishment, committed suicide.

By the late 1930s, Stalin had transformed the Soviet political regime from a party- and ideocracy (party rule informed by an ideology) into an auto- and logocracy (self-rule informed by the latest utterances of the supreme leader). While the Soviet state had, under its oligarchic government in the 1920s, been closer to the ideal-type of authoritarianism, it had acquired all the characteristics of totalitarianism and showed signs of sultanism by the late 1930s. As a result of the Soviet Union's victory over Nazi Germany and emergence as a superpower after World War II, Stalin's regime consolidated and preserved many of its core traits long after his death in 1953.

After Stalin had consolidated his power in the late 1920s, an increasingly orchestrated campaign affecting eventually all sectors of Soviet society aimed to create a new, isolated cultural community—the Soviet people—that would trace its roots to selected aspects of prerevolutionary Russian culture, traditions, and policies. The Russian nation was elevated to a leading position in Soviet society, and the Soviet people assigned the role of a collective messiah in world history. Both of these developments established a partial continuity with the ideological foundations of the czarist empires, and a substantive similitude between the USSR and the Third Reich.

Against the background of the New Economic Policy of the 1920s, novel and peculiarly Stalinist tendencies in the policies and political style of the Soviet leadership in the 1930s to 1950s included: replacement of class-sociological interpretations of historical events with traditional approaches to historical writing, in the early 1930s; an emphasis on the positive impact of national heroes—such as Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great—and culture in the formation of a powerful Russian state; partial acknowledgement of the Soviet Union's role as a successor of the czarist empire, including justification of czarist imperialist and colonialist policies toward non-Russian nationalities; partial replacement of nativization-indigenization policies introduced in the 1920s with russification of non-Russian Soviet national-

ities in the late 1930s; juxtaposition of “healthy patriotism” against “rootless cosmopolitanism”; abstruse Russian chauvinist claims ascribing many inventions—including those of the radio and powered flight—to Russians; abandonment of egalitarian income policies in many sectors of the economy, science institutions, and cultural industry; resumption of preferred admission of students with a working-class background to higher education; replacement of various avant-garde styles in Russian cultural production (literature, film, music) with a uniform traditionalist “socialist realism”; illiberal family and gender policies including a recriminalization of male homosexuality, tightening of the divorce laws, prohibition of abortions, and so forth in the 1930s; temporary rapprochement with Nazi Germany and abandonment of anti-Nazi propaganda in 1939–1940; consideration of the USSR's possible participation in the Tripartite Pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan of 1940; various anti-Jewish campaigns, especially after World War II, such as the persecution of the members of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, theater and literary critics of Jewish origin (accused of “cosmopolitanism”), and Stalin's mainly Jewish doctors, who were accused of a “plot” against him. Taken together, these and other similar measures amounted to a formidable amendment of not only the core ideas of Marxism but also important aspects of Leninism.

Many observers now agree that there were some striking similarities between important aspects of Stalin's and the czars' rule (for example, the two regimes' internal passport systems) as well as between certain traits of Stalinist and prerevolutionary Russian right-wing thought (such as messianism). Yet Stalin had only limited interest in the political ideas of the Slavophiles, Pan-Slavs, and Black Hundreds, or of such thinkers as Fëdor Tiutchev (1808–1873), Nikolai Danilevskii (1822–1885), Konstantin Pobedonostsev (1827–1907), and Konstantin Leont'ev (1831–1891). As Erik van Ree has shown, Stalin was well read only in Russian prerevolutionary left-wing and the varieties of international Marxist thought. Rather than creating an amalgam of Russian left- and right-wing ideologies—as post-Soviet Russia's Communist Party leader Gennadii Ziuganov (born 1943) has done recently—Stalin relied, in his revisions, on certain elitist and protonationalist aspects within international revolutionary thought that reached as far back as Jacobinism.

Andreas Umland

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARENDT, HANNAH; AUTHORITARIANISM; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; COMINTERN,

THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DICTATORSHIP; ECONOMICS; EGALITARIANISM; ELITE THEORY; FAMILY, THE; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FILM; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; IMPERIALISM; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM; NATIONALISM; ORGANICISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; RELIGION; ROOTLESSNESS; RURALISM; RUSSIA; SEXUALITY; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; STATE, THE; TERROR; THEATER; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TROTSKY, LEON; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WORLD WAR II; XENOPHOBIA

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STALINGRAD, THE BATTLE OF

Legendary confrontation between Nazi and Soviet troops beginning in the autumn of 1942 and ending in February 1943 that was not merely the turning point in Hitler's conflict with the Soviet Union but

also the turning point of World War II. Both sides endured terrible sufferings during the harsh winter conditions under which the battle for control of the city was fought. Although the German 6th Army under Field Marshal von Paulus nearly managed to take the whole city in September 1942, Russian resistance proved ultimately unbreakable, and von Paulus and 91,000 German soldiers were obliged to surrender (against the direct orders of Hitler) in February of the following year. It was a massive humiliation for the Third Reich, and it became a symbol for the Soviets of the superiority of their creed over fascism and their destiny to defeat Hitler.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; *LEBENSRAUM*; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOVIET UNION, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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STARACE, ACHILLE (1889–1945)

Secretary of the Italian Fascist Party from 1931 to 1939, a longer period of time than any other secretary managed to stay in the post. Starace was celebrated for his fanatical loyalty to Mussolini, so extreme that it made him an object of amusement to many. The son of a wine merchant in Gallipoli (Puglia), he graduated from Lecce Technical Institute with a degree in accountancy. After (highly decorated) service in World War I, Starace moved north to Trento, where he became a member of the Fascist Party in 1920. His active involvement in asserting Fascist power over the South Tyrol brought him to Mussolini's notice, and in 1921 he was appointed deputy secretary of the Fascist Party. He took part in the March on Rome and was put on the executive committee of the party later in 1922. In 1924 he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. As secretary of the National Fascist Party, Starace organized massive parades and marches, suggested the implementation of anti-Semitic measures, and labored to intensify the personality cult that had developed

around the figure of Mussolini. His idol was reputed to have answered, when someone referred to Starace as “a cretin,” that he was a “useful cretin.” After the fall of Mussolini, Starace was arrested and, though released, he was later executed by anti-Fascist partisans in 1945. His body was hung up next to that of Il Duce.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CULTURE (ITALY); FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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STATE, THE

Both Italian Fascism and National Socialism envisaged a state that was to overcome the weaknesses of the prevailing democratic systems—fragile and unstable regimes and political alliances, internal divisions into competing parties and interest groups fighting among themselves, the endless search for parliamentary majorities through debates, and impotence in the face of economic crises. The new fascist ideal of the state was the bringing together of the divergent groups under a single state leadership and the unification of society into a *Staatsvolk*. What was ultimately desired was the “total state” controlling all areas of civil life—what we understand today as “the totalitarian form of the state.”

In actual fact, however, both Italian Fascism and National Socialism replaced the rule of parties by a dual hegemony of state and (state) party; consequently, in most areas there arose in practice a structural “chaos of powers” and overlap of responsibilities for tasks between the officials legitimized by the state (ministries, administrative bureaucracies) and the elite of the party and its organizations. In National Socialism a third power ultimately emerged in the shape of the SS apparatus of Heinrich Himmler with the Gestapo, the SD, and the Reich Security Service as a kind of “state within the state.” The Duce and the Fuehrer both drew their unique power from their dual roles as head of state and head of the party. Both Italian Fascism and National Socialism after the “Roehm putsch” of 1934 experi-

enced a conflict between the party, with its “revolutionary” ideology, and the increasing need to rely on traditional-conservative elites in the civil service, the justice department, and the military. Moreover, for all the theoretical domination of a strong, monolithic “Fuehrer state,” the state and the legal authorities were constantly being undermined for the sake of ideological ends or at the behest of party elites whose powers were deliberately left unclear.

The Italian Fascists were strongly of the opinion (which was reinforced following the swift capitulation of the democratic constitutional state in the face of the somewhat dilettantish March on Rome) that they must do away with the old state. In the first years after 1922, the party showed particular aggressivity and revolutionary dynamism, dramatizing the power of Il Duce and promoting a cult of power, a permanent mobilization of the masses, and a state of emergency. At the same time, Justice Minister Alfredo Rocco inaugurated a phase of state institutionalization and legal “validation” of Fascism: now there was an overemphasis on the state apparatus, the extension of state administration, and invasive prescription in almost all areas of life. With the “special legislation” (*leggi fascistissime*) of 1925/1926, all non-Fascist parties were forbidden; freedoms of the press, of assembly, and of opinion were abolished; and police state reprisals were intensified—although the apparatus of state repression did not manifest the same degree of harshness as the Nazi state later.

The state now sought primarily to establish control and direction of the economy via long-term multiyear plans; measures embraced protection of the domestic market, control over banks and capital movements, state industrialization, housebuilding and trade policies, the gagging of labor representation through the banning of unions and works councils as well as enrollment of workers in Fascist organizations, a general ban on strikes, and the unification and centralization of wage agreements. The state was now to emerge as regulator in labor disputes, while “capital” and “labor” were to be in like measure “functional” components of a centrally directed state. The expansion of the state sector and a rapid increase in the number of state officials were to ensure the loyalty of the masses alongside the enrollment of women and young people in state organizations. With the extensive state, administrative, and constitutional reform of 1925/1926, the powers of Mussolini as president were widened; he ruled with the help of the “Grand Fascist Council,” among others. All social groups and interest associations, but especially the individual branches of the economy, were brought together in corporations or “syndicates” and were to

collaborate with the ends of state and party. A corporatist state emerged whose theoretical conception owed much to the “universalism” of Othmar Spann.

The world economic crises of the 1920s and later the requirements of war leadership at the side of Nazi Germany led, however, after the conclusion of a concordat with the Vatican, to a clear weakening of those modernistic-technocratic tendencies and measures that early Fascism had embraced. The reconciliation of Fascism and Catholicism led to a shift toward a strong politics of Christian-conservative order and to an involvement of conservative, traditionalist, and nationalistic forces on the side of the state. What emerged eventually was an Italian “National Fascism,” a development favored by the mass integration of the traditionally conservative-Catholic population.

The National Socialists subjected the state apparatus to the ideological goals of the party more vigorously than the Italian Fascists, so that the main political objectives of the National Socialists—exclusion of Jews from public life, suppression of nonconformists, the militaristic and nationalistic education of the young, and later the euthanasia program and the genocide of the Jews—were implemented with the help of the state apparatus and the administrative bureaucracy. The precedence of the ideological in the National Socialist state had its roots in *völkisch* nationalism and racism, which Hitler had declared in *Mein Kampf* to be the foundation of the state. The state was not “an end in itself” but had to serve the “conservation and elevation of the race.” States must be “*völkisch* states,” since the “higher mission” of the state lay in “national character” and the “unity of blood.” The error of previous state forms had lain in the toleration of “racial crossing” and “bastardization”: the *völkisch* state had the task of supervising breeding, including the elimination of all the sick and “inferior.” That must be the goal of all state political measures and the education of young persons, which must be education in “race understanding and race feeling” and state “selection of the capable.” A true state leadership was possible only with “race homogeneity,” and the goal was the “unified state” in which “everything is regulated from the center” (*Hitler’s Monologues*, 16 November 1941).

In 1933 the National Socialists began to lay the foundations for the authoritarian “Fuehrer state” under cover of the ideology of a “legal revolution.” State and society were to be transformed from the bottom up, but working with “legal means” through the appointment of Hitler as chancellor of the Reich, so that the “will of the German people” in its totality would find expression. Since the NSDAP was the only “state

party,” the NS leadership coined the formula “unity of party and state” (1933–1934). But the definition of the new National Socialist state proved rather imprecise, and the parallelism of powers between state and party posts soon led to persistent rivalries. The leading NS administration bureaucrats around Wilhelm Frick sought to establish a strong civil service state against the power of the party officials, but in the war years it was subjected to the brutal party and SS leadership around Goebbels, Himmler, and Bormann.

A special construct was the “Fuehrer state.” Political theorists like Carl Schmitt and especially Ernst Forsthoff (*Der totale Staat*, 1933) constructed the “identification of leader and led,” whereby the charismatically elevated person of the Fuehrer represented not only the will of state and party but also the totality of all Germans. According to the “Fuehrer principle,” Hitler ruled not in the context of a constitution but as “the personification of the will of the people.” Hitler stated: “The Fuehrer principle conditions a pyramid-style structure of organization in the details as in the whole. At the summit stands the Fuehrer. He appoints the necessary leaders for the individual areas of work of the leadership of the Reich, the party apparatus, and the administration of the state” (*Organisationsbuch der NSDAP*, 1943, p. 86).

Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BANKS, THE; BLOOD; BORMANN, MARTIN; CAPITALISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRICK, WILHELM; GERMANY; GESTAPO, THE; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INDIVIDUALISM; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; REVOLUTION; ROCCO, ALFREDO; SCHMITT, CARL; SD, THE; SOCIOLOGY; SOCIALISM; SPANN, OTHMAR; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADES UNIONS; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGE-MEINSCHAFT*, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WOMEN; YOUTH

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STAUFFENBERG, CLAUS SCHENK GRAF VON (1907–1944)

Prime mover of the July Plot, responsible for leaving the explosive in Hitler's headquarters that nearly killed the Fuehrer. Stauffenberg was born in a castle in Franconia into an aristocratic family. He was badly wounded in 1943 while serving in a cavalry regiment but survived to be appointed chief of staff of the Army Ordnance Department. His period of convalescence saw him turn against Hitler, and he joined the Kreisau Circle. Stauffenberg was executed later on the day of the abortive assassination attempt.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; CONSERVATISM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; WORLD WAR II

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STERILIZATION: See EUGENICS; HEALTH; SOCIAL DARWINISM

STOECKER, ADOLF (1835–1909)

German Lutheran theologian and court preacher, conservative anti-Semitic politician, and anticipator of

some aspects of Nazism. In 1878 he founded the Christian-Social Workers' Party (after 1881 the Christian-Social Party), originally as a Christian conservative rival to Social Democracy. He used anti-Semitism as a weapon in the struggle against liberalism and Social Democracy and for a Christian-conservative Germany, without, however, reaching the workers as he hoped. He gained much more response from craftsmen and tradesmen, white-collar workers, and minor officials. Stoecker's party called for the exclusion of Jews from all official positions of authority and a prohibition on their immigration. Although Stoecker opposed the most radical anti-Semites in that he accepted that Jews could be changed by baptism, he did not always differ from them in his demands and in his choice of words. He played an important part in the spread of anti-Semitism in the German Lutheran Church.

Michael Schäbitz
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CHRISTIANITY; GERMANY; LIBERALISM; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; NATIONALISM; PROTESTANTISM; SOCIALISM

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STOJADINOVIĆ, MILAN (1888–1961)

Serbian politician and financial expert, prime minister of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia between 1935 and 1939, and founder of the profascist political party Jugoslovenska Radikalna Zajednica (Yugoslav Radical Union). Stojadinović began his political career in 1922 as a financial expert in the government of Nikola Pašić. In the 1920s and 1930s he intermittently held the office of finance minister before forming a government in 1935. While in office, he promoted closer ties with Hitler and Mussolini and modeled his government on the fascist regimes of Italy, Germany, and Romania. He founded the "Greenshirts," the Yugoslav equivalent of Hitler's "Brownshirts," introducing a fas-

cist style salute and the title of *Voda* (“Leader”). Stojadinović’s government was dissolved by Prince Pavle Karađorđević in 1939.

Jovan Byford

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LJOTIĆ, DIMITRIJE; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; ROMANIA; SALUTES; SERBS, THE; STYLE; YUGOSLAVIA

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STORM TROOPERS: See SA, THE

STRASSER BROTHERS, THE

Leading advocates of an anticapitalist, but no less fascist and anti-Semitic, alignment of National Socialism. Gregor Strasser (1892–1934) reorganized the NSDAP after its unbanning in 1925 and served as the party’s *Reichsorganisationsleiter* (“head of organization”) from 1927. Following failed attempts to build an alliance with anticapitalist parts of the NSDAP, trades unions, and the army, he resigned from all party functions in December 1932 and was murdered by SS units in June 1934. His younger brother, Otto (1897–1974), left the NSDAP in 1930 to form national-revolutionary organizations, most notably the so-called Schwarze Front, and was exiled in 1933.

Stefan Vogt

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CAPITALISM; CLASS; GERMANY; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; SS, THE; TRADES UNIONS

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STRASSERISM: See CLASS; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE

STRATEGY OF TENSION, THE: See TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF

STREICHER, JULIUS (1885–1946)

One of the most notorious Nazis, on account of the sheer degree of his obsessive hatred of Jews and his work as tabloid-style propagandist for Nazism. Streicher was one of the first NSDAP members (1922), and after taking part in the Munich Putsch of 1923 he was suspended from his job as a teacher. In 1923 he established the inflammatory anti-Semitic weekly newspaper *Der Stürmer* and became *Gauleiter* in the Bavarian district of Franken in 1925. After 1933, Streicher joined the Reich Parliament, distributed anti-Semitic children’s books, and was leader of the Central Committee of the Boycott Movement, which organized economic boycotts against Jews in the 1930s. In 1940 he fell out with Goering but went on publishing *Der Stürmer*. Sentenced to death in the Nuremberg Trials, he was executed on 16 October 1946.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; GOERING, HERMANN; HOLOCAUST, THE; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; PRESS, THE; PROPAGANDA; *STÜRMER, DER*

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STRENGTH THROUGH JOY: See LEISURE; TRADES UNIONS

STRIKES: See TRADES UNIONS

STROESSNER, ALFREDO: See PARAGUAY

STUDENTS: See EDUCATION; MEDICINE; YOUTH

STURMABTEILUNG: See SA, THE

STÜRMER, DER

Crude and semipornographic weekly publication established in 1923 by Julius Streicher to spread anti-Semitic propaganda. Its subtitle was *Nürnberger Wochenblatt zum Kampf um die Wahrheit* (*Nuremberg Weekly for the Battle for Truth*), the word *Nuremberg* being changed to *Deutsches* ("German") in 1933. It published reports of the "race shame" of Aryan women having sexual relations with Jewish men and tales of Jewish "ritual murder." It contained appeals to the readers to denounce "friends of the Jews." In the 1920s it sold 2,000 to 3,000 copies weekly, but in 1933 the circulation rose to 20,000; by 1944 it had reached 400,000.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); HOLOCAUST, THE; PRESS, THE; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; STREICHER, JULIUS

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STURZO, LUIGI: See CLERICO-FASCISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM

STYLE

Since the 1970s many attempts to define *fascism* have broached the subject of a specifically fascist "style" of organization and politics. Juan J. Linz (1979) provided a definition that took into account style as one of the three main broad criteria (the other two being "negations" and "goals"). This tridimensional approach was emphatically restated in Stanley G. Payne's authoritative recent work on interwar fascism. In it, Payne produces an "ideal" checklist of fascist stylistic elements, including "political choreography," charismatic leadership, a cult of violence, glorification of youth, milita-

zation, and a male-dominated social discourse. Beyond the obvious paradigms of Italian Fascism and National Socialism, the general fascination of sectors of the European Right with fascism as exemplified in interwar Italy and Germany resulted in the widespread appropriation, imitation, or adaptation of this fascist "style."

The fascist "style" of politics was much more than a set of pragmatic devices calculated to ensure more effective social control and political decision-making. It was an extension of fascist utopianism, reverberating its quest for a totally novel conception of societal life and political conduct. It also constituted a particular articulation of fascism's own brand of "totalitarianism," aiming to appeal to—and help promote—an "organic" and "holistic" vision of national life. It also provided crucial definitions and clarifications of what fascist utopianism meant by its organic hypernationalist discourse, and how it perceived the process of social transformation toward its own teleological vision. The Italian and German cases produced an informal blueprint for imitation that a number of interwar right-wing movements and regimes found hard to resist in their search for a "third" path to politics and a new populist framework for nationalist, antiliberal, and antisocialist mobilization.

The extent to which the stylistic elements of either the Italian Fascist or the National Socialist experience influenced our perceptions of fascist "style" is difficult to exaggerate. The "charismatic" authority of the two leaders, in terms of both their adulation by their movements' membership and the subsequent leader cult propagated by the regimes, was replicated in almost all interwar fascist movements and regimes. From the Iron Guard's mystical idolization of its leader Codreanu, to the similar glorification of Oswald Mosley in Britain and Antonio Primo de Rivera in Spain's Falange; from the official state cult of Ioannis Metaxas in Greece to the reluctant charismatization of Antonio Salazar in Portugal and Francisco Franco in post-1939 Spain, far-right leaders capitalized heavily on the appeal of charismatic rule as exemplified by Mussolini and Hitler. At the same time, the "sacralization" of politics—evidenced by the widespread use of rituals, emotional symbols, and a quasi-religious discourse of legitimation—spread across the continent as a reaction to the alleged rationality and agnosticism of liberal and socialist models. The balcony, the *piazza*, the popular rally, the choreographed march—often supported by symbols of total national reference—all revolved around and paid service to the alleged mystic union between leadership and nation. Youth, women's, and leisure or-

ganizations, employed in a coordinated way as devices for totalitarian, organic, controlled mobilization of the whole of society, became omnipresent in interwar Europe, not only in indisputably fascist cases but also in most authoritarian and parafascist regimes. Finally, the particular fascist-totalitarian mix of consensus and coercion allowed for the co-opting of trademark repressive elements, such as the overall model of “surveillance society,” supported by secret police and an informal network of informants, geared toward eliminating any form of opposition and dissent from the allegedly organic discourse of the regime.

With the exception of a restricted sample of “neo-fascist” phenomena that unashamedly fetishize stylistic elements (insignia, marches) or idolize deceased fascist leaders, the bulk of the postwar experience of extreme right-wing politics manifests very little or no relevance to the interwar “style.” Clearly, fundamental changes in the wider cultural and political environment of the postwar period have transformed the representation of extreme-right-wing politics, rendering many of its interwar stylistic features anachronistic or redundant. Contemporary fascism is still capable of transmitting its distinct message of rebirth with an aggressive ethno-exclusive discourse without having to seek recourse to the formalistic trappings of its discredited interwar precedents. This does not, however, mean that the interwar fascist “style” has been totally abandoned, or that there is no such distinct contemporary model for the extreme Right. Populist discourses of national mobilization supported by mass rallies and extensive use of national symbols, as well as strong leader-oriented parties—such as Vladimir Zhirinovskiy’s Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) and Jean-Marie Le Pen’s Front National in France—maintain links with the interwar fascist prototype, albeit on a fundamentally updated and eclectic basis. More respectable and adaptable, less ritualistic and mystical, having tactically abandoned its interwar fundamental opposition to democracy and liberalism, contemporary fascism continues to experiment with new communication strategies and organizational principles.

Aristotle Kallis

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; COMMUNITY; D’ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; DEMOCRACY; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FIUME; FRANCE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GREAT BRITAIN; GREECE; HITLER, ADOLF; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; METAXAS, IOANNIS; MILITARISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; NA-

TIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIHILISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAFASCISM; PORTUGAL; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; PROPAGANDA; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; RUSSIA; SALAZAR, ANTONIO DE OLIVEIRA; SALUTES; SOCIALISM; SPAIN; SPORT; SQUADRISMO; SWASTIKA, THE; SYMBOLS; TERROR; THIRD WAY, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; WOMEN; YOUTH

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SUBHUMANS: See UNTERMENSCHEN

SUDETENLAND, THE

Prior to post–World War I settlement in 1919, a territory in Bohemia adjoining Germany that had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Its population included some 3 million German-speakers. Agitation by pro-Nazi elements led by Konrad Henlein resulted in its assignation to Germany by the terms of the Munich Pact in 1938. This event was a focal point in Hitler’s drive to create a “greater Germany.” After the war the German population was expelled from the Sudetenland, which was resettled by Czechs.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: APPEASEMENT; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; EXPANSIONISM; GERMANY; HENLEIN, KONRAD; HITLER, ADOLF; IRREDENTISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUNICH AGREEMENT/PACT, THE; PANGERMANISM; SLOVAKIA; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR I

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**SUPERMAN, THE: See NEW MAN, THE;
NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH**

SURVIVALISM

U.S. movement of the postwar era concerned with surviving nuclear, environmental, or societal catastrophe that contains a fascistic wing. Survivalists tend to be united in their belief that modern society is on the verge of collapse, that governments will be unable or unwilling to protect them when such a collapse occurs, and that, as a result, people must become self-sufficient and able to look after themselves. Depending upon their particular concerns, different survivalists prepare for such impending crises in different ways: some construct fallout shelters; others learn how to hunt and make their own clothes; some stockpile food and water supplies, invest in gold and silver, or develop emergency communication networks; while others amass weaponry and ammunition, or withdraw to fortified compounds to prepare for the perceived conflict to come. Survivalists can be found throughout the world, but they have an especially strong presence in the United States. The roots of survivalism are located in anxieties about the creation and use of atomic weapons during World War II, the military involvement of the United States in Korea and Vietnam, and tensions with the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Under the influence of magazines such as *American Survival Guide* and *Soldier of Fortune*, the paramilitary aspects of survivalism came increasingly to the fore during the late 1970s and early 1980s. However, it is those elements of the survivalist Right that have Christian Identity beliefs (that white “Aryans” are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel, that Jews are children of Satan, and that blacks and other minorities are “mud people,” for ex-

ample), such as John Harrell’s and Jack Mohr’s Christian Patriots Defense League and James Ellison’s Covenant, Sword and Arm of the Lord, that have been the cause of the greatest concern about the dangers posed by survivalism to U.S. society.

Darren Mulloy

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS; ARYANISM; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; COLD WAR, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DECADENCE; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RADIO; UNITED STATES, THE (POST-WAR); WORLD WAR II; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE (ZOG)

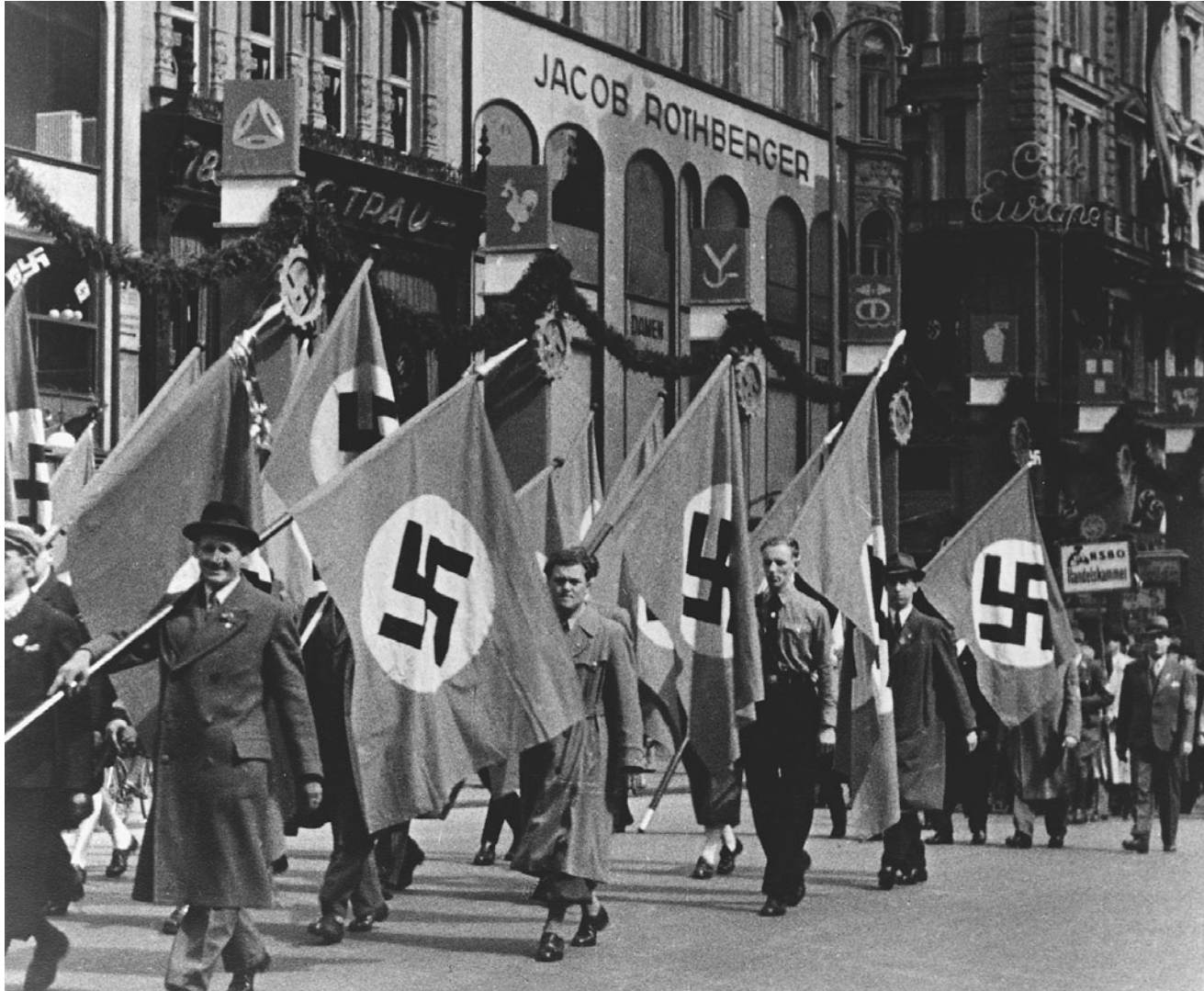
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SWASTIKA, THE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An equilateral cross with its arms bent to the right, used as their logo by the German Nazis. It is a very ancient and widespread ornamental symbol, found in the fourth millennium B.C. on Persian pottery and later in Greece, India, Tibet, Japan, and among the American Indians. It is a very holy symbol in Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. It has wide currency in India, where temples and festivals are often decorated with swastikas, and its etymology is in fact Sanskrit (*svastika*: “lucky”), where it was used of auspicious objects or of marks meant to bring good fortune. Essentially, it means something like “lucky charm.” In the nineteenth century the theorization of an Indo-European group of languages led to a quest for links between modern Europeans and ancient Indo-Iranians (“Aryans”). Objects decorated with the swastika were found in the ruins of Troy, and this gave rise to the suggestion that it was a symbol specific to the Indo-Europeans. The symbol then became a popular one in the West. Its attraction



Flags bearing the swastika, the symbol of Nazism. It was in fact borrowed from Asian tradition and was seen as a reference to the 'superior' Aryan race which had originated in the East. (Library of Congress)

to the Nazis arose from the fact that their philosophy depended on an identification of modern Germanic peoples with an Aryan master race.

Cyprian Blamires

AS A SYMBOL OF NAZISM

When the swastika was adopted as an emblem by Adolf Hitler and the DAP in 1919, it was already associated with a pan-European, anti-Semitic discourse, constructed around fantasies of a superior "Aryan" race. The new insignia and flag made its first appearance at a rally of the new Nazi Party (NSDAP) in Mu-

nich in May 1920. Hitler's inclusion of the swastika symbol in his design for the flag was part of an attempt to redefine the Bismarckian concept of the German state according to the racial ideology and expansionist project of a single party. The Nazi flag can therefore be regarded as a collage of elements serving a specific strategy of territorial conquest. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler gives an account of the design of the swastika banner as a graphic synthesis of the black, white, and red colors of Bismarck's flag of 1866, with a symbol that could mark a distinction between the Nazi project and the values of earlier German nationalism, tarnished by the defeat of Germany in World War I. Hitler also saw other design advantages in the swastika as a visually distinctive device that would be clearly recognizable on

posters, insignia, uniforms, armbands, and flags. Both the form of the Nazi flag and the direction of its critique indicate that the swastika was used to mark a set of differences—between Nazism and German nationalism, between Nazism and communism, and between the “Aryan” and the Jew. The anti-Semitic discourse around the swastika had developed in the nineteenth century in the writings of Aryanists such as Emile Burnouf, Michael Zmigrodski, and Lanz von Liebenfels and was characterized by an ahistorical and romantic appeal to purity of blood. The politicization and militarization of this discourse in Nazi propaganda also establishes differences between Nazism and its precursor, Italian Fascism. As the historian Ernst Nolte has observed, the Nazi flag, unlike the lictor’s bundle of Italian Fascism, did not recall a particular historical era but a racial consciousness whose greatness was “lost” in history and whose ultimate victory lay in the future. Nolte’s thesis is that Nazism was fascism in extremis, but it may also be suggested that Nazism was racist extremism in the form of a fascist political program. Nazism, in other words, may be thought of as fascism plus the swastika. The “afterlife” of the Nazi swastika in the visual lexicon of extreme racist groups, and the relative decline of the emblems of Italian Fascism, may support this conclusion.

Malcolm Quinn

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BUDHISM; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SOCIALISM; SYMBOLS; TIBET; TRADITION; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WORLD WAR I

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SWEDEN

Sweden’s first fascist party, the Swedish National Socialist Freedom Federation (Nationalsocialistiska Frihetsförbundet), was founded in 1924. Through a number of transformations, this party became the core of the Swedish National Socialist Party (Svenska Nationalsocialistiska Partiet; SNSP), which was led by Birger Furugård and which was to constitute one of two major Nazi parties in interwar Sweden. The second party, the National Socialist Workers Party (Nationalsocialistiska Arbetarepartiet; NSAP) under the leadership of Sven-Olov Lindholm, was founded in 1933 through a split within the SNSP. The cause of the split was both organizational and ideological. The SNSP advocated a more traditionalist path, while the NSAP had a much more radical political program. The SNSP was in addition more mimetic in regard to German Nazism, whereas the NSAP struggled to formulate its own indigenous Nazism, ideologically as well as organizationally independent from Germany. The more radical stance of the NSAP can partly be explained by the fact that many of its leaders had old ties to the only Italian-style fascist organization in Sweden, Sweden’s Fascist Combat Organization (Sveriges Fascistiska Kamporganisation; SFKO). The SFKO was founded in 1926 as a radical and extremely activist militia that was modeled on the Italian *squadristo*. In the late 1920s, however, the organization oscillated toward Nazism and eventually joined ranks with the SNSP.

Later in 1933 yet another alleged Nazi party was founded in the form of the National Socialist Bloc (Nationalsocialistiska Blocket; NSB), which had a strong upper-class following. Despite its name, the party should not be defined as ideologically fascist but radical right. It never became very successful, partly because of the total want of charisma of the party leader, Colonel Martin Ekström, and it vanished in 1936. The SNSP was also terminated in 1936, and its members were encouraged to join the NSAP. The immediate reason for the termination was its disastrous showing in the general election of 1936, in which the party, in coalition with the NSB, gained a mere handful of votes and only about one-sixth of the support of the NSAP.

Peaking in the mid-1930s, the Nazi parties could muster a following of around 30,000 members out of a population of 6.5 million. To that should be added the membership of the radical-right Sweden’s National

Federation (Sveriges Nationella Förbund; SNF), which has been estimated at close to 40,000 in the mid-1930s. The history of the SNF goes back to 1915, when the organization was founded as an independent youth organization with close ties to the conservatives. In 1933, there was a split with the conservative party as a result of organizational problems and ideological conflicts regarding parliamentary rules and economic policies; during the 1930s the SNF can be characterized as radical-right, oscillating toward fascism proper around 1940. The reason for this ideological drift was a gradual loss of long-time and more traditionalist supporters, which paved the way for a more radical and gradually more fascistized fraction. This development was enhanced when the SNF in 1937 merged with the National Federation of the New Sweden (Riksförbundet det Nya Sverige; RNS) under the leadership of Per Engdahl (1909–1994). Engdahl started his political career in the SFKO, but when that organization turned to Nazism, Engdahl broke free and started his own movement. Like the NSAP, the Engdahl movement tried to steer clear of the German influence, formulating the idea of New Swedishness. Centered on the notion of a corporatist people's state, Engdahl's elaborated fascist vision differs from both Nazism and Italian-style Fascism, forming a specific variant of independent, indigenous fascism. The cooperation between the SNF and the Engdahl movement ended in 1942, when Engdahl started Swedish Opposition (Svensk Opposition), which was meant as an umbrella organization for the different ultranationalist groups in Sweden, but which was perceived as a competitor by the SNF.

Completing the ideological spectrum of interwar fascism is Sweden's Socialist Party (Sveriges Socialistiska Parti; SSP) under Nils Flyg. Originally communist in outlook and a former member of the Comintern, the party split in 1937 after a substantial part of its members had become increasingly critical of the Comintern in favor of an independent national communism. Initially trying to avoid fascism proper, the party appeared openly as a fascist party from 1941.

The NSAP, having changed its name to the Swedish Socialist Coalition (Svensk Socialistisk Samling; SSS) in 1938, went out of existence in 1950. The SNF and the Engdahl movement, which was renamed the New Swedish Movement (Nysvenska Rörelsen; NSR) after the war, still exist. After the war the SNF became an important advocate of Holocaust denial through its leader, Rütger Essén. Engdahl played an important part in the establishment of the MSI, also known as the Malmö Movement, in the 1950s. In the 1960s he became an ardent proponent of ecofascism, the merging

of fascism and environmentalism. In the late 1980s, fascist movements started to gain momentum again, but in different forms from those of the interwar period. The organizations that survived the war saw little of this new wave of support. Instead, it was the militant White Power movement centered around the skinhead culture that started to grow, heavily influenced by British groups. One of many peaks of White Power activism in Sweden in the 1990s occurred in 1991–1992 and was centered on the group White Aryan Resistance (Vitt Ariskt Motstånd, VAM), which was heavily influenced by its U.S. counterpart and which made use of ZOG rhetoric.

Besides a strong White Power scene, Sweden has also, from the late 1980s onward, seen a growth in both political populism—mainly in the shape of New Democracy (Ny Demokrati), which held seats in parliament from 1991 to 1994—and ethnocratic semifascist groups similar to the Front National and the old MSI. The most successful of the latter are the Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna; SD), who have been increasingly successful in local elections from the 1990s onward but who still lack parliamentary representation.

Lena Berggren

See Also: COMINTERN, THE; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; ECOLOGY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; IMMIGRATION; ITALY; MARXISM; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SOCIALISM; *SQUADRISMO*; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM; XENOPHOBIA; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE (ZOG)

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SWITZERLAND

Fascist organizations have emerged periodically in Switzerland since 1918. They reached their apogee at the beginning of the 1930s. Since World War II, right-wing radicalism has experienced several revivals. Anti-immigration parties have been more important than openly fascist organizations. The first protofascist tendencies were already registered in the antisocialist



Despite its benevolent and tolerant image, Switzerland has seen the emergence of numerous far-right groups in the postwar years. This is a poster for one of them, Nationale Aktion, founded in 1961; it calls for restrictions on immigration. (Library of Congress)

militias during and after the 1918 general strike. They came together in the Vaterlaendische Verband in 1919. In 1925, the anti-Semitic Heimatwehr was founded as the first clearly fascist organization. Numerous fascist groupings, the fronts, were created at the beginning of the 1930s. In 1933 they achieved several electoral successes (26.7 percent in Schaffhausen, 9 percent in Geneva, 7.8 percent in Zurich). After those initial successes, their numbers dropped dramatically, however. The Nationale Front, which existed from 1930 to 1940 under the leadership of Rolf Henne and Robert Tobler, was the strongest front in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Tobler was a member of parliament between 1935 and 1939. Several smaller organizations split off—for instance, the Volksbund, the Eidgenoessische Soziale Arbeiter-Partei, and the Bund treuer Eidgenossen nationalsozialistischer Weltan-

schauung. In the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the Union Nationale in Geneva was the most important fascist organization. Its leader, Georges Oltramare, got financial support from Mussolini. Oltramare left the movement in 1939, after a failed attempt to merge with the Liberal Party. Afterward, the Union Nationale disappeared.

The borders between the traditional bourgeois parties and the fronts were fluid. Many antisocialists admired Mussolini as a victor over the labor movement. In 1937, he even received an honorary doctorate from the University of Lausanne. One Swiss intellectual sympathizing with fascism stands out from all the others: Gonzague de Reynold. Other politicians, prominent among them Catholic-conservative ministers Jean-Marie Musy, Giuseppe Motta, and Philipp Etter, embraced these ideas. The bourgeois parties and the fronts united against social democratic-dominated local governments in several elections. After the defeat of France in 1940, Swiss fascism reawakened. The Nationale Bewegung was created, whose representatives got an audience with President Marcel Pilet-Golaz in October 1940, and in November of that year, a petition of two hundred demanded measures against media hostile to Germany. Despite several prohibitions, the fascist organizations did not disappear until 1943. About 900 Swiss volunteers served in the Waffen-SS.

After World War II, right-wing extremism experienced several revivals. In 1951, Gaston-Armand Amaudruz created the racist *Nouvel Ordre Européen* and the short-lived *Volkspartei der Schweiz*. Several fascist organizations were founded during the 1970s: *Europa-Burschenschaft Arminia* in 1971; *Nationale Basis Schweiz* in 1974; and *Volkssozialistische Partei* in 1978. Starting in 1985, several short-lived fascist parties emerged: the *Neue Nationale Front* (1985 to 1987); the *Volks-Aktion gegen zu viele Auslaender und Asylanten*, which won a seat on the Basle Town Council in 1988, and whose leader obtained a share of 2.6 percent there in 2003; the *Neue Front/Eidgenoessische Sozialisten* (1988–1989); the *Patriotische Front/Partei der Zukunft*, which obtained a share of 6.4 percent in Canton Schwyz in 1991; the *Nationalrevolutionaere Partei* (1989–1990); the *Nationale Initiative Schweiz* (1996–1997); the *Nationale Partei* (2000 to 2003); the *Partei National Orientierter Schweizer* (founded in 2000); the *Jeunesse Nationaliste Suisse et Européenne* (founded in 2000); and the *Nationale Ausserparlamentarische Opposition* (founded in 2003). The *Schweizer Hammerskins* became the leading fascist network in the second half of the 1990s. In addition, the so-called

revisionists who denied or played down the Holocaust have included Mariette Paschoud, Arthur Vogt, Juergen Graf, Bernhard Schaub, and Max Wahl. Some of them were organized in the esoteric circle "Avalon." More important than the open fascists were the parties fighting against so-called *Ueberfremdung* ("overforeignization"), which as pioneers of xenophobic parties in Western Europe exerted a considerable influence on migration politics. The Nationale Aktion (NA), founded in 1961, managed to send James Schwarzenbach as its first representative to parliament in 1967. In 1970, a popular initiative for the limitation of immigration obtained a share of 46 percent in the popular vote. A year later, the Republikaner, created by Schwarzenbach and the NA, received a share of 7.5 percent in national elections. In 1985, the anti-immigration movement Vigilance became the strongest party in Geneva, attaining a share of 18.9 percent in cantonal elections.

Since the 1980s, a diversification of the radical-right parties has taken place. Besides the NA (since 1990, Schweizer Demokraten), the Eidgenoessische Demokratische Union (founded in 1975), the Autopartei (founded in 1985, since 1994 the Freiheits-Partei), the Lega dei Ticinesi (founded in 1991), and the Katholische Volkspartei (founded in 1994) have emerged. During the 1990s, these parties became less and less important in view of the ascent of the populist and isolationist Schweizerische Volkspartei (SVP), which became the strongest party in Switzerland in 1999 (22.5 percent; 2003: 26.6 percent). Its leader, Christophe Blocher, became a member of the federal government in 2003.

Christian Koller

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BANKS, THE; BOURGEOISIE, THE; FRANCE; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; IMMIGRATION; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; SOCIALISM; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WORLD WAR II; XENOPHOBIA

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SYMBOLS

Fascism was a political phenomenon with a consciously and deliberately high level of symbolic intensity deriving from its antirationalist conception of politics and the masses, which attributed an absolutely fundamental role to myth and ritual in collective life. All fascisms shared the conviction that aesthetic symbolism rather than verbal symbolism was the political language most accessible to the masses, on account of the fundamentally irrational nature of their psychology, and the most effective instrument for the achievement of the fusion of the individual and the masses in the mystic totality of the national community. Hitler involved himself personally in the question of the form and color of the swastika as the symbol of the Nazi Party. The mystical and not merely instrumental essence of fascist symbolism seems evident in the mythical origin of the emblems of the principal fascist movements, such as the Italian lictors' fasces and the swastika, products of a modernistic redevelopment of ancient symbols to be adopted as sacred emblems of the national or racial community, regenerated by a movement of new men, artificers of a new state, in which the movement identified with and incarnated the totality of the nation. In this sense the symbolism of the fascist movements was not just an artifice of propaganda but also the coherent expression of a conception of life founded on mythical thought, and it played a crucial part in conferring on the fascist phenomenon the features of a political religion.

Emilio Gentile

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; COMMUNITY; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANIC RELIGION; GERMANNESSE; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LE BON, GUSTAVE; MATERIALISM; MECHANISTIC THINKING; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NAZISM; NEW AGE,

THE; NEW MAN, THE; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; ROME; SALUTES; SOUL; STATE, THE; SWASTIKA, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*; THE

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SYNDICALISM

The word *syndicat* in French, or *sindacato* in Italian, denotes a labor organization or trades union, and syndicalism emerged as a revolutionary political ideology within the left wing of the socialist and labor movements in Italy and France early in the twentieth century. Although syndicalism did not possess a rigidly defined set of ideas, its program being somewhat amorphous, syndicalist thinkers tended to concentrate on the concepts of the “general strike” and “direct action”: methods intended to bring about the rapid overthrow of capitalism by paralyzing the economy and fostering the necessity of spontaneous acts of violence against the bourgeois parliamentary state in order to achieve working-class political power. Syndicalism criticized conventional Marxism for having become bureaucratic, and for having lost its revolutionary appeal because it concentrated on narrow economic considerations at the expense of revolutionary idealism. These perceived shortcomings were described as the tendency toward oligarchy by the German-Italian syndicalist theoretician Roberto Michels. For syndicalism, the revolution was not a legalistic matter; it had to express a spontaneous and aggressive instinctual vitalism.

Technically, the father of French revolutionary syndicalism was the French labor leader Fernand Pelloutier (1867–1901), but in 1906, with the publication of *Reflections on Violence* by Georges Sorel, revolutionary syndicalism acquired a more sophisticated ideological formulation, and the book came to be considered the representative statement of revolutionary syndicalism. Sorel was an important writer in France, but he also decisively influenced the formation of Italian syndicalism. In Sorel, one can detect the movement away from purely Marxist goals and the early formulation within

syndicalist theory of fascistic ideas. For Sorel, the general strike would lead not to the total destruction of capitalism but rather to a strengthening of the national community. In Social Darwinian terms, most likely derived from the popular writings of the German zoologist Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), Sorel praised the beneficial social effects to be realized from an ongoing struggle between the proletariat and the middle class, a conflict that would lend a heroic character to society and serve to strengthen the major social classes that composed the community. A communist utopia, Sorel believed, would therefore never emerge according to the way it had been conceived by Marxism, as a society in which conflict and class struggle could be overcome. For Sorel, peaceful social conditions, parliamentary democracy, and democratic ideas could serve only to weaken a vigorous and healthy society. The power of aggressive instinct and the myth of unity and social cohesion should be cultivated to rally the energies of the proletariat in their eternal struggle with the bourgeoisie. In this way, Sorel comes close to the idea of fascism—that is, the revolution integrating the entire community, the nation, and not one particular social class being the focus of ideological concern.

Mussolini and other fascist leaders in Italy, such as Sergio Panunzio and Edmondo Rossoni (1884–1965), acknowledged ties to syndicalism. Under Italian Fascism, syndicalism continued to play an ideological and practical role in the hierarchical organization of society. But its activities were clearly subordinated to the power of the state, and its program was remote from its former call for proletarian revolutionary zeal.

Daniel Gasman

See Also: ABSTRACTION; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; CLASS; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MICHELS, ROBERTO; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PANUNZIO, SERGIO; PARLIAMENTARISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIOLOGY; SOREL, GEORGES; STATE, THE; TRADES UNIONS; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VITALISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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SZÁLASI, FERENC (1897–1946)

Major figure of Hungarian fascism who took power on 15 October 1944, Szálasi was the only chief ideologue of the Arrow Cross movement who did not recant during his trials in 1945. Born of a mixed Hungarian, Austrian, Slovak, and Armenian family, Szálasi was one of the most prominent and controversial figures of Hungarian fascism. He finished military academy and served thirty-six months in World War I and even achieved some fame for being an excellent military policy-maker but a “dangerous” politician. A close confidant of Prime Minister Gyula Gömbös during the early 1930s, Szálasi appeared on the scene in 1935 as a major political figure. He invented his own brand of fascist ideology, Hungarism—loosely, the ideology to create the Great Hungarian Fatherland under the leadership of the Great Leader. During the 1935 elections he refused to throw in his lot with Gömbös’s party, instead creating his own Party of National Will, which carried his Hungarist idea and its slogan “Soil, Blood, Work.”

Failing to enter official politics, Szálasi then created the Hungarist Movement in 1937, but his extremism earned him a two-year jail sentence between 1938 and 1940. After becoming prime minister, he ordered the “death-trains” for the Jews, which lasted until the end of December, and the creation of the Budapest ghetto. At the end of the war he was sentenced to death by hanging.

László Kürti

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARROW CROSS, THE; BLOOD AND SOIL; EXPANSIONISM; GHETTOS; GÖMBÖS, GYULA; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; LEADER CULT, THE; WORLD WAR I

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TECHNOLOGY

Scholarly understanding of the relationship between fascism and technology has changed significantly in the past twenty years. Today it is recognized that enthusiasm for modern technology is an integral part of the fascist phenomenon. It should be noted, however, that the fascists interpreted modern technology in a particular, one-dimensional way. German and Italian attitudes toward modern technology were once seen as separated by a wide gulf. Aware of the Italian Fascists' affinity for modernism and modernity, scholars in the 1960s and 1970s believed that German National Socialism centered instead on backward-looking ideologies such as "blood and soil" and a preindustrial, racist utopia that rejected technological society. Along with the different attitudes toward race, eugenics, and anti-Semitism that distinguished Nazi Germany from Fascist Italy, the alleged German-Italian split over modernity and technology cast doubt on the value of making generalizations and contributed to a devaluation of the fascist paradigm in the 1980s.

The long-held assumption that the Nazis were hostile to modernity first came under attack in the 1980s, however, when detailed studies of Nazi science policy and attitudes toward technology began to show a more nuanced picture. It became evident that scientific rationality existed side by side with antimodern impulses in Hitler's Germany, and that its familiar rhetoric of an-

ticapitalist, antidemocratic Romanticism included a passion for modern technology, engineering, and invention. Jeffrey Herff has described this phenomenon, which represented an embrace of the Enlightenment's instrumental rationality while rejecting its liberal, capitalist, and universal dimensions, as "reactionary modernism." The concept of reactionary modernism was intended to account for Germany's historical peculiarity vis-à-vis other Western nations. But it can also serve to align Nazi Germany with Fascist Italy as regards their attitudes toward modern technology. Both countries appropriated those aspects of modernity that could be recombined with what Robert Paxton calls the "mobilizing passions" of societies in crisis. In the post-World War I era, those passions centered on a mythic narrative of victimhood, populist hypernationalism, heroic leadership, collectivism, solidarity, violence, renewal, and redemption in Darwinian struggle. Modern technology and technological progress were said to spring from the same sources that powered the fascist phenomenon: heroic genius and artlike, antirationalistic, antibureaucratic creativity. In politics, those energies manifested themselves in the charismatic leadership of the Fuehrer and Il Duce. In technology, they took the form of a zeal for invention and innovation—for the "creative destruction" (Joseph Schumpeter) of older, ossifying technological systems by the authors of newer, more vibrant, and modern technologies. Folded into the mobilizing passions, technology thus defined produced a bend of brutality, efficiency, ruthlessness,

productivism, and modernism. This was reflected in the affinities between fascism and modernism noted by scholars such as the art historian Mark Antliff, and in such seemingly unrelated projects as the SS's universe of labor and death camps, Albert Speer's monumental architecture, Mussolini's technocratic aspirations and urban planning, dreams of a "people's car," aeronautics and space rocketry, Futurism, motorways, "rationalized" industrial relations, and Hitler's grandiose designs of conquest and resettlement in the East.

The heroic interpretation of modern technology can be seen most clearly in National Socialism's conception of inventing and its policies toward inventors. The Nazis borrowed their view of inventing from a long-standing debate on the causes of technological progress. They rejected arguments that inventing was the product of systematic research and development in laboratories, siding instead with those who portrayed inventions as the work of individual genius and the inventor as "an image of the Creator, a being in which God has placed a spark of His own creative power" (Max Eyth, as quoted in Gispen 2002, 91). The exponents of this view, which went back to the nineteenth century, were mainly engineers and inventors themselves. They (over)emphasized the flash of genius to invalidate big business arguments that inventions resulted from the routine application of professional knowledge and company organization—which turned their authors into ordinary, fungible labor. Hitler in the 1920s made the engineers' perspective his own, writing in *Mein Kampf* that "it is not the mass that invents and the majority that organizes and thinks, but in everything always only the individual human being, the person" (quoted in *ibid.*, 94).

In power, the Nazis also sided with inventors, both for ideological reasons and to encourage invention and innovation. If Nazi Germany had an overarching technology policy, promoting the inventor was its unifying theme. The regime institutionalized the heroic view of inventing in the new Patent Code of 1936, which strengthened the inventor's legal position vis-à-vis capital. From 1934 to 1941, the regime gave assistance to small and independent inventors (*Erfinderbetreuung*), in the mistaken belief that this group represented a vast untapped reservoir of Aryan inventive genius. In 1942–1943, armaments minister Speer introduced statutory rewards for employed inventors, in the unrealized hope that providing the fuel of interest to spark their fire of genius would help to win World War II.

With the defeat of the Axis powers in 1945, the fascist technological style went out of fashion. Significantly, however, it did not disappear completely. Ele-

ments of it continued in the postwar period and, in some instances, survive today. Industrial firms nationalized under Mussolini in the context of his regime's technocratic ambitions grew into vast state-owned conglomerates with enormous financial power, such as IRI (Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale, founded in 1933) and ENI (Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi, the state oil company, established in 1926 as AGIP). National Socialism created institutional structures that gave preferential treatment to national champions, which helps to explain the striking postwar success of companies such as Daimler-Benz and, especially, Volkswagen. Some aesthetic and environmental aspirations survived in city planning and highway design. Nazi wartime wage-calculation methods transferred directly to West Germany, and the fascist emphasis on productivism mutated into the thriving field of industrial psychology. The aborted beginnings of a technology-based mass consumer society came to fruition in the 1950s. Finally, Nazism's pro-inventor reforms of the German patent code and Speer's imposition of mandatory, graduated rewards for employed inventors survive in modified form in Germany's legal system and influence its technological culture to this day.

Kees Gispen

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; ARYANISM; AXIS, THE; AUTOBAHNS; BLITZKRIEG; BLOOD AND SOIL; CAPITALISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; EUGENICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; LIBERALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MODERNISM; MODERNITY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRODUCTIVISM; PROGRESS; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RATIONALISM; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SPEER, ALBERT; SS, THE; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VOLKSWAGEN; WORLD WAR II

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TEENAGERS: See SEXUALITY; YOUTH

TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF

An elaborate and relatively systematic campaign of terrorism and subversion carried out by neofascist paramilitary groups in Italy between the mid-1960s and the early 1980s. Subsequent judicial, parliamentary, and journalistic investigations revealed that the neofascist perpetrators had received covert aid and assistance from hardline factions within various Western security and intelligence agencies, diverse conservative and anticommunist groups, and even elements within the Italian political establishment. The seriousness of neofascist terrorism in Italy was reflected statistically in Italian police records, which attributed 83 percent of the 4,384 officially registered acts of political violence between 1969 and 1975 to the extreme Right. (Contrary to popular perceptions, left-wing terrorism did not become predominant in Italy until the latter half of the 1970s.) In addition to hundreds of acts of smaller-scale neofascist violence, the "strategy of tension" was marked by a series of terrorist atrocities that were at that time unprecedented in their indiscriminate brutality and precipitation of large numbers of casualties. These consisted mainly of a series of powerful bombings in public locales that were carefully selected to cause the maximum number of civilian casualties: the Agricultural Bank on Milan's Piazza Fontana in December 1969; the Piazza della Loggia in Brescia during a political rally in August 1974; the "Italicus" express train in December 1974; and Bologna's crowded central train station in August 1980. These acts of mass-casualty terrorism were interspersed with a succession of abortive "coups" involving both civilian extremists and high-ranking military personnel, including the so-called De Lorenzo coup of 1964, the December 1970 Borghese coup in Rome, and a series of overlapping

plots in 1973 and 1974 that were linked to the Rosa dei Venti ("Compass Rose") group and to former non-communist partisans such as Edgardo Sogno and Carlo Fumagalli. The total casualty toll of this "strategy of tension" amounted to more than 200 deaths and well over 1,000 wounded, many of whom were horribly mutilated. In postwar Europe, only Northern Ireland, the Basque country, and Turkey were subjected to bloodier and more extensive campaigns of terrorism.

The individuals who carried out these attacks were members of the most important and radical neofascist groups at the time. During the first phase of the "strategy of tension," from the mid-1960s until 1975, the primary culprits were affiliated with the clandestine apparatus of Giuseppe ("Pino") Rauti's Ordine Nuovo (ON; New Order); Stefano delle Chiaie's Avanguardia Nazionale (AN; National Vanguard); ON's radical offshoot, Clemente Graziani's Movimento Politico Ordine Nuovo (MPON; New Order Political Movement); and Giorgio ("Franco") Freda's series of front groups based in the Padua and Veneto areas. Key personnel from these groups had previously received training in sophisticated French counterinsurgency techniques from elements of the so-called Black International, a loosely interconnected network of right-wing paramilitary groups then centered on Aginter Presse. In reality, this Lisbon-based "press agency," which had been established by former members of the Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS; Secret Army Organization), the mixed military-civilian terrorist group that had violently resisted President Charles De Gaulle's efforts to grant Algeria independence, functioned as a training center for anticommunist covert action, subversion, and terrorism. These same Italian neofascist groups also received "cover" and covert logistical aid from various top secret parallel security apparatuses, including the Ufficio Affari Riservati (UAR; Covert Operations Section) of the Italian Ministry of the Interior, factions within the Italian Servizio Informazioni Difesa (SID; Defense Intelligence Service), the Portuguese secret police, the post-1967 Greek secret services, and elements of the Spanish security services, all of which were actively engaged in "plausibly deniable" destabilization operations against the Left. In the end, however, these neofascist radicals were "burned" by their erstwhile covert state "handlers" when they became more of a liability than an asset.

Indeed, these "first generation" neofascist terrorist groups had been systematically manipulated by their secret sponsors from the very beginning. They were encouraged to carry out a series of terrorist provocations designed to incriminate the far Left, above all the anar-

chists. However, the ultimate effects of their actions, far from laying the groundwork for a coup d'état and a revolutionary fascist transformation of society, served only to strengthen the U.S.-dominated Atlantic Alliance and the corrupt *partitocrazia* in Italy that they themselves had sought to overthrow. What the international and national sponsors of the "strategy of tension" were actually conducting was a complex strategy designed to keep the communists and crypto-communists from entering the corridors of power on a national level and, in the process, ensure Italy's continued fidelity to the Atlantic Alliance. These sponsors were themselves divided into two main factional groupings, those who sought to preserve the existing political structure from which they derived tangible benefits, and those who sought to replace that dysfunctional system with a "presidentialist" arrangement that would strengthen the executive branch at the expense of the parliament. To accomplish their objectives, however, these rival factions both employed the tactics of destabilization by making instrumental use of right-wing radicals. What they were really engaged in all along was "destabilizing in order to stabilize," as many knowledgeable insiders and observers later revealed. In that sense, the participating neofascists were also victims of political manipulation. In the end, with some noteworthy exceptions, they did not benefit any more from the "strategy of tension" than their counterparts on the extraparliamentary Left. The beneficiaries were almost invariably their sub rosa state sponsors.

As a result, during the latter half of the 1970s a new generation of clandestine neofascist groups was founded by younger radicals who recognized that earlier neofascist terrorist organizations had been systematically manipulated by the hated "bourgeois" state. These included Terza Posizione (Third Position), Costruiamo l'Azione (Let's Take Action!), and the Nuclei Armati Rivoluzionari (NAR; Armed Revolutionary Nuclei). These "second generation" terrorist groups soon embarked upon a new strategy of "armed spontaneity" designed to undermine the state itself and to prevent its agents from destroying their new and more decentralized organizations. However, having declared open war on the state itself, thereby repudiating the covert institutional protection that had previously been provided by certain of its factions, they were suppressed fairly quickly and easily by the forces of order—but not before NAR members Giuseppe ("Giusva") Fioravante and Francesca Mambro had, according to investigating magistrates, carried out the devastating 1980 Bologna train station bombing.

This terrorist "strategy of tension" took an unusually large toll of human life by Euro-terrorist standards, played a significant role in heightening political tensions and social conflicts in Italy, further corrupted the already dysfunctional political system in that country, and included the worst single act of terrorism in Europe prior to the 11 March 2004 Madrid train station bombings. It also constituted a microcosm of a much broader pattern of covert state manipulation of right-wing terrorism, both elsewhere in Europe (including Turkey) and in parts of Latin America. Despite this, outside of Italy it has yet to receive the sort of journalistic and scholarly attention that has long been focused on the much less important acts of left-wing terrorism that occurred during that same period. Only the 1978 murder of Italian prime minister Aldo Moro by the Brigade Rosse (BR; Red Brigades) had as much political impact as the "strategy of tension," and it, too, ended up serving the interests of the pro-Atlantic political establishment far more than those of its radical opponents.

Jeffrey M. Bale

See Also: COLD WAR, THE; ITALY; MARXISM; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RAUTI, GIUSEPPE ("PINO"); SOCIALISM; TERROR; THIRD POSITIONISM; TURKEY

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TERRA'BLANCHE, EUGÈNE (born 1941)

A brilliant speaker in the style of Hendrick Verwoerd (1901–1965) and the flamboyant leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB; Afrikaner Resistance Movement), founded in 1971 to resist what was seen as government appeasement of black nationalism. The movement stages highly theatrical marches and events displaying a red and black flag with three inter-linked 7s resembling the swastika. After serving a six-year jail term for attempted murder, Terra'Blanche was released in 2004 and renounced violence while still affirming his commitment to Afrikaner cultural survival.

Irving Hexham

See Also: PROPAGANDA; SOUTH AFRICA; WHITE SUPREMACISM; SWASTIKA, THE

TERROR

Whereas Marxists, while assuming that political violence was inevitable until the class war had been won, looked to a utopia in which conflict had been transcended and peaceful human relations established, interwar fascists, under the influence of Social Darwinism, took a much bleaker view of the potential for human progress. They accepted that the rule of the weak by the strong was a permanent fact of human existence (as Aristotle and Machiavelli, among others, had done before them) and assumed a need to retain power by the application of whatever force was necessary. More than that, they actually glorified violence as a means of keeping materialistic and hedonistic tendencies at bay and actively promoted a warrior cult as a means of preserving their power. Their brazen employ-

ment of terror tactics was not, therefore, simply a matter of pragmatism, but a necessary feature of their philosophy of life. Pacifism, internationalism, and parliamentarism were all, in their view, symptoms of weakness and decadence, danger signs of societies about to collapse. That conviction was reinforced by the writings of publicists like Oswald Spengler, whose *Decline of the West* fed the pessimism of Hitler and Mussolini alike. The application of terror tactics to political opponents was a sign of the emergence of a powerful warlike new humanity, unafraid to assert its superiority over the degenerates who had been allowed by sinister forces such as the Jews or the Freemasons or the plutocrats to take the reins of society. Their frank espousal of conspiracy theories of this kind also enabled them to claim that they were performing a task necessary to social well-being in forcibly rooting out society's enemies. In the case of the Nazis there was a further motive: convinced as they were that Germany had been betrayed by the "November Criminals," they believed it their sacred duty to take revenge on the betrayers.

An additional influence on the fascist "philosophy of violence" was to be found in the theory of Georges Sorel, who preached a mystique of violent revolutionary action as the only way to provoke a revolution. This was a particular influence on Mussolini and Italian Fascism. Mussolini relied on the violence of the *squadristi* to achieve electoral success and intimidate his opponents. But long before that, he had turned from classical socialist internationalism to interventionism, calling for Italy to enter World War I, because he thought that the violence unleashed by the war would create an instability favorable to a revolutionary overthrow of the existing order, and in that he proved to be correct.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; FREEMASONRY, FREEMASONS; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INTERVENTIONISM; MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PACIFISM; PARAMILITARISM; PLUTOCRACY; PROGRESS; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOREL, GEORGES; SPENGLER, OSWALD; *SQUADRISMO*, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; SYNDICALISM; TENSION, THE STRATEGY OF; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I

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TEUTONIC KNIGHTS: See HIMMLER, HEINRICH; WAGNER, RICHARD

THADDEN, ADOLF VON (1921–1996)

Adolf von Thadden was the chairman of the Nationalemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NDP), founded in 1964. Under his chairmanship (1967 to 1971), the strong electoral showing made by the NPD during the late 1960s led to widespread fears that the party was on the cusp of gaining parliamentary representation. In 1962 von Thadden, then chairman of the Deutsche Reichspartei, attempted to found a pan-European fascist party at the Conference of Venice with other fascist leaders, including Oswald Mosley. Von Thadden left the NPD in 1975. For decades he was the pivotal figure in German and international fascism. In 2002, however, it was revealed that while head of the NPD, von Thadden had spied for MI6, the British intelligence service.

Graham Macklin

See Also: EUROFASCISM; EUROPE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; GERMANY; INTERNATIONAL FASCISM; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; POSTWAR FASCISM

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THEATER

Given the essentially middle-class nature of established theater, many contemporary historians consider the only truly fascist performances to have taken place beyond traditional playhouses, in mass rituals. Such theatrical events as the Nuremberg Rallies provided an annual opportunity for the reinforcement of group solidarity through ritual. Such occasions were aesthetically conceived, defined the crowds of participants as actor-spectators, and often entailed triumphant narrative speeches by politicians and the recitation of original catechisms of fascist fidelity. Italian theater could not compete with these enormous outdoor spectacles and suffered initially from indecisive policies. In 1927, Mussolini claimed that theater was one of the most direct means of reaching the heart of the people, but in 1932 he refused to fund new theater buildings. Yet one year later, speaking in a theater in Rome, he declared the need to prepare a theater of the masses to house 15,000 or 20,000 people. The regime, meanwhile, attempted to reorganize existing Italian theater by controlling the Italian Society of Authors and Publishers and, in 1930, setting up the *Corporazione dello Spettacolo*. In 1931 a new censorship law meant that all play texts had to be submitted to the Ministry of the Interior for approval, and then, from 1935, to the Ministry of Press and Propaganda, which two years later became the Ministry for Popular Culture. Leopoldo Zurlo acted as chief censor, and, of the 17,330 plays submitted, only 630 were rejected outright. A General Theater Inspectorate, set up in 1935, controlled the repertory and selected theater companies for subsidy. This led to the prohibition of many foreign plays and drama in dialect. However, state intervention also led to a certain stability for those working in the theater. In 1938, state-designated companies sold 33 percent of all tickets.

The Italian Fascist regime provided financial support for a number of ventures, the most important of which were Luigi Pirandello's *Teatro d'Arte* in the 1920s (al-

though, by 1934, the playwright was arguing directly against committed theater); two experimental companies run by Anton Giulio Bragaglia; the National Institute of Ancient Drama; the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts acting school; Theatrical Saturdays (when ticket prices were reduced); amateur groups (developed by the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro to a total of 1,901 by 1930); traveling dramatic and, later, operatic theater called, respectively, the *Carri di Tespi* (which reached more than 300,000 spectators in the first season in 1929) and the *Carri Lirici*; and university theater companies.

Despite this subsidy, there was no preponderance of performed political dramas in the period. Salvatore Gotta made a claim to have written the first Fascist play, *The Martyrs' Congress*, a twenty-minute-long piece premiered in 1923. Mussolini himself collaborated with Giovacchino Forzano on three dramas—about Napoleon, Julius Caesar, and Cavour—and there was a plentiful supply of amateur scripts lauding Il Duce, the Fascist Party, and Italian exploits in Africa, the Spanish Civil War, and World War II. Of 354 new plays premiered between 1934 and 1940, only 5 percent had explicitly Fascist themes; a typical show was a romantic comedy by a writer like Aldo De Benedetti. Indeed, the theatrical undertakings backed by the state rarely promoted an ideological repertory. One exception was the production entitled *18 BL*, a heroic vision of a truck caught up in Fascist history and staged on the banks of the River Arno in Florence in 1934. Involving 2,000 amateur actors performing in front of 20,000 spectators, it did not evoke a favorable response, and everybody at the time agreed that this attempt at a theater of the masses was a failure. Toward the end of the regime some officials would voice the same opinion about the entirety of experiments in Fascist drama.

There had been Nazi theatrical projects and protest groups in the 1920s, so that the start of Hitler's chancellorship witnessed an immediate impact on theatrical life in Germany. Nazis forcibly took over theaters, dismissed personnel considered politically or racially suspect, and installed party members in positions of control. More than 4,000 theater practitioners were forced into exile while the regime subsumed existing professional organizations into the new order. Joseph Goebbels's Propaganda Ministry (created on 13 March 1933) had a theater section within a month, and the Reich Chamber of Culture (formed in September 1933) included a theater chamber of which all professionals had to be a member in order to work. Because of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, non-Aryans and those married to non-Aryans were excluded from the cham-

ber. A decree of 1938 forbade Jews from attending concerts, cabarets, cinemas, circuses, lectures, and theaters. (The only refuge for Jews was the Jüdischer Kulturbund, the officially sanctioned organization for Jewish performance in front of exclusively Jewish audiences.)

Rainer Schlösser, the national *Reichsdramaturg* and, in effect, the chief censor following the Reich Theatre Act of May 1934, carried out an equivalent purification of the repertory. As well as rejecting playwrights on racial and political grounds, Nazi censorship virtually eliminated an entire period of drama: German plays of the Weimar Republic, which had constituted roughly 30 percent of the total repertory during 1929–1933, dropped to 5.56 percent in the first full season of Hitler's regime (1933–1934). Another major nail in the coffin of free expression was the banning of theater criticism (in favor of reporting) in November 1936. It looked as though the country with the most theaters in Europe had become a cultural prison.

In contrast to these prohibitive measures, there were large-scale participatory initiatives. Alfred Rosenberg's Nationalsozialistische Kulturgemeinde (with a membership of 1.5 million by 1935) organized performances with a strictly defined Nazi ethos, but it was absorbed into Robert Ley's Kraft durch Freude in 1937. Ley's association arranged cultural events with discounted tickets and mass subscriptions. Innovations in dramatic form were more controversial. A plan to build 400 outdoor venues for a new genre, the *Thingspiel*, was abandoned within three years of the Nazi takeover, but not before many mass cultic productions had taken place on the stages that had been completed; they often involved hundreds of actors in front of thousands of spectators, and the plays told simplistic stories of the defeat of Weimar decadence and poverty by a united and reborn German *Volk*. More consistent in traditional theaters were Nazi plays on historical themes by writers such as Hanns Johst and Eberhard Wolfgang Möller. In other dramas, a heroic acting style contributed to trumpet the values of "Blood and Soil" ideology, but contemporary authors also provided plenty of conservative escapist comedies. Moreover, the censor curbed overt anti-Semitism on stage, since Jewish influence was already meant to have been eliminated. The Nazi salute and even references to politics were later forbidden in the theater. Although the amount of foreign drama was considerably reduced, George Bernard Shaw remained popular, and the total number of Shakespearean productions during the period (sometimes in nazified versions and, very rarely, in oppositional styles) came second only to stagings of Schiller's

plays. Theater was the most privileged of all the activities subsidized by the Propaganda Ministry, and the fact that theaters tended to be full, even during the war, can be considered a sign of success. As part of the total war effort, Goebbels ordered that all the theaters of the Reich should be shut down on 1 September 1944.

In Spain the dramatic theories of Giménez Caballero and Torrente Ballester were never followed systematically, notwithstanding some minor fascist propaganda plays put on during the Spanish Civil War and spectacular productions of Corpus Christi plays (*autos sacramentales*) staged outdoors. There was a competition for modern *autos*, sympathetic to the Spanish version of fascism, which was won by Torrente. In the early Francoist period (until 1945), the state-subsidized national theaters mounted a few triumphalist shows that articulated the ethos of the reformed Spanish fascist party, the Falange.

John London

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ART; ARYANISM; BLOOD AND SOIL; DECADENCE; ETHIOPIA; FALANGE; FILM; FRANCOISM; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; LEISURE; LEY, ROBERT; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MODERNISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SALUTES; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SYMBOLS; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR II

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THEOLOGY

Both Mussolini and Hitler allowed themselves to be feted by a few sympathetic theologians as "Savior of the West from Bolshevism" with messianic characteristics,

but Hitler in particular emphasized that his "positive Christianity" stood above all confessions, dogmas, and theologies. On the other hand the *völkisch* race theorists, with their crude pseudo- and "counter-theologies" so beloved by the Nazis, had a much stronger relation to theological thought. The sharpening church struggle and the massive attacks on the Christian central message by the Nazis both encouraged elements in the church leadership in Germany to hold the regime at a distance after 1933 and also brought about a theological rethink—especially among the "young theologians" of the Lutheran Church. Already in the nineteenth century some *völkisch*-national ideologues used a discourse and a terminology having a clearly theological and prophetic resonance. This was true in particular of the writings of the Orientalist and cultural philosopher Paul de Lagarde, who proposed to call in theology as "Queen of the Sciences" to resolve confessional differences and establish a national "German-Christian faith." Houston Stewart Chamberlain's program for a "Germanization of Christendom" and the *Alldeutsche Bewegung* of Georg von Schönerer involved an appeal to theology to undergird anti-Semitism. The clearest plan of a *völkisch* "counter-theology" was, however, drawn up by the former monk Jorg Lanz von Liebenfels, who in his journal *Ostara* (1905–1931) spoke frequently of the "blond master race" and who had a huge influence on the racial thinking of the young Adolf Hitler. Lanz himself spoke of his race teaching as a "zootheology" and developed a theory that was a complete alternative account to the historical meaning of Christian theology. In opposition to the Christian historical sequence—paradise, fall, era after the fall (preparation for the Redeemer), emergence of the Redeemer (Jesus Christ), era of the Church, world judgment of the Redeemer with separation of mankind for heaven and hell—he advocated his "zootheological" model: paradise was the "era of racial purity"; the fall took place through the sodomy of the "blondes" with the "dark races," the "little apes" (called later by Hitler "apemen" or "subhumans"); this was followed by the era of the "mixing of races" until the Redeemer, "Frauja-Christ," emerged as the "prophet of racial purity" and established a "Church of racial purity"; finally, there would be a "world judgment by the blondes of the little apes," ending with the eternal lordship of the blondes ("Arioheroes") and the liquidation of the lower races (*Tschandalen*). Lanz constantly insisted that everything ugly and evil stemmed from "racial mixing," claiming that "Race is God, God is the purified race."

Lanz represents what was undoubtedly the most extreme expression of *völkisch* theology, but other groups,

too, in part emerging from the Lutheran Church in Germany, reinterpreted Jesus Christ as a “Nordic-Aryan hero” and the Bible as a “work of the Germanic-Nordic spirit.” The so-called German-Christian movements like the Bund für Deutsche Kirche (Association for German Church) of Kurd Niedlich (1884–1928) or the Geistchristliche Religionsgemeinschaft (Spiritual Christian Religious Community), founded in 1927 by Artur Dinter, demanded that God be sought “in a German way,” that Jesus be proclaimed as the “Aryan hero,” and that existing confessional divisions be abandoned. For Dinter, Christ had been the one most like God, and so the most “Aryan man,” who came down to earth so that through his example the Aryans might be helped to racial purity. The Glaubensbewegung Deutsche Volkskirche (Faith Movement of the German People’s Church), founded in 1933 (later the Deutsche Glaubensfront [German Faith Front]), professed the “free gospel of the heroic Savior” and the “divine revelation of the Volk community rooted in blood and soil,” and demanded that the crucifix be replaced by a rider on a white horse as the “fulfiller of Christendom” (following Revelation 10, 11ff). Even more radical were the Deutschgläubigen Bewegungen (German Faith Movements), which proposed an overcoming of Christendom in favor of “Germanic religion” and put forward the alternative “Wotan or Jehovah” (the title of a piece by Joseph Weber from 1906). The best known and most public was the *Tannenbergbund* (renamed in 1937 the *Bund für Deutsche Gotteserkenntnis*) of Mathilde Ludendorff, widow of Hitler’s earlier comrade-in-arms General Erich Ludendorff, who wanted to gather into the “German Volk” all those “freed from Christian ideas.”

THE REACTION OF CHRISTIAN THEOLOGIANS

Christian theologians were spurred to rethink and resist in the years 1933–1934, especially in response to the *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1930) by Alfred Rosenberg, who voiced most insistently the hostility to the church to be found among the National Socialist leaders. He spoke, for example, of the “filthy moral theology” of Alphonsus Liguori, which in combination with “the creation of dishonor by Jesuitism” had destroyed everything great in European culture; according to Rosenberg, everything really great in European culture had “sprung from the anti-church spirit.” Church leaders and theologians of both confessions began to counterattack against what they prudently called “the New

Heathenism” (rather than specifically naming National Socialism) with its obsessive focus on the idea of race. On the Catholic side the point was made that “the glorification of race overlooks the fact that the German race is as much a fallen creation as every other” (*Aus-siger Deutsche Presse*, 8 March 1934). The “exclusion of the sense of sin” was condemned alongside the fact that the teaching of the “heroic Christ” overstressed human “heroic values.” Even more outspoken was the bishop of Munster, Clemens August Graf von Galen, who in his Lenten pastoral letter of 1934 complained that race had been raised above morality and that the idea of God had been downgraded to that of “a function of race”; “moral” did not mean “what served the weal of the Volk” but only what “corresponded to the will of God.” The placing of Rosenberg’s *Mythus* on the Index of Forbidden Books on 7 February 1934 by the Holy Office sent out a clear signal as to the position of the Catholic Church. In 1934–1935 the *Studien zum Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* appeared as publications of the Episcopal Ordinariate of Berlin, as an expression of the hostility of Catholic theologians toward Rosenberg’s book, and the *Studien* were distributed in many German dioceses.

The Lutheran churches had compromised themselves more with “the newly heathen state,” so that a very much more fundamental reassessment was required on their part. The formation of the Pfarrernotbund (so-called Clerical Emergency Alliance) by Martin Niemöller in September 1933 and the “Confessing Church” that came out of it in 1934 were the signal for “young theologians” of the Lutheran Confession to raise the flag of spiritual resistance. In 1935, Walter Kunneth published his highly respected critique of Rosenberg’s work, which he entitled *Antwort auf den Mythus (Reply to the Myth)*, with the subtitle *Entscheidung zwischen dem nordischen Mythus und dem biblischen Christus (Choice between Nordic Myth and the Biblical Christ)*; Rosenberg reacted aggressively, with *An die Dunkelmänner unserer Zeit (To the Obscurantists of Our Time)*. In his *Table Talk*, Hitler later remarked that the attacks on Rosenberg by the churches had done him nothing but good, for they had been responsible for pushing sales of his book dramatically upward.

The most important thinker of the Confessing Church was Karl Barth (1886–1968), who since the 1930s had emerged as the most significant Lutheran fundamental theologian in the German-speaking world. Barth’s 1933 writing *Theologische Existenz heute! (Theological Life Today)* was his response to the dramatic events of that year. Avoiding direct confrontation, he challenged his church “to pursue theology and



Karl Barth, the most celebrated Protestant theologian of the twentieth century. He was an inspiration for many in the German Confessing Church which opposed Hitlerism. (Library of Congress)

only theology,” which meant speaking only about God’s revelation in Christ. Christ alone was “Lord of the Church,” and there could be “no second source of revelation” apart from him, whether it called itself “law, history, national character, natural order or culture.” At this time Barth formulated his opposition to “natural theology,” which referred to “natural orders” like national character, national law, history, or race to strengthen the “natural heathendom” of man. Barth contrasted with this his “revelation theology.” This stimulated the Protestant tradition of refusal of obedience to incursions by the secular authorities and of resistance to every order of power that did not appeal to Christ alone. Karl Barth was also the theological brain behind the Barmen *Theologischen Erklärung zur gegenwärtigen Lage der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche* (*Theological Clarification of the Present Situation of the German Lutheran Church*) of 31 May 1934, which formulated a cautious rejection of the National Socialist transformation of Germany. It denied that there was

any other revelation but the revelation of God in Christ (first thesis). The testimony of Christ was claimed as the model for behavior in the world (second thesis, “of Jesus Christ as God’s strong claim on our whole life”). With this statement the two-kingdom teaching of the Reformation, according to which the (political) realm of this world could follow its own laws, was de facto suspended, and the “kingship of Christ” demanded not just for the spiritual but also for the secular world. In this way the Barmen theologians hoped to be able to make the model of Christ binding in the secular arena, and to counter the claim of an authoritarian-dictatorial and ultimately “new heathen” state to be entitled to dictate to the church.

As the struggles of the churches against the regime intensified, theologians in both confessions worked on theological justifications for resistance to the coercive measures of the “total state,” opposing the sterilization laws of 1933–1934, euthanasia (1939–1941), and the “idolization of the state,” which prejudiced the “totality claim of the kingdom of God.” Individual theologians of both churches also spoke out bravely against the persecution of the Jews and pointed to the Jewish roots of Christendom, although there can be no easy rebuttal of the claim that a majority of theologians reacted too timidly or indifferently to the unfolding of the Holocaust. After the war, the Lutheran Church, among others, admitted the “moral denial” and the guilt of a majority of its leaders in the “Stuttgart Confession of Guilt” of 19 October 1945. The “theology of reconciliation” propounded there was again to a large extent indebted to the thought of Karl Barth. In Catholic theology, too, the idea became embedded that a “theology after Auschwitz” of the suffering of innocent men in the world must take on a political responsibility. The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) denied that there was any legitimate basis in Christian theology for hatred of the Jews (the repudiation of the condemnation of Jews as “Christ-killers”), and called for Christian dialogue with the Jews, whom Pope John XXIII called “our elder brothers.”

*Markus Hattstein
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)*

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); BLOOD; BLOOD AND SOIL; BOLSHEVISM; BONHOEFFER, DIETRICH; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; COSMOPOLITANISM; DINTER, ARTUR; ECKHART, “MEISTER” JOHANN; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GALEN, CLEMENS AUGUST GRAF VON; GERMAN CHRISTIANS, THE; GERMAN FAITH MOVEMENT, THE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST,

THE; JESUITS, THE; LAGARDE, PAUL DE; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; LUDENDORFF, ERICH; LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE; LUTHERAN CHURCHES, THE; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; NIEMOELLER, MARTIN; NORDIC SOUL, THE; OCCULTISM; PACIFISM; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PROTESTANTISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SCHMITT, CARL; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SOUL; SPANN, OTHMAR; TOTALITARIANISM; *UNTERMENSCHEN* ("SUBHUMANS"); *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WORLD WAR II

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THIRD POSITIONISM

Variant of postwar fascism that rejects the stylistic trappings of "classic" interwar fascism, particularly its statism and corporate economics, seeking instead a "third way" between the twin materialistic poles of "capitalist greed and Marxist servitude." Third Positionism espouses a leftist, though not socialist, brand of anticapitalism, exemplified in the 1930s by conservative revolutionary thinkers like Ernst Jünger and Armin Mohler, as well as "martyrs" like José Antonio Primo de Rivera and Corneliu Codreanu. This "leftist" tradition, always a marginal influence on interwar fascism, is most frequently identified, however, with the anti-Semitic anticapitalism of the Strasser brothers, leading luminaries in the Nazi party prior to 1933. When Gregor was murdered in 1934 during the Night of the Long Knives, Otto fled into exile, where he became a vehement source of anti-Nazi anti-Semitism and an impor-

tant ideological source nominally devoid of the taint of Nazism.

In Britain during the 1980s this tendency manifested itself within a faction of the National Front that sought to reinvent their anti-Zionist Strasserism as "patriotic socialism." In doing so they absorbed the abhorrence of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution prevalent in the writings of Victorian socialists like William Morris and Robert Blatchford, to situate themselves within what they claimed was a native Anglo-Saxon *völkisch* tradition.

The rampant ideological eclecticism of Third Position ideology also allows it to absorb the ideas of the French Nouvelle Droite, which argues that liberalism is deliberately fostering mass immigration, miscegenation, and material culture as a means of destroying the cultural and racial "ethno-plurality" of the European race. This intellectualized advocacy of a racial apartheid is often refined by the Third Position with reference to Julius Evola, whose esoteric Traditionalism led him to ascribe a spiritual, transcendental quality to white racial identity. This exclusive Indo-European identity is to be defended through a framework of decentralized regionalism embodied in the slogan "Europe of a Hundred Flags." In Britain this system was to be politically governed according to "popular rule" as outlined in the *Green Book* of Libyan leader Colonel Qadhafi. Third Positionism has lost none of its potency with the collapse of "really existing socialism" in 1989. Several groups have sought to maintain their ideological relevance by absorbing contemporary anarchist theories regarding the bipolar nature of the anticapitalist struggle (that is, centralists versus decentralists) in order to position themselves in the vanguard of the antiglobalization movement.

Graham Macklin

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CAPITALISM; CODREANU, CORNELIU ZELEA; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; IMMIGRATION; JÜNGER, ERNST; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MOHLER, ARMIN; NATIONAL FRONT (UK), THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM; PRIMO DE RIVERA, JOSÉ ANTONIO; QADHAFI (GADHAFI), MU'AMMAR; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; STRASSER BROTHERS, THE; THIRD WAY, THE; TRADITIONALISM; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; ZIONISM

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THIRD REICH, THE

Initially advocated in 1924 by “conservative revolutionary” Arthur Moeller van den Bruck in a book of the same name, and subsequently taken up as a Nazi slogan under the Weimar Republic. The term draws upon a number of historical precedents, particularly the Holy Roman Empire inaugurated by Charlemagne (Charles the Great) on Christmas Day, A.D. 800. This first Reich, or empire, lasted until 1806, when Napoleon Bonaparte introduced the Confederation of the Rhine and forced Francis II to abandon the historical title of “Holy Roman Emperor.” This “thousand year Reich” was romanticized by German nationalists and was consciously evoked with the advent of the “Second Reich” under Kaiser (German for “Caesar”) Wilhelm II following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the unification of Germany in 1871. This Second Reich lasted until defeat in World War I; German ultranationalists and Nazis championed Imperial Germany during the Weimar Republic as the second instance of a dominant legacy and the promise of future European hegemony. Generally understood to have moved from ideological ideal to political reality with the rise of Hitler to the chancellorship of Germany on 30 January 1933, the term *Third Reich* is often used interchangeably with the term *Nazi Germany*.

Matt Feldman

See Also: BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; GERMANY; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY

ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK, ARTHUR; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; TRADITION; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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THIRD WAY, THE

In the thinking of interwar fascist ideologues and some of their postwar successors, their doctrine was often presented as a “third way” between capitalism and socialism—whether of the Marxian or moderate Bernsteinian variety. In their way of thinking, both of these social philosophies were flawed. In the first place, both were varieties of “internationalism,” which fascists were inclined to dismiss contemptuously as “cosmopolitanism.” In other words, they both represented transnational networks that paid little or no attention to what in the fascist understanding was the fundamental issue (and source of value)—the nation. Early-twentieth-century financiers already operated in a global market; in their eyes profit was the main concern, the welfare of particular nations mattering not a jot. In fascist rhetoric the global activities of international banking and finance were stylized as “plutocracy.” In the case of the Nazis and sometimes in Italian Fascist propaganda, this term was also a code for “Jews.” Against this international plutocracy the fascist philosophy argued for economic autarky, or self-sufficiency. Fascists were hypernationalists, and for them the national interest was to be paramount. They were involved in a relentless war of attrition with other nations, with the survival of the fittest at stake, and so it was important to minimize dependence on rival nations. Like capitalism, socialism too was a transnational creed in which the interests of one class of person, the working man, was given primacy over the interests of all others—as in the celebrated slogan “Workers of the World Unite!” So both capitalism and classic socialism were found wanting by fascism.

A second grounds for rejecting capitalism and socialism alike was their association with materialism; fascists

saw their creed as a noble creed of the higher values—courage, honor, pride, and the martial virtues. Communism was likewise dismissed as materialistic because of the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism with its conviction that changes in the social relations of production were the motive force of historical development and its resolute reduction of all social issues to financial ones.

These two themes—the subservience of national interests in both capitalism and socialism, and the materialism inherent in both that had dragged Germany and Italy down into the mire of decadence—were major reasons why fascists claimed to be rejecting both (classic) socialism and capitalism. Instead, they argued for an associative system known as corporatism that (they hoped) would involve representatives of the different elements in society cooperating in the national interest, rather than fighting for their sectional interests against those of the whole nation. They believed that the productive of the nation had so much in the way of common interest that the employee/boss polarity could be transcended; it was reminiscent of the protosocialism of Claude-Henri Saint-Simon, who had argued for an alliance of the productive in society against the “drones”—the aristocracy or the financial speculators. Their ideal was of a powerful, aggressive, and united nation ready to take on all comers. In the case of the Nazis there was the additional element that the nation meant not primarily a totality of citizens but a racially purified body; they were campaigning for the German nation as they wanted it to be, expanded to cover all linguistically and racially pukka Germans, rather than Germany as it was.

Left-wing critics of fascism quite rightly questioned what lay behind fascist rhetoric. Marxists flatly denied that fascism was anything but capitalist, as one would have expected of them. They thought of fascism as the most extreme form of capitalism yet encountered. All critics have discounted the claim of the Nazis in particular (but also of the Italian Fascists) that they were socialists of a new kind, *national* socialists, perhaps more out of a sense of horror that socialism could be associated with the historical horrors of fascism—especially of Nazism—rather than out of any logic. In truth there seems no reason to deny that in some sense fascists *did* represent a middle way, and indeed that this was one of the reasons for their success. The fact that they patently failed to implement their “middle way” policies effectively does not necessarily mean that they never intended to do so, since it is a rare phenomenon for politicians to implement their ideologies perfectly. In the end fascists clearly made compromises with capital-

ism, but equally they pursued measures for state control of industry such as would normally be considered “socialist.”

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; BANKS, THE; CAPITALISM; CORPORATISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; ECONOMICS; *EHRE* (“HONOR”); EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; ITALY; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PERONISM; PLUTOCRACY; PRODUCTIVISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SPANN, OTHMAR; STATE, THE; THIRD POSITIONISM; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORK

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THOUSAND-YEAR REICH, THE: *See* THIRD REICH, THE

THULE SEMINAR, THE

A dominant constellation and network important for the rise of the “New Right” in Germany in the 1990s. Led by Pierre Krebs, it recycles ideas from the “conservative revolution” and adds in harsh anti-Americanism and anti-Zionism. The recurrent themes are “Europeanism,” neopaganism, and SS esotericism. One main slogan is “ethno-pluralism”—that is, the primacy of the *Volk* over individuals and the common rights of every *Volk* to protect its own culture and history; in the end, this means something not far from apartheid. The seminar publishes the journals *Metapo* and *Elemente*. Its name alludes to the Thule Society.

Göran Dahl

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; GLOBALIZATION; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; SS, THE; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; ZIONISM

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THULE SOCIETY, THE

German esoteric order, often regarded as the political faction of the German Order, founded in 1912 by Rudolf von Sebottendorff (1875–1945). He also purchased the paper the *Beobachter* and renamed it the *Völkischer Beobachter*. The context of the order was the short-lived Soviet regime in Bavaria in 1919, and it was actively involved in the overthrowing of that regime. It used the swastika as its logo, and among its members were Anton Drexler, Rudolf Hess, Gottfried Feder, Alfred Rosenberg, Julius Streicher, and Dietrich Eckart. In 1919, one of its meetings was attended by Adolf Hitler.

Göran Dahl

See Also: DREXLER, ANTON; ECKART, DIETRICH; FEDER, GOTTFRIED; GERMANY; HESS, RUDOLF; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; MYSTICISM; NAZISM; OCCULTISM; RÖSENBERG, ALFRED; STREICHER, JULIUS; TIBET; *VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER*, THE; SWASTIKA, THE

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THUNDER CROSS, THE

The major extremist nationalist group in Latvia. It was founded in 1933 after its predecessor, Fire Cross (*Ugunskrusts*), was banned. Led by Gustavs Celmiņš

(1899–1968), Thunder Cross adopted certain paramilitary attributes and the slogan “Latvia for the Latvians.” It was most popular among young, urban, educated men who resented the predominance of Germans and Jews in the professions. After declaring martial law in 1934, Prime Minister Kārlis Ulmanis arrested their leaders. Thunder Cross cells, nevertheless, continued to operate underground. Some former members collaborated with the Nazis when they invaded in 1941. Since Latvia’s recovery of independence, a militant group of nationalists has revived the name.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; LATVIA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ULMANIS, KĀRLIS

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THYSSEN, FRITZ (1873–1951)

Wealthy industrialist and supporter of Hitler in the early 1930s. He invited Hitler to speak at a meeting of Düsseldorf industrialists on 27 January 1932, the first time that Hitler had an opportunity to meet German industry chiefs. They responded to him as a champion who was resolutely pro-private property and anti-Bolshevik. From that point on they became a source of funds for the Nazi Party. In 1933, Hitler put Thyssen in charge of an institute of studies for research on the corporate state, and he took on the mantle of an economics expert in the party. However, Thyssen soon developed doubts about the movement, and on 28 December 1939 he left Germany for Switzerland. He was later arrested in France and incarcerated in concentration camps until 1945. He died in Argentina some years after the war.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BOLSHEVISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CORPORATISM; FINANCE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INDUSTRY; NAZISM

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TIBET

In 1938 the Ahnenerbe mounted an expedition to Tibet, one of the main purposes of which was to seek for scientific evidence regarding the origins of the Aryan race, believed by some to have originated there. Heinrich Himmler was a member of the Thule Society, named after the mythical land of Hyperborea-Thule, and some argued that the inhabitants of ancient Thule had survived to become a subterranean super-race. A nineteenth-century science fiction novel (Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *The Coming Race*, 1871) had portrayed them as potential world conquerors possessed of a special psychokinetic power that he called *Vril*. Professor Karl Haushofer founded the Vril Society, which sought contacts with these subterranean supermen in order to find out from them the secrets of ancient Thule. The Vril Society hypothesized that the Aryan race had a central Asian origin—hence the interest in Tibet, which in Haushofer's opinion held the key to discovering the power of *vril*. (Hitler himself had studied Haushofer's writings during his imprisonment and had subsequently been introduced to Haushofer by Rudolf Hess.)

It so happened that the Tibetan government was making overtures at the time to Germany and Japan as potential allies against the threat from China, and the Germans were invited to send a delegation to attend the Tibetan New Year celebrations of 1939. The expedition took the opportunity to do scientific research on the Tibetan people, and anthropologist Bruno Beger examined a large number of skulls from the region, recording their physical characteristics with great care. He came to the conclusion that the Tibetans were an intermediary between the Mongol and the European races, and he believed that the Tibetan aristocracy showed particularly strong European racial elements.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AHNENERBE; ANTHROPOLOGY; ARYANISM; HAUSHOFER, KARL ERNST; HESS, RUDOLF; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; SS, THE; THULE SOCIETY, THE

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TISO, MGR. JOSEF (1887–1947)

President of the first Slovak Republic, 1939–1945. He was the natural successor when Msgr. Andrej Hlinka, leader of the Slovak People's Party, died in 1938. Prime minister of the autonomous region of Slovakia from October 1938, Tiso became president of the Slovak Republic when it became independent in March 1939. As a moderate, he sought to resist German Nazi encroachments on Slovak independence, in particular adherence to the Anti-Comintern Pact and the deportations of Slovak Jews to Auschwitz. He was tried for treason against the Czechoslovak state and executed on 18 April 1947.

John Pollard

See Also: ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; SLOVAKIA

TOKYO ROSE: *See* RADIO

TOLKIEN, JOHN RONALD REUEL (1892–1973)

South African-born Oxford professor of Anglo-Saxon and subsequently of English language and literature; one of the most celebrated fiction writers of the twentieth century, whose plots and symbolism have been given fascistic interpretations in recent decades. In the late 1970s the Movimento Sociale Italiano (MSI), founded to perpetuate the values of Mussolini's Italian Social Republic, organized a summer camp in the Abruzzi mountains in Italy for its Youth Front under the name "Camp Hobbit." The title chosen for the book marking the foundation of the Italian New Right was *Hobbit/Hobbit*; it was published under the imprint "The Rock of Erec," another allusion to the Tolkien

mythological universe. Moreover, the president of the Italian Tolkien Society in this period was the prominent neofascist intellectual and admirer of Julius Evola, Gianfranco de Turris, who has been a prominent spokesman of the Tolkien cult in Italy ever since the 1970s. In the early 2000s material on Tolkien was still to be found on the websites of Third Positionists, such as the “Synthesis” site of Troy Southgate (former organizer of the United Kingdom’s National Front) and of the European New Right, such as Russia’s “Eurasianist” Arctogaia organization, led by Alexander Dugin.

Four decades before its transformation into a hugely successful cinematic trilogy in 2003, *The Lord of the Rings* had become one of the “prescribed texts” of the international leftist counterculture of the 1960s, along with works by William Blake, Carl Jung, Carlos Castaneda, and Hermann Hesse, one of the hippie slogans being “Frodo Lives.” The genesis of an extreme-right reading of Tolkien lies in the special political climate that emerged in Italy in the 1970s as a result of the failure of the MSI to break out of the political ghetto. This led some of its leading intellectuals to look to the French New Right as a role model for achieving “cultural hegemony” by creating a “right-wing culture” capable of emulating the powerful youth-oriented left-wing culture that had arisen all over Europe against the background of the hippie movement and an international wave of student militancy directed against both Soviet and U.S. imperialism as embodied in the arms race and the Vietnam War. These postwar fascists tapped into the deep fascination with things esoteric found in prewar fascism and particularly in Nazism. The early Nazi Party had links to the Thule Society, which based its cosmology on a merger of occultism and racism called Ariosophy. The Third Reich deliberately associated itself with the overtly antirationalist worldviews of such figures as Paracelsus, Wagner, and Nietzsche, while Himmler wove a number of mythic, pagan, and occultist notions into the elite training program of the SS in the training academies called Ordensburgen. A parallel to this esoteric strand of fascism in Nazism was the alternative philosophy of history that the Italian cultural “philosopher” Julius Evola elaborated in the 1930s out of Hindu, alchemical, and occultist currents of thought. These became the basis of a stream of publications through which he attempted to influence both Mussolini’s regime and postwar fascism. In Spain, Romania, and South Africa, fascists, despite the fundamentally pagan orientation of their revolution, attempted to inject their ultranationalist movements with the spirituality of organized Christianity, which

in the case of the Romanian Iron Guard was blended with a cult of death and sacrifice with strong cultic and esoteric elements.

It is consistent with this urge to sacralize and metapoliticize reality that some contemporary right-wing intellectuals have produced a reading of *The Lord of the Rings* as the evocation of the higher values necessary to rebel against contemporary decadence and achieve a cultural and political rebirth. It involves what could be called a “Gnostic” reading, based on the assumption that Tolkien has (even subliminally) encoded spiritual truths that only those attuned to a higher realm of values are able to decipher. “Properly” understood (that is, in terms of a revolutionary nationalist or racist worldview), his epic can evoke a magical world whose fate is still decided by the outcome of metaphysical conflicts determined by the ability of chivalry and heroism to overcome a moral evil embodied in physical degeneracy. It can even be read as a moral legend bringing into stark relief the moral bankruptcy of modernity, in which the imperialism of liberal and communist societies represents the true evil, reducing man to a spiritual dwarf in the thrall of materialism and cut off from “magic consciousness.” At the height of the new wave of Tolkienmania unleashed by the film trilogy in 2003, Dr. Stephen Spencer, English lecturer at Warwick University, was warning in interviews to the press and on websites that *The Lord of the Rings* contained a deep subtext of racist alarm at the rise of a multicultural and materialist society. A year later the website of the neo-Nazi magazine *Spearhead* was claiming Tolkien to have been a regular reader of A. K. Chesterton’s extreme-right-wing *Candour*, and was recommending his texts to its readers with the assertion that “the moral imperatives of the Northern European shine through in this great saga.”

Roger Griffin

See Also: INTRODUCTION; CHESTERTON, ARTHUR KENNETH; CHRISTIANITY; CULTS OF DEATH; DECADENCE; DEGENERACY; DUGIN, ALEKSANDR GEL'EVICH; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MATERIALISM; MODERNITY; MOVIMENTO SOCIALE ITALIANO, THE; MULTICULTURALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; OCCULTISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RELIGION; ROMANIA; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SOUTH AFRICA; SPAIN; SS, THE; THIRD POSITIONISM; THIRD REICH, THE; THULE SOCIETY, THE; TIBET; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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TOTALITARIANISM

"TOTALITARIAN" AND "TOTALITARIANISM"

The terms *totalitario* and *totalitarismo* were first introduced into political language in Italy in the 1920s. They were invented by the enemies of Italian Fascism shortly after the rise to power of Benito Mussolini at the end of 1922 to define the arbitrary and violent methods used by the Fascist Party to eliminate opposition and to win the monopoly of power. It seems that the man who coined the term *totalitarian* was the liberal antifascist Giovanni Amendola. He first used it in April 1923 to define the new electoral system that the Fascist government planned to exploit to guarantee control over the Chamber of Deputies, together with its subversion of the parliamentary regime by the superimposition on organs of state such as the Council of Ministers and the police of its own party organs—such as the Grand Council of Fascism and the Voluntary Militia for National Security, which legalized the armed Fascist squads. A few months later, when Fascism celebrated its first year in government, Amendola denounced "the totalitarian spirit" that motivated Fascism's claim to be entitled to impose itself on all Italians by means of a "religious war" to control not only their political activity but also their conscience, obliging them to conform to its style and ideology. The term *totalitarian* began to be used by Italian anti-

Fascists between 1923 and 1925 in conjunction with the terms *regime* and *state party* to define the integralist mentality and the violent methods used by the Fascist Party to destroy opposition and conquer the state. Early in 1924 the priest Luigi Sturzo, founder of the Italian Popular Party, analyzed the new Fascist conception of the "state party" as involving the total transformation of every moral, cultural, political, and religious force. In May 1924 another Catholic anti-Fascist, the writer Iginio Giordani, criticized the attitude of the Church as too favorable to the Fascist government, claiming that the "totalitarian soul" of the "Fascist religion" was incompatible with Christian doctrine. Later, on the very day before Mussolini's speech of 3 January 1925, which marked the formal beginning of the Fascist dictatorship, the term *totalitarismo* was used by a Marxist anti-Fascist named Lelio Basso to describe the subordination of state institutions to the Fascist political monopoly.

After 1925, Fascists themselves began to use the term *totalitarian* and its derivatives to parade their decision to impose their own domination over the state and society. The Fascist philosopher Giovanni Gentile applied the term to indicate the religious character (in the sense of a secular religion) of Fascism and its conception of politics and the state. Mussolini used the term *totalitarian* for the first time in a speech of 25 June 1925 at the conclusion of the Congress of the Fascist Party, declaring openly that Fascism would no longer tolerate dissensions and opposition and aimed to "fascistize the nation": "We want . . . to fascistize the nation, so that tomorrow Italian and Fascist will be the same thing." In the years that followed, Fascism adopted the term *totalitarian state* or *totalitarian regime* as its hallmark, to define the new regime established by the Fascist Party. From then on, anti-Fascists and Fascists commonly used *totalitarian*, *totalitarian state*, and *totalitarianism* to define the ideology and organization of the new one-party regime established by Fascism after 1925 and based on the command of Il Duce as invested with an undisputed dictatorial power, on a system of police repression, and on a network of mass organizations that placed all of the population under the control of the Fascist Party.

THEORY OF TOTALITARIANISM

The advent to power of Nazism in 1933 and the spread of dictatorial regimes in Europe in the 1930s inspired the first attempts at a theoretical definition of totalitarianism through comparative analysis of

fascism, Bolshevism, and National Socialism. These were made between 1935 and 1945 by antifascist and anticommunist scholars like C. Hoover, H. Kohn, L. Sturzo, A. Cobban, F. Borkenau, E. Lederer, and S. Neumann, to highlight the novelty of the new dictatorial regimes in comparison with traditional authoritarian governments—that is, the single party that monopolized power and organized and mobilized the masses, indoctrinating them according to an ideology transformed into a secular religion, established the leader cult, and applied a repressive terroristic practice with respect to persons and groups considered internal enemies. After 1946, with the beginning of the Cold War, the concept of totalitarianism was developed by antifascist and anticommunist scholars like H. Arendt, C. J. Friedrich, and Z. Brzezinski, who tended to associate the Nazi regime in particular with the Stalinist regime; they focused on the omnicomprehensive ideology; the control by the party of the state, the means of propaganda, the economy, and the organization of the anonymous masses; plus the politics of terrorism culminating in the Stalinist gulags and the Nazi extermination camps.

The concept of totalitarianism fell out of fashion in academic research for a while, but in recent years there has been a renewal of theoretical reflection on it, liberating it from polemical prejudices and from the rigidity of theoretical models. Political scientists and historians like J. Linz and K. D. Bracher developed definitions of totalitarianism more adequate to cover the historical reality of the phenomena that gave rise to the concept. The reflection and research of recent decades has led to the elaboration of a new definition of totalitarianism along the following lines: an experiment in political domination implemented by a revolutionary movement that is organized into a rigidly disciplined party with a totalizing conception of politics, which aspires to the monopoly of power and which, after having obtained it (whether by legal or by extralegal means), destroys or transforms the existing regime and constructs a new state, founded on a one-party regime, with the main objective of achieving the conquest of society—that is, the subordination, integration, and homogenization of the governed on the basis of the principle of the integral political nature of the existence of the individual and the collective, interpreted according to the categories, myths, and values of a sacralized ideology in the form of a political religion, with the purpose of molding the individual and the masses through an anthropological revolution, to regenerate the human being and create a new man, devoted body and soul to the realization of the revolutionary and imperialistic projects of the totalitarian

party, with the aim of creating a new civilization of a supranational character.

FASCIST TOTALITARIANISM

Hitler and the Nazi chiefs did not apply the term *totalitarian* to the Third Reich, but the “totalitarian” affinities of the German and Italian regimes are evident in the structure of the political system and in the mass politics; in the militarization of politics through a rigid hierarchical organization of party and state; in the sacralization of the nation and the single party through the adoption of a liturgical style founded on rites and symbols; in the transformation of ideology into a secular religion that claimed to be defining the meaning and scope of earthly life for the individual and the masses; in the emergence of the figure of the leader made into the object of a collective cult; in the utilization of the means provided by technological and organizational modernization to mobilize the masses and develop an intense and constant activity of collective indoctrination; in the police repression of dissent and discrimination against groups considered harmful to the national community, down to persecution and (in the case of Nazism) to extermination; in the conservation of private property alongside an extension of state intervention and control over the economy; in the subordination of the trades unions to the state and the extension of welfare policy; in the ambition to subject society to permanent massive control by the single party, to achieve the creation of a new type of human being through indoctrination, physical education, and family policy, inspired by eugenic concepts of the protection and improvement of the race, with the predominant aim of demographic growth for the requirements of military power. Coherently with their conception of life, of politics, and of the nation, both regimes pursued a belligerent imperialist vocation on the international level to conquer new vital spaces and to create a New Europe and a New Order modeled on their own.

A fundamental aspect of fascist totalitarianism that distinguished it clearly from traditional authoritarianism was the constant mobilization of the masses through a network of men’s and women’s organizations, which included every category and every age, and tended to embrace every aspect of individual and collective life, from political activity to working activity, from leisure activity to specialized activity. Youth organizations like l’Organizzazione Nazionale Balilla and the Fasci Giovanili (later unified into the Gioventù Ital-

iana del Littorio in 1937) and the Hitler Youth were objects of special attention as laboratories for the rearing of the “New Man.” Alongside the properly political organizations of the party, reserved to men, the two regimes developed the organization of women, like the Fasci Femminili and the Nationalsozialistische Frauenschaft, and these manifested a notable variation with respect to the antifeminist model predominant in fascist culture of the woman as wife and mother; they promoted the mobilization of women outside the family and in the public arena of welfare and participation in the activity of physical education for the improvement of the race. Also very important in the two regimes were the leisure organizations like the Organizzazione nazionale Dopolavoro and Kraft durch Freude, which were concerned with sports and holidays for workers; they had no explicit ideological dimension, but nonetheless played an important role in helping to integrate the masses into the politics of the regime. The institution of a new calendar, making the year begin with the advent to power of the single party, together with the celebration of regular or occasional collective rites, helped with the process of the integration and indoctrination of the masses. The extent to which the indoctrination process was successful is a highly controverted subject, but of course the level of effectiveness varied according to the social class and type studied. What we can say for sure, however, is that the experience of fascism looks substantially different from that of authoritarian regimes that never took as their primary objective the mobilization of the masses and the anthropological revolution for the creation of a new type of human being.

Fascist totalitarianism as described above did not represent a monolithic, homogenous bloc, but rather a complex reality made up of tensions, contrasts, rivalries, contradictions, successes, and failures. Dualism between party and state at all levels—political, bureaucratic, and military—was a persistent feature of the fascist regimes in Italy and Germany, though it was more marked in Italy because of the presence of the monarchy. Having said that, recent historical researches have demonstrated that the so-called dyarchy between Il Duce and the king, as retroactively theorized by Mussolini after the end of the regime, was in reality a fiction, as fictional as the subordination of the party to the state officially declared by Mussolini in 1927. In reality, effective power in both countries was concentrated in the hands of the party chief, while the increasingly invasive and overbearing presence of the party in state and society was a factor of ongoing disorder and subversion that contributed not a little to weaken the

very structure of the regime. The same applies to relations between the totalitarian fascist regimes and the Catholic Church in Italy and Germany, for the Concordat policies followed by both regimes was frequently in difficulties because of their totalitarian character. Putting forward their own total interpretation of the significance and goal of human existence on earth, they did not hesitate to enter into conflict with the traditional religion to claim the absolute primacy of politics and the monopoly of the education of the individual and the masses in accordance with the principles of their own secular ideology.

Of the other dictatorial regimes similar in type to fascism, only the regime of General Francisco Franco defined itself for some time as “authoritarian and totalitarian,” but in its organization and structure and its mass politics there was little similarity with fascist totalitarianism—so little, in fact, that in the course of World War II the term *totalitarian* disappeared from the self-definition of the Franco regime. But even if they did not habitually describe themselves as totalitarian, all of the revolutionary nationalist movements that resembled fascism contained the idea of “totality” as expressing their conception of politics and their will to realize the unity and homogeneity of the nation by transforming it into a mystical community based on the sacralization of politics.

Emilio Gentile

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARENDT, HANNAH; AUTHORITARIANISM; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; COLD WAR, THE; COMMUNITY; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONFESSING CHURCH, THE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; ECONOMICS; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; IMPERIALISM; ITALY; LAW; *LEBENSRAUM*; LEADER CULT, THE; LEISURE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA SICUREZZA NAZIONALE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIHILISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; PIUS XI, POPE; PIUS XII, POPE; PROPAGANDA; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SALUTES; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPAIN; *SQUADRISMO*; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STATE, THE; SYMBOLS; TERROR; TRADES UNIONS; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORE EMANUELE III, KING; *UNTERMENSCHEN* (“SUBHUMANS”); *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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TRADE

The political economy of interwar fascism was based around two central concepts: nation and state. The main belief was that the state is the instrument of the nation, and has a duty to protect it. This core assumption gives rise to other beliefs. It is the role of the state, by means of a giant bureaucratic machine, to control, direct, and “plan” the nation’s economy. This does not imply ownership, as in the communist model, but it does imply intervention in a broad sense. Thus, there was a sizable gulf between the fascist conception of “state capitalism” and the traditional liberal-capitalist belief in the free market and free trade. Fascist officials held that state intervention in the economy speeded up economic development, whatever “level” the economy was at to begin with. Mussolini’s regime in Italy imposed protective tariffs, regulated credit, and coordinated a structured wages and prices policy. It also launched a series of Four Year Plans. In the modern era, movements like the British National Party and French Front National have made economic nationalism a central pillar of their programs. And as a result, they have both indicated their hostility to the European Union and the policy of recruiting immigrant workers.

It is a short step from economic protectionism to autarky, a policy aimed at national self-sufficiency and insulation in the economic sphere. This brand of economic nationalism (or economic isolationism) is a defining feature of fascism in power. And it is associated mainly with periods of diplomatic and military tension. Autarky also featured strongly in fascist propaganda campaigns, with slogans such as “Help Us Defend You!”, “German Jobs for German Workers!”, “Buy Italian Goods!” Hitler put a major emphasis on autarky. He argued that a country did not require myriad trade links and could survive and prosper alone, on “its own two feet.” In practice, the industries that were most affected by autarkic policy were those connected

with arms production. But autarky was not a Nazi invention—the truth was that it had become a prominent idea in the years following 1918, when military personnel and politicians alike began to think through why Germany had suffered during the Great War. One answer was that the country had lacked preparedness in the economic sphere. Hence the call for self-sufficiency on a massive scale. But even in Nazi Germany, complete autarky was unattainable, and all trade links did not just disappear. Rather, Germany changed her focus: away from the “big powers” she might soon be at war with (Britain, the USSR, and the United States) and toward more “peripheral” regions such as the Balkans and Central and South America.

P. J. Davies

See Also: AUTARKY; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; CAPITALISM; ECONOMICS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; INDUSTRY; ITALY; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NAZISM; STATE, THE; WORLD WAR I

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TRADE UNIONS

In general terms, interwar fascism viewed trades unions as “left-wing” and “dangerous.” In many cases they were banned. New “fascist” trades unions emerged, but in many ways these were artificial, cosmetic entities; the real trades unions went underground. In Germany, Hitler’s campaign against the trades unions was a crucial aspect of his rise to power. After he became chancellor in January 1933, he abolished the trades unions. Their offices were closed, their funds were sequestered, and their leaders were harassed and sent to jail. The aim was to tie working people to the Nazi regime: hence the establishment of the German Labor Front (DAF), a

pseudo-workers' body led by Robert Ley and the only "workers organization" allowed under the Third Reich. It had complete control over wages and income tax deductions: pay was frozen, and then reduced. The right to strike was taken away. It issued work-books that acted as a kind of employment "passport"—they recorded the employment record of the individual worker, and no one could gain employment without such a book. It ordered that a worker could not leave his job without the government's consent. The number of hours worked by an average worker rose from sixty to seventy-two per week (including overtime) by 1939. However, one benefit that Ley did bring to working people was not insignificant: they could not be fired on the spot.

William Shirer, a U.S. journalist working in 1930s Germany, observed the new state of play under Hitler: "Despite his harassed life, the businessman made good profits. The businessman was also cheered by the way the workers had been put in their place under Hitler. There were no more unreasonable wage demands. Actually, wages were reduced a little despite a 25 per cent rise in the cost of living. And above all, there were no costly strikes. In fact, there were no strikes at all. The Law Regulating National Labor of January 20, 1934, known as the Charter of Labor, had put the worker in his place and raised the employer to his old position of absolute master—subject, of course, to interference by the all-powerful State." In 2003, in the midst of contemporary political battles, *Searchlight* magazine also made reference to the German situation: "In 1928 the Nazis initiated an 'into the factories' campaign and used anti-capitalist rhetoric to neutralize the hostility of the labor movement towards them—just as the BNP are attempting to do now. On May Day in 1933 Hitler said, 'We are not dreaming—quite the contrary—of destroying the unions. No, worker, your institutions are sacred and inviolable.' The following day, all union offices were occupied by storm troopers, all trade union property was confiscated and union officials were jailed."

In this area, Hitler and Mussolini trod a similar path. In founding the corporate state, Il Duce reorganized the existing system of trades unions and employers' associations. In 1934, twenty-two Fascist corporations—each one representing a specific industry and combining workers and employers—were established; in 1938 their representatives, acting as the so-called Chamber of Corporations, replaced the Italian Parliament.

P. J. Davies

See Also: CORPORATISM; ECONOMICS; EMPLOYMENT; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; HITLER,

ADOLF; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LABOR SERVICE, THE; LAW; LEY, ROBERT; NAZISM; PERONISM; SA, THE; STATE, THE; SYNDICALISM; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM

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TRADITION

The outstanding feature of interwar fascism's appeal to tradition was that it was nationalistic. The tradition that Mussolini referred to was that of Roman Antiquity; the tradition that Nazism referred to was Germanic. As the years of his dictatorship passed, Mussolini increasingly promoted the idea that he was responsible for the creation of a new Roman Empire. The language of Italian Fascism was from the beginning imbued with references to Roman Antiquity, from the *fascio*, which inspired its name to the *quadrumvirs* who led the March on Rome. Sarfatti's celebrated biography of Mussolini presented Il Duce as heir to the Roman Caesars. Nazism defined itself as the era of the Third Reich, consciously proposing to re-create the great empires of Germany's past: the medieval and the Wilhelmine.

The need to appeal to past traditions of greatness is suggestive of a present sense of weakness, and in their appeal to their heroic pasts, Italian Fascists and Nazis both played on the widespread disillusionment prevalent in their countries in the aftermath of World War I. At the same time, the obsession with the idea of "empire" reflected both countries' failure to play the role in the nineteenth-century adventure of European imperialism that had so aggrandized Britain and France, whose sense of national pride and self-importance had

been greatly inflated by their conquests in Africa and Asia. The fascist concern with revival of their imperial traditions could be seen as the final act in the drama of imperial conquest that had brought so much of the nonindustrialized Southern Hemisphere under the control of two European nations. Italy's march into Ethiopia was in this sense merely anticipatory of Hitler's march into the Soviet Union in 1941, for Hitler was fascinated by the way in which Britain ruled India with a relatively small number of men, planning to deal with the Ukraine in the same way.

Both Italian Fascism and German Nazism consciously chose to emphasize their connectedness to a non-Christian tradition. By deliberately reconnecting with Ancient Rome, Mussolini was opting to go back to a pre-Christian pagan Italian past, implicitly denying Italy's Catholic centuries any value. His establishment of a new *Era fascista*, proclaiming the inauguration of a new Fascist epoch beginning with the March on Rome, was designed to replace the traditional A.D. chronological measurement founded by Christian Europe based on the birth of Christ as the determining moment in a new era of history. Symbolic of this attitude was Mussolini's promotion of extensive archaeological activities in the city of Rome to bring back to prominence the ruins of antiquity: this recuperation of pre-Christian Rome was carried out at the price of destroying a quantity of medieval and baroque buildings. In Nazi thinking the Aryan myth played a similar role, for it created a non-Christian (and non-Jewish) past for the contemporary citizens of Germany to be proud of. The Nazis also venerated the Holy Roman Empire in its early phase; this they interpreted in the fashion of many historians as a powerful, intransigent, and necessary counterweight to the supposedly overweening power of the Roman popes. It was highly significant that Hitler chose to name his invasion of Soviet Russia in 1941 Operation Barbarossa in memory of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

The way that fascism used tradition was one of the features that marked it out from classic authoritarian conservatism. Conservatives in the classic mold aspire to preserve the best in the country's inherited traditions, whereas interwar fascists aspired to turn the myths of their national past into fuel for the creation of an entirely new order. This exploitation of national traditions also distinguished interwar fascism from the various socialisms, which had no investment in national traditions and sought to create a new world order based on an international alliance of the worldwide proletariat.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ARYANISM; BARBAROSSA, FREDERICK, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; CALENDAR, THE FASCIST; CHRISTIANITY; CONSERVATISM; COUNTERREVOLUTION; ETHIOPIA; *FASCIO*, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, THE; IMPERIALISM; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; QUADRUMVIRS, THE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROME; SECULARIZATION; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITIONALISM; WORLD WAR I

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TRADITIONALISM

Apart from its meaning in general parlance of "love of tradition," this term has at least two more specific technical senses in the politico-religious sphere, both of which derive from a particular current of counter-revolutionary thought that developed in France after 1789 and spread to other European countries, a current that influenced certain protofascist ideologues. The main names associated with traditionalism in its first phase in the aftermath of the French Revolution were those of Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821), L. G. A. de Bonald (1754–1840), and Hugues-Félicité Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854). Lamennais, who later abandoned the traditionalist standpoint, was mainly influential in the development of theology; it was Maistre and Bonald who had the biggest impact in the political arena. All three writers rebelled against the French Revolution in the name of tradition, arguing that subjecting national traditions ("the national reason") to rational critique was tantamount to placing the individual above society and exalting rebellion into a social principle, so that the murderous climax to the

revolution was a predictable outcome of its philosophy. They blamed the revolution on “individualism,” which claimed that the individual citizen had the right to assess the worth of social and political institutions—a claim that led to anarchy on account of the resulting variety and mutual incompatibility of the critiques. This analysis owed much to the celebrated *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) by the Irish writer and politician Edmund Burke (1729–1797). In place of what they saw as modish anarchic individualism stemming from the unhealthy principles of the Enlightenment, these thinkers looked to long-established institutions such as the Catholic Church and the hierarchical society of the ancien regime as bearers of the wisdom of the ages and of the collectivity.

This principle of searching for the laws of the social order in a wisdom expressed in existing traditions, customs, and institutions was seminal in the development of the study of sociology: two of its founding fathers, Saint-Simon and Comte, were huge admirers of Maistre. It also inspired a counter-revolutionary tradition in France that persisted in rejecting the principles of 1789, including the set of ideas known as “integral nationalism,” and it was into this tradition that Charles Maurras tapped at the end of the nineteenth century. But while this current of thought either adhered to the Catholicism of Maistre, Bonald, and Lamennais, or at least approved of it as of value to the social order, others concluded that the wisdom of the ages must be sought through the study of global rather than solely Western or French sources; this other kind of traditionalism came to refer to a syncretistic type of thinking that based itself on the wisdom it discovered in the traditions of Eastern as well as Western cultures. Many of those who went down this route became convinced of the old Gnostic belief that there is an occult stream of global wisdom that is available only to initiates; a parallel conviction held that it has been forcibly suppressed by those in authority. The former conviction could lead, for example, to adherence to a movement like Freemasonry, whereas the latter led to a fondness for conspiracy theories in which Freemasonry very frequently figured by contrast as an occult force for the suppression of truth.

While postrevolutionary Catholic traditionalism impacted very strongly on French integral nationalism and the Action française—considered by some scholars to be the first manifestation of fascism—it was “global” traditionalism that fed into Nazism. The whole Aryan myth rested on the idea of a specially gifted race that brought an ancient global wisdom from East to West. The Nazis believed themselves to be building a new

world on the basis of this ancient wisdom, which had been submerged by Christianity. While many of them probably had little or no knowledge of the Eastern cultures that were held to be the cradle of the Aryan race, ideologues such as Chamberlain, Hauer, Lanz von Liebenfels, and Rosenberg took a great interest in Buddhism and Hinduism. In Italy the main sympathizer with Fascism, who was also a propagandist for this kind of “global” traditionalism, was Julius Evola, but it did not seriously impact on Mussolini or his followers in their development of their creed. Evola has, however, been a figure of huge importance in the development of postwar fascism.

There is a direct line from the postrevolutionary traditionalist prioritization of the collectivity over the individual to the core ideas of Italian Fascism. Postrevolutionary traditionalism diagnosed the ills resulting from the revolution as being caused by a weak political authority that allowed individuals unbridled license to criticize the existing order, and that certainly fed into both Italian Fascism and German Nazism. In addition, Joseph de Maistre (along with others, such as Barruel and Robison) helped popularize the idea that the revolution, far from being the result of intolerable oppression of one class by another, was in fact the result of nothing less than a deliberate conspiracy. But whereas Maistre, who had himself been a Freemason before the revolution, identified Protestants, Jansenists and philosophes as the conspirators, Barruel focused on the Freemasons; later publicists turned the spotlight on the Jews. Furthermore, the postrevolutionary French traditionalists followed Burke in attacking the “abstraction,” rationalism, and intellectualism of the revolutionaries, which they attributed to the pernicious influence of the famous philosophes. Even while interwar fascists were creating their own new revolutionary order, they too attacked these targets because they equated intellectualism with socialism, internationalism, pacifism, and “antinationalist” values. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini was overly concerned about winning over the intelligentsia, for they valued above all men of action.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ACTION FRANÇAISE; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; *BHAGAVADGITA*, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BUDDHISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; COUNTERREVOLUTION; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EVOLA, JULIUS; FRANCE; FREEMASONRY, FREEMASONS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; HAUER, JAKOB WILHELM; INDIVIDUALISM; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON;

MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; MAURRAS, CHARLES; ORGANICISM; PACIFISM; PROTOFASCISM; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOCIALISM; TRADITION

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TRAPP FAMILY, THE: **See** ANTIFASCISM
TRAVELERS: **See** ROMA

TRIUMPH OF THE WILL

The documentary *Triumph des Willens* (*Triumph of the Will*) was the most infamous movie made by German filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, released in 1935. It depicts the 1934 Nuremberg Rally, one of the annual propagandistic events staged by the National Socialists. It was highly innovative in its film technique, but Riefenstahl has ever since been seen as one of the prime propagandists for the Nazi regime. *Triumph of the Will* was preceded by *Der Sieg des Glaubens* (*Victory of Belief*) about the 1933 Nuremberg Rally. Recently, internationally successful pop bands like U2 and Rammstein have used images from *Triumph of the Will* for their stage shows.

Christoph H. Müller

See Also: BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; FILM; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; NAZISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; SPORT; VOLUNTARISM

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TROTSKY, LEON (1879–1940)

Leading spokesman of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Red Army, who made two important contributions to left-wing antifascist theory. In contrast to the main spokesmen of the Communist International, he insisted that fascism was not merely a conspiracy of the rich but a mass movement, which because of its popular support was capable of wreaking untold damage. Second, he argued for socialists and communists to ally against fascism in a "united front."

David Renton

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTIFASCISM; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; COMINTERN, THE; DEMOCRACY; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE

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TROTT ZU SOLZ, ADAM VON (1909–1944)

Leading member of the German anti-Nazi Kreisau Circle. After studies in law, philosophy, and economics, Trott entered the diplomatic service in 1940. Having joined the NSDAP as a cover, he became (in 1943–1944) adviser to Stauffenberg on foreign affairs. He spoke up for an immediate end to the war, to be fol-

lowed by far-reaching democratic and social reforms. His attempts to convince British diplomats of the seriousness of his peace offers failed because he included the Soviet Union in the negotiations, made territorial claims unacceptable to the Allies, and was in general distrusted as a diplomat in the service of Nazi Germany. This distrust was in spite of the fact that Trott had visited England before the war and was well known at the University of Oxford, among other places. His name occurs frequently in English autobiographical accounts or correspondence from the period. Trott was arrested in late July 1944 and executed for his part in the July Plot.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; GERMANY; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; NAZISM; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUDIUS SCHENK GRAF VON; WORLD WAR I

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TUKA, DR. VOJTECH (1880–1946)

Leader of the radical wing of the Slovak People's Party, Tuka was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment for "treason" against the Czechoslovak state in 1929 but released in 1937. He became prime minister of the independent Slovak Republic in 1939 and sought to pursue national socialist policies under German patronage in conflict with Mgr. Tiso, the president. As minister of the interior, he ordered the deportation of Slovakian Jews to Auschwitz, and as foreign minister he adhered to the Anti-Comintern Pact. He died in prison in 1946 awaiting trial on war crimes charges.

John Pollard

See Also: ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CZECHOSLOVAKIA; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; SLOVAKIA; TISO, MGR. JOSEF

Reference

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TURANISM

A political ideology based on the idea of the unification of all Turkic peoples (pan-Turkism) or, more ambitiously, the unification of Turks with Hungarians, Mongolians, and Finns.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: EXPANSIONISM; HUNGARY; IRREDENTISM; PANGERMANISM; TURKEY

Reference

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TURKEY

Considered by some to have had a fascistic-style regime in the interwar years. The constituent set of ideals behind the Turkish Republic was Janus-faced. Kemalism (the philosophy of the followers of Kemal Atatürk, modernizing president of Turkey, 1923–1938) retained recondite yet profound misgivings about modernity. However, it also aimed at rebuilding the old mythic society with a modern constitutive enthusiasm. Culture and populism were the core Kemalist armatures that were deployed for the aspired rebirth of society. The new nation was defined around a particularistic conception of Turkish culture, and populism provided the discourse for the organic unity of this new nation. The essential driving force that was used to mobilize the masses bound for the new regime was an extreme form of nationalism. This nationalism played the leading role in the conservative Turkish revolution, and brought the Kemalist endeavor of rebuilding society into close relation with fascism, most particularly in the 1930s.

Revolting against both the foreign powers and the old regime, the Kemalist movement established a semidictatorial system of government that claimed to speak on behalf of the people as a whole, in order to attain economic development in an unindustrialized country. The Kemalist regime and the path it followed—especially in the years between 1931 and



Kemal Atatürk, president of Turkey from 1923 to 1938. There were some parallels between the ideology of his Republican People's Party and Italian Fascism. (Library of Congress)

1945—had some obvious features overlapping with fascism, such as: a single party; a strong reaction against the old regime; the existence of solidarist and corporatist and later on, totalitarian tendencies; coalescence of state with party; adoption of a national leader system; and increasing state interventionism in the economy. The Kemalist Republican People's Party was not all that dissimilar in essence from Mussolini's *Fasci di Combattimento* when its authoritarian character and political program are taken into account. Six basic principles of Kemalism were laid down in the party program in 1931, and then incorporated into the Turkish Constitution in 1937. Republicanism was a salute to the new regime, outlawing political activity in favor of the old monarchic rule. Nationalism was the main instrument for the construction of a new national identity whose roots were found in history through a process of intensive myth creation. Secular-

ism was employed to remove religion totally from public life and to establish complete state control over the remaining religious institutions. Populism, as an adhesive element of the nationalist policies, became the tool for creating and maintaining national solidarity and unity on the one hand, and more decisively, denying class interests and suppressing class-based politics on the other. Statism affirmed the priority of the state over the economy.

For all the parallels, there were also a number of dissimilarities between Kemalism and fascism. The social accounts of Kemalism and Italian Fascism were comparatively the same, since Kemalism tried to create a national bourgeoisie and consolidate emergent capitalism at the expense of the working classes, while nationalizing foreign companies, railways, and some institutions in the banking sector. Fascist-style paramilitary forces were not deployed in disciplining the masses. Instead, Kemalism tried to use the People's Houses as a mass education organization to disseminate its set of ideals. Kemalism's expectations regarding international peace were not compatible with fascism's aggressive foreign policies. Furthermore, it abandoned the old regime's education and justice systems, deemed civilization to be universal, and thus strove for a secularized contemporary civilized society. Most important, Kemalism was a pragmatic ideology. In contrast to fascism, it did not have thoroughgoing totalitarian pretensions. Besides, the complex compound that made fascism possible in Italy was not really present in Turkey. The Kemalist one-party state should be understood in conjunction with the spirit and conditions of the 1930s. Kemalism never set the single-party regime as an aim in itself. Its declared goal was to reach the level of contemporary civilization, which was regarded as best represented by Western democracy. The Kemalist regime lacked political democracy and was authoritarian in character, but in the long run it also paved the way for the objective conditions of political democracy with its modernizing zeal.

Although the postwar state regime in Turkey cannot be described as fascist, it accommodates some fascistic elements, such as the prevalence of the state of emergency and exceptionism. Contemporary Turkey has inherited an authoritarian state regime from the Kemalist constitutive period that ideologically and structurally includes some totalitarian aspects, and those features occasionally present a quasi-fascist character. The state itself as the sacred value of the official ideology inspires fascist impulses with its unquestionable reason, ritual performance, and claim of being a metaphysical entity

calling for total dedication. Nationalism functions as the backbone of this official ideology, with its power of assimilating almost all other ideologies. Since the end of World War II, fascist aspects of the state regime have usually been present as a method of governance, periodically articulating in a coherent manner, as in the aftermath of the 12 September 1980 coup d'état, rather than as a result of an ideological orientation.

Since the early 1960s, the Nationalist Action Party (NAP, also known as Grey Wolves) has been the conduit of fascism as a sociopolitical and ideological movement in Turkey. Ideologically, it stems from the 1930s and 1940s pan-Turkist current, which was racist, nationalist-mystical in an irreligious manner, openly anti-democratic with a militarist-corporatist view of society, and which had a pan-Turanist tendency aimed at uniting the various Turkic peoples. The nationalist mysticism was abandoned after the party's adoption of a Sunni Islamic character, and the pan-Turanist ideal of the early pan-Turkist current was not manifest in an irredentist manner as a call for a greater Turkey, but instead as a call for freedom for the Turkic peoples living under Soviet rule. The NAP came of age in the 1970s with an imagery of a counterorder in which divine social harmony was to be established, turning back to the essentials of the sacred state by a cleansing of the vermin in the organism.

Özgür Gökmen

See Also: INTRODUCTION; AUTHORITARIANISM; BANKS, THE; CAPITALISM; CIVILIZATION; CORPORATISM; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; MODERNITY; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SECULARIZATION; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TURANISM

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TURNER DIARIES, THE

A novel written pseudonymously in the 1970s by leading neo-Nazi William Pierce, it describes a terrorist campaign involving attacks on the FBI headquarters, the *Washington Post*, and the Israeli embassy. In the closing pages of the book, the "hero," Earl Turner, is killed crashing a nuclear-armed aircraft into the Pentagon, but the Jewish power-structure that Pierce portrays as controlling the United States is overthrown, the nation is ethnically cleansed, and a ruthless Aryan elite is installed in power. The name that Pierce chose for his fictional group, the Order, was subsequently adopted by a racist terrorist group in the 1980s.

Martin Durham

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS; ARYANISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; NEO-NAZISM; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WHITE SUPREMACISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

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TYNDALL, JOHN (1934–2005)

John Tyndall was the founder of the British National Party (BNP) and editor of *Spearhead*. He was a leading member of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) and was jailed in 1962 for organizing a paramilitary group. Despite his overtly Nazi past, Tyndall succeeded in joining the National Front in 1968. He became chairman in 1973, leading the organization to its 1974

peak. When the party began fragmenting after the 1979 general election debacle, Tyndall resigned and founded the BNP in 1982. He was ousted as chairman by Nick Griffin in September 1999.

Graham Macklin

See Also: BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; GREAT BRITAIN; GRIFFIN, NICHOLAS; NATIONAL FRONT (UK), THE; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM

Reference

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ÜBERMENSCH, THE: See NEW MAN, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; UNTERMENSCHEN

UK, THE: See GREAT BRITAIN

UKRAINE: See ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; SLAVS, THE; SOVIET UNION, THE

See Also: AUTHORITARIANISM; ESTONIA; LATVIA; THUNDER CROSS, THE

ULTRANATIONALISM: See NATIONALISM

UN, THE: See UNITED NATIONS, THE

ULMANIS, KĀRLIS (1877–1942)

First prime minister of Latvia, creator of an authoritarian regime in the late 1930s. As leader of the conservative Farmers' Union, he was the foremost statesman of independent Latvia. Following the Estonian example, he declared martial law on 15 May 1934 and arrested the leaders of the fascist Thunder Cross and communists. While claiming to be saving democracy from the threat of extremism, Ulmanis erected his own authoritarian regime. In 1936 he united the office of president and prime minister in his own person. In 1940 the USSR annexed Latvia, and Ulmanis was deported to Russia, where he died in captivity.

Andres Kasekamp

UNITED NATIONS, THE

International organization founded after World War II to further the quest for world peace and stability in succession to the discredited League of Nations. Its foundation was stimulated by a desire to counterbalance permanently the threat to world order posed by extreme nationalism of the fascist variety. It is suspected by some U.S. far-right movements of being a conspiracy to establish a (Jewish) world government and subvert U.S. sovereignty.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; COSMOPOLITANISM; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; NATIONALISM; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); UNIVERSALISM; WORLD WAR II; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE (ZOG)

Reference

Knight, Peter. 2003. *Conspiracy Theories in American History: An Encyclopedia*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

UNITED STATES, THE (pre-1945)

Many movements appeared fascist in the interwar years in the United States but were really something else. The Ku Klux Klan had an ideology that involved racism, extreme nationalism, and a mystique of violence, but it also stressed a return to traditional cultural values, not radical political or economic change; it sought to “purify” the United States by reasserting rule by white, Protestant, rural, native-born elites. In much of the public mind, Henry Ford was also perceived as a proto-fascist, particularly inasmuch as his weekly magazine, the *Dearborn Independent* (1919–1922), espoused a vehement form of anti-Semitism. Yet, though admired by Adolf Hitler, he never called for radical transformation of the U.S. social, political, or economic system. The same holds true for the Reverend Gerald Winrod, whose monthly magazine the *Defender* mixed endorsements of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* with a “dispensationalist” theology centering on biblical “prophesies” outlined in the *Scofield Reference Bible*. Aside, however, from his anti-Semitism, Winrod’s attacks on the New Deal differed little from those emanating from mainstream conservative Republicans, as both entities stressed economic individualism, not a centralized corporate state.

Far more visible was the Share Our Wealth program, launched by Louisiana governor Huey Pierce Long in January 1934 and lasting through his assassination in September 1935. Long’s political platform centered on a radical redistribution of income and opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal. At its height the movement possessed a mailing list of 7.5 million names, located primarily in the U.S. South. Long administered his state as a personal fiefdom, bullying the legislature and turning the state guard against political opponents. Yet he made no effort to control the press or block elections, and he denounced anti-Semitism and the Klan. In the mid-1940s, however, the Reverend Gerald L. K. Smith, who had been national director of the Share Our Wealth clubs, organized the Christian Nationalist Crusade and published the monthly *Cross*

and the *Flag*, both of which expressed hostility toward Jews and called for segregation of blacks. During the 1930s, press czar William Randolph Hearst, often accused of fascist leanings, backed mainstream Republican Alf Landon for president. Furthermore, he strongly denounced anti-Semitism and in the early 1940s actually supported the more militant faction of the Zionist movement.

The Black Legion, a group led by Virgil Effinger, was a body that broke with the Klan in 1925 and organized itself into a secret nativist band that engaged in vigilante killings in the Detroit area. With an estimated membership in 1935 of as many as 40,000 men, the legion spoke of seizing Washington, D.C., and exterminating American Jewry. Unlike any European counterparts, the legion lacked an economic doctrine. Investigations by the Detroit police soon resulted in its demise. To an observer of the 1930s, the Silver Shirts, led by William Dudley Pelley, represented a European-style fascism. Here one finds a uniformed, anti-Semitic cadre devoted to a leader who claimed to have experienced “seven minutes in eternity.” Pelley’s vague ideology drew, however, far less from *Mein Kampf* than from Edward Bellamy’s utopian novel *Looking Backward* (1888), with its vision of a Christian commonwealth. There were similar groups, smaller in size, including the James True Associates; George E. Deatherage’s Knight of the White Camelia and American Nationalist Confederation; Harry A. Jung’s American Vigilant Intelligence Federation; Joseph E. McWilliams’s Christian Mobilizers; and George W. Christians’s Crusader White Shirts (after 1936, Crusaders for Economic Liberty). Historian Morris Schonbach notes that probably a majority of the native “fascist” organizations never got past a pretentious title, a mailing list, and an effort by the leader to make a living by dubious means.

Political writers Lawrence Dennis and Seward Collins both advocated forms of fascism, the former stressing a corporate state, the latter a return to the medieval guild system. Several groups deliberately aped foreign movements. In 1925 the Italian government established the Fascist League of North America, which claimed a membership of 12,000 and which was replaced in 1929 by a proliferation of smaller bodies, including the Dante Alighieri Society, the Lictor Federation, and the Sons of Italy. The German-American Bund was a paramilitary group limited to German-Americans. The Bund espoused the doctrine that National Socialism was the solution to America’s problems. Eventually, it said, the United States would be cleansed of Jews, communists, and other alleged “parasites.” Membership never passed 15,000, two-thirds of

German nationality and the rest naturalized Americans. From the outset the Bund was riddled with factionalism and drew little support from Germany's Nazi Party, the German state, or Hitler himself. German-American propagandist George Sylvester Viereck cast a much wider net in his efforts to promote Hitler's Germany, particularly after war broke out in Europe in 1939.

When in December 1941 the United States entered World War II, most such action groups disappeared. In April 1944 some thirty individuals stood trial for sedition, the specific charge being that they were part of a conspiratorial "worldwide Nazi movement" extending from Berlin to the District of Columbia. They were accused of having the specific aim of disseminating "systematic propaganda" to undermine morale in the armed forces and having the ultimate aim of bringing about an armed revolt. Among the defendants were McWilliams, Pelley, True, Winrod, Dennis, Deatherage, and Viereck. The judge died that November, after which a mistrial was proclaimed. Viereck was independently sentenced for failing to comply with the foreign agents registration act of 1938.

Fascist movements always remained tangential to the U.S. political landscape, but during the 1920s, Mussolini's brand of fascism held a surprising appeal for many U.S. intellectuals. Former muckraking journalists S. S. McClure, Lincoln Steffens, and Ida Tarbell found a kind of strenuous idealism in Il Duce himself, something that reminded them of Theodore Roosevelt. Herbert Croly, editor of the reformist weekly *New Republic*, admired the supposed dynamism of the Italian system, while activist historian Charles A. Beard expressed fascination with the concept of corporatism. Financial and industrial groups almost unanimously endorsed the Mussolini regime while labor united in opposition. Originally, many Americans believed that Mussolini's regime would become more democratic once the Italian economy improved. In June 1933, Breckinridge Long, U.S. ambassador to Italy, found the advent of Italian Fascism on a par with the framing of the U.S. Constitution in 1789, while President Franklin D. Roosevelt in July referred to Mussolini as "the admirable Italian gentleman." The dictator reciprocated, declaring in June 1933 that FDR's policies would end the Depression. But when Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, U.S. opinion was almost unanimously opposed, and soon U.S. business started using the word "fascist" as a negative term with which to flay the New Deal. Until Mussolini's death in 1945, both administration and public remained hostile to Italy's ruler and his regime. Only a few die-hard intellectuals, such as poet Ezra Pound, backed the man and the movement.

In contrast, the broad spectrum of U.S. public opinion never expressed sympathy for Adolf Hitler's National Socialism. In the popular mind, the Nazi regime was always seen as the epitome of police-state brutality. Certain administration diplomats thought it possible to negotiate positively with Hitler, among them Ambassador to Germany Hugh Wilson, Ambassador to Britain Joseph P. Kennedy, and Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles. The Roosevelt government, however, never indicated that it found Germany's domestic policies other than abhorrent. After the *Kristallnacht* of 10 November 1938, when the Nazis launched a full-scale rampage against the Jews, FDR recalled Ambassador Wilson. All diplomacy was thereafter conducted by lower-echelon officials. Once the United States entered the war in December 1941 as a full-scale belligerent, even the legal pretense of "neutrality" was over.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CHRISTIANITY; COLLINS, SEWARD; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; CORPORATISM; COUGHLIN, FR. CHARLES EDWARD; DEMOCRACY; DENNIS, LAWRENCE; ETHIOPIA; EUGENICS (USA); FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORD, HENRY; GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH; HITLER, ADOLF; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; *KRISTALLNACHT*; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; PEARL HARBOR; PELLEY, WILLIAM DUDLEY; POUND, EZRA; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; RACISM; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; U.S. CORPORATIONS; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); VIERECK, GEORGE SYLVESTER; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WINROD, GERALD BURTON; WORLD WAR II; ZIONISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE (ZOG)

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UNITED STATES, THE (postwar)

Few of the U.S. fascist groups of the 1930s survived World War II, and the main group that emerged in its immediate aftermath, the National Renaissance Party, received little support for its combination of National Socialism and occultism. In the early 1950s, however, the furor over the proposed desegregation of schools gave white supremacy a renewed impetus. Many of the most militant segregationists were organized in rival fragments of the Ku Klux Klan, whose terrorist campaigns against African Americans were sometimes accompanied by anti-Semitism. But white backlash also appeared in more clearly fascist forms. One group, the National States Rights Party, emerged in 1958. Another, the American Nazi Party, was launched the following year. Where the first grouping sought to identify itself with U.S., and particularly Southern, tradition, the American Nazi Party argued that only the politics of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* could secure a white America. Large-scale battles between uniformed storm troopers and opponents ensured the American Nazi Party considerable press attention. But while the National States Rights Party was eclipsed by its rival, the American Nazi Party was itself to crumble. In 1967, shortly after its renaming as the National Socialist White People's Party, its leader, George Lincoln Rockwell, was assassinated by a former member. Several different claimants to his mantle emerged. Where the National Socialist White People's Party proved unable to regain its former prominence, another group, the National Socialist Party of America, was devastated when its leader, Frank Collin, was imprisoned for sex with young boys. Another former Rockwell follower, Joseph

Tommasi, set up the openly terrorist National Socialist Liberation Front in 1974, only to be killed shortly afterward by a member of a rival faction.

But while overt National Socialism proved unsuccessful, an approach that drew on it but that avoided the use of Nazi symbolism was to prove more effective. Previously the editor of the American Nazi Party's theoretical journal, *National Socialist World*, William Pierce broke with its successor organization in 1970. Becoming leader of the National Youth Alliance, subsequently renamed the National Alliance, Pierce sought to popularize his ideas through a variety of media. Two novels written by him have attracted attention: the first, *The Turner Diaries*, portrayed a successful racist terrorist campaign to overthrow the U.S. government; the second, *Hunter*, depicts an individual who carries out attacks on mixed-race couples but who is brought to believe that the only effective way of waging race war is through membership in an organization. Pierce also promulgated his message through radio broadcasts, comic books, and, from the late 1990s, ownership of the main U.S. distributor of "white power music," Resistance Records. By the time of Pierce's death in 2002, the Alliance was the best-known fascist organization in the United States. It was not, however, the only such group. One rival was Aryan Nations, the principal exponent of Christian Identity, a doctrine that emerged in the immediate aftermath of World War II. Where extreme rightists had often professed Christianity, Christian Identity took the entanglement of religion and racism further by adopting the nineteenth-century idea that the original inhabitants of Israel had been dispersed to Europe and then to the other sites of European settlement. But where the originators of what had once been called Anglo-Israelism had held that the British Empire was God's instrument, Identity believers saw the United States as the new Israel. Many also held that Jews are literally the product of a sexual liaison between Eve and Satan in the Garden of Eden, and in the Aryan Nations' case, the sacralization of anti-Semitism that resulted took an explicitly pro-Nazi manifestation. Other Identity groupings have also sprung up, while other racists, unpersuaded by the contention that Christianity is truly Aryan, looked elsewhere for a racial faith.

Pierce himself rejected Christianity, constructing his own religion, Cosmotheism, in its place. National Alliance members did not have to embrace his religion, however. Another grouping that first emerged in the early 1980s, the Church of the Creator, insisted that its members reject Christianity and embrace Creativity, a religion that denounced any belief in divine beings



American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell and followers next to a bus they used to travel the United States and disseminate their message of hatred for racial mixing, Jews, and communists. (Bettmann/Corbis)

while calling for *Rahowa*, Racial Holy War. Others, however, turned to what were seen as the ancestral gods of the white race and became adherents of Odinism. Early sympathy for this stance came from White Aryan Resistance, a particularly militant group formed in the 1970s by former Klansman (and former Identity adherent) Tom Metzger, while in the 1980s the leading role in white supremacist Odinism (some Odinists were nonracist) was taken up by a newly founded group, *Wotansvolk*.

If American fascists were divided over religion, they were divided too over tactics. Some prioritized the production of printed propaganda. One group formed in the late 1950s, Liberty Lobby, was particularly important in that regard, publishing from the mid-1970s the most widely circulated of the movement's periodicals, the weekly *Spotlight*, and pioneering the systematic denial of the Holocaust. (Ironically, a bitter court case between Liberty Lobby and the group that it initiated in the late 1970s, the Institute for Historical Review, was to lead at the end of the 1990s to the demise of the *Spotlight*.) The Liberty Lobby also supported electoral candidates, of whom one was to prove particularly im-

portant. In the 1970s, David Duke, a former student Nazi organizer, emerged as the leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the most important Klan fragment. After concluding that the Klan would never lead a mass white backlash, he left it and created the National Association for the Advancement of White People. (He would later create another grouping, the European-American Unity and Rights Organization.) While unsuccessful as a presidential candidate, in 1989 he was elected as a Republican member of the Louisiana state legislature, in a seeming vindication of an electoral strategy that other extreme rightists also tried, unsuccessfully, to pursue. Other extreme rightists, however, looked toward terrorism. Most notably, in the early 1980s, supporters of the National Alliance and Aryan Nations came together with others to create the Order, named after the fictional organization that masterminded the terrorism portrayed in Pierce's first novel. After several robberies and two murders, a large number of members of the Order were caught and its leader killed during a siege by federal agents. The imprisoned former members continued to wield an influence on sections of the movement, but it was to be the arguments of another figure, former Texas Klan organizer Louis Beam, that were to prove particularly important. Published first in the 1980s, then again in the 1990s, Beam's most influential article held that centralized organizations were doomed to defeat. Instead, those who wished to fight the state should operate either individually or in small cells, following what Beam described as leaderless resistance.

American fascism is a divided and disputatious phenomenon. Two of its historically most important strands appear to be in crisis. One is the uniformed National Socialism pioneered by Rockwell in the 1960s. While some groups continue to adopt the trappings of the Third Reich, for many racists such an approach appears deeply unsuited to the United States. An older movement, the Ku Klux Klan, has always been rooted in American soil. But despite its existence in many U.S. states, it remained associated with resentment of the "Yankees" who had defeated the Confederacy in the 1860s. There were disputes, too, about the caliber of the recruits the Klan tended to attract. But if both the Klan and overt National Socialism appear to have run aground, other forms of American fascism are also problematic. The Church of the Creator, for instance, has been hard hit—first by losing control of its name in a copyright battle, and then by the conviction of its leader for soliciting the murder of the judge who had ruled against it. White Aryan Resistance lost a multi-million-dollar lawsuit following a racial murder carried

out by supporters in Portland, Oregon. Aryan Nations has experienced splits and lost the compound on which it held its annual congresses as a result of a violent attack on a woman and her son by its security guards. Pierce's approach has proved more successful. This has not meant a moderation of what he long argued for as a Nazi activist. (In one National Alliance article, for instance, he expressed concern that some of those who espoused Holocaust revisionism appeared unwilling to defend the necessity of genocide.) But the Alliance's approach did mean garbing Nazi arguments in recognizably American clothing. Even here, however, there are problems. Before Pierce's death, others on the extreme Right had been appalled at his reported contempt for racists who did not accept the Alliance's leadership. Since his death, bitter quarrels have broken out over his successor's leadership.

If the main organizations were in disarray, leaderless resistance also seemed to offer little hope. While the short-lived Aryan Republican Army of the mid-1990s and the 1995 bombing of an Oklahoma federal building can be seen as examples of leaderless resistance, there were also individual "lone wolf" attacks. In July 1999, Ben Smith, a supporter of the Church of the Creator, committed suicide at the end of a series of racial attacks, while the following month Buford Furrow, an Aryan Nations supporter, attacked a Jewish community center before killing a Filipino-American postal worker. But none of this was likely to generate sympathy for white supremacy, any more than the declarations of admiration emanating from some on the extreme Right following the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In the sixty years since the beginnings of the battle against desegregation, the extreme Right has taken numerous forms in the United States. Some, notably sections of the Klan, have appeared more ultraconservative than fascist, although the credibility often given to theories of Jewish conspiracy and recurring examples of cooperation with or influence by Nazi groupings has made it difficult to be certain when the reactionary Right ends and the revolutionary Right begins. But even with the most generous estimate of who is to be included within its ranks, it is notable how divided American fascism remains. Rockwell's original party apparently never had more than 200 members. The Klan, some 55,000 strong in the late 1960s, was a tenth of that size by the 1990s, and at both points members were dispersed among a number of rival groups. Even the National Alliance at its peak in the late 1990s achieved only some 1,500 members. There have been numerous Christian Identity congregations, and, in recent years, it has been

suggested that as Identity has declined, Odinism has been enjoying an upsurge. But neither belief is hegemonic among extreme rightists. Nor have the disputes about elections or terrorism been settled. Where some on the American extreme Right seek to repeat Duke's success, others hope for a rebirth of the Order or for the spread of decentralized violence.

Martin Durham

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS, THE; ARYANISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; CHRISTIAN IDENTITY; CHRISTIANITY; CONSERVATISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; DUKE, DAVID; GROUPUSCULES; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST DENIAL; INSTITUTE FOR HISTORICAL REVIEW, THE; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; KÜHNEN, MICHAEL; MCVEIGH, TIMOTHY; *MEIN KAMPF*; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; OCCULTISM; OKLAHOMA BOMBING, THE; PIERCE, WILLIAM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; RADIO; ROCK MUSIC; ROCKWELL, GEORGE LINCOLN; SURVIVALISM; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITION; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); *TURNER DIARIES, THE*; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR II; ZIONISM; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

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UNIVERSALISM

Negative term in the vocabulary of interwar fascism. It was taken to designate styles of thinking that placed the human race above the nation, the ultimate source of value for fascists. It was used similarly to *cosmopolitanism*, but that latter term had additional overtones of a metropolitan-style "decadence," the threat of Americanization, shallowness, and immorality. In the 1920s there was in many circles a massive revulsion from war after the final conclusion to the four years of harrowing bloodshed and agony of what had been the first global war known to history, and that was the motivation behind the creation of the League of Nations and

the development of pacifism. At the same time Christianity had its own brand of universalism, since it preached universal brotherhood and peace, and socialism meanwhile called for a global union of the workers to oppose the capitalists. But fascists drew an entirely different lesson from World War I. Many war veterans in particular felt that such a bloodbath could only be legitimated and the sacrifices made worthwhile by the acquisition of appropriate spoils at the end, and they were left feeling either totally betrayed, as in the case of Germany, where many believed that they had not actually been defeated militarily at all, or profoundly disappointed, as in the case of Italy, for she did not gain much for her pains. Hardened and inured to war by their experience in the trenches, the former servicemen chose to continue the battle by other means, channeling their aggressive energies into the promotion of the nationalism they thought held hope of righting the balance and restoring to them the national greatness that should by rights be theirs. To them, therefore, calls for universal brotherhood or for a global union of the proletariat or for the recognition of universal "human rights" were at best a distraction and a delusion and at worst a deliberate policy to keep them permanently in the place of humiliation in which they had been left in 1918. Postwar fascists have sought to promote a different kind of universalism from the one embodied, for example, in the United Nations, claiming that it can be or indeed is being manipulated by forces behind the scenes. Unlike the more enthusiastic proponents of the European Union, who are working to erase the frontiers between the nations of Europe, they want to strengthen countries' individual identities; these identities they see as being threatened by immigration from outside Europe and by such contemporary trends as the Americanization and homogenization of culture.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; AMERICANIZATION; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; DECADENCE; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; EUROPE; EUROPEAN NEW RIGHT, THE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; GLOBALIZATION; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; JESUITS, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBER-BRECHER, THE; PACIFISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; SOCIALISM; TRADITION; TRADITIONALISM; UNITED NATIONS, THE; VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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UNIVERSITIES (Italy)

On 8 October 1931 the *Gazzetta Ufficiale del Regno d'Italia* published new Regulations on Higher Education. Article 18 laid down that university teachers must take the following oath: "I swear to be faithful to the King, to his royal successors and to the Fascist regime, to observe the statute faithfully, and the other laws of the state, to exercise the office of teacher and fulfill all academic duties, with the intention of forming diligent, upright citizens devoted to the Fatherland and to the Fascist Regime. I swear that I do not belong nor will I belong to associations or parties whose activity is not reconcilable with the duties of my office." It was not the first time that university teachers had been called on to swear loyalty to the state. But they had never before been told to swear loyalty to a particular government, and certainly not to an ideology. Almost all of them either signed up or submitted. A tiny band of twelve—one per thousand of the teaching body of the time—decided to refuse. Others took different paths, such as retirement, in order to escape the oath, while some younger ones deliberately opted for a different career. In this latter group were two important Jewish antifascist intellectuals, later leaders of the Resistance, both killed by the Nazis: Eugenio Colorni and Leone Ginzburg.

The imposition of the oath represented an acceleration in the process of the fascistization of the university as promoted and defended personally by Giovanni Gentile even against the doubts of Il Duce. Mussolini, in fact, feared a very different reaction on the part of the university world: a few years earlier, university teachers had taken up a public position against Fascism in support of the "antimanifesto" inspired by Benedetto Croce in answer to the *Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals* promoted by Giovanni Gentile and published on

21 April 1925. But since then the regime had undergone consolidation and had definitively suppressed almost all freedom and scope for legal opposition. Croce was still around but now feared the damage to academe that would result from the loss of the best teachers. One force alone could have promoted widespread opposition: the Catholic Church. The Vatican, however, deferred to the principle of “giving to Caesar that which is Caesar’s”—which in this case was interpreted as affirming the legitimacy of the requirement for an oath for professors at state universities, though not for those at private universities, who were to be left free to choose. The Catholic University of Milan welcomed Mario Rotondi, lecturer in commercial law, who had asked for a transfer from Pavia so as not to have to swear, while at the same time contributing to the fascistization of the Italian academy. Fifty-four of its fifty-eight teachers took the oath.

Many argued—and many still argue—that it was a good thing that the great majority of teachers decided to take the oath and continue their important mission. However, an almost unique opportunity was missed to cause embarrassment and perhaps even something worse to the dictatorship, while the precedent was created for an acquiescent attitude on the part of the Italian university world to the wishes of Fascism. The disastrous consequences of this emerged when it led to the passive acceptance of the anti-Semitic legislation of 1938. The effect of this legislation was that at least 386 “Jews” (many of them of Jewish family but no longer part of the Jewish community) were ejected from the ranks of full professors, lecturers, freelance teachers, auxiliaries, and assistants, amounting to about 7 percent of the entire Italian university teaching body. The silence in the academic community was resounding, and the posts vacated were filled with shameless alacrity, although even a Fascist periodical pointed out that “it will not be easy to fill all the chairs with well-qualified personnel; and perhaps in some subjects it will not be possible for some years” (*Vita universitaria*, 5 October 1938). The writer suggested that temporary stopgap appointments might be made and competitions avoided, for they could be exploited by fraudsters and unqualified individuals—as if to say: “It would be a good thing, provisionally, to avoid using the resources put at our disposal by the racial laws.” Serious damage was done to the Italian universities, which lost scholars of the highest stature in many fields, from the history of antiquity to the history of philosophy, from physics to biology, from psychology to economics.

Roberto Finzi (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CROCE, BENEDETTO; EDUCATION; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; LAW; MANIFESTO OF FASCIST INTELLECTUALS, THE; MEDICINE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SCIENCE; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY)

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UNIVERSITIES (Germany)

Their totalitarian pretensions inevitably prompted the National Socialists to try to revolutionize the universities and colleges along with all other scientific institutions. The “liberalistic,” “Jewish,” and “internationalist” universities and their science had to become National Socialist. However, the Nazis were not very successful in this enterprise. There was no clear policy on academic matters, and the many offices and groups that involved themselves competed with one another for influence. The Nazi “worldview” was in any case too crude and sketchy to permit any clear directives for universities and scholarship to be extrapolated from them. Moreover, Hitler’s deep mistrust of anything even remotely academic, his low opinion of scholarly achievements, and the superficiality of his own education meant that he himself issued no directives that his followers could have used as guidelines.

For the duration of the Nazi dictatorship there was no real center from which universities and sciences could have been directed and controlled. The nearest to it was the Reich Ministry of Education, but that was an institution with little support in state and party. The universities managed to retain a certain freedom of movement, and the general nazification of science—whatever that might have meant—never happened. Consequently, the National Socialist Party often complained about a general lack of acceptance and support from the universities. Policies like the nurturing of a so-called German physics or German mathematics soon proved to be mistaken, and that greatly strengthened the distaste of the party for academics. Even research and publications by professors close to the Nazis did

not succeed in lessening this distance and succeeded mainly in damaging the reputations of their authors as academics among their colleagues.

Only a few (mostly new) disciplines can be categorized under the heading of “Nazi scholarship.” Those included military sciences—though it was never clear what exactly that meant—and the study of races or racial theory. Apart from these deadly disciplines only the study of folklore, prehistory, and early history were valued and encouraged by the Nazis, who were hoping to discover the old Germanic customs, ways, and attitudes that were to be imitated to realize the new type of person and state.

After the Nazis came to power in 1933, autonomy and corporate self-administration were replaced by authoritarianism along the lines of the Fuehrer state. The vice chancellor as Fuehrer, the deans as the Fuehrers of their various faculties, were to impose authority and guarantee the loyalty of their colleagues. The fact that older ideas and ways of behaving frequently undermined the new decrees made possible the preservation of an inner free space, freedom of research, and sometimes even freedom of teaching at many universities. Overt resistance was, however, rare. Even with the so-called Law to Re-Establish the Career Civil Service of 7 April 1933 there was no opposition nor any sign of solidarity with those affected. This “law” was the exact opposite of what its name suggests; it led to the most flagrant injustices imaginable: the expulsion of political opponents and scholars of Jewish origin. At some universities one-third of the lecturers had to leave (amounting to 2,000 to 3,000 individuals), being forced to emigrate or ending up (mostly some years later) in concentration camps. This led to a hemorrhage of scholarly competence, and it profoundly damaged the reputation of the German universities. Even more serious was the fact that professors, scientists, and intellectuals surrendered any claim they might have had to be intellectual and moral leaders.

If most academics initially felt a certain affinity with the Third Reich, the root cause lay in their alienation from the Weimar Republic, their basically national-conservative outlook, and their reverence for the empire of 1870. So it was that in 1933 most university lecturers were in favor of a strong state and strong political leadership. However, only about 2 percent were actual supporters of National Socialism. It was mainly among the students that Nazi supporters were to be found in the universities, though that changed after 1937, when many students withdrew from politics and party, while lecturers (especially the

younger ones) increasingly joined the party or its organizations. This did not, however, mean that they were convinced National Socialists. Pressure on lecturers had very greatly intensified. At the end of the war about two-thirds of the lecturers were members of the NSDAP, though only about a third of them were real Nazis, as was established by the denazification tribunals.

Notker Hammerstein

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; BOOKS, THE BURNING OF THE; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; COSMOPOLITANISM; DENAZIFICATION; EDUCATION; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LAW; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MEDICINE; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; SCIENCE; STATE, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; UNIVERSITIES (ITALY); WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WHITE ROSE; YOUTH

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UNTERMENSCHEN (“SUBHUMANS”)

Expression used by Nazi ideologues to label the Slavs, who, according to Nazi racial doctrine, were a “subhuman” race destined to be dominated and enslaved by the German *Herrenvolk*. The purpose of Hitler’s invasion of the Soviet Union was to make possible the establishment of German colonies all over Russia in which the Slavs would serve as forced labor. For all the lowliness of their position in the racial hierarchy, however, the Slavs were still rated by the Nazis above the Jews, whose corrupting powers were considered so inherently dangerous and threatening to the Germanic race that the only way to deal with them was by mass murder.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; FORCED LABOR; GERMANNES; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; LIEBENFELS, JÖRG ADOLF JOSEF LANZ VON; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY)

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U.S. CORPORATIONS

Some U.S. corporations played a very important role in resourcing the Nazi war effort up to the declaration of war on the United States by Hitler in early 1942. On 2 October 1930, Henry Ford had gone to Cologne to open a new plant for the Ford subsidiary Ford Motor Company Aktiengesellschaft. This had been manufacturing trucks and Model T vehicles with great success. In 1936, Hitler had made a point of praising Ford's assembly-line methods as a model that German industry should follow. In 1939 the German army began manufacturing large quantities of military troop carriers, and Ford's business with the German government expanded hugely. By the time of the outbreak of war in Europe with Hitler's invasion of Poland in September 1939, Ford had become crucial to the German war effort. (Ford troop carriers served the German invaders particularly well on their journey into France.) The company was then asked to go into the business of munitions production for the Wehrmacht as well. To avoid potential embarrassment, a front company was set up under the name of Arendt to carry out this work, but in reality it was German Ford. Arendt carried on supplying armaments for the Nazi war machine throughout the war. As late as 1941 the U.S. parent company sent vital machinery to Cologne to make possible the expansion of the plant's military capacity.

Once in control of continental Western Europe, the Nazis were also in control of all Ford plants in the area—for example, Ford France, which had begun manufacturing trucks and engines for the French army since 1939. This capacity became available to the Germans, while at the same time Henry Ford was vetoing a contract to supply Britain with airplane engines. During the war Ford Germany, like other corporations, availed itself of slave labor. Evidence has been discovered which shows that slave labor was being used by the German subsidiary as early as September 1940, at a time when it was still controlled from the United States.

Other subsidiaries of U.S. corporations operating in Nazi Germany included GM's subsidiary Opel. This was manufacturing heavy vehicles for the Wehrmacht from 1935, and it has been claimed that its contribution to the German war effort dwarfed that of Ford. Opel, too, employed forced labor in its plants. GM spokesmen have said that control of the German subsidiary was lost after Pearl Harbor. IBM's German subsidiary developed the information technology that was used by Hitler in the efficient identification of Jews, so that they could be consigned to the Holocaust. Heinrich Albert, attorney for Ford-Werke, also served as IBM's German attorney.

In October 1942 the U.S. government seized all assets of the Union Banking Corporation of New York, which was accused of operating as a front for "enemy nationals." A federal government investigation concluded that Union Banking was in fact a cloak operation, laundering money for the Thyssens, who were helping to finance the Nazi regime. One of the partners of the Union Banking Corporation was Prescott Bush, grandfather of U.S. president George W. Bush.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; FORCED LABOR; FORD, HENRY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INDUSTRY; INTERVENTIONISM; NAZISM; PEARL HARBOR; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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USSR, THE: See SOVIET UNION, THE

USTASHA

An extreme nationalist and terrorist movement that ruled Croatia between 1941 and 1945. The ideology of Ustasha (*Ustaše*: "insurgents"), influenced by Italian Fascism and German Nazism, was also rooted in an extreme form of Croatian nationalism exemplified by the teachings of nineteenth-century political thinkers Ante

Starcević and Josip Frank. The guiding ideology of the Ustasas included the idealization of the peasant way of life, violence, and patriarchal family life. They desired a greater Croatia, ethnically homogeneous and cleansed of all “alien” groups: Jews, Gypsies, and, above all, Serbs, for whom the Ustasas harbored a visceral hatred. The Ustasas are notorious for their cruelty when they ruled Croatia. As well as a campaign of genocide against Serbs, Gypsies, and Jews, the Ustasas also established a series of death camps, such as Jasenovac, where 100,000 inmates were murdered. After the state collapsed in 1945, some supporters of the Ustasas were handed over to the communist government in Yugoslavia and executed. Others escaped abroad and thus avoided retribution, while others assimilated into the new Yugoslav society.

In the wake of the assassination of the Croatian peasant leader Stjepan Radić, the Ustasha Croatian Revolutionary Organization was established in 1929 by Ante Pavelić, a deputy for the nationalist Croatian Party of Rights, from student organizations at the University of Zagreb. Having issued a declaration calling for the independence of Croatia, Pavelić and his followers fled abroad. Under the protection of Fascist Italy and latterly Nazi Germany, they established terrorist camps and sent supporters back to Yugoslavia to carry out attacks. They also had clandestine cells that worked within Croatia, and the movement itself had popular appeal, especially to high school and university youth. With the collapse of the Yugoslav state in April 1941, Ustasha supporters declared Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska; NDH), with Pavelić as a Fuehrer figure.

In common with other fascist states in Europe, public institutions of the NDH were brought in line with the ideology of the Ustasas. Jews and Gypsies, as well as antifascist Croatians and Bosnian Muslims, were discriminated against, subjected to persecution, and summarily executed. However, it was the Serbs of Croatia and Bosnia who were the main focus of Ustasha fury. During the months of May to August 1941, Ustasha officials gave speeches at rallies in which Serbs were portrayed as racially inferior. Officials demanded that they be expelled from the NDH; some officials even publicly threatened them with extermination. Ustasha officials also began to expropriate their property and expel them from cities and place them in ghettos. Meanwhile, Ustasha militias launched a campaign of genocide against ethnic Serbs in villages and smaller towns, using a brutality that shocked even the



Ante Pavelić, head of the 'independent state of Croatia' for a few years during World War II and founder of the Ustasha Croatian Revolutionary Organization. This pro-Nazi movement was responsible for a genocidal crusade against ethnic Serbs as well as against Jews, gypsies, and others. (AFP/Getty Images)

Nazis. In case genocide failed to have the desired effect, Ustasha ideologues attempted to eradicate the Serbian identity by forcibly converting the Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism and thus making them Croatian. The Catholic Church took an active role in these conversions and hence was later accused of being complicit in genocide, especially since some priests actively participated in Ustasha military units. Concentration camps, the most infamous of which was Jasenovac, were also established. However, increasingly, Croatian citizens rose up against the cruelty of the state and joined the main antifascist guerrilla movement in the NDH, the Partisans.

The NDH would probably have collapsed by 1942 had it not been for the support of the German army. From that point onward, the proportion of territory under the control of the Ustasas steadily decreased, and by 1945 the Ustasha regime hardly even controlled

the capital. Despite this, support for the Usthas in some regions remained strong. With the collapse of the NDH in May 1945, hundreds of thousands of Croatian civilians tried to flee abroad, but many were turned back and handed over to the Yugoslav authorities. A large number were interned or executed by the communists shortly afterward. Despite the fact that some high-ranking Ustasha officials were subjected to show trials after World War II, most important Usthas, including Pavelić, evaded justice.

Rory Yeomans

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CLERICO-FASCISM; COMMUNITY; CROATIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; ITALY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PAPACY, THE; PARAMILITARISM; PAVELIĆ, DR. ANTE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; SERBS, THE; TERROR; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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UTILITARIANISM

Term of abuse in interwar fascist vocabulary. It signified a crassly materialistic approach to life that ignored noble ideals and the heroic dimension. It was associated with the Anglo-American mind-set, with its alleged predilection for commerce rather than for the pursuit of the higher human values. Although the term was often applied in fascist propaganda to the general notion of treating life purely as a scene for the pursuit of personal advantage and pleasure, it did sometimes carry overtones of the philosophical doctrine of utilitarianism as propounded by the nineteenth-century English thinkers Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: CIVILIZATION; CULTURE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; MATERIALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; REVOLUTION; SOUL; TERROR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM

Most commentators—understanding utopianism as a deviation from socialism; as an idealist's vision of the good society too perfect to be realized in the historical circumstances of the time—have balked at associating fascism and utopia. Nonfascists, who are almost inevitably also antifascists, have more readily identified fascism with dystopia—as, for example, in Katharine Burdekin's *Swastika Night* (1937). Utopia has achieved a certain place in the conceptual armory of the humanities and social sciences, but here, too, it has rarely been coupled with fascism. Karl Mannheim's (1936) sociology of the historical development of knowledge posited a series of dialectical stages whereby dominant "ideology" was challenged by "utopia." In this scheme fascism was judged to be a variant of bourgeois ideology, rather than a distinctive radical project. More recently utopian studies have seen significant conceptual development, but fascism, where it has been mentioned at all, has continued to be understood as intellectually void or as a pathological form of ultraconservatism.

Whatever pragmatic compromises fascists might make with the ruling classes on the way to power, they invariably regarded these as effete and their society as decadent. Fascism claimed to be inaugurating a new time, a new era of history, to be creating a "new man" and a dynamic and harmonious organic state-society. In reality, the boasts of fascist rhetoric were often undermined by the stubborn realities of self-interest, the old allegiances of class, and their unstable syncretism generally. Nonetheless, the scope of its ambitions, and the ruthlessness with which it pursued them, mark out fascism as one of the most utopian movements of the modern period.

Fascism in Germany engendered a rich vein of utopian prose fiction, and the utopian desire motivating many Nazis has been brought out by Peter Merkl (1975). Although the Third Reich survived for only twelve years of its new millennium, it made considerable progress toward its aim of transforming a class society into one stratified according to race. As a prerequisite of this process, National Socialism sought the

comprehensive grasp of state and society characteristic of modern utopianism. Its plans for racial engineering reached an advanced stage of fulfillment through the extermination of so-called racial minorities and the killing or sterilization of other unwanted people. At the same time, racially acceptable Germans were subject to a battery of measures to prepare them to play their part in the national community. The negative process of “clearing away” is a prerequisite for almost all utopia-building, and the German armies functioned to create space for “Aryan” Germans to become the rulers of the helot masses of a new empire.

The centrality of racism in its utopia distinguishes Nazism from Mussolini’s regime, but Italian ambitions to create a “new Fascist man,” to solve the dysfunctions of liberal capitalism with a corporate state and to recover the spirit of Ancient Rome in a new empire, were similarly utopian. Even the supposedly “moderate” British Union of Fascists had a detailed blueprint for a “Greater Britain” that, it was hoped, would bring together the spirit of Tudor England with the modern potentialities of science, industry, and state planning.

Philip Coupland

See Also: INTRODUCTION; “ANTI-” DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTIFASCISM; ARYANISM; COMMUNITY; CONSER-

VATISM; CORPORATISM; DECADENCE; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; INDUSTRY; ITALY; *LEBENSRAUM*; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NEW AGE, THE; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; ORGANICISM; ORGANICISM AND NAZISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PROGRESS; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SCIENCE; SOCIALISM; SOCIOLOGY; STATE, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADITION; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*; THE

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VACHER DE LAPOUGE, GEORGES (1854–1936)

Former public prosecutor turned librarian, an uncompromising racial theorist who is seen by some as a precursor of the racial theory underpinning German National Socialism. A law graduate and sometime militant in the socialist Parti Ouvrier, for which he stood in municipal elections from 1888 to 1892, Lapouge gave up his career as a magistrate to focus on the study of anthropology, subsequently taking up posts at various French universities. Lapouge considered himself the founder of the science of anthropo-sociology. This aimed at a “scientific explanation of the historical development of civilizations by showing them to depend upon the processes of biological evolution” (Hawkins 1997, 198). Lapouge articulated a form of Social Darwinism that depicted evolution as based solely on heredity and selection. These two factors created and maintained different racial types into which humans could be classified. Different racial types possessed different physical, physiological, and psychic characteristics. The biological basis for racial difference meant that racial differences were innate and ineradicable. Racial interbreeding could modify racial character, but always in the negative direction (that is, the new racial product would possess the racial characteristics of the

inferior race of the pairing). The idea of unifying and integrating races was specious, Lapouge argued. Moreover, for Lapouge, such a process of racial integration now predominated, as a result of the gradual replacement of natural selection by social selection, uniting different racial types within social groups against a common enemy. Social selection had perverted evolution, allowing the weakest to survive, and now threatened to destroy modern European civilization.

Lapouge argued that there were three major racial groups in Europe: *Homo Europaeus*, the “Aryan,” who was tall, pale-skinned, and long-skulled; *Homo Alpinus*, who was smaller and darker than the Aryan, possessed a shorter skull, and was a product of racial interbreeding; and the *Mediterranean* type, who was long-headed but had the smallness and darkness of *Alpinus*. Alongside the physical differences between these races could be found psychological differences as well. Aryans, Lapouge suggested, were natural leaders and innovators and excelled in intellectual work. This fitted them to be natural conquerors and promoters of progress. *Homo Alpinus*, on the other hand, was naturally inferior, and had an innate desire for a master. Such characteristics were reflected in a “natural” division of labor, with the Aryans on the top. This natural division, however, had been perverted by social selection, subverting the Aryan and promoting *Alpinus*. Features that had promoted this subversion included democracy (because it is too leveling), modern war (which kills the best of the race, leaving the weakest at

home), and religion, particularly Catholicism (which encourages moral conformity and intolerance). Lapouge produced three major works: *Les sélections sociales* (1896), *L'Aryen: son rôle social* (1899), and *Race et milieu social* (1909). Hawkins suggests that his work had little impact on the French radical Right, largely, he suggests, as a result of his criticisms of French culture and the French race, which he saw as mostly of an inferior racial type. Sternhell, however, places him as a key figure in the revolutionary Right, which was the precursor of French fascism.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ANTHROPOLOGY; ARISTOCRACY; ARYANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; FRANCE; GERMANY; GOBINEAU, JOSEPH ARTHUR COMTE DE; NAZISM; PROTOFASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; SOCIAL DARWINISM; WAR

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VALOIS, GEORGES (real name Alfred Georges Gressent, 1878–1945)

Founder of the first French fascist party, Le Faisceau, whose political career spanned the gamut of political ideologies. An early attraction to anarchism was followed by a shift to a nationalism colored with xenophobia and anti-Semitism, after a period spent as a tutor in Russia. Valois subsequently became one of the economic and social experts of the Action Française. He left the movement in 1925 to found the Faisceau, having become unhappy with a perceived immobilism of the AF, and particularly its leader, Maurras. Increasing tensions within the Faisceau as Valois shifted the rhetoric of the movement leftward (for example, claiming that the “national revolution” would be but the

continuation and radicalization of the French Revolution), together with the stabilization of the economic and political situation, eventually led to the folding of the movement in 1928. Valois subsequently moved increasingly to the left, agitating for a syndicalist Republic. He supported economic sanctions against Nazi Germany, participated in the resistance, and died in Bergen-Belsen.

Steve Bastow

See Also: ACTION FRANÇAISE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ECONOMICS; FINANCE; FRANCE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; MAURRAS, CHARLES; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; SYNDICALISM; XENOPHOBIA

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VAPS

The League of Veterans of the Estonian War of Independence (Eesti Vabadussõjalaste Liit), known as the Vaps movement, was founded in 1929. It was led by General Andres Larka (1879–1943) and the lawyer Artur Sirk (1900–1937). In October 1933 amendments to the constitution creating a strong presidency put forward by the veterans were approved in a referendum by 73 percent of voters. On 12 March 1934, prior to elections, Prime Minister Konstantin Päts proclaimed martial law and arrested the veterans' leaders. The league was declared a danger to public safety. In 1935, veterans' leaders plotted to overthrow the government, but the conspiracy was uncovered and the plotters were imprisoned.

Andres Kasekamp

See Also: ESTONIA; LATVIA; PÄTS, KONSTANTIN; WAR VETERANS

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VARGAS, GETÚLIO DORNELLES (1882–1954)

Seized the presidency of Brazil with the help of the military in 1930 and established a corporatist dictatorship that he called *Estado Novo*, in imitation of Salazar's regime in Portugal. He combined repressive trade union legislation, paternalistic social measures, and a drive to modernize Brazil through a combination of private and state capitalism.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BRAZIL; CAPITALISM; CORPORATISM; DICTATORSHIP; ESTADO NOVO; MODERNITY; PORTUGAL; PROGRESS; SALAZAR, ANTÓNIO DE OLIVEIRA; SOCIALISM; STATE, THE; TRADES UNIONS

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VATICAN, THE: See PAPACY, THE
VENEREAL DISEASE: See HEALTH;
SEXUALITY

VENEZUELA

Fascist influence in Venezuela originated from both Germany and Spain. The German version was promulgated by Arnold Margerie, who founded the Grupo Regional de Venezuela del Partido Nazi to promote Nazi influence among the more than 2,000 German residents in Venezuela. Although membership was never more than 90, Margerie's group had an inordinate amount of influence, as it controlled Nazi front organizations, such as the Centro Cultural Alemán, that were funded by the German legation. The German school in Caracas proved to be fertile ground for recruitment for German youth groups directed by the fervent Nazi Kurt Riesch. It was not uncommon to ob-

serve the swastika and other symbols of Nazism in Venezuela in the late 1930s. Another venue for Nazi influence was the Ibero-American Institute, headed by the German general Wilhelm von Faupel. This element differed from Margerie's and Riesch's organization, as it was directed at Venezuelans of Spanish descent and played on themes of Spain's Falange movement. Faupel's wife, Edith von Faupel, was tasked with promoting the idea that the Spanish Empire should be restored in Venezuela and other Latin American nations.

Spain also attempted to promote fascist concepts in Venezuela by extolling *Hispanidad*, the idea of a common Spanish culture based on race and Roman Catholicism. The organization that promoted *Hispanidad* in Venezuela was the Falange Española. However, Venezuelan recognition of the Franco regime does not appear to have been linked to the influence of the Falange Española. While these groups achieved some attention, they did not resonate well with average Venezuelans. Nazi racial attitudes were simply unacceptable in a society that contained many people of non-Aryan or mixed racial backgrounds. Thus, fascism in Venezuela was confined almost exclusively to the German expatriate community and a handful of proponents of *Hispanidad*. Eventually, Venezuela supported the policy of hemispheric unity and broke relations with the Axis powers.

George Lauderbaugh

See Also: ARYANISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; EXPANSIONISM; FALANGE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; GERMANY; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; SPAIN; SWASTIKA, THE

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VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF

Following a negotiated armistice to halt the fighting between the World War I adversaries on 11 November 1918, the Versailles Treaty was signed into force between Germany and the Allied Powers on 28 June 1919 to bring a definitive end to the conflict. The punitive terms of the treaty have often been seen by historians to contain both "material" and "psychological" burdens on

the politics, economy, and even democratic legitimacy of interwar Germany. In terms of territorial settlements, for example, Germany lost all overseas colonies, as well as all of the land gained at the Treaty of Brest Litovsk in March 1918 with the fledgling Soviet Union. Worse still, some 13 percent of Germany's pre-1914 territory was lost to neighboring countries like France, Belgium, and Poland. This included a 12 percent loss in population, important industries along the Franco-Belgian border—including nearly half of all iron production—and large demilitarized zones across the Rhine.

Constraints on perceived German militarism also included a nonconscripted army limited in numbers to just 104,000, a naval fleet restricted to 20 percent of its prewar strength, and a ban on all offensive weapons (especially heavy artillery, airplanes, submarines, and tanks). These stipulations derived from the main “psychological” burden of the Versailles Treaty: Article 231, or the “War Guilt Clause,” essentially blamed Germany for undertaking aggressive invasions in 1914. In consequence, maintaining German weakness took a number of forms beyond military restriction. Key cities such as Danzig were to be administered by the League of Nations, an organization barred to Germany; *Anschluss* with Austria was forbidden; and financial restitution was imposed. These economic reparations were ultimately fixed at 132 billion marks in 1921—a sum that Germany (and the British economist J. M. Keynes) quickly pointed out was unpayable. Legacies of the Versailles Treaty were both numerous and academically debated. Revanchism and the rise of revolutionary nationalism were immediate; longer-term effects are often traced to hyperinflation in 1923, antidemocratic propaganda and agitation; strained international relations; even the rise of Nazism in the wake of the 1929 Great Depression. Indeed, the Third Reich's 1935 reintroduction of conscription and rearmament, remilitarization of the Rhineland on 7 March 1936, and even *Anschluss* with Austria in March 1938—all were explicitly aimed at overturning the terms of the Versailles Treaty, which the Nazis regarded as the embodiment of Germany's “betrayal.” The Nazis spoke not of the “Versailles Treaty” but of the *Versailles Diktat* (and of the “November criminals” who had signed it), and Hitler exploited the slogan in his call for national regeneration.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANSCHLUSS, THE; FREEDOM; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INFLATION; *MEIN KAMPF*; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIHILISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER,

THE; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; REPARATIONS; THIRD REICH, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I

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VICHY

Temporary French capital during German occupation (June 1940–August 1944); by extension, the name for the collaborationist regime that governed France from there. The French government evacuated Paris as German troops approached on 10 June 1940 and withdrew in stages to Bordeaux. It accepted armistices with Italy (24 June) and Germany (25 June). German occupation of Bordeaux made it move again (temporarily, it believed) to Vichy, where hotel space was abundant. Thereafter, because the Germans vetoed any return to Paris, it remained in makeshift hotel accommodations until the occupation ended. The Vichy regime began officially when the French National Assembly, at Pierre Laval's urging, voted full powers to Marshal Pétain on 10 July 1940. This vote empowered Pétain to draft a new constitution and, until its ratification by the French people, to govern by decree. Parliament was prorogued (though not formally abolished). Pétain decreed himself head of state and was widely regarded as a national savior.

Many authors consider the Vichy regime the ineluctable outcome of French defeat, as if submission



Poster supporting the French Vichy collaborationist government in 1944 for its punishment of Resistance fighters; the legend ridicules their claim to be 'liberators' and brands most of them as Jews. (Leonard de Selva/Corbis)

had no alternative. In truth, Vichy reflected two choices. The first was accepting an armistice rather than continuing the war from French North Africa. This choice was influenced by the memory of the catastrophic bloodletting in 1914–1918, and awe before German power. The second choice concerned reform of French institutions and values. Although Pétain could have awaited German departure, he and his advisors preferred immediate change. That option was influenced by the Third Republic's deep discredit following the Depression and scandals of the 1930s and the defeat of 1940, and also by the window of opportunity its fall offered to the French Right. Under the armistice agreement Germany occupied northern France (including Paris) and the Atlantic Coast; Italy occupied no territory but oversaw the application of the armistice

along its frontier and in French North Africa. The Armistice Agreement entitled the French government to administer the whole country but gave Germany extensive police and economic powers in occupied areas. At first, anticipating Britain's imminent defeat, German (and, even less, Italian) authorities intervened relatively little in French internal affairs.

Without direct Axis pressure, though surely influenced by the dictators' success, Pétain and his cabinet undertook a "national revolution" intended to eliminate the liberal and democratic values they blamed for French defeat. They sought to make France authoritarian, hierarchical, corporatist, anti-Semitic, and Catholic. Vichy purged the civil service of Jews, Marxists, and Freemasons, and promoted discipline, obedience, and order in schools and youth organizations. It abolished independent labor unions and the right to strike. It controlled culture and censored the press. "Organization Committees" under the supervision of businessmen managed each branch of trade, industry, and agriculture within a regulated economy. Vichy promoted large families, aided Catholic schools, and tried to restrict women to the hearthside. It abolished divorce and guillotined a woman abortionist. It replaced the republican motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" by "Work, Family, Homeland." Busts of Pétain replaced busts of Marianne, symbol of the republic, in public buildings.

The most striking departure from French legal tradition was the Jewish Statute of 3 October 1940. It defined Jewishness and excluded Jewish citizens from public employment and cultural influence, and restricted their access to the professions. Another decree (4 October) authorized Vichy to intern foreign Jews. Pétain announced a policy of collaboration after meeting Hitler at Montoire-sur-le-Loir on 24 October 1940. Vichy warned the Allies that it would forcibly oppose any attempt to violate French neutrality and draw French colonies into their camp. Pétain's surprise dismissal of his chief minister Laval (13 December 1940) did not alter Vichy policies of neutrality, collaboration, and national revolution. Laval's successors, Pierre-Etienne Flandin (January–February 1941) and Admiral François Darlan (February 1941–April 1942), kept seeking better conditions for France within Hitler's Europe, which they regarded as definitive. In May–June 1941, Darlan offered Germany base rights in the Middle East and French North and West Africa in exchange for eased armistice obligations (Protocols of Paris). By then Hitler, preoccupied by his plans to invade Russia, refused concessions to France. Darlan also contracted to manufacture aircraft for the Ger-

mans, helped supply Rommel's force in North Africa, and broadened anti-Jewish measures to include sequestration of business property.

As the Armistice lasted far longer than expected, and especially after Germany invaded the USSR on 22 June 1941, triggering communist resistance, the Germans intervened more directly in French internal affairs. They shot fifty French citizens for every German assassinated by the Resistance. They sought to harness for their growing war effort the entire economy of France, the richest country they occupied. They paid for requisitions and contracts by levying "occupation costs" on France, as specified in the Armistice but at an artificially favorable exchange rate. "Occupation Costs" absorbed 58 percent of French national income (the French had exacted similar payments from Germany under the 1918 Armistice). By early 1942, Darlan had failed to alleviate the worst burdens of occupation: the Demarcation Line that obstructed travel between occupied and unoccupied France, and economic spoliation. When Pétain sought a new prime minister, the Germans required the return of Laval on 26 April 1942. Laval maneuvered vainly for German concessions. He offered to deploy French police against "enemies of the Germans" (Jews and communists) in exchange for German recognition of French police autonomy (Obergh-Bousquet Accords). When the Nazis began to deport Jews from the occupied zone in the summer of 1942, Vichy voluntarily handed over 10,000 foreign Jews interned in the unoccupied zone. Vichy assisted the German deportation of Jews to the end.

When the Germans demanded French workers for German war plants, Laval tried to enlist volunteers, then resorted to Obligatory Labor Service (STO, February 1943). Bitterly resented, the STO propelled many young Frenchmen into the Resistance. Despite Vichy's armed opposition to the Allied landing in Algeria and Morocco in November 1942, the Germans occupied the rest of France and abolished Vichy's small armed force. Italy occupied a zone east of the Rhône River. When the Germans tried to seize French naval vessels at Toulon, Vichy officers scuttled them (27 November 1942). Thus Vichy lost the main supports of its limited autonomy: an unoccupied zone, a mothballed but powerful navy, and its colonies. Germany now held Tunisia, the Allies the rest of Africa and the Caribbean, and the Japanese Indochina. By early 1943, Vichy appeared a mere Axis puppet. Even then, the crusade against communism and dreams of a compromise peace, which Vichy might help mediate, afforded Laval

some following. About 6,000 French anticommunist volunteers fought in Nazi uniforms on the Soviet Front.

Vichy did not govern through a single party, with a single youth organization, but through the traditional administrative and business elite, supported by the church and the army. It thus resembled authoritarian rule more closely than fascism, though it collaborated with fascism. Vichy's following was broad, at least early. It included most conservatives (except a few anti-Nazi patriots like Charles De Gaulle), technicians eager for greater state efficiency, and even the anticommunist and pacifist Left. Pétain and most ministers came from the nationalist Right. Their motivation was not ideological sympathy for Nazism (though they accepted cooperation with it), but collaboration d'état—pragmatic deals in hope of concessions, for "reasons of state." Most French ideological profascists remained in Paris on the Nazi payroll and criticized Vichy lukewarmness about the "new Europe." In 1944, as traditional conservatives grew hesitant and Vichy was reduced to a police state, two fascists became ministers: Marcel Déat and Joseph Darnand.

By the time the Allies landed in Normandy on 6 June 1944, most French people blamed Vichy for their sufferings. During the liberation, about 9,000 alleged collaborators were killed without trial or after summary justice. Women overly friendly with German soldiers had their heads shaved. As Free French general De Gaulle established his authority, the purge process became regularized. All Vichy ministers were tried by a special high court of justice; other collaborators were tried in lower courts. A total of 124,750 faced trial. About 1,600 were executed, 38,000 imprisoned, and thousands demoted or deprived of civic rights ("national indignity"). Amnesty laws in 1951–1952 ended punishment of collaborators. Most French people believed that Vichy had been imposed by German pressure, and that the nation had largely resisted. After the youth revolt of 1968 and the appearance of such works as the film *The Sorrow and the Pity* (1971), many younger French people understood that Vichy reflected indigenous influences, and that it had enjoyed popular support. An important shift of public opinion in the 1990s encouraged French courts to sentence two French citizens (the official Maurice Papon and the supplementary policeman Paul Touvier) to prison for crimes against humanity, for their share in the deportation or murder of Jews.

Robert O. Paxton

See Also: ANTIFASCISM; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTHORITARIANISM; BLANCHOT, MAURICE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CORPORATISM; DEAT, MARCEL; EDUCATION; FARMERS, THE; FRANCE; FREEMASONRY, FREEMASONS, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; INDUSTRY; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; LAVAL, PIERRE; MARXISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; POLITICAL CATHOLICISM; REBATET, LUCIEN; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; TRADE; TRADES UNIONS; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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VICTOR EMMANUEL/ VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING (1869–1947)

King of Italy, 1900–1946, played a decisive role at key points in the history of Italian Fascism. During the March on Rome of October 1922, he refused to order martial law and appointed Mussolini prime minister. During the Matteotti Crisis of 1926 he ignored allegations of Mussolini's complicity in the murder of the opposition leader. Thereafter he acquiesced in the legislation constructing the Fascist dictatorship, including restrictions of his own prerogative. But on the day after the Fascist Grand Council's vote against Mussolini in July 1943, the king dismissed him and had him arrested.

John Pollard

See Also: FASCIST PARTY, THE; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; ITALY; MARCH ON ROME, THE; MATTEOTTI, GIACOMO; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE

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VIERECK, GEORGE SYLVESTER (1884–1962)

Leading fascist propagandist in the United States in the interwar years. Viereck was born in Munich, Germany, immigrating to the United States in 1897. Graduating in 1906 from the College of the City of New York, he wrote works of poetry and pursued a career in journalism. From 1914 through 1929 he edited a weekly-turned-monthly that until 1917 was entitled *The Fatherland*; it was subsequently renamed *Viereck's* and in 1920 *American Monthly*. In the 1920s and 1930s he produced books of contemporary history, served intermittently as special correspondent for the Hearst newspaper chain, and wrote often for the weekly *Liberty* magazine. Beginning in 1933, Viereck resumed his pro-German propaganda activities, this time for a nation under Nazi rule. In 1933–1934 he gave editorial assistance to the *German-American Economic Bulletin*. In 1939 he helped launch the bimonthly *Today's Challenge*, published by the German-financed American Fellowship Forum. From 1939 to 1941 he edited the weekly propaganda newsletter *Facts in Review*, published by the German Library of Information. Secret activities included the writing of pamphlets under various pseudonyms and supplying German funds for a front group, the arch-isolationist Make Europe Pay War Debts Committee. Arrested in 1941 on a charge of violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act, he was sentenced a year later and remained in prison until 1947. After his release he wrote two novels and a prison memoir.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE; GERMANY; HEARST, WILLIAM RANDOLPH; INTERVENTIONISM; NAZISM; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945)

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VIOLENCE: See TERROR

VITALISM

The popularity and spread of vitalistic beliefs in the nineteenth century deeply influenced many of the nationalistic creeds that anticipated National Socialist and fascist ideas. Vitalism suggests the existence of forms of energy, spirit, or soul beyond the realm of the material world. Some adherents of vitalism confine their analyses to the organic world, maintaining that spirit is the force that engenders life. Other advocates of vitalism suggest a more heterodox view of material reality, arguing that there is no absolute boundary between the organic and the inorganic; still other thinkers, espousing even more unconventional positions, hold to the belief that because of the omnipresence of spirit, the inorganic world does not, strictly speaking, exist according to the usual meaning of the term. During the second half of the nineteenth century, after a long period when materialism had dominated most scientific thought, vitalistic theories began to reappear and could be seen influencing many branches of the sciences and playing a conspicuous role as well in popular culture, where occultism and belief in the viability of magic began to attract a great deal of attention. Under the influence of evolutionary ideas, vitalism became a major theme in the philosophical writings of Henri Bergson (1859–1941), the biological theories of Hans Driesch (1867–1941), and in the Monism of Germany's greatest zoologist of the nineteenth century, Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), who postulated a unified cosmos resting on pan-psychic foundations. The entire universe, Haeckel argued, is suffused with soul; therefore there is no clear dividing line between the organic and the inorganic world.

Vitalism often led the way in rejecting traditional Western values and religious beliefs, arguing that it is not via the powers of a transcendent God or a Christian soul, but by the worship of a spiritually endowed nature that one can find true salvation. "National soil" defined in vitalistic terms assumed virtually divine attributes, and the ostensible racial identity of a people was viewed in terms of the existence of a racial soul. A healthy society, *völkisch* nationalists taught, turns away from the Christian heaven and aligns itself with the spiritual forces of the cosmos. Egalitarian ideologies like those of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and democratic socialism are, according to this mystically oriented approach, false mythologies; rather, all social and political norms are reducible to

the antiegalitarian, Social Darwinian-inspired laws that are inherent in spiritualized nature and racially determined biology. With the victory of Italian Fascism and National Socialism in the twentieth century, the *völkisch* vitalism of the nineteenth century was reenergized. Fascism and National Socialism defined themselves as movements in harmony with living nature and as revolutionary creeds in rebellion against soulless materialism.

Daniel Gasman

See Also: ABSTRACTION; "ANTI" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CULTS OF DEATH; COMMUNITY; DEMOCRACY; EGALITARIANISM; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; ITALY; MATERIALISM; MYSTICISM; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; REVOLUTION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOUL; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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VITTORIO EMANUELE: See **VICTOR EMMANUEL**

VLAAMS BLOK

Belgian Flemish nationalist far-right political party (1979–2004). After World War II a new Flemish nationalist party was founded that broke with the fascist legacy of the Flemish National League. The Volksunie (VU) aimed for a peaceful regionalization of the Belgian state and for a democratization of Flemish society. The VU gained the support of the Flemish middle class and developed a left wing. But within and at the edges of the VU a far-right undertow continued to defend the antidemocratic concepts of the prewar and wartime periods. When in 1977 the VU took part in the Belgian government, the extreme-right undertow surfaced in two new parties that came together in the

Vlaams Blok (VB) in 1978. The party aimed for a Flemish independent state and thus the dismantling of the Belgian state. It supported a more authoritarian Flemish state against Belgian party politics, social conservatism against a liberal society, and Flemish monoculturalism against immigrant workers. In the 1980s the VB gained limited support (less than 3 percent of Flemish votes). It won popular support in the 1990s, however, when a new and young leadership gave the VB a clear xenophobe and racist profile against Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. The VB leadership had loose contacts with the Italian Lega Nord of Umberto Bossi, the Austrian Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs of Jörg Haider, and the French Front National of Jean-Marie Le Pen. With the latter the VB formed a parliamentary group (1989–1994) in the European Parliament. Flemish electoral support increased from 10 percent in 1991 to 15 percent in 1999; in 2004, the VB got 24 percent and became the largest Flemish party. The VB won votes from the VU, which was dissolved in 1999, and from all of the other traditional political parties, especially in urban regions. Despite its remarkable advantage, however, the VB could never gain executive power, as all of the other Flemish parties made an agreement not to make coalitions with the VB. In November 2004 the Belgian High Court condemned the VB for racism. To avoid prohibition, the party leadership moderated the VB's program and style. Officially the VB was dissolved, and a new party was formed under the name Vlaams Belang ("Flemish Interest"). Whether or not this is a mere window-dressing policy or an acceleration of an ongoing evolution inside the VB toward a more classic right-wing neoconservative party acceptable to other Flemish political groups remains to be seen.

Bruno de Wever

See Also: AUSTRIA; BELGIUM; CONSERVATISM; FRANCE; HAIDER, JÖRG; IMMIGRATION; ITALY; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LIBERALISM; MULTICULTURALISM; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACISM; WORLD WAR II; XENOPHOBIA

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VOLK, VÖLKISCH

Related German terms popular among right-wing extremists with quite distinct ranges of meaning. While the noun *Volk* designates a concept important to recent and past right-wing extremism, but also to communist and democratic discourse, the adjective *völkisch* is almost exclusively linked to historical phenomena of the extreme Right. *Volk* is usually translated by the term "people," but there is more meaning and affection attached to the German term. *Völkisch* is even harder to translate. Originally it meant "folksy," but from the end of the nineteenth century it was propagated as an indigenous equivalent to the term *national*, and in the same instance loaded with racist connotations. In the Scandinavian languages, *folk* is quite close to the German counterpart *Volk*, but the corresponding adjectives *folkelig/folkelig* usually reflect outspoken democratic notions. In Germany the attempt has been made to capture such notions with the adjective *volklich*, which has been advocated in contrast to the problematic *völkisch*, but this other word sounds artificial and has not gained general recognition.

The term *Volk* has a broad background of meanings ranging from a political unit, to a community of common descent, and to the common people (compare the Greek and Latin terms *demos*, *ethnos*, *populus*, *gens*, *natio*). Characteristically for German political culture—with political unity as a constant problem—the notions of the *Volk* as an ethnic community and as state citizens have been interrelated, and attempts to distinguish them have remained purely theoretical. Institutionally, this dualistic foundation has been underpinned by the idea of *ius sanguinis* ("descent") as the guiding principle upon which all German citizenship legislation rests. Different from these concepts, the notion of the *Volk* as "populace" in contrast to the elite, which can be referred to both in a pejorative and in an affirmative sense, has maintained a high degree of autonomy. In this connection, it might refer either to the lower classes or to the middle classes. Before the mid-twentieth century, the concept was also associated with the peasantry. In all, there is an ambiguous ethnic or political concept of the *Volk* on the one hand, and a rather vague social concept on the other.

Most important for the semantic development of the concept of *Volk* were the ideas of the philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder in the second half of the eighteenth century. Herder was interested in revaluat-

ing local linguistically and historically defined cultures, the *Völker* (pl. of *Volk*), which he researched by collecting their folk songs and folk poetry. Not only did Herder give an unprecedented depth of meaning to the *Volk*, a term he used synonymously with *nation*, but also a sort of organic life of its own. At the same time, the revolutions in France and the United States established the principle of national political representation—with lasting consequences for German political thought on the *Volk*. In the nineteenth century increasingly reactionary notions developed, claiming for the German *Volk* not only precedence over its individual members but also supremacy over other nations. By the turn of the twentieth century, a *völkisch* concept of *Volk* had evolved, combining integral nationalism with Social Darwinism and other elements of racial thinking. The term *völkisch* became the overall label for the movement advocating such a fusion, basically an array of political sects on the margins of society (most prominent was the Alldeutscher Verband, the Pan-German League). The Nazis frequently used the word *völkisch* in an affirmative way and can be regarded as the movement's ideological heirs who implemented their program, but at the same time they distanced themselves from the sectarianism of these groups and from their unprofessional appearance in public. It is probably on account of a certain “backwoods” feel to the term *völkisch* even in the eyes of Nazis themselves that it has generally been avoided by neo-Nazi groups since the war.

The period from 1914 to 1945 became the heyday of the concept of *Volk* in German political thought across the political dividing lines. The *Volk* was now turned into “a final authority in moral-religious, political-social and historical respect, which was seemingly unsurpassable” (Gschnitzer et al. 1992, 389). Nazi ideology revolved around the notion of the *Volk*, in contrast to the doctrine of the Italian Fascists with their state-centered approach. This had far-reaching consequences for everyday communication in the Third Reich. As a contemporary observer noticed in the spring of 1933: “The term ‘*Volk* (people)’ is now as customary in spoken and written language as salt at table, everything is spiced with a soupçon of *Volk*: *Volksfest* (‘festival of the people’), *Volksgenosse* (‘comrade of the people’), *Volksgemeinschaft* (‘community of the people’), *volksnah* (‘one of the people’), *volksfremd* (‘alien to the people’), *volksentstammt* (‘descended from the people’)” (Klemperer 2000, 30). This quotation from a published English translation transmits a telling impression of the difficulty of finding adequate translations of notions in connection with *Volk* into other languages.

It is a peculiarity of Nazi ideology that it explicitly claimed that any abstract concept of the *Volk* was pointless, even if such a tendency might be considered as inherent to all notions claiming the supremacy of one particular nation. For the Nazis, only concrete examples of the *Volk* were accepted as categories making any sense, so that the *Volk* was comprehensible only as narrowed down to a specific singular. It goes without saying that the most relevant example in this respect was the German *Volk*, which was conceived as a *Volk ohne Raum* (“nation without room”). Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, in particular, used the word *Volk* as an ever-repeated legitimizing key concept in his work and in his speeches. In spite of the prominence of the concept, it was characteristic of him and of other Nazi ideologists that the *Volk*, on closer look, was merely given the status of a ward of the Nazi movement. Hitler himself preferred the more politicized term *Volksgemeinschaft* and hardly tried to hide his contempt for the *Volk* as such. The *Volk* was in his view a “great stupid sheep’s herd of patient lamblike people” (Hitler 1996, 555) that yearned to be manipulated by a leader. Moreover, in Nazi Germany racial doctrine began to dominate the notion of the *Volk* in such a way that it was transformed into an ahistorical category that, at least in theory, was defined by supposedly “hard” natural science.

Norbert Götz

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; COMMUNITY; ELITE THEORY; EXPANSIONISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; HITLER, ADOLF; INTEGRAL NATIONALISM; ITALY; *LEBENSRAUM*; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; PANGERMANISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; STATE, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TRADITION; UNIVERSALISM; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE

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VÖLKISCHER BEOBACHTER, THE

Translates from German as “People’s Observer”: the central party mouthpiece of National Socialism. A provincial weekly entitled the *Münchener Beobachter* from its 1887 inception until its renaming in 1919, the *Völkischer Beobachter* was purchased by the NSDAP in December 1920 (with financial assistance from the Reichswehr) and published twice weekly until becoming a daily from 8 February 1923. Under the editorship of Alfred Rosenberg, the paper was perpetually in financial straits prior to the Nazi assumption of power, and thereafter the most notable organ of propaganda for National Socialist Germany. The *Völkischer Beobachter* reflects Nazism’s own program and development, from provincial racialist party to mainstream notoriety and ultimate dominion of the state.

Matt Feldman

See Also: GERMANY; NAZISM; PRESS, THE; PROPAGANDA; ROSENBERG, ALFRED; VOLK, VÖLKISCH

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VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT, THE

One of the key concepts of National Socialist and neo-Nazi thought in Germany, describing and transfiguring the desired cohesive, classless, and racially pure society of the Nazi utopia. The term originates in the age of romanticism, and it has also been used in democratic contexts: in religious or socialist notions of the term,



Nazi propaganda poster emphasizing the idea of the German 'Volksgemeinschaft' ('national community'), a key concept in Nazism. It represented the notion of a reborn and united German people cleansed of 'alien' elements. (Library of Congress)

racist connotations have largely been omitted, and the aspect of general solidarity has been stressed. There are direct matches to the term *Volksgemeinschaft* in other tongues—for example, in the Scandinavian languages—but there is no English equivalent. Among the translations usually offered are “national community,” “people’s community,” and “folk community.” The difficulty is that *Volksgemeinschaft* is a compound of *Volk* and *Gemeinschaft* (“cohesive community”), two terms that are both hard to translate into English. In fact, the *Volk* in German is usually thought of as a *Gemeinschaft*, and the explicit combination of both concepts results in an inflationary effect that goes along with particularly seductive political implications and a sacral touch.

The breakthrough of the term *Volksgemeinschaft* in German ordinary political language dates to the time of World War I, with its experience of national solidarity

transcending class boundaries. In the Weimar Republic, all major democratic parties advocated *Volksgemeinschaft*, adding their own flavor to the term. With the political Right eventually developing discursive hegemony, the term was overloaded with nationalist connotations. When the Nazis came to power in 1933, *Volksgemeinschaft* was launched as a symbol for the new order that had supposedly been created and that was further to be realized. *Volksgemeinschaft* was one of Adolf Hitler's favorite concepts, extensively used in his propaganda. Typical Nazi or nazified institutions such as the NSDAP, the Hitler Youth, the labor service, or the Winterhilfe were promoted as the vanguards of the *Volksgemeinschaft*, practicing a new solidarity of ethnic compatriots that was to transform the whole of society according to Nazi intentions. At the same time, the term *Volksgemeinschaft* was increasingly used in the social sciences and introduced and widely used in legal and administrative language. Nazi policies in the social and other fields, to a large degree, were designed as implementations of the goal to further what was perceived as the *Volksgemeinschaft*.

The basic feature of the Nazi concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* was its homogenous racial character. This perceived community transcended existing state boundaries and thereby comprised the German irredenta but excluded certain groups in the interior—in particular, persons with Jewish background. This notion was modified in two respects. First, there was a grading according to racial quality. The *Volksgemeinschaft* could even comprise the handicapped and persons of racially mixed origin, but these were seen as belonging to clearly inferior and precarious categories with a particular duty to sacrifice for the sake of the whole. Second, the privilege of belonging to the *Volksgemeinschaft* was seen as a question of behavior. There was not any demanding expectation as regards adherence to Nazi ideology. However, political dissent or deviant social behavior were considered and treated as treason and self-exclusion from the *Volksgemeinschaft*, frequently with fatal consequences.

Norbert Götz

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ABSTRACTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; CLASS; COMMUNITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; EXPANSIONISM; FAMILY, THE; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; IRREDENTISM; LABOR SERVICE, THE; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW ORDER, THE; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PANGERMANISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RELIGION; SECULARIZATION; TRADITION; UNIVERSALISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WELFARE; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH

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VOLKSGERICHT ("PEOPLE'S COURT"), THE

Court set up in Berlin to deal out summary justice to persons accused of being traitors to the Third Reich. The tribunal comprised two professional judges together with five others who were chosen from the ranks of the armed forces, party officials, and the SS. The presiding officer harangued and abused defendants in threatening language. Sessions were held in secrecy, and no appeals were permitted. The courtroom was demolished by Allied bombing in February 1945.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: GERMANY; LAW; NAZISM; SS, THE; THIRD REICH, THE; TOTALITARIANISM

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VOLKSWAGEN

The Volkswagen emerged as a key symbol of the Nazi era in Germany. In some ways it was one of the "successes" of the period, along with the construction of the



Nazi chief Hermann Goering and officials around a Volkswagen convertible. The construction of a modern road network and the introduction of a 'people's car' (the meaning of 'Volkswagen') were part of Hitler's vision for a reborn Germany. (Library of Congress)

autobahns and achievements in other key industries. The VW Beetle was born in 1930s Germany. In the same way that the Nazi organization *Kraft durch Freude*—offered ordinary people cut-price holidays and leisure activities, Hitler's stated desire was that every German person should be able to own his or her own car. "People's Cars" is a literal translation of Volkswagen—and also a pertinent observation about the social and political significance of the vehicle. It is clear that one of the ways in which the Nazis could consolidate power and make themselves popular was to placate and impress ordinary German people, and offering them consumer goods such as Volkswagen cars was a perfect strategy. So important was the Volkswagen to Hitler that he created a town especially to house Volkswagen factories and the workers who staffed them. This was Wolfsburg in Lower Saxony, and today the town's population stands at around 125,000. By the end of 1942, 70,000 Volkswagens had been produced, and in 1945, in a swift recovery

following the war, Volkswagen produced almost 2,000 vehicles for Allied Forces and the new German Post Office. In 1998, Volkswagen announced that it would set up a fund to give humanitarian aid to victims of slave labor in its factories during the Nazi era. A company spokesman said that about 7,000 people had been forced into unpaid labor for Volkswagen, which was among several German companies using slave labor during World War II.

P. J. Davies

See Also: AUTOBAHNS, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; LEISURE; NAZISM; PROGRESS; TECHNOLOGY; U.S. CORPORATIONS; WORLD WAR II

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VOLPE, GIOACCHINO (1876–1971)

Major Italian advocate of Fascism in the field of scholarship and culture. Volpe was a medieval historian with a training in economics and law, a nationalist, and a monarchist. He gave his support to Fascism in the 1920s and then worked for the daily *Il Popolo d'Italia* and the Mussolinian review *Gerarchia*. Along with Gentile, he played a fundamental role in the field of cultural organization within the regime. He directed the *Rivista Storica Italiana* and important institutions such as the Institute for the Study of International Politics and the School of Modern Contemporary History. In his works, and in particular in *L'Italia in cammino* (1927) and *Storia del movimento fascista* (1934), he presented Fascism as the historical realization of the national aspirations of Italy. Out of loyalty to the monarchy, he refused to support the Salò Republic.

Alessandro Campi (translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: CULTURE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; ITALY; MONARCHISM; MONARCHY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING

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VOLUNTARISM

Term for those philosophies that uphold the primacy of the will and the emotional capacities over the intellect and its apprehension of rational truths; a potent ingredient in the philosophical brew of fascism. Mussolini and Hitler both seem to have been indebted to this kind of thinking, which was mediated through such figures as Nietzsche and Schopenhauer. It was also a characteristic of actualism in Italy. Voluntarism was a natural companion for the cult of the hero. This was

promoted as an antidote to the determinism inherent in Marxism. Marx believed himself to have discovered the "iron laws" that govern historical development, and he expounded them in his philosophy of dialectical materialism. Communists believed that they knew where history was headed, and they claimed that their only task was to hasten its inevitable goal—the utopian postcapitalist society that would arise following the end of the prevailing class war. In their philosophy, history moved according to its own inner laws; the individual could do little but help it on its way. For fascists, espousing the "heroistic" rhetoric of a Carlyle or a Nietzsche, fed by the Schopenhauerian current, the role of the iron-willed warrior was paramount, and he could achieve mighty deeds. They looked at the history of civilizations differently, reading them through Spenglerian eyes as reflecting the biological development of human beings on an expanded level: nations had their infancy and their maturity and then their senescence. Like the Marxists, who did, after all, believe in vigorous revolutionary action to help the iron laws along, fascists never quite resolved the issue of how energetic, virile men could interfere with the workings of these biological laws of societies. Untroubled by the seeming contradiction, fascists spoke as though the heroic figures of history could buck the laws of nature and bring about the needful changes.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ACTUALISM; CARLYLE, THOMAS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; ITALY; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; ORGANICISM; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TRADITION; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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VOLUNTARY MILITIA FOR NATIONAL SECURITY: See MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA SICUREZZA NAZIONALE (MVSN)



WAFFEN-SS, THE

The military arm of the SS. It was set up by Hitler because he did not wholly trust the Wehrmacht leadership. The Waffen-SS were schooled in Nazi ideology and blind obedience to Hitler. The SS as formed by Hitler in 1925 had two militarized sections, and these were combined to form the Waffen-SS. The relationship between the Waffen-SS and the Wehrmacht was fixed by Hitler in a secret order in August 1938 which stated that it was neither part of the Wehrmacht nor the police, instead being at his personal disposal. In wartime the Waffen-SS should be deployed within the framework of the army, but still subordinated to the SS-Führungshauptamt (SS Operations Administration) and having its own jurisdiction.

The Waffen-SS, numbering 150,000 in 1940, often had more, and more modern, weapons and armament than Wehrmacht units, and cultivated an elitist self-promotion. It acted ruthlessly against the enemy and against civilian populations. A long list of war crimes has to be attributed to its members—for example, the massacre of British soldiers in Le Paradis (1940), the murder of French civilians in Oradour-sur-Glane, and the illegal shooting of U.S. POWs in Malmédy (both in 1944). Units also participated in guard duties in the concentration camps and in the extermination of the Jews—for example, in Minsk or when the Warsaw Ghetto was razed and the remaining inhabitants deported to Treblinka (1943).

While in its beginnings the Waffen-SS had been a small unit, its esprit de corps molded by the fact that only volunteers who could prove their “Aryan origin” for several generations could join, its character changed as a result of the war and the high numbers of losses. To have some 900,000 Waffen-SS members in late 1944 was possible only by neglecting the principle of voluntariness and “racial purity.” Further fighting units had been deployed besides the original SS divisions, in this case consisting of ethnic Germans and foreign volunteers from nearly all European countries, such as the SS Division Nordland, comprising Norwegian, Danish, and Baltic volunteers. The International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg classified the Waffen-SS as a criminal organization. In 1961 its former members succeeded in being accepted as regular members of the Wehrmacht, thereby securing financial maintenance. Today’s German neo-Nazis often express their admiration for the Waffen-SS in their rallies.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: ARYANISM; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; GERMANY; GHETTOS; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAFFEN-SS; NAZISM; NEO-NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR II

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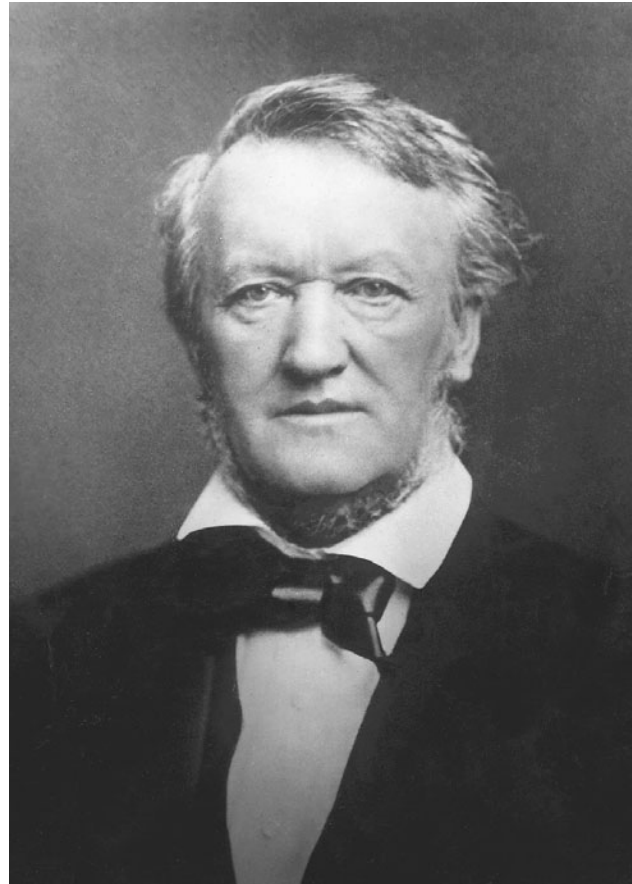
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WAFFEN-SS, MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN:
See MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN THE
WAFFEN-SS

WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD (1813–1883)

Controversy has raged ever since operatic composer Richard Wagner's lifetime over his vociferous and megalomaniacal personality as well as over his heterogeneous and rich variety of musical and written work, given the racist overtones detected in both and the eventual association of his music and ideas with Hitler and the National Socialist regime in Germany, with its elevation of Wagner to the status of a kind of "cultural patron." Wagner was born in Leipzig on 22 May 1813 to the family of a police actuary who died six months after his son's birth. Shortly afterward his mother remarried. Her new husband, Ludwig Geyer, was a Jewish artist and actor who was said by Nietzsche and others to be his actual biological father. In 1831, Wagner enrolled at Leipzig University to study music, and in the following year he turned to the composition of operas, leaving behind classical instrumental music. His first completed stage work was *Die Feen*, which was followed in chronological order by *Das Liebesverbot*, *Rienzi*, *Der Fliegende Holländer*, *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (comprising *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried*, *Götterdämmerung*), *Tristan und Isolde*, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, and *Parsifal*. Wagner was also a writer who produced a large output of theoretical works on aesthetics, politics, and other subjects, the principal one being *Oper und Drama* (1851); in addition, he wrote an autobiography.

From 1842 he was Royal *Kapellmeister* in Dresden, where he witnessed the revolution of 1849. He was actively sympathetic to the revolutionary cause, though



Celebrated nineteenth-century German composer Richard Wagner, whose operas were infused with his concept of Germanic superiority. They were naturally very popular with the Nazis. (The Illustrated London News Picture Library)

he later played down his involvement. In Dresden he embarked on the study of medieval Teutonic mythology that was to become the distinctive kernel of his *Ring* cycle and began to develop his aestheticized politics of a spiritualized redemption with a particular focus on the symbol of the Holy Grail (a sublimated adaptation of Christian Easter). In 1848 he started combining the medieval *Nibelungenlied* with Nordic *Edda*, forming the distinctive epic style of his "musical dramas" (like the *Ring*, *Tristan und Isolde*, *Die Meistersinger*, and *Parsifal*), as opposed to the other "romantic operas," musically expressing the innovative use of a leitmotif technique and the style of "infinite (or continuous) melody." Nazi commentators later saw in his works the exaltation of a Germanic race whose mission was to save the world.

In exile because of his active participation in the 1848 Revolution in Dresden, Wagner first fled to

Switzerland, then to and fro to Paris, Zurich, London (where he met Queen Victoria), then Venice, Vienna, and other European cities until in, Munich in 1864, he met Ludwig II, the new (and eventually mentally erratic) king of Bavaria, who became his patron and financial backer until Wagner's death. In 1870, his first wife having died in 1866, he married his long-term mistress, Cosima, wife of his friend, the eminent conductor and pianist Hans von Bülow and daughter of Franz Liszt. Cosima, a strong personality herself, was to play a seminal role in Wagner's own life and in the direction of the Bayreuth Festival, Wagner's realized operatic dream where the theater, house, and so forth were designed by himself as an actualization of his own thought.

Schopenhauer's philosophy of "pessimism" and "will" was undoubtedly the single most important constant influence on Wagner's thought after he first started studying it in 1854. He was further influenced by Schopenhauer's elevated aesthetic (and metaphysical) concept of music as "absolute music," the true essence of the world and powerfully effective on human sensibility (something that the Nazis were quick to realize). In 1868, Wagner met Nietzsche, but the two soon fell out; though Nietzsche's thought, too, was to be posthumously associated with fascism, he had a more ambivalent stance toward the Jews that would permit him to say, unjustly but revealingly, of Wagner that his anti-Semitism was Schopenhauerian. Wagner's most widely known concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ("Total or Integrated Art Work"), the "Art Work of the Future," or complete musical drama that his operas were meant to create, signifies the synthesis of musical, literary, and dramatic art forms. Scholars have seen here a Hegelian idea of a "completed" higher stage of art where the erstwhile separate art forms are *aufgehoben*, or overcome, yet synthesized into a higher form that unites them without dissolving them completely.

The recurrent themes in the litany of charges against Wagner the composer and ideologue are, on the one hand, that he championed explicitly anti-Semitic ideas and proposals, and on the other that his prose writings, autobiography, libretti, style of music no less than his personality were all things that Hitler, his "disciple," was attracted to, making no bones about it himself: Wagner was, for Hitler, one of the triptych (along with Luther and Frederick the Great) of the great fathers of the German nation. The fact that Hitler actually possessed some of Wagner's manuscripts and that he was an invitee of Wagner's family, in charge of the Bayreuth Festival, the use of Wagner preludes for the Nuremberg

Rallies, or stories of young Hitler getting exhilarated upon hearing Wagner's music in Vienna—these are part of the evidence linking Wagner to Nazism no less than the relations of the composer's descendants with Hitler and the marriage of his daughter to the proto-Nazi English writer Houston Stewart Chamberlain. The choral piece "Germans awake! Soon will dawn the day" at the end of *Die Meistersinger* with its obvious mass-arousing tonality was made into the anthem of the Nazi Party by Goebbels.

In the case of Wagner, later Nazi elements and ideas have been projected back on the basis of conceptual associations with his writings and operatic music (for example, calling *Rienzi* a "fascist opera" because of the Fuehrer idea that some see in it), as well as on the basis of the Nazi appropriation of Wagner, itself the result of carefully orchestrated cultural politics usurping past thinkers' ideas for the benefit of the Nazis' own glorification, greatly helped by the filtering of Wagnerian aesthetics through the lens of protofascist aestheticists. This selective Nazi exploitation of Wagner's music and ideas and Hitler's own admiration for it were enhanced by parallels they thought they found in the Teutonic mythopoieia of the operas, or in the composer's belief that art (and principally his own, or a sublimated purified "German" one) should take over as a redeemer of humankind once the Christian religion was admitted to be in crisis and its true meaning lost because of degenerating "Judaizing" influences.

Siegfried in the *Ring* could be read as the true "Germanic" authentic and uncontaminated hero-vehicle of redemption emancipating mankind through self-sacrifice (like Jesus) or through love (the analog to the Schopenhauerian concept of "compassion") from the moral degradation and cultural distortion brought about by "Judaizing" bourgeois-capitalist values and racial miscegenation. This was tied up with a belief in an Aryan race or even a non-Jewish historical Jesus of whom both Wagner and Hitler spoke. Hostility to "Judaism" as equated with certain cultural and sociopolitical values that Wagner and others (romantics or young *Kultur*-conservatives or Fichtean and Herderian nationalists) felt deep antipathy to, though not identical to genetic or blood racism, corresponded to similar hostile feelings that undergirded Nazi atrocities in the next century.

More concretely, Nazi cultural politics began being promoted in earnest through the reopening of the Bayreuth Festival after it had remained closed for ten years after the outbreak of World War I. A number of consciously designed elements make up this "nazification" that combined the promotion of Wagner as the

“spiritual godfather of the party” with anti-Weimar Republic propaganda: the many publications that linked the operas with racist ideas, the bracketing of Wagner with Hitler as the “redeemers” of Germanic values, and the performances bringing out obvious connotations of Nazi values and attuned to Nazi aesthetics. An example of this was a 1933 staging of *Die Meistersinger*, the much-exploited and “nazified” operatic music for the Nuremberg Rallies, which paralleled the actual events outside the theater. Although some modicum of independence was achieved in Bayreuth, after 1939 the festival turned officially into a “War Festival” attended by war veterans.

The tangible link (rather than simply the supposed parallelism or formal analogue alluded to) between the anti-Semitic resonance or expressions allegedly to be found in the musical scores and the actual music itself has started being explicitly studied only recently. Although no Jewish *dramatis personae* as such appear in Wagner’s operas, detractors have usually pointed to the stereotypical loathsome bodily or vocal portrayal of some of the “evil” characters and clichés associated with the type of “Jew-hatred” rampant in Wagner’s (and our own) time. This direct correlation of music and racist ideas was exploited by certain directors during the Nazi era in Germany. Negative associations of Wagner’s operatic music, performances, and essays have ever since been blended with a number of emotionally debated issues, apologia, and polemics alike, as well as current state politics—as attested by recent events in Israel, where the Jewish-Argentinean conductor Daniel Barenboim had to apologize for agreeing to conduct a Wagner opera there.

Byron Kaldis

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BAYREUTH; BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; CHRISTIANITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; *DEUTSCHLAND ERWACHE!*; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; LUTHER, MARTIN; MATERIALISM; MITFORD, FAMILY, THE; MUSIC (GERMANY); MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PROPAGANDA; PROTOFASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SOUL; VOLUNTARISM; WAGNER AND GERMANIC SUPERIORITY; WAGNER, WINIFRED; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

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WAGNER AND GERMANIC SUPERIORITY

Wagner was a pioneer of the notion of the superiority of the Germanic races in the sphere of music. He considered it his vocation to extricate German music from the “chaos” of “cosmopolitan confusion,” to free it from all “alien” influences and to raise it to its fullest potential on the basis of the heroic figures of German myth and legend. It was an article of faith with him that previously no such thing as a German style had existed, even despite his respect for Beethoven and Bach. His prose works were full of praise for the German spirit with its earnestness, its solidity, its naturalness, and its depth. He venerated modern German dramatists like Goethe and Schiller as worthy successors to Aeschylus and Euripides. He called for the erection of a German political system that would embody this magnificent German spirit in a truly German state. The Germans, in fact, had in his view a global obligation, a universal mission to teach the world to turn away from “French” materialism. Wagner called for the emergence of a German hero who would spearhead this German mission, and Hitler undoubtedly saw himself as fulfilling that role. Corresponding to his reverence for all things aesthetically German was Wagner’s contempt for all things aesthetically Jewish. He laughed at the way the German language was “distorted” in the mouths of Jewish speakers, he scoffed at synagogue music, and he condemned the works of Jewish composers as a hotchpotch of styles taken from others without any individual genius or creativity. He also associated the Jews with egoism, claiming that Jewish egoism made it impossible for them to espouse noble ideals or to understand the ideal of self-sacrifice for a higher cause.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; COSMOPOLITANISM; GERMANNESS (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; INDIVIDUALISM; MATERIALISM; NATIONALISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RELIGION; SCHÖNERER, GEORG RITTER VON; SOUL; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD

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Press.

WAGNER, WINIFRED (1897–1980)

Daughter-in-law of Richard Wagner who kept alive the cult of her father-in-law's music, much favored by Hitler, through her direction of the Bayreuth Festivals. She was English by birth and her maiden name was Williams, but she was in fact the adopted daughter of Karl Klindworth, a pupil of Franz Liszt. In 1915 she married Richard Wagner's son Siegfried and became a close personal friend of Hitler's, especially after the death of Siegfried in 1930.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BAYREUTH; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD

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WALL STREET CRASH, THE

Defining moment and nadir in interwar world economics, and, in consequence, also its politics. Many high school history texts argue the existence of a direct link between the Wall Street Crash and the rise of Nazism. While undoubtedly there is a general link between the state of international finance and the rise of political extremism, the impact of a bear market in the 1930s was a worldwide phenomenon; the Great Depression hit many countries in similar ways, not always leading to a fascist regime. Therefore, its effects should be seen as more complex, and as one among many factors that contributed to create the sense of generalized national crisis that encouraged the growth and acceptance of fascist ideologies.

The crash was caused firstly by the massive growth of investment by private individuals in the United

States in a flourishing securities market, especially from 1927, creating a seemingly effortless economic boom. Increasing corruption set in, and many companies began to issue shares that would not be able to meet the overstated expectations placed upon them by these new and less economically savvy consumers. Secondly, by October 1929, stock market professionals believed that they could generate further profits, for themselves at least, by switching from a bull market to a bear market. Consequently, 24 October 1929, "Black Thursday," saw the first shocks of the bursting financial bubble, when the number of shares sold increased massively; by the following Tuesday, "Black Tuesday," the financial system was in chaos, with the share prices of corporations such as General Electric collapsing. Ten billion dollars was wiped from share values and bankruptcies became widespread. The impact of this financial crisis was global, as investors sought to recoup foreign loans; the 1930s saw a generalized downturn in world trade that impacted on many national economies. The crash and the Great Depression that followed should be seen as the gloomy backcloth that set the stage for a decade of crises that formed the grim backdrop to later interwar politics. Further, for those fearful of the rise of world communism, the crash suggested for many that while capitalism appeared deeply flawed, communism seemed to be "working." This both suggested that existing capitalist systems needed radical restructuring to prevent further instabilities and augmented the intellectual case for communist revolution, all of which helped to polarize political debate throughout the 1930s.

In Europe all countries felt its impact. The only fascist state at the time, Italy, suffered greatly between 1929 and 1933. For example, stock prices lost 39 percent of their value, unemployment rose dramatically, and the Bank of Italy's reserves fell by around a third. In response, Fascism presented itself as the political "third way" between New York and Moscow, and the regime responded by developing the policy of autarky as a demonstration of the state's independence and superiority toward the vagaries of international finance. The impact of the crash thus created the political space for the country to pursue a radical policy of protectionism and also aided the regime's experiment with corporatism; the former at least, to a greater or lesser extent, was a widespread phenomenon as nations sought to protect their economies. Other responses implemented across Europe as a result of the economic crisis were deflationary economic policies combined with the cutting of public spending on

welfare provisions, all of which intensified a subjective cultural sense of a world in decline.

A typical case was Hungary, which suffered from a loss of large-scale foreign investments while short-term loans were no longer available. Further, existing debts were called in, and an agrarian economic crisis soon ensued. As a consequence, falling revenues led to drastic cuts in the state's civil service, radicalizing the educated classes. Ultimately, Horthy realized the need for a strong government; he appointed Gömbös as "Depression prime minister" in 1932. However, historians should be careful not to generalize. The Scandinavian countries were particularly hard hit by the Depression, especially their farming communities, leading to a proliferation of new single-issue parties, some of which were fascistic. Yet overall fascism was not successful in those countries, and the older agrarian and conservative parties were able to weather the political and economic storm of the Depression. On the other hand, in Spain, where the tensions already present between landowners and a radicalized agrarian workforce were amplified by the Depression, these frictions stymied attempts to push through land reforms in the early 1930s by the center-left reforming coalitions of the new republic. Ultimately, these tensions exploded in the Spanish Civil War from 1936.

Finally, in Germany the impact of the crash became the latest chapter in the Weimar Republic's failing history, sparking both an economic crisis in agriculture and massive urban unemployment. Further, the crisis paralyzed the political process, largely because of the weaknesses inherent in the country's fledgling liberal-democratic political system, which ultimately led to the emergence of Nazi rule. As in other Westernized countries, when businesses failed a sense of national crisis welled up. In Germany this was particularly emotive, because it appeared to be the latest chapter in a long string of national humiliations inflicted on the country by "external" forces since 1918, which augmented the *Los-von-Weimar* ("out of Weimar") mood. Against the backcloth of the Depression, ultranationalist arguments could more plausibly convey the idea that Germans had lost their sense of a psychological homeland essentially on account of liberal democratic policies, and that they were in the most desperate need of a strong leader to lead them into a new society in which they could construct a new and stable national identity, making tropes of the crisis, such as the unemployment queues, a thing of the past.

Paul Jackson

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUTARKY; BANKS, THE; CORPORATISM; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; FARMERS; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; GERMANY; GÖMBÖS, GYULA; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; INDUSTRY; INFLATION; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARLIAMENTARISM; PLUTOCRACY; REVOLUTION; SOCIALISM; SPAIN; SPANISH CIVIL WAR, THE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TRADES UNIONS; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; WAR VETERANS; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR I

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WANDERVÖGEL, THE

Groups of students and other young persons in Germany in the early twentieth century who protested against industrialization by going to hike in the country and commune with nature in the woods together. From first beginnings in 1901 the *Wandervögel* ("Birds of Passage") grew rapidly, and by 1914 they numbered 25,000. Their philosophy focused on the revival of old Teutonic values and involved a strong emphasis on nationalism and anti-Semitism; this was fertile terrain for the sowing of National Socialist ideas.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ECOLOGY; GERMANNES (DEUTSCHHEIT); GERMANY; NATIONALISM; NATURE; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; RURALISM; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAGNER AND GERMANIC SUPERIORITY; YOUTH

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WANNSEE CONFERENCE, THE

Held on 20 January 1942 overlooking Lake Wannsee, the Wannsee Conference was decisive in coordinating and implementing the “final solution of the Jewish question”—that is, the systematic destruction of European Jewry in the Holocaust. Attended by fourteen Nazi functionaries and chaired by Reinhard Heydrich, this secret meeting defined and determined the number of Jews in Europe by country (based on the 1935 Nuremberg Laws), and established the blueprint for future actions directed at “evacuating” (that is, murdering) the estimated 11,000,000 designated enemies of Nazi Germany. Details of the Wannsee Conference emerged in 1947 with the unearthing of the only extant minutes of the meeting—the Wannsee Protocol—which have since that time remained a central indictment of planned genocide undertaken by the Third Reich.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ASOCIALS; EUGENICS; EUTHANASIA; GERMANY; GHETTOS; GYPSIES; HEYDRICH, REINHARD; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HOMOSEXUALITY; NUREMBERG LAWS, THE; ROMA AND SINTI, THE; THIRD REICH, THE

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WAR

A positive assessment of war lies at the heart of interwar fascism. The turning point in Mussolini’s career was his decision to abandon his colleagues on the Left, for whom the only war that mattered was the class war, and call for Italy to enter World War I. It was this call to arms that signified his shift away from the traditional Left and toward what was to become Fascism. It was

the moment when nationalism overtook universalism in his thinking. This was an ideological development followed by many of his contemporaries, but one distinctive thing at least about Mussolini’s interventionism was that he actually welcomed the disruption of the war experience because he thought it would open the door to revolution—an assumption that proved to be correct. Mainline socialism saw the war as a diversion from the business of the emancipation of the proletariat, whereas Mussolini saw it as an opportunity. It would be fair to say that Fascism was born out of the call to war. The horrors of war that Mussolini and Hitler both endured did not, however, lead them to pacifism; far from it. They were left, at the end of World War I, with an overwhelming sense of disappointment and bitterness, because they felt that the sacrifices they and their comrades had made in the trenches had been for nothing; in this they undoubtedly represented the feelings of many other war veterans. While the reaction of many to the experience of war was to throw themselves into the creation of organizations for international cooperation such as the League of Nations, so as to ensure that such a catastrophic conflict would never flare up again, Mussolini and Hitler and their supporters were unashamedly working out a philosophy of war. As the *Enciclopedia italiana* article on the doctrine of Fascism (published under Mussolini’s own byline but written by Gentile) put it: “Fascism, insofar as it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from the political considerations of the moment believes neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace. It thus repudiates the doctrine of pacifism—born of a renunciation of the struggle and an act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice. War alone brings up to their highest tension all human energies and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it. All other trials are substitutes which never really put a man in front of himself in the alternative of life and death.”

In German Nazism the myth of the German warrior knights of old held a fascination for many, and the mass rallies at Nuremberg were displays of military might as well as of national unity. Hitler, too, had a doctrine of development of character through struggle. But although the propagandists of fascism liked to portray themselves as advocates of the warrior spirit against the feeble, unmanly defenders of pacifism on the Left, the truth is, of course, that the Left also glorified struggle—but in their case the war in question was the class war. Fascists glorified war as traditionally waged be-

tween nations, a kind of struggle that the Left saw as an internal matter for the bourgeoisie, the workers having no stake in national boundaries or conflicts, but only in solidarity with each other against their oppressors. So it would be misleading to propose the belligerent glorification of war as a unique hallmark of fascism, making it stand out from the peace-loving doctrines around it. The Left, too, glorified war—the class war—and put forward a pantheon of heroes and martyrs of this conflict. The Left, too, exalted the character-building qualities of the experience of hostilities in their class war. The “different” reality behind the fascist attitude here was simply extreme nationalism, which argued that the interests of their nation were to be advanced with shameless belligerence against other nations, that the interests of the nation far outweighed the general interest in peace. The issue between fascism and the Left was not between lovers of war and lovers of peace, but between proponents of two types of war: the nationalist war and the class war. On the other hand it can be argued that while communists and some other socialists have always held to a vision of an ultimate utopia of peace at the conclusion of the class war, the interwar fascists assumed no such happy ending, believing “neither in the possibility nor in the utility of perpetual peace.” As believers in Social Darwinism, they held that it is impossible to buck nature’s laws: conflict and struggle are endemic to existence. For them, any other conclusion would have been “unscientific.”

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BOURGEOISIE, THE; CAPITALISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREDERICK II, THE GREAT; GENTILE, GIOVANNI; GERMANY; HERO CULT, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; MATERIALISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NUREMBERG RALLIES, THE; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; REVOLUTION; SCIENCE; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; TERROR; UNIVERSALISM; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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WAR CRIMES: See NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE

WAR VETERANS

Veterans of World War I were, in varying degrees, among the rank and file of many fascist paramilitary organizations; the ideology of the front-line experience was part and parcel of the self-description of these organizations. In Italy, Mussolini called Fascism a *trince-rocrazia*, or “trenchocracy,” a government of war veterans. The Fascist newspaper *Gerarchia* declared in 1922: “Fascism is a child of the War” (Reichardt 2002, 366). Not only fascists themselves but also early socialist and liberal observers or theorists of fascism from Austria, France, and Germany like Julius Braunthal or Lucie Varga asserted that Italian Fascism and National Socialism were a protest movement of military desperados, uprooted by the war experience and the failure of social and psychological demobilization.

The empirical evidence about membership in fascist paramilitary organizations allows for discrimination as to these claims. For Italy, samples of *squadristi* from Bologna and Florence indicate that, in 1921/1922, only 47.5 and 45.4 percent, respectively, of the members were war veterans. Roughly the fourth part of these veterans had been officers, and between 14 and 21 percent of all veterans had been members of the Italian shock troop units, the Arditi. The large majority of the war veterans among the *squadristi* belonged to the age cohort born between 1890 and 1900. The proportion of veterans in the Italian Fascist Party was slightly higher. Among 151,644 members of the Partito Nazionale Fascista polled in November 1921, 57 percent claimed to be former servicemen. Therefore, war veterans supplied a large part, although not the majority, of the paramilitary activists of *squadristo* in Italy. In Germany, they accounted for only a small minority of the storm troopers in the Sturmabteilungen (SA) in the years after 1930, when the SA had become a mass movement. In a variety of regional samples the age cohort born prior to 1900—that is, those men eligible for conscription during World War I—represented only 20 percent or even less of all SA members. Exact quantitative data for the Austrian Heimwehr is not available, but it is estimated that veterans constituted a signifi-

cant part of their rank and file, and former officers a large part of their leadership.

This quantitative evidence requires a revision of older arguments, which had stated a direct causal relationship between the alleged “brutalization” of the whole war generation suffering in the trenches from 1914 to 1918, and their readiness to participate in fascist paramilitary movements after 1918. The results of “brutalization” and violence-prone identification with wartime combat were largely confined to the experiences of members of the Arditi and similar shock troop units in Germany, of whom many became Freikorps members in 1919, and later part of the SA leadership. Not the former servicemen’s experiences, but rather the mythological interpretation of the front line experience in ideologies, symbols, and rituals of World War I veterans were important for the social integration of fascist paramilitary groups. The cult of the “unknown soldier” in Italian Fascism and in the National Socialist mass movement, the glorification of the “comradeship of the trenches” among both the *squadristi* and the storm troopers, and the theme of a “redemption” of the veterans from moral corruption in postwar society through paramilitary activism point, among others, to the importance of the cult of the war veterans for fascist mass mobilization. The enemy images and the glorification of violence in the plethora of autobiographical accounts of fascist war veterans were of particular importance for the appeal of fascism among the victory-watchers of the war youth generation—that is, those men born after 1900, both in Italy and in Germany.

Benjamin Ziemann

See Also: INTRODUCTION; DECADENCE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FREIKORPS, THE; GERMANY; HEIMWEHR, THE; HITLER, ADOLF; ITALY; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NAZISM; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; SA, THE; *SQUADRISMO*; SYMBOLS; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II

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WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

The chief instigators of fascism were men who had served in the most bloody and destructive war in known history and who had returned home to feel that the courage and heroism they had seen in battle were neither to be found among their current rulers nor even respected by those rulers. The regimes that Hitler and Mussolini instituted in their respective nations owed a great deal to their military experiences and to the “warrior ethos” they had developed at the front. Disillusioned with the results of World War I, they did not blame those who started the hostilities, but what they perceived as the cowardice, treachery, and weakness of the politicians and the malign international forces such as Bolsheviks, Freemasons, pacifists, Jews, the international plutocracy, clerics, and so forth putting pressure on them and manipulating them. What the fascist ideologues called for was not a peaceable solution to the world’s problems but a revival and reassertion of the “warrior ethos.” They saw themselves as facing an armed struggle to subdue the malign forces that would undermine and subvert this ethos. Instead of respecting the values of peaceful conflict-resolution and negotiated dispute-settlement on which the League of Nations was intended to be based, they abused and condemned it in the name of “virile” militaristic values. Influenced by Machiavellian and Social Darwinistic theories, they were firm believers in the rule of the strong and the survival of the fittest. They had nothing but contempt for parliamentary “talk-shops” and preached strong leadership as the only way to create and foster national unity. In promoting paramilitary associations and in using violent tactics to deal with opposing forces, they were putting into practice the “warrior ethos” that undergirded their philosophy. In the long run they believed this to be for the good of society, in that the rooting out of elements that enfeebled the

social order was a necessary purgation that would only benefit the health of the nation. In this respect they were entirely different from traditional mafia-style groups who used power simply to maintain their wealth or status in society. However, they were not so different from the Bolsheviks, who were also convinced that the violent suppression of resistance to their rule was essential to rid the social order of damaging elements. The difference is that the Bolsheviks were pursuing the aim of a worldwide proletarian revolution while the fascists were motivated by hypernationalism.

It was a logical consequence of this philosophy that Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany embarked on a militarization of society, enrolling most sections of the population into military-style organizations and consciously aiming to instill a military-style discipline. This is reflected powerfully in many photographs and newsreels showing large masses of individuals acting in unison, as in military parades, rallies, or women's gymnastics. Again this was an echo of manifestations of Bolshevism, but again the difference lay in the purpose: exaltation of the values of a greater Germany/Italy/Hungary/Croatia/Albania on the one hand, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" on the other. And whereas the utopia of the Bolsheviks was egalitarian, that of the fascists was elitist. The spoils would always go to the strong, the vigilant, and the ruthless; the bravest warriors would always come out on top. Their class would dominate the structures of the new hierarchical order, and their values would be replicated throughout society.

As part of his strategy for imposing Nazism on the world, Hitler founded three grades of academy for training future leaders. The elite academies for the upper echelons were the *Ordensburgen* ("order castles"), four of which were established; they were intended for students in their mid-twenties. The name was a reference to the medieval castles built by the Teutonic Knights. These were residential schools accommodating 1,000 students each, although they were not always full in practice. Discipline was of the severest, punishments draconian, and physical training paramount. The purpose of these institutions was to breed an inner core of hard, brutal, and warlike leaders who would crush the enemies of the Germanic race mercilessly. This new generation of merciless knights were the antithesis of the medieval knights with their ethos of chivalrous defense of the weak and vulnerable and their courtly ideas, as embodied in the Knights of the Round Table.

This ideal of energetic warlike action was felt by Hitler and Mussolini and their followers to be at the

opposite pole from the purely verbal energies expended in parliamentary debates. They felt nothing but contempt for "talking shops" in which dynamic measures and determined political strategies became bogged down in discussion involving a range of typical parliamentary figures they stereotyped as pacifists, internationalists, socialists, liberals, and so forth. Needless to say, the Nazis in particular also contrasted the heroic Nordic and Teutonic warrior spirit with the materialistic preoccupations they attributed to the Jews. This idea was nourished by a widespread myth that associated the Jews with desk and backroom jobs during the Great War.

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See Also: INTRODUCTION; ALBANIA; "ANTI-" DIMENSION OF FASCISM, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; BOLSHEVISM; COMMUNITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; CROATIA; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HUNGARY; ITALY; LEADER CULT, THE; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MILITARISM; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NEW MAN, THE; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; RELIGION; SOCIAL DARWINISM; SOCIALISM; SOUL; SS, THE; TERROR; TOTALITARIANISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WOMEN; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH

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WARSAW GHETTO: See GHETTOS

WEBSTER, NESTA (1876–1960)

Prominent and influential English anti-Semite and conspiracy theorist of the first half of the twentieth century. Born Nesta Bevan, she was educated at Westfield College and married Captain Arthur Webster, superintendent of the English police in India. In *The French Revolution: A Study in Democracy* (1919), she alleged that the French Revolution had been planned and implemented by the Freemasons and the Jews, to whom she also attributed responsibility for the Bolshevik Revolution. Her ideas impressed both Lord Kitchener and Winston Churchill. She attacked Continental Freemasonry as atheistic and revolutionary but distinguished it from what she considered to be the benign British version. In 1924 she published *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements* and two years later *The Need for Fascism in Great Britain*. She was a member of the first British fascist movement, the British Fascisti. In 1938 in *Germany and England* she hailed Adolf Hitler as the man who had blocked the Jewish ambition to take over the world, but her enthusiasm for the German dictator did not survive his pact with Stalin. Her ideas were influential in the development of racism and anti-Semitism in Great Britain and also in the United States.

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See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BRITISH FASCISTI/BRITISH FASCIST PARTY, THE; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FREEMASONRY/FREEMASONS, THE; FRENCH REVOLUTION, THE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; NAZISM; RACISM

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WEHRMACHT, THE

Official name for the military forces (army, navy, and air force) of the Third Reich; from 1935 it replaced the

term Reichswehr, which had been used of Germany's army—strictly limited by the terms of the Versailles Treaty to 100,000 men. The most important lesson that Hitler learned from the failed Putsch of 9 November 1923 was the conviction that National Socialism would never come to power with the army against it and that its radically racist and expansionist program could not be carried through without army support. He therefore tolerated the “apolitical” line of the army, independent of party politics, under the Weimar Republic. He knew that the army agreed with him on central issues—the rejection of parliamentarism and the desire for a strong leader state, the battle against the Versailles Treaty and for the recovery of the territories ceded, the heightening of war readiness and the elimination of “pacifism” as embodied by the Left and by the Jews. This common ground shared by Hitler and the army meant that the Reichswehr approved of Hitler's access to power on 30 January 1933. It could feel itself affirmed by his policies: Hitler declared that the new state rested on the “twin pillars” of party and Wehrmacht. He dealt with competition from the SA by having its chief of staff, Roehm, and its leadership murdered; he introduced general military service, and he occupied the demilitarized Rhineland. The armed forces showed their gratitude to Hitler by the adoption of the swastika as national emblem on uniforms and orders, by the introduction of a specially composed oath of personal devotion to Hitler, and by the exclusion of all Jews from the ranks. Just as the Wehrmacht became politically a part of the National Socialist state through these measures, likewise it became so on the ideological level through an extensive education program.

The leadership of the Wehrmacht first strove to introduce the officer corps to the Nazi worldview, and then from 1938 with the assumption of supreme command by Hitler, the fanaticization of the troops became the foremost aim. In a training manual introduced in 1939 the troops were taught that they had to lead the battle against the “poisonous parasite” of world Jewry: in Jewry would be found “not just an enemy of our people, but a plague for all peoples.” It was during the attack on Poland that the Wehrmacht leadership was first informed of Heydrich's program to eliminate the Polish intelligentsia and Jews, which did arouse a few generals to protest. When it came to the attack on the Soviet Union, Hitler personally informed those in command that this was not a normal war but a “battle between two worldviews,” in which the international rules of war did not apply (30 March 1941). Orders issued subsequently called for

all political commissars to be shot, declared that prisoners of war were subversive criminals, and allowed the troops to proceed by armed courts martial against the civilian population; Jews were to be transferred onto the murder program of the Einsatzgruppen. Each individual soldier was told who his enemy was and against whom he was to proceed with “utter ruthlessness”: “Bolshevik agitators, irregulars, saboteurs, Jews.” More than 10,000 commissars were “eliminated” on the spot; out of 5.7 million prisoners of war, 3.3 million died while in the hands of the Wehrmacht, and a million civilians were either shot as suspected partisans or in reprisal, or else deported to Germany as slave laborers. The Wehrmacht played a role in the murder of some 2 million Jews: in the course of the invasion they carried out an important work of identifying and ghettoizing the Jews, and they then gave logistical support to the ensuing massacres by the Einsatzgruppen and police battalions.

The annihilation ghettos of Riga and Minsk would have been impossible without their help; likewise the mass murder at Babi Yar. This transformation of the Wehrmacht into “Hitler’s army” (Bartov 1991) was the sum of numerous factors, including rabid anti-Semitic and anti-Slav racism and a fanatical belief in the Fuehrer and his world historical mission. Above all, it was a result of the actual experience of war on the Russian Front: the powers of resistance and sheer doggedness of the enemy, and the strains and stresses of the invasion. Their own high losses were, for the war-seasoned troops, explicable only as a result of the “Asiatic malice” of the Russians founded in their national character and years of agitation among the people and the army by “Jewish Bolshevism.” This “insight,” supported by propaganda, provoked the soldiers into breaking through all existing moral boundaries and eventually resulted in the fanaticization that Hitler had wanted. Now appeared the type of the political warrior, “bearer of an inexorable *völkisch* idea,” “avenger of all the bestialities” of Jewish Bolshevism against the German people, who abandoned the time-honored traditions of soldiery. With the growth of armed resistance in the rest of Occupied Europe, and especially after the landing of the Allied troops, this kind of soldier came to predominate everywhere. Hence the massacres of civilians, the shooting of prisoners of war, and the deportations of Jews all over Europe. A few military men, including *Abwehr* chief admiral Canaris, had raised objections against the criminal orders of 1941. But seeing that their protest had had no effect, they carried these orders out. Only as the war developed, in the face of the daily practice of

genocide, and with military defeat looming, did an organized resistance develop, made up mostly of younger staff officers, joined by a few generals, including the then chief of staff, General Ludwig Beck, and Field Marshal Erwin von Witzleben. The uprising they plotted on 20 July 1944 under the leadership of Colonel Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg failed, not just because of an unfortunate combination of circumstances, but above all because there was no support for it in Hitler’s Wehrmacht.

Hannes Heer
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BOLSHEVISM; CANARIS, ADMIRAL WILHELM; EXPANSIONISM; GERMANY; GHETTOS; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HEYDRICH, REINARD; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; JULY PLOT, THE; KREISAU CIRCLE, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; MARXISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MILITARY DICTATORSHIP; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NAZISM; NIGHT OF THE LONG KNIVES, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/ *NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PACIFISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; RACISM; SA, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; STAUFFENBERG, CLAUD SCHENK GRAF VON; SWASTIKA, THE; TERROR; *UNTERMENSCHEN* (“SUBHUMANS”); VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; *VOLK, VÖLKISCH*; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR II

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WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE

Period of parliamentary democracy in Germany between 1918 and 1933, in between the Wilhelmine Empire and the Third Reich, whose liberal structure, social democratic predominance, and supposed “Jewish” character, made it a central and frequent target of Nazi propaganda and Nazi violence. It was often referred to as the Weimar “System” by the Nazis, for whom parliamentary pluralism remained an implacable ideological

enemy with which no compromise was possible. Moreover, the litany of crises faced by interwar German democracy contributed to the increasingly antidemocratic voting patterns of the electorate (in terms of support for the revolutionary Right and Left); and more specifically, to the trans-class popularity of Nazism.

Because of unrest in the German capital, Berlin, the elected National Assembly met in the town of Weimar on 6 February 1919—hence the name given to the republic constitutionally enacted by the first president, Friedrich Ebert, on 11 August 1919. However, even those important dates are historically controversial in demarcating the Weimar Republic: prior to the armistice concluding World War I on 11 November 1918, a parliamentary monarchy was briefly established under Prince Max von Baden in October 1918; on 9 November 1918, Kaiser Wilhelm II abdicated the throne, and a liberal-democratic state was declared on 9 November 1918. Any of these dates may be given as the inception of the Weimar Republic. Similarly, the appointment of Hitler as German chancellor on 30 January 1933 is often understood to represent the end of the German republic, although parliamentary democracy was effectively curtailed with the resignation of the last elected government on 27 March 1930; it has also been viewed as persisting in form (if not substance) until Hitler's amalgamation of the offices of Reich president and chancellor on 2 August 1934. Historians continue to debate many central features of the Weimar Republic, including its birth pangs, culture (symbolized by the Bauhaus milieu and artistic modernism), degree of popular and institutional support (for example, by the army), liberal character (epitomized by Hugo Preuss's 1919 constitution), and the reasons for its demise.

The final months of World War I indicated that dramatic changes were inevitable in Germany, especially considering the reverses suffered on the Western Front and the refusal by the Allies (Britain, France, and the United States) to negotiate peace with a German monarch. The ensuing year witnessed the construction of representative democracy (as opposed to the participatory *Räte*, or councils, enacted in late 1918) with elections ending the Provisional Government on 19 January 1919; acceptance of the Weimar constitution and the Treaty of Versailles (the latter on 28 June 1919); and participation of autonomous groups like the army, civil service, and aristocracy. However, despite a policy of "fulfilling" treaty obligations by successive governments, the 1923 occupation of the Ruhr—the German industrial heartland—by

French and Belgian troops over the issue of financial reparations led to hyperinflation and economic meltdown in Germany. That was largely mitigated in 1924 by the introduction of overseas loans, restructured war indemnities, and a new currency, as well as by the skillful diplomacy of Gustav Stresemann (principally in attempting to normalize international relations)—all helping to stabilize the Weimar Republic, if only temporarily. During these years the Weimar Republic enjoyed real successes based on arguably illusory foundations, subsequently clarified during the massive unemployment and hardships engendered by the 1929 World Economic Crisis, perhaps felt most severely in Germany.

Radicalization of the populace was a major consequence of German sociopolitical breakdown after 1929, exemplified by the Nazis' jump in the national polls from 2.6 percent to 37.4 percent between elections on 20 May 1928 and 31 July 1932. Despite its previous profile as yet another extremist organization with failed revolutionary pretensions, the restructuring of the NSDAP in 1925 and the dissolution of electoral politics after 1929 both contributed to the enormous popular support for Nazism by the early 1930s. Moreover, the ascendancy of openly revolutionary parties (like the nationalists and communists) in later Weimar elections meant that coalition governments—always a necessity—under prodemocratic parties (like the Social Democrats, Center Party, and German Democratic Party) became untenable and increasingly identified with the "November criminals" held responsible for German travails under the Weimar Republic. One product of this electoral polarization was the antagonism of most moderates to communism, making many conservatives bedfellows of National Socialism.

Matt Feldman

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARCHITECTURE; ART; BOLSHEVISM; CENTER PARTY, THE; CONSERVATISM; ECONOMICS; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INFLATION; LIBERALISM; NAZISM; MUNICH (BEER-HALL) PUTSCH, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/NOVEMBERBRECHER, THE; PARLIAMENTARISM; REPARATIONS; SOCIALISM; THIRD REICH, THE; VERSAILLES TREATY, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WORLD WAR I

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WELFARE

Over the last century, fascist and far-right political movements have had a paradoxical and slightly confused attitude toward welfare. On the one hand, they have vehemently opposed the social welfare state. In Germany, for example, the Weimar system of state welfare was criticized for being too bureaucratic, arbitrary, and overambitious. On the other hand, fascists and neofascists have glorified their own brand of “welfare.” In one of its early manifestos, the Nazi Party stated: “We demand an expansion on a large scale of old age welfare.” In power, Hitler created a state infrastructure that blended charity, volunteerism, and massive Nazi Party involvement. It was about the individual submitting to the good health of the collective. Significant organizations emerged, including People’s Welfare (founded 1933) and Winterhilfe (which mimicked a Weimar creation of 1931). Welfare organizations took on a significant Nazi complexion and performed a major role in the Nazi welfare state. The German Red Cross was thoroughly nazified, and was controlled by leading SS doctors. The Protestant Innere Mission and some Catholic welfare experts condoned sterilization. The Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist Peoples Welfare Organization) came to play a major role in organizing the voluntary sector.

In France, the Vichy administration (1940–1944) made great play of its special payments to mothers. In February 1941, Marshal Pétain increased family allowance rates, for he and his colleagues at the apex of the regime regarded reproduction as one of the most noble of roles—and their goal was for women to feel wanted and appreciated. Was this a horribly reactionary policy, as many historians have intimated? Or was it a progressive, forward-thinking welfare measure that presaged modern-day family allowance payments? In postwar France, Jean-Marie Le Pen’s Front National is very proud of its policy of “national preference”—a policy which says that French “natives” should get priority treatment in the sphere of welfare. As one newspaper put it: “To combat France’s high unemployment and poverty, the FN’s manifesto has several suggestions. First, that “French employment should be reserved for French citizens,” that any employer not complying would be sanctioned, and that all unemployed foreigners be “placed in transit camps before

being deported.” Second, that social welfare—unemployment benefits, healthcare benefits, and rights to education, housing, and child benefits—be reserved for French citizens. Third, that immigration, other than in “exceptional cases,” be banned, all ten-year residence permits be withdrawn, and foreigners convicted of more than one criminal offense be expelled without appeal. Fourth, that police powers be extended to allow them “to check and to arrest immigrant delinquents on French soil.” For some—aware of the “bounty” available for children born to “French families”—this policy is tantamount to institutionalized racism; to Le Pen and his colleagues, it is *le bon sens* (“common sense”).

Some commentators now feel that Mussolini’s corporate state was a welfare state in embryo, or perhaps a prototype. He undertook a major expansion of public works and significant improvements in social insurance measures. He established the Dopolavoro organization, which provided workers with cheap relaxation and entertainment possibilities. He made advances in public health with an attack on TB and the foundation of a huge maternal and child welfare organization, which led to a dramatic fall in the incidence of TB and a lowering of the infant mortality rate by more than 20 percent. He oversaw improvements in education and in the general public infrastructure. And it could be argued that he helped to create one of the most advanced welfare states in the world of his day.

P. J. Davies

See Also: BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; COMMUNITY; CORPORATISM; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EDUCATION; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FRANCE; GERMANY; HEALTH; HITLER, ADOLF; IMMIGRATION; INDIVIDUALISM; ITALY; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LEISURE; MEDICINE; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NAZISM; PERONISM; PÉTAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; SEXUALITY; SPORT; SS, THE; STATE, THE; TOTALITARIANISM; TRADES UNIONS; VICHY; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WINTERHILFE; WOMEN; YOUTH

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WELTANSCHAUUNG/ WORLDVIEW

In National Socialism the term *Weltanschauung* (which in the nineteenth century had been a synonym for “beliefs, convictions, ideology”) came to mean “total ideology,” implying, of course, the claim to an all-embracing validity that excluded all other philosophies. As a quasi-religious-mystical confession propagated in numerous “enlightenment writings,” the National Socialist *Weltanschauung* called for unconditional acceptance: it was not something one could understand; it had to be “felt.” It was one of a trio of slogans (the others being *Führer* and *Kampfform*, “form of struggle,”) that were to guide the Germans to the accomplishment of the “national community.” This would be a community of the truly “blood-bound” (that is, “bound by ties of race/blood”), “natural,” “organic,” “living,” and “integrated.”

In *Philosophie—Werkzeug und Waffe* (1940), the philosopher Ferdinand Weinhandl, National Socialist and SA member, attempted to revitalize the inflationary *Weltanschauung* concept for philosophy, contrasting it with *Ideologie*. For Weinhandl, *Weltanschauung* stood for the recognition of the *völkisch* order of life as naturally given reality over “abstract” values that were the product of mere thinking. Like Spengler, Weinhandl drew on Goethe’s morphology and physiognomics for the justification of his anti-intellectualism; he also made use of Goethe’s concept of *Gestalt* in arguing for the “racial” conditioning of philosophy.

In *Vom Wesen der deutschen Philosophie*, published in 1941, the German Nationalist Hegelian scholar Hermann Glockner also sought to achieve the reintegration of the concept into academic thinking. Like Weinhandl, Glockner wanted to show the “organic” connection between *Weltanschauung* and philosophy and to rehabilitate German philosophers as *Volksgenossen* (“national comrades”) “ready for action” who knew themselves to be free in “leadership and discipleship.”

The answer to the question of how *Weltanschauung* could have come to be a key word in the language of the Third Reich was located by the Jewish philologist and literature specialist Victor Klemperer in the hostility of Nazism toward philosophy. In *Lingua Tertii Imperii* (1946), Klemperer observed, in an essay on the theatrical scenarios beloved of the Nazi leadership, the

inner connection between *Weltanschauung* and *Schau* (also in the sense of the English “show”), ultimately expressing their deep yearning for mystical revelation and religious ecstasy as the opposite to clear thinking.

Susanne Poci
(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ABSTRACTION; ARYANISM; BLOOD AND SOIL; CHAMBERLAIN, HOUSTON STEWART; COMMUNITY; COSMOPOLITANISM; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; INDIVIDUALISM; MYSTICISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; ORGANICISM AND NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RATIONALISM; RELIGION; SA, THE; SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR; SOUL; SPENGLER, OSWALD; VITALISM; VOLUNTARISM; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*; THE; WAGNER, (WILHELM) RICHARD

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WESSEL, HORST (1907–1930)

Author of the lyrics of what became an additional German national anthem together with the traditional *Deutschland über Alles*. As a youth, Wessel became a member of nationalist and militarist organizations (Bismarck-Jugend, 1922; Wiking-Bund, 1923); later he joined the NSDAP and the SA (1926). Promoted by Goebbels, in 1929 he became leader of SA-Sturm 5 in Berlin-Friedrichshain, a communist stronghold, provoking clashes with leftist workers. After he was shot as a result of a dispute with his lessor, Goebbels made a martyr of him. That same year the *Horst-Wessel-Song* (“Raise the flag high! Close the ranks tight! Storm troopers march, . . .”) became the official party anthem.

Fabian Virchow

See Also: GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; SA, THE

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WHITE NOISE

Term commonly used to denote neo-Nazi rock music. The phrase entered common parlance in the early 1980s when British far-right band Skrewdriver recorded their *White Power* single for White Noise Records, which had been formed by Ian Stuart Donaldson and the Young National Front to organize concerts and release records boycotted by the mainstream record industry. Quickly realizing the potential of music as a recruiting tool, the National Front began producing the *White Noise* “fanzine” in 1986, overseeing the organization of a truly international “white noise” music scene—ironically, just as it was beginning to dissipate in Britain.

John Pollard

See Also: BLACK METAL; GREAT BRITAIN; NATIONAL FRONT, THE; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; ROCK MUSIC; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SKREWDRIVER

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Lowes, Nick, and Steve Silver, eds. 1998. *White Noise: Inside the International Nazi Skinhead Scene*. London: Searchlight.

WHITE POWER: See WHITE SUPREMACISM

WHITE ROSE

Student movement of resistance to the Nazis established at the University of Munich by Hans and his sister Sophie Scholl. They began by distributing a small anti-Nazi newsletter at the university, where Hans was

studying medicine. Others joined them, notably Christoph Probst and Alexander Schmorell; also Karl Muth and Theodor Häcker, a Catholic writer and philosopher. The group was advised by Professor Huber, a Catholic conservative opponent of Nazism. By August 1942 both Scholl and Schmorell were serving on the Eastern Front. Scholl returned to Munich in November of that year, and by the following January he and Willi Graf began distributing leaflets in central German towns. These called for democracy, social justice, and a federal constitution for Germany. The following month, Hans and Sophie started handing out leaflets openly and were arrested and executed after being tried by the People’s Court.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-FASCISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; GERMANY; NAZISM; UNIVERSITIES (GERMANY); VOLKS-GERICHT, THE

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- Scholl, Inge. *The White Rose, Munich 1942–1943*. Trans. Arthur R. Schultz. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.

WHITE SUPREMACISM

Doctrine according to which the “white” races are superior to all others, which has been commonplace in theories about racial origins, going back at least to the Enlightenment. It was nineteenth-century doctrines about the superiority of “Aryan” peoples over others that motivated Nazism’s racial beliefs. In the postwar era, it is the superiority of whites in general over blacks and Asians that is trumpeted by fascists, chiefly in response to European concerns about immigration. In the United States, white supremacist language represents a renewal of a long-established antiblack racism and is often found in combination with anti-Semitism. The Southern states of the United States have long been recognized as the stronghold of this thinking, and it took federal government action in the decades after World War II to bring the force of the law to bear against antiblack racism. Federal government measures to coerce individual U.S. states into

combating discrimination against blacks are part of the reason for hostility to the U.S. federal government among many white supremacists.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ARYANISM; IMMIGRATION; KU KLUX KLAN, THE; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; RHODESIA; SKINHEAD FASCISM; SOUTH AFRICA; SWEDEN; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WELFARE; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

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that he was acting as a self-appointed “Nazi hunter” and “avenger” of the Jewish people, he wrote his Memoirs in 1988 with the title *Recht, nicht Rache*.

Markus Hattstein

(translated by Cyprian Blamires)

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSERVATISM; DENAZIFICATION; EICHMANN, OTTO ADOLF; GERMANY; HOLOCAUST, THE; NAZISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; ODESSA; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE

Reference

Pick, H. 1996. *Simon Wiesenthal: A Life in Search of Justice*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

WIESENTHAL, SIMON (1908–2005)

Leading figure in the unmasking of Nazi war criminals in the postwar years. The son of a Jewish businessman, Wiesenthal studied architecture in Prague and Lemberg and from 1932 worked in a Lemberg architect’s office, until he was arrested after the German invasion in 1941. He was in twelve different concentration camps up to 1945, and was the only one of his family to survive the Holocaust; he was freed from Mauthausen in May 1945. Wiesenthal was then given the task by the Allies of hunting down Nazi war criminals, and in 1947 he established a Documentation Centre about the Jewish Holocaust victims and their persecutors in Linz, Austria. From 1961, he headed up the Jewish Documentation Centre in Vienna.

The author of numerous books (*Ich jagte Eichmann* (1960); *Doch die Mörder leben* (1967); *Die Sonnenblume* (1969), Wiesenthal was a leading participant in the tracking down of Holocaust Organizer Adolf Eichmann in Argentina, as well as of other prominent Nazi culprits (Treblinka commandant Franz Stangl in 1967, Deputy Sobibor commandant Gustav Wagner in 1978). On account of his determination to deal with the past and name Nazi culprits, he came into conflict with conservative forces in Austria, especially in 1975–1976 over the issue of Vice Chancellor Friedrich Peter’s Waffen-SS past, and in 1986–1987 over the Wehrmacht past of President Kurt Waldheim. In answer to the accusation by National Conservative circles

WINDSOR, EDWARD DUKE OF (1894–1972)

As Prince of Wales, and then in his year as King Edward VIII of England, the Duke of Windsor showed much sympathy for Nazi Germany. Then, between the abdication and the war, an ill-conceived visit to Germany gave rise to further doubts about his judgment. There is much controversy about his attitudes after the fall of France. The future Edward VIII had become Prince of Wales in 1910. In that role he presented a very different image from that of his somewhat straight-laced father. In the years 1933–1935, observers noted Edward’s increasing sympathy for Nazi Germany, his admiration for dictatorship, and his dislike of the Foreign Office’s alignment with France, which he described to the German ambassador as far too one-sided. These opinions were shared by his brother George, Duke of Kent. In January 1936, Edward acceded to the throne. Although his Abdication in December of the same year was directly caused by his wish to marry Mrs. Wallis Simpson, an American divorcee, the Establishment clearly had other reasons for wishing him to go. He had shown himself unreliable in a variety of ways. In particular, he had committed a number of indiscretions in relation to Germany, and his violently pro-German views had been freely expressed in the social circles in which he moved. His first activities as Duke of Windsor were ill-advised. Under the influence of Charles Bedaux, a French-American entrepreneur, he undertook a visit to Nazi

Germany in 1937 to “study housing and working conditions.” Pictures of him associating with Nazi leaders caused a furor in Britain and the United States. The naivete shown in this case, and Edward’s misplaced trust in Bedaux, may also be the explanation of his indiscreet comments (when attached to the British military mission in Paris during the first months at the war) about Allied military preparedness, uttered at dinner parties attended by Bedaux, who was by then almost certainly a German spy.

At the fall of France the Windsors managed to get to neutral Spain, then to neutral Portugal. Here the duke became the center of a German plot to make use of him as a potential British Pétain. Opinions are divided as to how much he went in with such plans, and he certainly seems to have seen domestic matters, such as his wife’s title, as far more important. His acceptance of the governorship of the Bahamas appeared to put an end to the matter. He did, however, send a telegram to his contacts on at least one occasion thereafter, attempting to keep the lines open. Like many in the summer of 1940, he appears to have believed that British defeat was inevitable, and he seems to have considered himself as a possible intermediary in that eventuality. The German documents on this question were to cause some embarrassment to the British royal family after the war.

Richard Griffiths

See Also: FRANCE; GERMANY; GREAT BRITAIN; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; NAZISM; PETAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; VICHY; WORLD WAR II

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Winrod harped on the evils of Darwinism, divorce, “loose living,” Protestant “Modernism,” and Roman Catholicism. By 1934, however, his attacks increasingly centered on Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal, which he claimed was controlled by a secret Jewish “world conspiracy” that was unknown even to fellow Jews. To Winrod, who believed that the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* revealed the unfolding of biblical prophecy, Hitler’s Germany was the world’s single bulwark against occultism, communism, and high finance, all of which he saw as instruments of Jewish power. In 1938, Winrod ran the Kansas Republican primary election for U.S. senator but drew less than a fourth of the vote. When, in 1939, World War II broke out in Europe, Winrod called for “rigid neutrality”; three years later he was indicted for sedition. By 1947, when the case had been dropped, he had returned to Wichita, where he continued to publish *The Defender* while dabbling in unorthodox medicine.

Justus Doenecke

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHRISTIANITY; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; FAMILY, THE; GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND, THE; GERMANY; HITLER, ADOLF; INTERVENTIONISM; LIBERALISM (IN THEOLOGY); OCCULTISM; PLUTOCRACY; PROTESTANTISM; *PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION, THE*; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SEXUALITY; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); U.S. CORPORATIONS; WORLD WAR II

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Sindell, Gail Ann. 1973. “Gerald Winrod and the ‘Defender’: A Case Study of the Radical Right.” Ph.D. diss. Cleveland, OH: Case Western Reserve University.

WINROD, GERALD BURTON (1900–1957)

Leading U.S. anti-Semite and pro-German sympathizer in the interwar years. Born in Wichita, Kansas, Winrod left school after the fifth grade, underwent a conversion experience at age eleven, and soon became an itinerant evangelist. In 1925 he helped to organize the Defenders of the Christian Faith, and in 1926 he launched a monthly journal, *The Defender*. At first

WINTERHILFE

Annual charity collection whose proceeds were to go to the National Socialist People’s Welfare Organization, which was the official private charity run by the Nazis. On one Sunday each year Nazi organizations were expected to make their staff available for street collections. Party officers and stage and screen celebrities made appearances in city centers as collectors.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: COMMUNITY; GERMANY; NAZISM; WELFARE

WOMEN

An understanding of the relationship between fascism and women involves a consideration both of the role women have played in the fascist movement and their role in fascist states. Fascism has long been associated with an assignment of the sexes to separate spheres in which women are predominantly mothers. This was exemplified in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany but is also evident in neofascist pronouncements. There has, however, been considerable disagreement among fascists over the role of women. While only a few women were present at the founding meeting of the Italian Fascist movement in early 1919, Fascist women's groups began to emerge the following year, and in 1924 a Fascist women's congress was held. In the years that followed, however, the party leadership purged those women they saw as insufficiently accepting of male prerogatives, and while the party recruited large numbers of women during the 1930s, it ensured that they were answerable to a male hierarchy. In Germany, while women were present within the Nazi Party from its inception, they were specifically forbidden to run as electoral candidates. In addition to individual women's membership, some branches had women's groups attached to them, and while at the national level a pro-Nazi women's organization, the German Women's Order, was established in 1923, another grouping, the Newland movement, moved from conservatism to Nazism. The resultant tensions between different Nazi women led to the creation in 1931 of one organization, the National Socialist Women's Organization (NSF). In 1932, less than 8 percent of Nazi Party members were women, but thousands of others were organized supporters; after the party came to power, both women's party membership and the NSF grew massively.

If in both the Italian and German cases, the party was led by men and predominantly made up of men, their policies in power also favored men. For Italian Fascism, women's most important function was as mother. In 1927, Mussolini gave a speech on the urgent need to reverse Italy's falling birthrate. The regime had already banned the sale of contraceptives and the carrying out of abortions, while in 1925 it had set up the Opera nazionale per la maternità ed infanzia (National Agency for Maternity and Infancy), which sought to provide improved prenatal and postnatal care and gave monetary awards for marriages and births. Mussolini also expressed hostility toward women's role



1932 Nazi propaganda poster urging women to vote for Hitler. Though women were not allowed any political power under Italian Fascism or German Nazism, large numbers of them did support these movements. (Library of Congress)

in the economy. In a 1934 article, he blamed women workers for male unemployment. What was needed, he declared, was an "exodus of women from the work force." In 1938 the regime formulated plans to reduce the number of women drastically in most sectors of the economy. These plans, however, were overtaken by the outbreak of war.

Nazi Germany was equally committed to emphasizing women's domestic role. In a 1934 speech to Nazi women, Hitler declared that while man's world was the larger world of the state, woman's was the smaller world of "her husband, her family, her children, and her home." In June 1933 a law was passed introducing interest-free loans for couples in which the woman had given up her job before marriage, and the regime subsequently gave the Honor Cross of the German Mother to women who bore four or more children. For the Nazis, however, pronatalism did not apply to all poten-

tial mothers. In part, this was implicit in its racism. Thus in 1935 the government forbade sex between an Aryan and a Jew. But the regime also discriminated among those it classified as Aryan. “We must,” its minister of the interior declared, “have the courage again to grade our people according to its genetic values.” Nearly 200,000 women are thought to have been compulsorily sterilized.

In a period in which women were entering the workforce in large numbers, there was widespread resentment on the side of men, particularly at times of high unemployment, and fascist parties sought to argue that their victory would restore the natural order within the labor market. In Italy, Fascism was associated with male veterans, concerned to gain access to jobs, while in Germany, the Nazi Party denounced what were termed “double earners”—women who worked when their husbands were already employed. In national elections in 1928 and 1930, the Nazi electorate was predominantly male. In 1932, however, the gender gap closed so that approximately half of the party’s nearly 14 million votes came from women.

In the postwar period, the French Front National has both individual women members and an affiliated National Circle of Women of Europe. It opposes abortion, calls for the defense of the family, and emphasizes the centrality of raising the birth-rate. Mothers who stay at home, it holds, should both be honored and receive an income. Likewise in Britain, the dominant group of recent years, the British National Party (BNP), has long campaigned against abortion. Opposed to sexual relationships between whites and nonwhites, the BNP has also opposed the rise of the career woman, believing that home-making is women’s “highest vocation.” Unlike the FN or the main interwar movements, it does not organize women in their own groupings, but does recruit women individually and has selected some of them as municipal and parliamentary candidates. In addition to a reluctance to identify with interwar movements, those postwar extreme rightists who envisage an electoral road to power have also tended to avoid arguing that women must play a purely domestic role. Instead, they claim, a maternal income would make it possible for women to be able to choose to stay at home. This argument can be traced back to the 1930s, when the British Union of Fascists declared that it would not force women out of the workplace; even the Nazis, during the 1932 elections, announced that they would not do so.

Martin Durham

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; BRITISH FASCISTI, THE; BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY, THE; DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY; EDUCATION; EUGENICS; FAMILY, THE; FEMINISM; FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, ELISABETH; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GERMANY; GOEBBELS, MAGDA; GREAT BRITAIN; HEALTH; HOMOSEXUALITY; ITALY; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; LINTORN-ORMAN, ROTH; LUDENDORFF, MATHILDE; MITFORD FAMILY, THE; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RIEFENSTAHL, LENI; SARFATTI-GRASSINI, MARGHERITA; SCHOLTZ-KLINK, GERTRUD; SEXUALITY; TOTALITARIANISM; WEBSTER, NESTA; WELFARE; YOUTH

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WORK

The creation of a new work ethic and of a new understanding of work played a crucial role in interwar fascist movements and societies. Three general tendencies can be noted: the fascist conception of work had strong nationalistic, militaristic, and (in the case of Nazism) racist connotations. According to the nationalistic dimension, work derived its value only from its usefulness to the national community. Generally, “work” is seen as an activity giving meaning to life and legitimizing the existence of the individual. Contrary to liberal conceptions, the individual is regarded as important only if serving the national community. Consequently, fascist ideologies glorified and sometimes even sacralized work. This was especially true for simple, manual labor. The nationalistic dimension emphasized that all kinds of work be regarded as equally valuable, as long

as they serve the national interest. Fascist movements and states therefore upgraded manual labor symbolically. With a combination of anti-Marxist and anticapitalist arguments, they especially attempted to court the working classes. But despite all ambivalences and inner-fascist controversies over the right notion of work, in social and economic practice fascist societies did not change the distribution of property fundamentally or break radically with the capitalist economic system. On the other hand, since it was the fascist movement or state that defined the national interest, this conception of “work” provided an opening for broad state intervention in the labor market and the economy, even if the exact degree of interference varied.

Second, fascism stands for a militarization of the conception of work. On the one hand, the semantic fields of labor and the military sphere were connected or even merged. In fascist movements and societies, work activities were frequently described by using military terms and metaphors—for example, *battaglia del grano* (“fight for grain”) or *Erzeugungsschlacht* (“battle of production”). Fascists saw work and warfare as the two forms that the struggle for existence can take. A military ethos with ideas such as duty and sacrifice, hierarchy and courage was ingrained into the conception of work. Work was to serve as a means to create social discipline. There was also a tendency to militarize labor relations. In Nazi Germany, for example, the free change of workplace was more and more restricted, and regular employment was interpreted as service in analogy to military duties.

In Nazism, “work” often had a racist and anti-Semitic dimension. In Nazi Germany all those excluded from the national community were also barred from the sphere of work. At the same time, the very idea of work was interpreted as an Aryan characteristic, whereas Jews were seen as a people unwilling and unable to undertake proper work. Thus work not only had a highly integrative side by glorifying national projects and the people performing it but also a highly exclusive and aggressive dimension.

Kiran Patel

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; ECONOMICS; EMPLOYMENT; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FORCED LABOR; GERMANY; INDUSTRY; ITALY; LABOR FRONT, THE; LABOR SERVICE, THE; MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE; MILITARISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PLUTOCRACY; PRODUCTIVISM; RACISM; SOCIAL DARWINISM; TRADES UNIONS; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*; THE; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE

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**WORKERS, THE: See EMPLOYMENT;
MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM;
MASSES, THE ROLE OF THE;
SOCIALISM; TRADES UNIONS; WORK**

WORLD WAR I

World War I led to a number of factors that, together, contributed to the growth of fascist ideology in Europe. Most important, the war placed enormous pressure on all the political systems of the belligerent countries, creating a mass politicization of society and a polarization of left- and right-wing politics that undermined European liberal-democratic traditions. In Britain and France, well-established liberal-democratic systems were able to cope with the war crisis through “national union” governments. That was not the case in Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe, however, where such traditions were far weaker. Germany’s younger and more fragile democratic system was placed under strain, and the country was effectively under military command by 1916. Italy was forced into combat by the “interventionist campaign,” which lacked widespread support and undermined the Giolittian liberal parliamentary system. Autocratic Russia was torn apart by the conflict and in 1917 collapsed into successive revolutions, communist one-party rule, and then civil war. And this was not true only for the Great Powers. For example, both the government and the monarchy in Greece were overthrown before she joined the Allies in 1917. After Portugal entered the war, political instability led to the formation of a semiauthoritarian charismatic leadership under Sidonia Pais, portending future fascist regimes. Neutral Spain had to put down three



Italian troops after their catastrophic defeat at Caporetto in 1917. Both the Italian Fascists and the German Nazis contrasted the 'heroism' of the frontline soldiers with the 'treacherous' and 'mercenary' behavior of the politicians, whom they blamed for military disasters like this one. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

attempted uprisings in 1917 alone, highlighting the war's impact on nonbelligerent European nations.

This political instability continued after the war, and it was not ameliorated by the reordering of Europe at Versailles. The Habsburg Empire was transformed from a multiracial kingdom with a tradition as a key European power into the emasculated rump state of Austria. The breakup of Austro-Hungary led to the further division of the Balkans and Eastern Europe into unstable nation-states, which included the creation of Yugoslavia, a considerably enlarged Romania, and the formation of Poland as an independent state; the latter also divided Germany from East Prussia. The German defeat and revolution in 1918 ended the Second Reich and the Hohenzollern monarchy and brought the ultimately unworkable Weimar Republic into being. Italy felt betrayed by the agreement because she did not receive all of the European land promised upon her entry

into the war; although she ended up on the winning side, many Italians saw it as a "mutilated victory." This widespread sense of experiencing a national humiliation was inflicted on many European states by the peace settlement.

Much of postwar Europe was made up of a number of nation-states at fundamentally different stages of development toward liberal parliamentary systems, and many of these nations—Germany, Austria, Finland, Lithuania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Romania—were operating with new and seemingly alien liberal-democratic constitutions. Furthermore, it is difficult to overstate the importance of the emergence of Communist Russia in describing the postwar European political dynamic. That system presented a highly desirable alternative to capitalism for many on the European Left, while materializing the worst fears of the European Right. Also of great importance were the ways

in which wartime experiences had fundamentally altered the way in which “ordinary people” of Europe viewed themselves in relation to the state. World War I was the first “total war,” requiring the mobilization of the productive and human resources of entire countries. Consequently, the war politicized national populations through extreme propaganda campaigns that increasingly demonized the Other and exposed citizens to new state bureaucracies that augmented the populist nationalism increasingly “in the air” across Europe in the run-up to 1914. This encouraged the postwar construction of identities conceived on populist and nationalized “us versus them” dichotomies, and this “nationalization of the masses” also created a greater expectation and dependency on the state. The wartime model of a powerful executive power coupled with an effective bureaucracy that intervened in economic affairs and civil rights in order to protect national interests was seen by many as still desirable in the postwar crisis years, when liberal political elites seemed so weak and out of touch. The war had opened up a new sociopolitical space whereby contingent factors such as economic crisis coupled with the sense of social anomie were highly conducive to the development of radical ultranationalist political ideologies.

Further strains were created as each nation had to demobilize hundreds of thousands of troops and reintegrate them into civil societies across Europe. After the war that led to the development of networks of civilian veterans groups, and consequently to a widespread “paramilitarization” of European society. This was to become a major characteristic of interwar fascist movements, and was a factor that arose directly from the experiences of the trenches. After the war had ended, political violence thus often seemed a natural solution and even became normalized. Further, the trench experiences had helped to forge a psychological dynamic whereby significant sections within European societies developed an interest in chauvinistic and egoistical fantasies that were bolstered with sense of mission, sacrifice, and duty to the national cause. This predisposed many of the war generation to be vulnerable to appeals to view themselves as vanguards of new political elites capable of forging new political orders. Mussolini dubbed the Italian permutation of this phenomenon “trenchocracy.”

The Enlightenment idea of the “progress” of humanity from savage ancestors to civilized Europeans was shattered, and European culture and society began to labor under a widespread sense of crisis and decline—though shot through with new visions of hope. A text such as Oswald Spengler’s *Decline of the West* was

typical of that form of discourse. The whole Enlightenment tradition of the progressive elimination of the irrational by the advance of “reason” was felt to be in crisis, and a new politics of emotion and action was often perceived as required in response to the contingency of postwar Europe’s political crises. Sometimes this was imbued with a renewed sense of the sacred and desire for rebirth, a mind-set that Roger Griffin has identified as fascism’s palingenetic quality. The new mass propaganda—which always contained the subtext “Once the suffering of today is over, a better world will come tomorrow!”—allowed ideologues to exploit the general sense of unrealized hopes that resulted from the war and that were often assumed to be symptomatic of the incapacity of liberal-democratic politics to deliver. In this context, radical authoritarian alternatives could appear to be genuinely progressive in comparison to liberal democracy or communism.

The war was also crucial in turning myriad protofascist movements into unified ideological forces that could exercise a genuine influence over political events, transforming them from esoteric and sometimes conservative forces into radically modern ideologies. For example, in Italy the various protofascist intellectuals and movements became unified around Italian intervention in the war as a means for Italy to secure new territories, gain international prestige, and establish authoritative political leadership that would kill off revolutionary socialism. This “interventionist campaign” consisted of a highly diverse grouping of organizations such as the Associazione Nazionale Italiana; periodicals such as *La Voce* and *L’Idea Nazionale*; elements of the revolutionary Left, especially the neosyndicalist movement; politicians, including Prime Minister Antonio Salandra; and key intellectuals such as Filippo Marinetti, Gabriele D’Annunzio, and Benito Mussolini. This campaign was also marked by many key tropes of fascist politics, “piazza politics” and crowd power, the glorification of violence and of the heroism of war, and a commingling between utopian visions of a “new Italy” with a pragmatic agenda in an ideological synthesis that rejected “rational” for charismatic politics. Despite a lack of mass popular support, Italy entered the war in 1915 to a war fever dubbed “the radiant days of May.”

The war did gain popular support, paradoxically, after the defeat at the Battle of Caporetto in 1917. Across Italy local patriotic groupings (*Fasci*) emerged, generated widespread animosity against neutralists and socialists, and promoted the patriotic cause. This new populist-nationalist fervor was also reflected on a national level, and a prowar lobby consisting of a

cross-party selection of deputies was formed. By this time Mussolini's nationalist organ, *Il Popolo d'Italia*, had established itself as the primary journal of the interventionist movement. After the war he sought to build on the new nationalistic and belligerent political dynamic, *combattentismo*, and the "spirit of the trenches," *trincerismo*, with his new organization, Fasci di combattimento. Other *Fasci* included those of the Political Futurists, the ANI's Sempres Pronti, and Captain Vecchi's Arditi. Thus in Italy the war not only gave birth to the budding ideology of Fascism but also unified and radicalized the "protofascist" elements in Italy, and forged a political and social dynamic highly conducive to Fascist politics.

Many arguably protofascist currents existed in Germany before the war, this time drawing on *völkisch* tradition of an "organic" nation and radicalized by war experiences. The outbreak of the war led to hopes of a rebirth of a healthy German *Kultur* triumphing over the degenerate *Zivilisation*, which in turn would result in a "reawakened" German *Volksgemeinschaft*. The fact that, even in the summer of 1918, Germany was still expecting victory in the war only enhanced the terrible shock and humiliation felt across Germany when Friedrich Ebert unconditionally surrendered in November of that year. This in turn led to the *Dolchstoß*, or "stab in the back," myth, which became a central aspect of many postwar German nationalisms and which was absolutely central to Nazi propaganda. The myth claimed that the peace-mongering socialist politicians who negotiated the end of the war were essentially national traitors, and further that Germany had not actually been defeated on the battlefield but simply betrayed by left-wing politicians. Also of significance during the war was a growing perception that associated "Jewishness" with safe bureaucratic positions rather than military roles (and therefore with cowardice), and also with left-wing politics in general. This forged a widespread misconception of a lack of German-Jewish patriotism and commitment to the war, on which could be erected myriad racist constructions.

In the immediate postwar milieu the socialist coalition government faced attack from communist revolutionaries and relied on paramilitary squads, *Freikorps*, to prevent the very real threat of revolution. This demonstrates not only the postwar dynamic of paramilitarized politics but also the significance of the Russian Revolution of 1917—lighting beacons of left-wing revolutionary hope across Europe and also fermenting equally radicalized right-wing responses to the threat. After German emasculation was enshrined in the Ver-

sailles Treaty and the Weimar Republic, *völkisch* movements proliferated in German civil society. These often glorified in the war, fostered the *Dolchstoß* myth, and developed the *Los-von-Weimar*, or "out of Weimar," mood. This attitude was key to Nazi success. Hitler often drew on his own war experiences—for example, in *Mein Kampf* he described that on hearing of the outbreak of war he was overtaken "by stormy enthusiasm, I fell down on my knees and thanked Heaven from an overflowing heart for granting me the good fortune of being permitted to live at this time. . . . There now began the greatest and most unforgettable time of my earthly existence" (Kershaw 1998, 70). Once in power the Nazi regime also repeatedly played on the power of World War I in its attempts to generate a "new man," drawing on a semiotic of war that formed what G. L. Mosse has dubbed a "civic religion" of heroism and faith in the nation.

Finally, the Armenian Massacres (1915–1923) were another significant event that emerged from the war and also one that directly impacted upon the history of fascism, and especially the Holocaust. The murder of some 1 million Armenians by the Turks was the twentieth century's first great genocide, and the event set a grisly precedent for future "projects" of systematic mass murder. Hitler was alleged to have said on the eve of World War II: "Who now remembers the massacre of the Armenians?"

Paul Jackson

See Also: INTRODUCTION; ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN/HABSBURG EMPIRE, THE; BOLSHEVISM; CAPITALISM; CAPORETTO; CIVILIZATION; COSMOPOLITANISM; CULTURE; D'ANNUNZIO, GABRIELE; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; ENLIGHTENMENT, THE; FASCIO, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINLAND; FIUME; FREIKORPS, THE; FUTURISM; GERMANY; GREECE; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; HOLOCAUST, THE; HUNGARY; INFLATION; INTERVENTIONISM; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; LIBERALISM; LITHUANIA; MARINETTI, FILIPPO TOMMASO; MARXISM; MARXIST THEORIES OF FASCISM; *MEIN KAMPF*; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYTH; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; NIHILISM; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NOVEMBER CRIMINALS/*NOVEMBERBRECHER*, THE; PACIFISM; PALINGENETIC MYTH; PARAMILITARISM; PARLIAMENTARISM; POLAND; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; PORTUGAL; PROGRESS; PROTOFASCISM; RATIONALISM; REPARATIONS; REVOLUTION; ROMANIA; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPENGLER, OSWALD; TOTALITARIANISM; TURKEY; UNIVERSALISM; UTOPIA, UTOPIANISM; VERSAILLES, THE TREATY OF; *VOLK*, *VÖLKISCH*; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; WALL STREET CRASH, THE; WAR; WAR VETERANS; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; WORLD WAR II; YUGOSLAVIA

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WORLD WAR II

The origins of World War II lay in the ideological drive for expansion manifest in the Nazi worldview. The basic goal was to create an expanded Germany to the east, thereby recapturing German *Lebensraum* in order to form a new superpower: the Thousand-Year Reich. In so doing, Hitler envisaged destroying the USSR and eliminating France as a continental power. Further, this would be combined with an ethnic revolution in the region, promoted by the Nazis as being a defense of German-speaking peoples. It was this racial aspect that distinguished Nazi policy from older forms of German expansionism. As far back as 1934, Hitler ordered his generals to be ready for war "within eight years." This policy of rearmament was given a substantial fillip by the failure of the West to react to Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland in 1936. Hitler believed that he could forge allegiances with Great Britain and the Soviet Union in order to gain the time to fulfill this plan. With regard to the latter, Nazi diplomacy resulted in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, signed on 23 August 1939. Hitler believed that despite the lack of a formal alliance, this promise of nonaggression by the USSR would deter

Britain from fighting. The pact itself was mutually beneficial. For Stalin, not only did a secret protocol allow for westward territorial expansion, but it would also very likely result in a war between Germany and the imperial powers that would engender favorable conditions for the wider spread of communism in Europe. Hitler's Germany was, therefore, a "friend" of communism—though not an "ally"—and Soviet terminology dubbed Hitler the "icebreaker of the revolution."

Hitler had offered the Polish government status as a satellite state at the beginning of 1939. When this was turned down, Hitler decided to destroy Poland. It took less than two weeks for the rest of the country to be overrun by the German forces, and this was followed by a Soviet invasion. Initially the German public did not have a great enthusiasm for the offensive. This was a period when the Nazi Party was in decline in the popular consciousness, despite the fact that Hitler's own standing remained high. However, morale was improved by the swift victory. Unprecedented Blitzkrieg tactics allowed for a new form of warfare, far removed from the trenches of World War I, to be implemented. The combination of modern technology with a belief that the "spirit" of the Teutonic warriors of old was working with them in winning breathtakingly rapid and decisive victories was typical of the Nazi idealization of modern warfare. Following this victory, the ethnic cleansing programs that would develop into the Holocaust began to evolve. For example, Himmler was given the role of "Reich commissariat for the strengthening of Germandom," and under his governance 1,000,000 Poles were removed from western Polish provinces and replaced with German immigrants. The majority of Poland was placed under the rule of a Nazi governorship, which formed the "Government of Central Poland," and the Reich directly annexed Upper Silesia, West Prussia, Poznan, and Danzig.

Following the invasion of Poland, German attention turned to Denmark and Norway in the spring of 1940. These invasions were pragmatic, as the supply of Swedish iron ore was essential for the German war machine. A British-occupied Norway might have halted this flow of raw materials. Again, easy victories followed, despite British and French intervention. Attention then switched to Western Europe, and May 1940 saw the Blitzkrieg sweep across Belgium, Holland, and France. In the previous winter, Germany had developed a plan to attack France at the north of the defensive barrier, the Maginot Line, via the Ardennes Mountains. This proved highly effective and split the Allied armies; the French capitulated because of poor morale,

and 300,000 British troops were forced into a legendary evacuation via the port of Dunkirk. On 16 June, Marshal Pétain became the new French head of state, and peace negotiations were signed. Hitler toured Paris in triumph and returned to Germany to a genuine excitement at the dramatic victories in Western Europe, fueling National Socialist propaganda of a virile “people’s Germany” that was triumphant over Western decadence. The British, now under the new leadership of Winston Churchill, declared that there would be “no surrender”—this despite high-level British discussions for a negotiated peace. Goering’s plan to defeat Britain in 1940 via Luftwaffe bombing raids—the Battle of Britain—failed to remove Britain from the war or crush the RAF. Both countries maintained aerial bombing raids on civilian and military targets.

Instead of invading Britain, Hitler decided to fulfill a greater objective: the destruction of the Soviet Union. This was an ideological “war of racial annihilation,” as Hitler informed his generals, rather than a battle for expansion. Hitler was convinced that the Red Army had been emasculated as a result of the Great Purges, a belief greatly encouraged by the Soviets’ poor performance in the invasion of Finland in November 1939. After some delays in the spring of 1941, Operation Barbarossa was launched on 22 June. Some 147 divisions were allocated to the invasion, initially joined by Romanian and Finnish troops. Despite warnings of an attack, the invasion came as a surprise to Stalin. Consequently, the Soviets lost most of their air force, and Germany soon made vast gains, taking a huge number of prisoners of war. However, by the winter the German forces had failed in their initial aspiration of knocking out the Red Army in five months, and they were ill prepared for the freezing conditions of the Russian winter. To compound these logistical problems, German supply lines had become increasingly overstretched by Hitler’s decision to split the attack between Moscow and the Ukraine. The occupied Soviet territories were chaotically administered, and it is difficult to overstate the brutality that the Germans unleashed on the local populations, which served to unify the Soviet forces in the defense of “Mother Russia.” Logistical difficulties were compounded by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December. Not only did this draw Germany into a state of war with the United States, thereby demoralizing the home front, but it also freed up experienced Soviet troops from the Siberian Front to fight the Nazi invasion: it was clear that Japan would be too busy with South Asian expansion to nurture designs against the Soviet Union.

In 1942, Albert Speer was promoted to minister for armaments and war production, and he brought about dramatic increases in the construction of wartime materials, more than trebling production in three years. This was often achieved through the use of foreign prisoners and slave labor in the concentration camps. From its peak at the start of Operation Barbarossa, enthusiasm in Germany for the war began to dwindle. Optimism was still very much “in the air” in Germany during 1942, especially with news of Rommel’s victories in North Africa and U-boat supremacy over British shipping in the North Atlantic. However, 1942 also saw the suspension of Nazi reforms to the state welfare and insurance schemes, and so the redistributive aspect of Nazi “socialism” and plans for a massive increase in social housing were shelved in favor of the essential war economy.

The war turned decisively against Germany in 1943. In February, German forces were defeated at Stalingrad—a battle that Hitler swore he would never lose—and in May, Rommel was defeated in North Africa. By the summer the U-boat campaign was turning in favor of the Allies, and in July the Germans were defeated at the famous tank battle around Kursk. Consequently, it was not until 1943 that the Goebbels propaganda machine reached its height in order to counter the increasingly gloomy news of the war’s progress, compounded by rising prices and intensified Allied bombing campaigns. By this time, Hitler’s health—mental and physical—had begun to decline. Often meetings with military personnel led to histrionics from the Fuehrer and sometimes to major disputes over tactical matters. Hopes for avoiding a German defeat were dwindling, and they now lay either in the possibility that the Red Army would not be able to maintain its unique ability to absorb a truly colossal rate of attrition, or with the idea that an increased Soviet conquest of Eastern Europe would lead to a squabble that would destroy the Allies unity. Such hopes were finally dashed with the D-Day landings in Normandy in June 1944. The success of this invasion was made possible by the massive industrial capacity of the United States to produce war materials, in combination with the fact that the Allies had cracked Enigma, the German codes. Although the initial battles were by no means certain, the Allies soon proved successful and began moving eastward.

By 1944 the Nazi regime had become increasingly unstable. The July Plot against Hitler’s life augmented the power base of the SS and its leader, Himmler, in whom Hitler now placed a deep trust. He gave the former chicken farmer the position of “commander-in-

chief of the reserve army and supreme commander of the Army Group Vistula,” the sort of promotion that is indicative of a wider characteristic of the Nazi war machine—placing people in positions for which they had no real training. This gave Himmler prime responsibility for defending Germany from the onslaught of the Red Army, a task in which he failed spectacularly. In these final months, Martin Bormann rose, too, and plotted against Himmler and other high-ranking Nazis, a development that was symptomatic of the fact that the upper echelons of the Nazi Party were shot through with infighting. In the shadow of imminent defeat, Himmler and Goering both sought peace settlements, the latter, incredibly, acting under the false belief that he was now Germany’s *de facto* leader. Hitler, however, was determined that Germany would not surrender. In his final words, written in a Berlin bunker, he expressed no contrition for the frightful destruction he had unleashed, and prophesied that a new National Socialist Germany would one day rise again from the ruins. It was here, on 29 April, that he married Eva Braun, and later committed suicide. Before doing so, he promoted Goebbels to chancellor, Bormann to party secretary, and Admiral Dönitz to Reich president and supreme commander of the armed forces. On 7 May 1945, German representatives signed an initial peace and unconditional surrender order, and the following day they signed an unconditional surrender to all the Allies in Berlin.

For Italy, too, the war followed a tragic path. Although war was central to Fascist ideology, it is clear that initially Mussolini had no intention of involving Italy in such a great conflagration. Italy lacked the military infrastructure to mount a major war against Western powers, and Mussolini was happy to limit himself to piecemeal expansionist policies in Africa and the Balkans. Despite the “Pact of Steel” of May 1939, Mussolini did not enter the war immediately. In fact, he regarded the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact as criminal, backed Finland after the Soviet invasion of that country, and sold weapons, including airplanes, to France until May of 1940. On 10 June 1940, when France was on the verge of defeat, Italy entered on the side of Germany in hopes of territorial gains. Mussolini wanted only a partial association with Nazi expansionism. Therefore, he decided to fight a “parallel war” in Italy’s interests, basically to make Italy the key regional power in the Mediterranean and North Africa. In October 1940, Mussolini ordered an invasion of Greece that quickly ran into difficulties because of the military strength built up under the Metaxas regime in the in-

terwar years. Italian troops were forced into retreat. Mussolini was rescued in April 1941 when Hitler overran Yugoslavia and Greece, delaying Operation Barbarossa. This was due to an anti-German coup in Yugoslavia and a British military expedition supporting Greece. After that Italy was stripped of her military independence. Italian troops were sent to aid the invasion of the Soviet Union and also to Rommel’s campaign in Africa. The latter sat awkwardly with the Italian’s self-image, at least at a rhetorical level, of performing a civilizing form of imperialism, emancipating indigenous populations from British and French rule. However, despite their own atrocities committed in Africa, it is worth noting that the Italians did not comply with the Nazi Jewish policy, and maintained the second highest survival rate of Jewish populations among occupied countries.

The hostilities highlighted the fact that the Italian Fascist war machine was a weak force, negating the ideals of the Fascist new man. Further, it became increasingly obvious that the Italian Fascist Party and its associated militia, the MVSN, were both ineffective and corrupt. By 1943 public confidence in the regime collapsed, as it seemed to many that the war was contrary to any Italian interests. Mussolini, however, could see no way out and felt that Italy’s destiny was tied inextricably to Germany. Following the Allied invasion of Sicily on 9 July 1943, a meeting of the Fascist Grand Council was called for 24 July. There Dino Grandi collected signatures supporting a resumption of rule by King Victor Emmanuel III. Mussolini was deposed, and a new government was created under Marshal Pietro Badoglio. Mussolini was placed under arrest, and the new government signed peace terms on 8 September, the eve of the Allied invasion of Italy.

German forces then invaded, and the peninsula became the site of civil war between anti-Fascists and a combination of German and Fascist forces. Mussolini was rescued on 12 September and was coerced by Hitler into running a puppet state. Installed in a villa near Salò, Mussolini was essentially a prisoner of the SS. The Italian Social Republic, or the Salò Republic as it was popularly known, initially attempted to introduce a new “socialization” scheme that would reorder the economy along more corporatist lines. The German Reich terminated these reforms, as it was fearful of a drop in essential wartime production. The republic did gain a genuine minority support, however, and it founded a new army of around 500,000 men and a new militia, the National Republican Guard. However, the Allied invasion was too powerful, and the republic

was eventually defeated. Partisans captured Mussolini at the end of April 1945. He was executed, and his body was hung in a square in Milan.

In other invaded territories Hitler preferred to set up satellite regimes that, in the main, drew on local conservative forces, rather than either drawing on indigenous fascist forces or governing annexed regions directly from Berlin. The Scandinavian countries were given somewhat lenient treatment, and Denmark, Norway, and Holland were allowed relatively autonomous governance. This stemmed from a belief that Scandinavians, the Dutch and the Flemish were considered “racially redeemable.” The most notorious of these was the regime of Norway’s Vidkun Quisling, who ruled in Germany’s interests for most of the war, and whose name became synonymous with such a relationship. Holland, Denmark, and Belgium also developed collaborationist regimes. However, because of contingencies of administration, indigenous fascists did gain more significant positions of power in some invaded countries. In Romania, Hitler’s main concern was to make the country a stable satellite and bulwark in support of the invasion of the USSR. The Iron Guard did, however, briefly seize power. In 1940, King Carol realigned Romanian allegiance from Britain to Germany and offered Horia Sima and others from the Iron Guard places in the government. However, when Germany transferred Transylvania to Hungary, Carol’s popularity dropped. Carol put in General Ion Antonescu as dictator, and the latter then forced the king to abdicate in favor of his son Prince Michael. Other parties were unwilling to form a grand coalition, so Antonescu relied on the Iron Guard to back his pro-German Romanian nationalism. Thereafter, the Iron Guard became the only political party in Romania, and Sima became vice premier. “Romanianization” commissars from the Iron Guard peppered the country, and even gained new powers over industry. Overall, this simply resulted in bad (and increasingly unpopular) administration. Antonescu attempted to appropriate the Iron Guard, emulating Franco’s tactics with the Falange—a policy that Hitler backed. However, amid increasing political tension, on the 21 January 1941 the legion carried out a full revolt, seized local government offices, and enacted a vicious Jewish pogrom. This rebellion was crushed, however, and the Iron Guard was banned. Antonescu remained in power, and Romanian forces were sent to the Eastern Front in return for territorial gains. Antonescu also presided over Romania’s own Jewish genocide, the largest by non-German forces during the war.

Hungary was also reinvented as a Nazi satellite state in which the Arrow Cross, led by Ferenc Szálasi, eventually secured power. The regent, Admiral Horthy, initially resisted the fascist party. He favored the rise of the new radical-right party, Hungarian Renewal, under Bela Imredy. Hitler, too, initially resisted Szálasi, and preferred to give power to Imredy after Hungary entered the war as a German ally. The Arrow Cross held representatives in the Hungarian parliament and set up a biological racial office in 1942. The advance of Soviet forces in 1943 led to a full German occupation in March, and Horthy was forced to put a more radical-right government into office; yet Szálasi refused to be a party to this coalition. By the autumn of 1944, German authorities wanted to put Szálasi and the Arrow Cross in power. They seized the existing government, and Szálasi was installed. By this time half of the Jewish population had been transported to death camps, and under Szálasi the rest were deported. Szálasi developed an ideological project for a new “Hungarian Order,” and a “Corporate Order of the Working Nation” comprising a nationalized and “controlled” economy. By March 1945 the country was under full Soviet occupation, and Szálasi was captured and executed for war crimes.

After invading Yugoslavia, Hitler dismantled the country, following which the Ustasha rose to power in Croatia. The leader of the Ustasha, Dr. Ante Pavelić, was put at the head of the new Independent State of Croatia (NDH), and remained there throughout the war. He developed a charismatic leadership and “mystical bond” with the nation. Under this administration chaos reigned, and a culture of very high ethnic violence developed. That resulted in the attempted extermination of a large proportion of the Orthodox Serb population, some 1,000,000 strong. The regime also spontaneously executed around 40,000 Jews.

After the French defeat, Marshal Pétain headed what was the most independent of the satellite states, Vichy France. Comprising southeastern and central France, the regime maintained official sovereign status and formal diplomacy throughout the war and was allowed to keep France’s colonial empire. Essentially, this was an authoritarian, right-wing dictatorship modeled on Franco rather than Hitler or Mussolini. It did, however, respond to widespread desires for patriotic reform, and announced a “national revolution.” This involved the promotion of conservative values, the reintroduction of religious instruction in schools, and the modernization of industry along corporatist lines. Also, new youth and veterans’ organizations were formed. Anti-Semitic poli-

cies were introduced in 1940, and the French police ended up deporting tens of thousands of Jews to Germany and beyond. In August 1941 the regime became more authoritarian when Pétain suppressed political parties, formed new courts, and created a new national police force. Mandatory labor was introduced in 1942, basically to ensure that the youth worked for German interests. However, by 1942 the Vichy zone was under direct German occupation, which blocked further constitutional reform. From that point onward Pétain was a mere figurehead. Marcel Déat and other indigenous French fascists were given positions in the assembly. After the Allied invasion the government was moved to Sigmaringen in Germany, in order to organize guerrilla tactics opposing the liberation.

As the war progressed it developed an increasingly international aspect. There was a significant Europe-wide, rather than exclusively German, input into the German armed forces, reflective of the way that for many across Europe the war took on the face of a genuine ideological conflict between “European Civilization” and “Asian Bolshevism.” For example, the *Waffen-SS* drew on not only non-national *Volksdeutsche* (“ethnic Germans”) but also other volunteers from Northern, Eastern, and Western Europe, and even non-Europeans (see Muslim Volunteers in the *Waffen-SS*). This was often constructed in terms of a somewhat convoluted Nietzschean ideal of the emergence of European “supermen.” However, it was more likely that these recruits were inspired by deeply felt anticommunist sentiments that allowed any Nazi atrocities to be justified in the greater good of defeating Bolshevism. Typical of this fusion between increasing Nazification and anti-Bolshevism was the leader of the Belgian Rex movement, Léon Degrelle, who spent a great deal of time on the Eastern Front. He also developed a “Eurofascism” that argued that Nazi-style racism must become manifest in all nationalisms, which would result in a unified European community of nations after the war.

World War II was devastating for the fascist worldview. Inherent to fascism—especially Nazism—was the idea that war was the ultimate test of the nation and of the new fascist men created in its name. Consequently, the comprehensive defeat of Nazi expansionism, which drew other forms of fascism and authoritarian right politics into its hurricane, revealed the inherently self-destructive nature of fascist ideologies. In the postwar dynamic this has meant that fascist ideology has sought to build ideological constructions that either attempt to transcend this history through sophisticated metapolitical discourses of “organic nationalism,” or else fetishize

these experiences, often in esoteric paramilitary groupuscules.

Paul Jackson

See Also: ANTI-COMINTERN PACT, THE; ANTI-SEMITISM; ANTONESCU, GENERAL ION; APPEASEMENT; ARYANISM; AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); AUTHORITARIANISM; BADOGLIO, PIETRO; BARBAROSSA, OPERATION; BATTLE OF BRITAIN, THE; BELGIUM; BLITZKRIEG; BORMANN, MARTIN; BOLSHEVISM; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; CHURCHILL, SIR WINSTON LEONARD SPENCER; CIVILIZATION; CONCENTRATION CAMPS; CONSERVATISM; CORPORATISM; CROATIA; DEAT, MARCEL; DECADENCE; DEGRELLE, LEON; DENMARK; DUNKIRK; D-DAY LANDINGS, THE; DOENITZ, ADMIRAL KARL; ECONOMICS; EL ALAMEIN; ETHIOPIA; EUROFASCISM; EXPANSIONISM; FALANGE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; FINLAND; FRANCE; FRANCO Y BAHAMONDE, GENERAL FRANCISCO; FRANCOISM; FREEDOM; *GENERALGOVERNEMENT*/GENERAL GOVERNMENT, THE; GERMANNESSE (*DEUTSCHHEIT*); GERMANY; GOEBBELS, (PAUL) JOSEPH; GOERING, HERMANN; GRAND COUNCIL OF FASCISM, THE; GRANDI, DINO; GREAT BRITAIN; GREECE; GROUPUSCULES; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HIMMLER, HEINRICH; HITLER, ADOLF; HITLER-STALIN PACT, THE; HOLOCAUST, THE; HORTHY DE NAGYBÁNYA, MIKLÓS; HUNGARY; INDUSTRY; IRON GUARD, THE; ITALY; JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II; JULY PLOT, THE; LEADER CULT, THE; *LEBENSRAUM*; LIBYA; LUFTWAFFE, THE; MARXISM; METAXAS, GENERAL IOANNIS; *MILIZIA VOLONTARIA PER LA SICUREZZA NAZIONALE* (MVSN); MITFORD FAMILY, THE; MOSLEY, SIR OSWALD; MUSLIM VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAFFEN-SS; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NATIONALIZATION; NAZISM; NETHERLANDS, THE; NEW MAN, THE; NEW ORDER, THE; NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH; NORDIC SOUL, THE; NORWAY; ORTHODOX CHURCHES, THE; PACIFISM; PANGERMANISM; PAPACY, THE; PAVELIĆ, DR. ANTE; PEARL HARBOR; PÉTAIN, MARSHAL HENRI PHILIPPE; PIUS XII, POPE; POLAND AND NAZI GERMANY; POSTWAR FASCISM; PROPAGANDA; QUISLING, VIDKUN; RACIAL DOCTRINE; REXISM; ROMANIA; ROME; ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO; SALÒ REPUBLIC, THE; SERBS, THE; SIMA, HORIA; SKORZENY, OTTO; SLAVS, THE (AND GERMANY); SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); SOCIALISM; SOVIET UNION, THE; SPAIN; SPEER, ALBERT; SS, THE; STALIN, IOSIF VISSARIONOVICH; STALINGRAD; STATE, THE; SWEDEN; SZÁLASI, FERENC; TERROR; UNITED STATES, THE (PRE-1945); *UNTERMENSCHEN* (“SUBHUMANS”); U.S. CORPORATIONS; USTASHA; VICHY; VICTOR EMMANUEL/VITTORIO EMANUELE III, KING; WAFFEN-SS, THE; WAR; WARRIOR ETHOS, THE; WEHRMACHT, THE; WELFARE; WINDSOR, EDWARD DUKE OF; WORLD WAR I; YUGOSLAVIA

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XENOPHOBIA

One of the central features of fascism is the emphasis on nationalism, race, and, in particular, an “ethnic conception of the nation” (Davies and Lynch 2002, 116). This concept of the nation is exclusionary, and it can lead to a form of xenophobia in which the Other is seen as being not only an outsider but eventually a threat. Prior to the end of World War II, this xenophobia manifested itself first and foremost as anti-Semitism, but since 1945 fascist aggression has focused more on immigrants and other groups who are considered outside of the nation. The leader of the French National Front, Jean-Marie Le Pen, uses the slogan “France for the French” and “the French first,” indicating that political rights and social benefits should be reserved for those who are French (that is, not given to immigrants). Jörg Haider of the Austrian Freedom

Party has stated that Austria is not a country of immigration, and his party has continually linked immigrants to crime. Fascist skinheads continue to target Jews as well as foreigners and ethnic minorities, leading to the desecration of Jewish cemeteries, the fire bombing of synagogues and mosques, and physical attacks on immigrants.

Terri Givens

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYANISM; AUSTRIA; COMMUNITY; FRANCE; HAIDER, JÖRG; IMMIGRATION; LE PEN, JEAN-MARIE; NATIONAL FRONT, THE (FRANCE); NATIONALISM; NEO-NAZISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RACISM; SKINHEAD FASCISM; WELFARE; WHITE SUPREMACISM; WORLD WAR II

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YEATS, WILLIAM BUTLER (1865–1939)

Celebrated Irish poet and man of letters and friend of Ezra Pound who was attracted to fascism in the mid-1930s. Both World War I and the celebrated Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916 had a profound effect on Yeats, and they served to complicate his views of Irish nationalism and the function of politics within a civic society. Significantly, Yeats was horrified by the effect of violence on society, yet he applauded the insurgents of 1916 for their promotion of advanced nationalism. Throughout the decades of the twentieth century in which he lived, he became increasingly pessimistic about politics and the virtue of democracy. During the later 1920s he spent increasing amounts of time touring Europe, and he witnessed firsthand both the chaos of failing democracies and what he saw as the opportunities offered by new systems of government. At the opening of the Tailteann Games, a major state-building initiative put on by the Irish Free State government, Yeats used his welcoming address to praise the work of Mussolini. With the emergence of the Blueshirts in Ireland in 1933, Yeats saw what he thought was the Irish manifestation of a worldwide

movement. He met, through his friend Frank MacManus, the leader of the Blueshirts, General Eoin O'Duffy. He was persuaded to write some marching songs for the movement but quickly despaired at the parochial nature of the Blueshirt campaign and disassociated himself from it. Although frequently dismissed by contemporaries and commentators, including George Orwell, as a fascist, Yeats was no such thing. While he undoubtedly had an eclectic mix of interests—mysticism, the occult, eugenics—he appears as one of many who were deeply uneasy about the state of the post-World War I democracies and fearful of Soviet communism. Elitism rather than fascism was the creed of Yeats.

Mike Cronin

See Also: ARISTOCRACY; BOLSHEVISM; DECADENCE; DEMOCRACY; ELITE THEORY; EUGENICS; IRELAND; ITALY; MARXISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; MYSTICISM; OCCULTISM; O'DUFFY, EOIN; ORWELL, GEORGE; POUND, EZRA; SPENGLER, OSWALD; WORLD WAR I

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YOCKEY, FRANCIS PARKER (1917–1960)

Onetime U.S. lawyer and war-crimes prosecutor, Yockey remains best known for his book *Imperium*, first published in London in 1948. In it, Yockey argued that the postwar European Right must abandon nationalism and fight for a united European superstate. Only such an imperium could free Europe from U.S. and Russian domination. Yockey further insisted that the United States, not Russia, posed the greatest threat to future European unity. His fierce anti-Americanism and clandestine lifestyle caught the attention of the U.S. government, which spent years trying to locate him. A few weeks after his arrest in California on multiple passport violation charges, Yockey committed suicide by swallowing a cyanide capsule in his jail cell.

Kevin Coogan

See Also: AMERICANIZATION; EUROFASCISM; EUROPE; EUROPEANIST FASCISM/RADICAL RIGHT, THE; NATIONALISM; NUREMBERG TRIALS, THE; POSTWAR FASCISM

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YOUTH

The interwar fascist movements laid great emphasis on the youthfulness of their outlook. They saw themselves as rebelling against the “old” liberalism, parliamentarism, and Christianity that they believed had been at best complicit in and at worst a prime cause of the decadence of their nations. They tended to see in World War I the culmination and result of the antiquated failed attitudes and policies of the older generation. Hitler’s love of fast cars and Mussolini’s love of airplanes were symptomatic of this philosophy, which chimed with their cult of the body and encourage-

ment of sporting achievement. The mass youth movements that they encouraged and indeed forced young people to join were one of the most striking outward manifestations of the power and energy of their regimes. When Mussolini was elected to parliament in 1921, he was at thirty-seven years of age the “old man” of the thirty-five-strong Fascist parliamentary grouping.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BERLIN OLYMPICS, THE; BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CHRISTIANITY; HERO, THE CULT OF THE; HITLER, ADOLF; LIBERALISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; PARLIAMENTARISM; PROGRESS; PROPAGANDA; SCIENCE; SPORT; TECHNOLOGY; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; YOUTH MOVEMENTS

YOUTH MOVEMENTS (Germany)

BOYS

The Hitler Youth (Hitler-Jugend, HJ) was the overall name of the National Socialist youth organization in Germany between 1926 and 1945. At the same time it became the name of the branch reserved for fourteen- to eighteen-year-old boys, the other boys’ branch being the Deutsches Jungvolk, for the 10- to 14-year-olds. The predecessors of the organization date back to 1922. In the early 1930s, the Hitler Youth rose from being a marginal factor to holding a position of some importance, but the largest increase in its membership occurred in the wake of the Nazi rise to power in 1933. Mainly because of the incipient *Gleichschaltung* of other youth organizations, total membership rose, according to official Nazi statistics, from about 0.1 million at the end of 1932 to 2.3 million at the end of 1933. Membership is said to have risen further, to more than 7 million, in 1938. In the following year a general “youth service duty” for German teenagers was introduced that nominally made all Germans in the age group from ten to eighteen (about 9 million young people) members of the Hitler Youth.

In the Weimar Republic the Hitler Youth had the character of an anti-intellectual and social revolution-

ary combat organization; for many years it was subordinated to the SA. In 1932 the Hitler Youth became independent, and in the Third Reich it was turned into an organization that comprised elements of both party and state character. Alongside the home and the school, it was regarded as the third source of education, with the particular task of establishing the Volksgemeinschaft. The Hitler Youth was uniformed and primarily taken up with physical culture and the cult of the body, and only secondarily with ideological matters in a narrow sense. It offered a number of special-interest groups—for instance, in the fields of aviation, the navy, machines, and the health services. During World War II, the concept of the “youth state” was gradually replaced by a youth directly involved in the military endeavors of the larger state. This development is in some respect symbolized by the shift in leadership from Baldur von Schirach, with his aristocratic background and his mother coming from a wealthy U.S. family, to the down-to-earth son of the working class Arthur Axmann in 1940.

Norbert Götz

GIRLS

The notorious Hitler Youth was for boys. For girls there was a parallel movement comprising the Bund deutscher Mädel (BdM) for those aged fourteen to eighteen, and the Jungmädelsbund for those aged ten to fourteen. By 1936 these two organizations had a total membership of more than 2 million. There were 125,000 leaders who were trained for their task in thirty-five area schools. The girls were taught to be promoters of the Nazi worldview, and the values instilled into them were of comradeship, service, and physical fitness, essential for their eventual motherhood. There was also a branch of the BdM for older girls between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one; it was called Glaube und Schönheit (“Faith and Beauty”) and was intended to prepare girls for marriage by instructing them in domestic science and fashion design.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BODY, THE CULT OF THE; COMMUNITY; EDELWEISS PIRATES, THE; EDUCATION; FAMILY, THE; GERMANY; *GLEICHSCHALTUNG*; HITLER, ADOLF; LEISURE; MILITARISM; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PROGRESS; REVOLUTION; SA, THE; SCHIRACH, BALDUR VON; SEXUALITY; SPORT; THIRD REICH, THE; *VOLKSGEMEINSCHAFT*, THE; *WANDERVÖGEL*, THE; WELFARE; WOMEN; YOUTH

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YOUTH MOVEMENTS (Italy)

Fascist regimes placed great emphasis on enrolling young people into uniformed youth organizations, where they would receive paramilitary training as well as participate in athletic activities. In 1926, Mussolini gave Under Secretary for Education Renato Ricci the task of “reorganizing youth from the moral and physical point of view.” Among those Ricci consulted was the English founder of the Scout Movement, Baden-Powell, who gave him “valuable advice.” The result of Ricci’s labors was the establishment of the Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) by a law passed in April 1926. The name was chosen as a reminder of an eighteenth-century Genoese lad whose heroism in the anti-Austrian cause was legendary. Balilla in the Genoese parlance of the day was a diminutive for the name Giovan Battista, or Giambattista, and the boy in question was Giovan Battista Perasso. The story was that on 5 December 1746 he had thrown the first stone to incite a riot against occupying Austrian troops. The Fascist organization named after Balilla was to take in hand the physical and moral education of young persons from eight to eighteen years of age; it was to instill in the youth a military sense of discipline, national pride, and a consciousness that they would be “the Fascists of tomorrow.” Progressively, other non-Fascist youth organizations were prohibited, although the Catholic movement Gioventù Italiana Cattolica was able to continue albeit at a reduced level of activity. Not even the Scout Movement escaped the ax (despite Ricci’s contact with Baden-Powell), for in 1927–1928 all Scout and Guide units were “invited to close.” Nonetheless, movements were formed secretly in some place to perpetuate the spirit of scouting.



Typical parade of interwar fascist youth, in this case young women in Italy in 1932. Italian Fascists and German Nazis sought to indoctrinate young people through their coerced membership in official youth movements. (Keystone/Getty Images)

The ONB was not conceived simply as an extracurricular movement but was entrusted with physical education in schools, and head teachers were told to welcome ONB initiatives and encourage students to participate in them. In addition, by 1937 the organization was actually running more than 6,000 rural schools. It also held professional training courses, and for women there were courses in childcare and domestic science. It was initially subdivided into four uniformed groups: Balilla was for boys eight to fourteen; Piccole italiane was for girls of the same age range; Avanguardisti was for boys between fourteen and eighteen; Giovani Italiane was for girls of that same age range; and a fifth group was added later, the Figli della

Lupa, for six- to eight-year-olds. For those aged eighteen to twenty-two there were separate organizations outside the ambit of the ONB. There were drills after school and “Fascist Saturdays,” as well as camps during the holidays. But in spite of governmental pressure, the numbers of those enrolled in the youth movements never reached 50 percent of the total Italian youth population.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: BODY, THE CULT OF THE; CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE; EDUCATION; FAMILY, THE; FASCIST PARTY, THE; ITALY; LEISURE; MILITARISM; MUSSOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; SPORT; TOTALITARIANISM; WOMEN; YOUTH MOVEMENTS (GERMANY)

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YUGOSLAVIA

Serb, Croat, and Slovene state that emerged in 1918 from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire by virtue of the World War I peace settlement but that was to be broken up into its constituent parts sixty years later after a long civil war (1999); in the interwar years it was the home of an extreme nationalist terrorist movement known as Orjuna (see below).

Cyprian Blamires

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ORJUNA

The foremost fascistic movement in interwar Yugoslavia was Orjuna, a nationalist terrorist organization founded in 1922 with official backing as an anticommunist force aggressively promoting the idea of a united Yugoslav nation. Extremely violent, its increasingly independent and militant actions as well as disagreements among its members eventually led to its prohibition and collapse in 1929. Orjuna originated in a 1919 congress of Yugoslav youth organized by youth activists of the Democratic Party. It called for youth to mobilize against all those who threatened the unity of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and it also had the support of veterans' groups. In 1920 strikes in Serbia and Vojvodina and rebellion in Montenegro erupted, and national guards were created to crush them. In 1921, after the assassination of government minister Milan Drašković by a communist, these disparate groups formed the Yugoslav Progressive Nationalist Youth (JNNO) in Split to fight communist insurgency and Croat separatism. The JNNO was divided into regional branches and enjoyed the support of some famous writers and artists. It was

particularly influential in areas of Slovenia and Croatia that were the subject of Italian and Austrian irredentism and also tended to be popular in areas where an ethnic minority were perceived to be powerful or separatist—for example, in the Vojvodina, prosperous Germans and “separatist” Hungarians were targeted. Its membership was young and ethnically mixed.

In May 1922 the JNNO became Orjuna, and it held its first congress in November of that year. The regional nature of the JNNO was maintained, and that led to a great deal of independence in individual Orjuna branches. Orjuna also ran its own newspapers, an academic club, a labor organization, a section for high school students—Young Yugoslavia—and a paramilitary wing, the Action Section. Especially in its military expeditions, Orjuna was highly independent, and on a number of occasions, despite the displeasure of the Yugoslav authorities, it launched operations on the Austrian and Italian borders to liberate “oppressed” Slav populations with bloody consequences. Despite this, it was itself accused of having a fascist political program and style of politics. Like the fascists, it believed in a corporate state, the abolition of democracy, and the destruction of “Jewish” capital. However, it was genuinely Yugoslavist: not only did it attack “separatist” minorities, but it also attacked Serbian nationalists. This made it the enemy of the Serb nationalist Radical Party of Nikola Pašić. When the Radical Party came to power in 1923, it used Croatian nationalist groups to persecute and harass Orjuna.

By 1925 the persecution of Orjuna had led to an irreversible decline, and its membership shrank. In 1929, with the declaration of King Alexander's dictatorship and a unitarist Yugoslav state, it appeared that the aims of Orjuna had been achieved, but the fact that the dictatorship banned all political organizations signaled the final demise of Orjuna. Its members, such as Edo Bulat, Ivo Mogorovic, and Marko Kranjec, joined successor Yugoslavist organizations, such as the Zbor movement, or else other extreme political movements such as the communists, Chetnik organizations, or the Ustasha movement.

Rory Yeomans

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; AUSTRIA; CORPORATISM; CROATIA; DALMATIA; DEMOCRACY; EXPANSIONISM; FIUME; FREEDOM; GERMANY; HUNGARY; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LJOTIĆ, DIMITRIJE; NATIONALISM; PANGERMANISM; PARAMILITARISM; SERBS, THE; SLAVS, THE (AND ITALY); STOJADINVIĆ, MILAN; USTASHA; WAR VETERANS; WORLD WAR I; WORLD WAR II; YOUTH

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ZBOR: See SERBS, THE
ZENTRUMSPARTEI: See CENTER
PARTY, THE

**ZHIRINOVSKII,
VLADIMIR VOL'FOVICH
(born 1946)**

Leader of the ultranationalist (misnamed) Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia founded in 1990, and winner of post-Soviet Russia's first multiparty parliamentary elections in December 1993 (with 22.92 percent). Of partly Jewish descent, Zhirinovskii grew up in Almaty and studied Turkology and law at Moscow State University. After entering Moscow's political scene in the late 1980s, most probably as a KGB provocateur, he became a noted political figure when taking third place in Russia's first presidential elections of June 1991 (with 7.81 percent). In spite of his scandalous public behavior, Zhirinovskii has remained an important player in Russian parliamentary politics since 1993.

Andreas Umland

See Also: NATIONALISM; POSTWAR FASCISM; RUSSIA

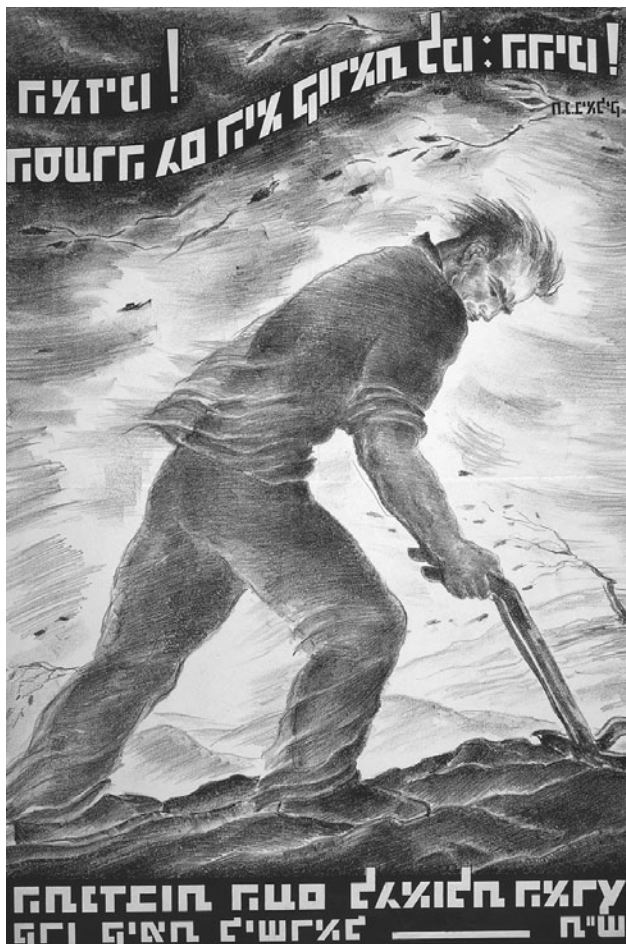
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ZIMBABWE: See RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE

ZIONISM

The Jewish nationalist movement known as Zionism, a product of European political currents, included in its ranks in Israel in the 1930s some who favored rapprochement with Mussolini and his allies. Theodor Herzl at the close of the nineteenth century argued that the essence of the Jewish dilemma was not individual but national: the lack of a state. The development of ethnically based theories of nationalism and self-determination had left the Jews, a diaspora people, with no choice but to pursue their historical claim to *Eretz Yisrael*, the Land of Israel or Zion, otherwise known as Palestine. Although expelled two millennia earlier, they had managed, he asserted, to retain religious, cultural, and social ties to the "promised land." The goal of the World Zionist Organization, which Herzl founded in



A Zionist propaganda poster. Some interwar Zionists admired Mussolini and Italian Fascism. (Library of Congress)

August 1897, was to create for the Jewish people a national home in Palestine. On 2 November 1917 the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, which promised support for the project. It was included in the League of Nations mandate for Palestine granted to Great Britain on 24 July 1922, allowing for Jewish immigration and a measure of internal self-government. However, two months later London decided that these provisions would not apply to the area east of the Jordan River, which eventually became the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

Although a majority of Zionists were members of socialist or liberal ideological streams, the right of the spectrum was represented by the followers of Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky, the founder of Zionist Revisionism, a movement that opposed any partition of Palestine and advocated the inclusion of Transjordan as

well. Jabotinsky also harbored few hopes for coexistence with the Palestinian Arab population and demanded the creation of an “iron wall” of Jewish military might to prevent the Arabs from blocking the establishment of a Jewish state. In 1925, Jabotinsky founded the Union of Zionists-Revisionists (Hatzohar); he broke with the official Zionist movement ten years later, forming the New Zionist Organization (NZO), after his political program calling for the immediate establishment of a Jewish state was rejected. Jabotinsky admired Benito Mussolini and spoke favorably of Fascist Italy’s policies, and his movement repeatedly sought assistance from Rome. His brown-shirted youth wing, Betar (Brit Trumpeldor), named after Joseph Trumpeldor, a pioneer who had died in 1920 defending the settlement of Tel Hai against Arab attack, established a naval training academy at Civitavecchia, Italy, in 1934. Jabotinsky, who preferred that private capital investment support Jewish economic development in Palestine, objected to the formation of kibbutzim (agricultural collectives) and the growth of the Histadrut, the Jewish trade union federation, since both provided a powerful political base for socialist Zionism. Two Revisionists were accused of killing labor leader Chaim Arlosoroff in 1933, and the Revisionist movement was condemned as fascist in its ideology and political methods by its opponents. Such criticism became more pronounced when Jabotinsky, before the start of World War II, proposed a policy of alliances with countries in Central and Eastern Europe, including the fascist governments of Italy and Poland, in order to gain their support for his plan to rescue millions of East European Jews by thwarting British restrictions on Jewish entry to Palestine through “illegal” mass immigration.

The followers of Jabotinsky, who died in August 1940, organized their own armed units in Palestine to fight the British and the Palestinian Arab majority. The Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization), founded in 1937, operated after 1943 under the direction of Menachem Begin; further to its right was the Lohamei Herut Yisrael (or Lehi, Fighters for the Freedom of Israel), formed in 1940 by Abraham Stern, which engaged in anti-British terrorism. Stern rejected any compromises with the British and demanded the creation of a Greater Israel. He even opposed Jews joining the British army to fight Nazism. The Lehi was responsible for the killing of Lord Moyne, the British minister resident for the Middle East, on 6 November 1944. With the end of the war, the Irgun also stepped up its anti-British activities, bombing the King David

Hotel in Jerusalem, the site of the British military command, on 22 July 1946, killing ninety-one people.

Determined to leave Palestine, the British placed the issue before the United Nations, and on 29 November 1947 the General Assembly voted for partition of the country into Arab and Jewish entities. The state of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May 1948, but armed conflict between the two communities had already commenced. The main Zionist fighting force was the Haganah (Defense), the future Israeli army. However, the Irgun and Lehi forces continued to operate independently and were responsible for a massacre of Palestinian Arab villagers in Deir Yassin, near Jerusalem, on 9 April 1948, precipitating a flight of Palestinians from the country. The Lehi also assassinated Count Folke Bernadotte, the UN special mediator on Palestine, on 17 September 1948. The coalition government led by the new Mapai (Land of Israel Labor Party) outlawed right-wing political militias and drove the point home by sinking the *Altalena*, a vessel that was bringing arms to the Irgun, off Tel Aviv on 22 June 1948, killing sixteen Irgun fighters. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion argued that the Irgun had planned a fascist revolt. One month later, Begin helped to found the Herut (Freedom) Party, which he led until 1983, though he did not succeed in winning power until the election of 17 May 1977, as head of the Likud (Unity) coalition. Yitzhak Shamir, active in both the Irgun and the Lehi in the prestate period, Benjamin Netanyahu, and Ariel Sharon are the other Likud leaders who have governed the country since. While Labor has been ready, as the price of peace, to cede sovereignty to the Palestinians in much of the area occupied after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, the Likud has insisted that control of such territory is vital to Israel's security and sense of nationhood. Its ideology remains irredentist, and it continues to uphold, in principle, the right of Jews to exercise sovereignty over all of *Eretz Yisrael*, including Gaza and the West Bank (Judea and Samaria), although it has reconciled itself to an independent Jordan.

Henry Srebrnik

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; FASCIST PARTY, THE; GREAT BRITAIN; HOLOCAUST, THE; IRREDENTISM; ITALY; LEAGUE OF NATIONS, THE; MIDDLE EAST, THE; MUS-SOLINI, BENITO ANDREA; NATIONALISM; NAZISM; PALESTINE; POLAND; SOVIET UNION, THE; STATE, THE; UNITED NATIONS, THE; WORLD WAR II; ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THEM(ZOG)

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ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE (ZOG)

Term used by far-right Americans opposed to the U.S. federal government since the late twentieth century to imply that their government is under the control of “Zionists.” The latter term may connote a person sympathetic with the idea of a Jewish state, or any Jew pure and simple. The expression first came to public notice in 1984 when a *New York Times* journalist, writing about robberies committed by a white supremacist group named the Order, stated that the members of this group regarded the federal authorities as a Zionist occupation government. In the mid-1990s the Aryan Nations used the expression publicly in an “Aryan Declaration of Independence” posted on the Internet, and many other anti-Semitic groups have taken it up. The concept embodied in this particular conspiracy theory illustrates a specifically U.S. far-right preoccupation—that of the perceived threat to the traditional rugged individualism of rural America, viewed as the backbone of the nation, from a remote and centralized power-hungry metropolitan elite corrupted by “alien” influences. However, there is nothing new, as such, about the belief by far-right citizens that their own government is controlled by Jews: the British fascist Arnold Spencer Leese, for example, was in the habit of referring to the “Jewish government” of his own nation in the interwar and postwar decades, while the Nazis under the Weimar Republic detected the “Jewish” hand behind that regime. In late-nineteenth-century France, the insinuation that the French government was in the power of the Jews was a commonplace claim in nationalist discourse.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: ANTI-SEMITISM; ARYAN NATIONS, THE; ARYANISM; CONSPIRACY THEORIES; LEESE, ARNOLD SPENCER; NAZISM; RACIAL DOCTRINE; RADIO; UNITED STATES, THE (POSTWAR); WEIMAR REPUBLIC, THE; ZIONISM

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ZOG: See ZIONIST OCCUPATION GOVERNMENT, THE

ZYKLON-B

Notorious as the gas used to carry out mass killings in Nazi death camps. Because killing by shooting or by

hanging was found to be too slow (and too disturbing for at least some of those responsible) as a means of large-scale murder, large-scale gassing was resorted to. It was found that one or two opened tins of Zyklon-B, based on prussic acid and made by a subsidiary of IG Farben, could kill 250 persons within half an hour.

Cyprian Blamires

See Also: AUSCHWITZ (-BIRKENAU); CONCENTRATION CAMPS; HOLOCAUST, THE; IG FARBEN; SS, THE; WORLD WAR II

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Chronology of Fascism

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| 1861 | Italy was proclaimed as a Kingdom. | | The Russo-Franco Alliance was signed. |
| 1871 | Germany was unified and the Second German Empire was founded under Otto von Bismarck. | 1893 | The Pan-German League was founded.
The Gobineau Society was founded. |
| | In America the Ku Klux Klan was formed, followed by a U.S. congressional inquiry. | 1895 | Le Bon's <i>Psychology of Crowds</i> was published. |
| 1875 | In Germany, the Socialist Workers Party was founded. | 1898 | In France, the term 'socialist nationalism' was first coined by Maurice Barrès. |
| 1879 | Austria and Germany signed the 'Dual Alliance'. | | Germany began a program of naval expansion. |
| 1883 | Mussolini was born on 29 July. | 1899 | Houston Stewart Chamberlain's <i>Foundations of the Nineteenth Century</i> was published. |
| 1886 | In France, Boulanger became Minister for War.
Drumont's <i>La France Juive</i> was published. | | In France, the <i>Action Française</i> was founded by Charles Maurras. |
| 1888 | In Germany, Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albert von Preußen became Kaiser. | 1903 | In Italy, Giovanni Giolitti became Prime Minister. |
| 1889 | Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April in Braunau am Inn. | | In Germany, The <i>Wandervögel</i> movement was founded. |
| 1890 | Langbehn's <i>Rembrandt as Teacher</i> was published. | 1907 | The 'Triple Entente' between Britain, France, and Russia was formed in August. |
| | In Germany, Bismarck was dismissed as Chancellor. | 1908 | Sorel's <i>Reflections on Violence</i> was published.
Austria annexed Bosnia on 5 October. |
| 1891 | In Germany, the Socialist Party became the Social Democratic Party and adopted a Marxist program. | | In France, the <i>Action Française</i> launched their newspaper. |

C-2 Chronology of Fascism

- 1909 Marinetti's 'Futurist Manifesto' was published.
- 1910 In Italy, the Italian Nationalist Association was founded by Corradini and Federzoni.
- 1911–1912 The *Cercle Proudhon* met.
- 1911 A German gunboat was sent to Agadir in French-controlled Morocco, creating an international crisis.
- 1912 In Germany, the SDP became the largest party in the Reichstag.
- In Italy, Mussolini became editor of *Avanti*.
- 1914 In Bosnia, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip of the Young Bosnia movement in Sarajevo on 28 June.
- Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia on 28 July.
- Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August.
- Germany declared war on France on 3 August.
- Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August.
- The German Army was defeated at the Battle of the Marne on 10 September, marking the failure of the Schlieffen Plan that was designed to secure a quick German victory.
- The Italian Socialist Party ousted Mussolini from the editorship of *Avanti* and from the party after he began to campaign for the entry of Italy into World War I.
- In Italy, the *Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria* was founded in October.
- 1915 Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies in May.
- In the United States, the Ku Klux Klan was reconstituted.
- 1916 In Germany, Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg became the Commander-in-Chief of the German Forces in August, and General Erich Ludendorff became his Chief of Staff.
- 1917 In Russia, Czar Nicholas II abdicated on 16 March after a period of revolutionary fervor.
- The United States declared war on Germany on 6 April.
- In Germany, the Fatherland Party was founded in September.
- Italians suffered hugely traumatic but galvanizing defeat at the Battle of Caporetto between October and November.
- In Russia, the Bolsheviks took power on 7 November.
- The 'Peace Decree' was issued by Lenin on 8 November.
- Russia and Germany agreed an armistice on 16 December.
- 1918 President Wilson announced his 'Fourteen Points' in January.
- In Argentina, the University Reform movement emerged.
- In South Africa, the *Broederbond* movement was founded.
- The peace treaty of 'Brest-Litovsk' was signed by the USSR and Germany on 14 March.
- In the USSR, civil war broke out in May and the Allied forces sided with the counterrevolutionaries.
- Germany began to negotiate peace with the Allies in October.
- In Germany, sailors based in Kiel revolted.
- In Bavaria, a Republic was declared on 7 November after the Bavarian monarchy was overthrown.

- In Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm's abdication was announced on 9 November and the German Republic was proclaimed.
- The German government signed an armistice at Compiègne on 11 November, ending World War I.
- In Germany, the German Communist Party was founded in December.
- 1919 The Paris Peace Conference began in January.
- In Germany, the 'Spartacist' rising of communists was suppressed by *Freikorps* in January.
- In Germany, the National Constitutional Assembly convened in Weimar in February, and Friedrich Ebert became President.
- The Comintern was founded in March.
- In Hungary, a Soviet Republic was formed in March.
- In Italy, Mussolini formed the *Fasci di Combattimento* on 23 March.
- In Germany, a Bavarian Soviet regime was proclaimed in April.
- The Soviet regime in Bavaria was suppressed in May by both the army and *Freikorps*.
- The Treaty of Versailles was signed on the 28 June.
- In Germany, the Weimar Constitution was adopted on 31 July.
- In Hungary, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was defeated in August by Yugoslav, Romanian, and Czech forces alongside nationalist counterrevolutionaries.
- Gabriele D'Annunzio began his occupation of Fiume in September.
- In Germany, Hitler joined the German Workers' Party based in Munich on 12 September.
- In Italy, Mussolini was defeated in national elections in November.
- 1920 The Covenant of the League of Nations was agreed in February.
- In Germany, the German Workers' Party was renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party in February, and the '25 Point Program' was adopted by the party on 24 February.
- In Germany, the Kapp Putsch attempt occurred in Berlin in March.
- In Italy, the 'Red Two Years' reached its pinnacle, and was marked by worker occupation of factories in the summer.
- In Italy, Fascism spread into the countryside in the autumn, and *Squadristi* violence escalated.
- In the USSR, the civil war ended after an armistice with Poland was signed on 6 October.
- In Hungary, Admiral Horthy was elected head of state in December.
- D'Annunzio's occupation of Fiume was ended in December.
- 1921 In Italy, the Italian Communist Party was formed in January.
- In Italy, after national elections in May, Mussolini, alongside thirty-five other fascists, was elected to the Italian parliament.
- In Italy, the *Arditi del Popolo* was formed in the spring.
- The 'Little Entente' between Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia was completed in June.
- In Germany, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) or Nazi Party appointed Hitler as party chairman on 29 July.
- In Italy, the Italian Fascist Party was formed in November.
- 1922 In Finland, the Academic Karelia Society was founded.

C-4 Chronology of Fascism

- In the United States, Texas returned a Ku Klux Klan representative to the U.S. Senate.
- In Italy, Mussolini was made Prime Minister of Italy on 30 October after the 'March on Rome'.
- 1923 The French and Belgian armies began their occupation of the industrialized Ruhr region of Germany on 11 January.
- In Italy, the Italian Grand Council was created in January.
- In Romania, the National Christian Defense League was founded.
- In Germany, the Nazi Party held its first Congress in Munich on 27 January.
- In Italy, the Italian Nationalists merged with the Fascist Party in March.
- Germany experienced a period of hyper-inflation from June, and Gustav Stresemann became Chancellor on 12 August and ended the policy of passive resistance to France.
- In Hungary, Gömbös alongside others formed the Party of Racial Defense in August.
- The Greek island of Corfu was occupied briefly by the Italian regime in August.
- In Spain, Miguel Primo de Rivera successfully mounted a military coup in September.
- In Germany, Bavaria broke off diplomatic relations with the central German government in Berlin on 20 October.
- In Germany, Hitler led the Nazi Party's failed 'Beer-Hall Putsch' in Munich on 9 November.
- In Germany, the inflationary crisis was ended after the introduction of a new currency on 15 November.
- In Italy, the Fascist government, Italian industrialists, and Fascist syndicates established the 'Palazzo Chigi' agreement in December.
- 1924 Fiume was annexed by Italy on 16 March.
- Hitler was convicted of high treason on 1 April and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, eligible for parole after six months.
- Italian Fascists gained 374 seats, an overwhelming majority in the Italian parliament, in April as a result of the Acerbo electoral law.
- The Dawes Plan to revise German reparations was agreed.
- In Italy, the Socialist deputy Matteotti was abducted and murdered by Italian Fascists because of his critique of Fascist violence during the April elections.
- In Italy, the Aventine Secession began.
- In Sweden, the National Socialist League of Freedom and the National Unity Movement were formed.
- In Germany, Hitler was released from prison on 20 December.
- 1925 In Italy, Mussolini resolved the Matteotti crisis by announcing the beginning of the Fascist dictatorship in January.
- In France, George Valois founded *Le Faisceau*.
- In Germany, the Nazi Party was re-established in February.
- In Germany, Hindenburg was elected president on 25 April.
- The first volume of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was published in July.
- In Italy, the 'Battle for Grain' was launched in October.
- In Germany, the SS protection squad was formed on 9 November.
- In Italy, Mussolini gained total executive powers in December.

- 1926 In Austria, the Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party formed in April.
- In Italy, Syndical Laws were approved by the Fascist regime in April.
- In Poland, Josef Pilsudsky staged a military coup in May.
- In Portugal, General Gomes de Costa staged a military coup in May.
- In Romania, the National Christian Defense League gained six parliamentary seats.
- In Italy, the Ministry of Corporations was formed in June.
- Germany entered the League of Nations in September.
- 1927 In France, an Anti-Fascist congress was held in Paris in April.
- In Romania, Codreanu formed the Legion of the Archangel Michael in June.
- 1928 In France, Valois ended *Le Faisceau* in April.
- In Germany, the Nazi party polled 2.6 percent of the national vote in May, gaining only 12 seats in the Reichstag.
- In France, the *Croix de Feu* (CF) was founded.
- In Britain, the Imperial Fascist League was established.
- In Italy, the Fascist Grand Council was made into a constitutional organ in December.
- 1929 In Yugoslavia, King Alexander staged a royal coup in January.
- In Estonia, the Vaps movement was formed.
- In Sweden, the National Rural Association was formed.
- The Italian Fascist Regime and the Vatican signed the Lateran Agreements in February.
- The Young Plan was issued in June.
- The Wall Street Crash inflicted a worldwide economic downturn from October.
- In Finland, the Lapua movement was founded in November.
- 1930 In Germany, Chancellor Heinrich Brüning (who took office in March) began governing by decree under article 48 of the Weimar Constitution on 16 July.
- In Denmark, the Danish National Socialist Workers Party was founded.
- In Britain, Oswald Mosley founded his 'New Party'.
- In Romania, the Iron Guard was founded by Codreanu to work alongside the Legion of the Archangel Michael.
- In Sweden, the Swedish Religious People's Party was established.
- In Spain, the *Partido Nacionalista Español* was founded.
- In Portugal, the *União Nacional* was established.
- In Romania, King Carol returned from exile in June.
- In Germany, the Nazis experienced an electoral breakthrough and won over 18 percent of the national vote in the parliamentary elections in September.
- 1931 In Spain, the monarchy was replaced by a parliamentary republic in January.
- In the Netherlands, the Dutch National Socialist Movement was founded.
- In Norway, Quisling established the Nordic Folk Awakening movement.
- In Spain, the Redondo-Ramos JONS and *La Conquista del Estado* movements were founded.

C-6 Chronology of Fascism

In Britain, Mosley published his *A National Policy* in March.

In Britain, the 'National Government' was formed in August and the Gold Standard was abandoned in September.

Japan invaded Manchuria in September.

In Britain, Mosley's New Party failed to win a seat in the British General Election.

In Hungary, the Scythe cross movement was formed in December.

In the Netherlands, the Dutch National Socialist Party was formed in December.

In Germany, unemployment rose to 5.6 million.

1932 In Finland, after an attempted Lapua coup in February, the movement was banned and it evolved into the People's Patriotic Movement (IKL).

In Germany, Hitler was defeated by Hindenburg in German presidential elections in March and April.

In Germany, the SA and the SS were prohibited by Brüning in April.

In Germany, von Papen became Chancellor of Germany, replacing Brüning, in May.

In Germany, the ban on the SA and SS was lifted by von Papen.

In Chile, the *Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile* (MNS) was founded.

In the Netherlands, the General Dutch Fascist Union was founded.

In France, the *Cartel des Gauches* won the national elections in May.

In Finland, the People's Patriotic Movement was formed in June.

In Yugoslavia, the Ustasha movement was founded.

In Germany, the Nazis won over 37 percent of the national vote in parliamentary elections.

In Portugal, the National Syndicalist movement was founded by Rolão Preto in September.

In Hungary, Horthy appointed Gömbös as Prime Minister in October.

In Britain, after dissolving his New Party in April, Mosley established the British Union of Fascists (BUF) in October.

In Italy, Fascists celebrated the ten year anniversary of the 'March on Rome', which included the famous exhibition of the Fascist Revolution.

In Germany, the Nazis won 33 percent of the national vote in parliamentary elections in November and Communists increased their share of the vote, after which von Papen resigned as Chancellor.

In Germany, von Schleicher became chancellor in December.

1933 In Germany, Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January, von Papen was made his vice-chancellor.

In Germany, the Reichstag was destroyed by fire on 27 February, and, blaming the Communists, Hitler suspended many basic civil liberties the following day.

In Austria, Dollfuss suspended the parliament in March in order to rule by decree.

In Germany, Goebbels launched his Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda in March.

In Germany, the first Nazi concentration camp was opened on 20 March in Dachau.

In Germany, Hitler was given full dictatorial powers on 23 March after the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act.

In Finland, *Lapua* gained fourteen seats in the general election.

- In France, the *Franciste* movement was formed.
- In Germany, *Gleichschaltung* began on 31 March.
- In Portugal, Salazar's 'New State' constitution came into effect in April.
- In Germany, Nazis organized for Jewish businesses to be boycotted on 1 April.
- In Germany, Jews, communists, social democrats, and miscellaneous other political opponents were expelled from the civil service by the Nazis on 7 April.
- In Norway, Vidkun Quisling's National Union movement was formed.
- In Mexico, the Mexican Revolutionary Action movement was founded.
- In Germany, the German Labour Front was established on 2 May.
- In Germany, 'un-German' books were burned on 10 May.
- In Germany, Nazis became the only legal party on 14 July.
- Germany signed a concordat with the Vatican on 20 July.
- Germany left the League of Nations and disarmament conference on 14 October.
- In Belgium, the Flemish National Front was formed in October.
- In Estonia, the Estonian War of Independence Veterans' League received 73 percent of the national vote in a referendum.
- In Spain, the *Falange* was formed in October by José Antonio Primo de Rivera.
- In the United States, Pelley's Silver Shirts movement was formed.
- 1934 Germany signed a non-aggression pact with Poland in January.
- Mussolini and Hitler met in Venice in June.
- In Germany, a purge directed at Ernst Röhm and the SA left over 120 dead on 30 June.
- In Britain, the BUF held its Olympia Rally.
- In Austria, Dollfuss was murdered by the Austrian Nazis in a failed coup in July.
- In Germany, Hitler became *Führer* after the death of Hindenburg in August gave him the opportunity to consolidate the role of President and Chancellor.
- The USSR joined the League of Nations in September.
- In Switzerland, the Montreux meeting of international fascist movements was held in December.
- In Latvia, the Fascist Peasants Union gained power.
- 1935 In Hungary, Szálasi formed the Party of National Will in January.
- In Bolivia, the *Falange Socialista Boliviana* was founded.
- In Germany, universal military training was introduced by Hitler on 1 March, in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.
- In Serbia, the *Zbor* movement was founded.
- The Franco-Soviet treaty was signed in May.
- In Ireland, the National Corporate Party was founded by Eoin O'Duffy in June.
- The 'Popular Front' strategy was agreed upon by the USSR at a meeting of the Comintern in August.
- In Germany, the Nuremberg Racial Laws that denied Jews political rights were announced in September.
- Italy invaded Ethiopia in October, causing the League of Nations to impose sanctions.

C-8 Chronology of Fascism

- In Belgium, the Rex movement was formed.
- 1936 In Spain, a 'Popular Front' government was formed in February.
- The Nazis entered and remilitarized the Rhineland in March.
- In France, a 'Popular Front' government was formed in May.
- In Italy, Mussolini proclaimed the birth of the Italian Empire after victory in Ethiopia in May.
- In Spain, civil war broke out on 31 July after a right wing rising against the Spanish Republic led by Francisco Franco. Later, both Hitler and Mussolini intervened on the side of Franco.
- In Germany, the Berlin Olympics began on 1 August.
- In Germany in September, Hitler announced the 'Four Year Plan' to prepare Germany's armed forces and economy for war.
- The 'Axis' Italo-German treaty was created in October.
- The German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact was created in November.
- In Germany, the Hitler Youth program was made mandatory from December.
- 1937 The Papal encyclical on 'The Church in Germany' was issued on 14 March.
- Hitler and Mussolini met in Vienna.
- In Romania, the Legion of the Archangel Michael gained 16 percent of the vote and Antonescu was appointed Chief of General Staff.
- Italy joined Germany and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact in November.
- Under the policy of appeasement, Lord Halifax went to Germany in November seeking a British-German agreement.
- 1938 In Romania, King Carol abolished the country's parliamentary system in February.
- In Argentina, the Argentinian Fascist Party was founded.
- Germany annexed Austria in March, Mussolini supported the action.
- In Germany and Austria, a plebiscite in April gave over 99 percent approval to the Austrian *Anschluss*.
- In Italy, anti-Semitic legislation was introduced in July.
- The Sudetenland was transferred from Czechoslovakia to Germany after the Munich Agreement on 29 September.
- In Germany, the Nazi *Kristallnacht* pogrom terrorized Jewish communities on 9 November, leaving 267 synagogues and 815 Jewish shops destroyed.
- 1939 The new Franco regime was officially recognized by Britain on 27 February.
- In Romania, Codreanu was killed in a purge of the Legion of the Archangel Michael.
- German forces occupied Prague and the whole of Czechoslovakia in March, violating the Munich Agreement.
- Albania was occupied by Italy in April.
- In response to unauthorized German aggrandisement, the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain pledged military support for Poland.
- The Anglo-German Naval Treaty and the Non-Aggression Treaty with Poland were both renounced by Germany in May.
- In Hungary, the Arrow Cross gained 25 percent of the national vote in elections in May.
- The 'Pact of Steel' between Italy and Germany was signed on 22 May.

- Danzig (Gdansk) was demanded by the Germans from Poland on 16 August.
- The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was agreed on 23 August.
- Germany invaded Poland on 1 September, beginning World War II.
- Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September.
- Warsaw surrendered to Germany on 27 September.
- The Nazi euthanasia program was authorised by Hitler in October.
- France and Britain declined Hitler's peace offer of accepting the legitimacy of Germany's conquest of Poland on 6 October, and continued the war against Nazi expansionism.
- 1940 Construction began on the Auschwitz concentration camp in February.
- Germany occupied Norway and invaded Denmark in April.
- Germany attacked Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France in May.
- Italy entered the war on the side of Germany on 10 June.
- The French signed an armistice with Germany at Compiègne on 22 June, following which the Vichy regime was established and Pétain became head of state.
- Hungary reclaimed Transylvania from Romania in August.
- Germany began the 'Battle of Britain' on 13 August.
- In Romania, King Carol abdicated and the Iron Guard jointly took power to form the 'National Legionary State' in September.
- The Tripartite Pact was signed by Italy, Germany, and Japan in September.
- Italy invaded Greece in October.
- Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov visited Berlin and met with Hitler in November.
- 1941 In Romania, Antonescu dissolved the Iron Guard in January after their attempted coup. German forces invaded Greece and Yugoslavia in April.
- Rudolf Hess flew to Scotland in May, ostensibly in a bid to bring about peace between Britain and Germany. Replacing him with Bormann, Hitler declared Hess 'mad.'
- Hitler issued the 'Commissar Order' on 6 June that called for the liquidation of all Communists in the forthcoming Operation Barbarossa.
- Operation Barbarossa commenced and German forces began the invasion of the USSR on 22 June.
- In Germany, the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories was created under the leadership of Alfred Rosenberg in July.
- In Croatia, the Ustasha came to power.
- In Occupied France, foreign Jews began to be rounded up.
- The Atlantic Charter was signed by Churchill and Roosevelt in August.
- At Auschwitz, the Nazis began experiments with Zyklon-B from September.
- In the USSR, Leningrad was surrounded on 4 September.
- In Germany, from 19 September Jews were forced to wear a yellow Star of David.
- At Chelmno, Nazis began to gas Jews in December.
- The Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on 7 December.

C-10 Chronology of Fascism

- War on the United States was declared by Italy and Germany on 11 December.
- In Germany, after the dismissal of Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch, Hitler assumed operational command of the German armed forces on 19 December.
- 1942 The Wannsee Conference was held with the aim of coordinating the genocide programs of the Holocaust on 20 January.
- In Norway, Quisling became prime minister in February.
- In Czechoslovakia, Heydrich was assassinated on May 27 in Prague.
- In Poland, Jews began to be deported from the Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka from June.
- At Auschwitz, mass gassing of Jews began in June.
- In the USSR, German forces reached Stalingrad in September.
- At El Alamein in Egypt, Rommel's Afrika Korps were forced into retreat in October.
- British and American troops landed in North Africa in November.
- In Vichy France, German forces occupied the country on 11 November.
- In the USSR, the German Sixth Army was encircled at Stalingrad on 23 November.
- 1943 In the USSR, the German Sixth Army surrendered at Stalingrad on 31 January.
- In Poland, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising began in April.
- In North Africa, the Afrika Korps surrendered on 12 May.
- In Poland, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising was crushed by 16 May and the ghetto was destroyed.
- Allied forces landed in Sicily on July 10, leading to Mussolini's removal as head of state and later arrest on 25 July.
- Allied forces landed on the Italian mainland on 3 September.
- An armistice with Allied forces was announced by the new Italian regime on 8 September.
- Mussolini was rescued on 12–13 September by German forces from Gran Sasso, following which the birth of the Italian Social Republic was announced by Mussolini at Salò.
- Italy declared war on Germany on 13 October.
- 1944 In Hungary, German forces occupied the country and Eichmann began a roundup of Hungarian Jews.
- Rome was liberated by Allied forces on 4 June.
- The D-Day landings began on 6 June.
- Colonel Stauffenberg attempted to assassinate Hitler on 20 July.
- In Romania, Antonescu's pro-German government fell in August.
- The Red Army reached the German borders in East Prussia on 18 August.
- Paris was liberated by the Allies on 25 August.
- The Anglo-American forces reached Germany's western borders by 15 September.
- The German counteroffensive, the Battle of the Bulge, began on 16 December in the Ardennes.
- 1945 Auschwitz was liberated by the Red Army in January.
- In Germany, Hitler made his last broadcast to the German people on 30 January.

	At Yalta in the Crimea, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met on 11 February and decided on the temporary post-war arrangements for Germany.		The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was established on 23 May, and Konrad Adenauer became Chancellor on 15 September.
	In Germany, Hitler issued his 'Nero Command' or scorched earth policy on March 19.		The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established on 12 October, led by Walter Ulbricht.
	In Italy, after the liberation of northern Italy in April, Mussolini was captured by partisans on 26 April and executed on 28 April in Milan.		Salazar's Portugal entered NATO.
	Hitler committed suicide on 30 April.		In South Africa, the National Party was created.
	Germany unconditionally surrendered on 8 May.	1950	In Belgium, the <i>Mouvement Social Belge</i> was founded.
	Japan unconditionally surrendered on 2 September after atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.		Nation Europa was founded.
	In Germany, the Nuremberg War Crimes trials began on 20 November.	1951	In West Germany, the far-right <i>Sozialistische Reichspartei</i> was founded.
1946	In Argentina, Juan Perón was elected President.	1952	The European Social Movement was formed at Malmö.
	In Germany, Nazi war criminals were executed at Nuremberg in October.	1952	Eva Perón died.
	In Italy, the <i>Movimento Sociale Italiano</i> (MSI) was founded in December.		The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG—West Germany) agreed to restitution payments with Israel to the Jewish people.
1947	George Marshall announced the European Recovery Program in June.	1953	In the Netherlands, the Dutch National European Socialist Movement was founded.
1948	In Italy, the Italian Republic was officially proclaimed on 1 January, and its constitution outlawed a return of the Fascist Party.		Evola's <i>Men Standing among the Ruins</i> was published.
	The USSR blocked land access to Berlin in June in protest at the creation of the separate West German state.	1954	In France, the <i>Parti Patriotique Révolutionnaire</i> was created.
	In Ecuador, the <i>Alianza Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana</i> (ARNE) was founded.		In Britain, the League of Empire Loyalists was founded by A. K. Chesterton.
	In South Africa, apartheid was established.	1955	The Paris Agreements allowed FRG to rearm, though without developing weapons of mass destruction, and also gave full sovereignty to the new state.
1949	The Soviet blockade of Berlin ended in May.		The USSR formed the Warsaw Pact in response to FRG rearmament and the rise of NATO.

C-12 Chronology of Fascism

- 1956 In Austria, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) was formed.
- 1960 In Britain, the British National Party (BNP) was founded.
- 1961 In Israel, Eichmann was tried and convicted.
- The German Democratic Republic (GDR—East Germany) began building the Berlin Wall.
- Evola's *To Ride the Tiger* was published.
- 1962 The World Union of National Socialists was formed.
- In Britain, the National Socialist Movement was founded.
- 1964 In France, *Occident* was founded.
- In Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany was founded.
- 1966 In Portugal, the Portuguese National Revolutionary Front was formed.
- 1967 In Britain, the British National Front was established.
- In the United States, the leading Nazi sympathizer George Lincoln Rockwell was assassinated; the U.S. government published a report investigating contemporary activities of the Ku Klux Klan.
- 1968 In France, *Occident* was banned.
- In Portugal, Salazar left office.
- The Group for Research and Studies on European Civilization (GRECE) was founded.
- 1969 In France, the *Ordre Nouveau* was born.
- In Italy, Almirante became leader of the MSI.
- In the United States, the Posse Comitatus movement was founded.
- In West Germany, the National Democratic Party gained 4 percent of the vote.
- 1970 In the United States, Christian Identity ideologue Wesley Smith died.
- 1971 In the FRG, the *Deutsche Volks Union* was founded.
- In the GDR, Walter Ulbricht was replaced by Erich Honecker as head of state.
- 1972 In Italy, the MSI gained 8.7 percent of the vote in national elections.
- In France, Le Pen's *Front National* was founded.
- 1973 In Belgium, the Flemish *Vlaams-Nationale Raad* was founded.
- In Argentina, Perón returned to the position of President.
- In Germany, *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann* was created.
- In South Africa, the African Resistance Movement was formed.
- Thies Christopherson's *The Auschwitz Lie* was published.
- 1974 In Portugal, the dictatorship collapsed.
- In France, the *Parti des Forces Nouvelles* (PNF) was formed.
- 1975 In Spain, the death of Franco ended his dictatorship.
- In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge came to power.
- 1976 In Belgium, the Belgian Nationalist Student Confederation was created.
- 1977 In the United States, the Christian Patriot's Defense League was founded.
- In Greece, the National Alignment (EP) movement was founded.
- In Belgium, the Flemish *Vlaams-Nationale Partij* (VNP) and the *Vlaamse Volkspartij* (VVP) were formed.

- In Portugal, the *Movimento Independente para a Reconstrução Nacional* (MIRN) was founded.
- In Germany, the neo-Nazi movement *Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten* (ANS) was formed.
- 1978 William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* was published.
- Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* was published.
- In France, the *Légitime Défense* was created.
- In Belgium, the *Vlaams Blok* (VB) and the *Union Démocratique pour le Respect du Travail* (UDRT) were formed.
- 1979 In Cambodia, after a sustained program of genocide the Khmer Rouge fell from power.
- In France, *Securité et Liberté* was formed.
- In Greece, the United Nationalist Movement was founded.
- 1980 In Germany, the Thule Seminar was founded.
- In Austria, Norbert Burger of the National Democratic Party gained 3.2 percent of the presidential vote.
- In the United States, National Socialist sympathizer Harold Covington won 43 percent of the vote in North Carolina.
- 1982 In Belgium, the Belgian Nationalist Young Students Association was created.
- In Britain, the BNP was re-constituted.
- 1983 In FRG, the *Republikaner* party was founded.
- In France, Le Pen's National Front made an electoral breakthrough.
- In the United States, the Order movement was founded.
- 1984 In France, Le Pen's National Front gained over 10 percent in European elections.
- 1985 In Spain, the *Junta Coordinadora de Fuerzas Nacionales* was created.
- In Belgium, the *Front National-Nationaal Front* was formed.
- 1986 In France, the National Front won thirty-five seats in parliamentary elections.
- In Yugoslavia, Milošević issued the SANU Memorandum.
- In Austria, Kurt Waldheim ran a controversial election campaign, while Haider took over leadership of the FPÖ.
- 1987 Klaus Barbie was tried for war crimes.
- In Austria, far-right ideologues held 'summit talks' with Haider.
- 1988 In France, Le Pen received 14.6 percent of the vote in the presidential election.
- Fred Leuchter published *The Leuchter Report*, a revisionist history of the Nazi gas chambers.
- 1989 In Belgium, the Agir movement was founded.
- In France, the National Front won a seat in the Dreux parliamentary by election.
- In Germany, the Berlin Wall fell, providing a symbolic historical reference point marking the end of the Cold War.
- In FRG, the *Republikaner* party won eleven seats in West Berlin in national elections, and six seats in European elections. Also the *Deutsche Alternative*, *Freundeskreis Freiheit für Deutschland*, and *Nationale List* movements were created.
- In Greece, the Nationalist Youth Front was founded.
- In Portugal, the *Força Nacional-Nova Monarquia* was formed.
- 1990 GDR and FRG were united under the West German constitution.

C-14 Chronology of Fascism

- In Denmark, the Party of Well-Being was founded.
- In the United States, white supremacist candidate David Duke won 44 percent in a Louisiana election.
- In Romania, the Romanian Cradle movement was formed.
- In Austria, the FPÖ received over 15 percent in elections.
- In Germany, the *Republikaner* party lost its eleven seats in Berlin, and Schönhuber resigned the leadership in May, and was re-elected leader in June.
- In Italy, Rauti replaced Fini as leader of the MSI after the party gained a mere 4 percent in local elections.
- 1991 In Austria, in Vienna local elections the FPÖ won 23 percent of the vote.
- In Germany, the *Deutscher Kameradschaftsbund*, *Nationaler Bloc*, and *Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat* were founded.
- In South Africa, Apartheid ended.
- In the United States, David Duke won 39 percent of the vote in Louisiana governor elections.
- In Italy, Fini was re-instated as leader of MSI.
- In Romania, the Movement for Romania was formed.
- 1992 In Croatia, the Croatian Party of Pure Rights and the Croatian Party of Rights Youth Group were founded.
- In Romania, the Romanian Party of the National Right was formed.
- In Baden–Württemberg in Germany, the *Republikaner* party received 11 percent of the vote.
- 1993 In Britain, the BNP gained its first councillor in the Isle of Dogs after winning 34 percent of the vote in local elections.
- In Italy, the MSI's Fini stood for Mayor of Rome and Alessandra Mussolini stood for the Mayor of Naples.
- In Austria, dissenters left the FPÖ, while Haider published *Freiheitlichen Thesen*.
- 1994 In Austria, the FPÖ polled 22 percent in parliamentary elections.
- In Italy, Fini launched Alleanza Nazionale (AN) in January, and in May the AN won 13.5 percent in Italian elections gaining five seats in Berlusconi's cabinet.
- In European elections, the French National Front and the German Republikaner party won 10.5 percent and 3.9 percent of the vote respectively.
- 1995 In Denmark, the Danish People's Party was founded.
- In Russia, the *Derzhava* movement was formed.
- In the United States, Timothy McVeigh exploded a massive bomb in government offices in Oklahoma.
- In France, Le Pen won fifteen percent of the vote in French presidential elections.
- 1996 In Austria, the FPÖ polled 28 percent in European elections.
- In Italy, the AN won 15.7 percent in Italian parliamentary elections and 150,000 attended an AN rally in September in Milan.
- 1998 In India, Bharatiya Janata made an electoral breakthrough.
- 1999 In France, friends of Bruno Mégret formed the *Mouvement National Républicain* after splitting with Le Pen's National Front.

- In Britain, David Copeland exploded a series of nail bombs in London.
- In European elections, the FPÖ in Austria won five seats in the European parliament; elsewhere the *Republikaner* party in Germany polled 1.7 percent, and in France the National front gained 5.7 percent of the vote.
- 2000 In Italy, Fini became Berlusconi's Deputy Prime Minister.
- 2001 In Britain, the BNP exploited race riots in Oldham, Burnley, and Bradford.
- In Denmark, the Danish People's Party won 22 parliamentary seats.
- 2002 In France, Le Pen gained 17 percent in the first round of the presidential elections and went through to the second round.
- In Britain, the BNP won three council seats in Burnley.
- In the Netherlands, the far-right leader Pim Fortuyn was assassinated.
- 2003 In Italy, Alessandra Mussolini left AN after disagreeing with Fini over his denunciation of fascism.
- 2004 In Italy, Alessandra Mussolini was elected to the European parliament.

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Editor's Biography

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Cyprian Blamires is a freelance scholar, writer, editor, and translator based in the United Kingdom. He completed a doctoral thesis in the History of Ideas at the University of Oxford under the supervision of one of the most celebrated twentieth century intellectuals, the late Sir Isaiah Berlin. It was the research he did for this thesis—focussing on counter-revolutionary and proto-socialist reactions to the French Revolution—which first sparked his long-standing interest in the ideology of fascism. He has Oxford degrees in European Languages and Literature and in Theology, has taught at Oxford, London, and Leicester Universities, and has held research fellowships in London and Geneva. He has written extensively in English and in French on the history of European thought and is co-editor of two modern editions of works by English philosopher Jeremy Bentham. He has a working knowledge of seven languages, has translated books from Italian, German, and French in the fields of economics, and religion, philosophy and has also translated numerous entries written in these languages for this encyclopedia (as well as authoring numerous entries totalling more than 60,000 words). He is married to an ophthalmic surgeon and has one son, who is a lawyer.

Chronology of Fascism

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| 1861 | Italy was proclaimed as a Kingdom. | | The Russo-Franco Alliance was signed. |
| 1871 | Germany was unified and the Second German Empire was founded under Otto von Bismarck. | 1893 | The Pan-German League was founded.
The Gobineau Society was founded. |
| | In America the Ku Klux Klan was formed, followed by a U.S. congressional inquiry. | 1895 | Le Bon's <i>Psychology of Crowds</i> was published. |
| 1875 | In Germany, the Socialist Workers Party was founded. | 1898 | In France, the term 'socialist nationalism' was first coined by Maurice Barrès. |
| 1879 | Austria and Germany signed the 'Dual Alliance'. | | Germany began a program of naval expansion. |
| 1883 | Mussolini was born on 29 July. | 1899 | Houston Stewart Chamberlain's <i>Foundations of the Nineteenth Century</i> was published. |
| 1886 | In France, Boulanger became Minister for War.
Drumont's <i>La France Juive</i> was published. | | In France, the <i>Action Française</i> was founded by Charles Maurras. |
| 1888 | In Germany, Friedrich Wilhelm Viktor Albert von Preußen became Kaiser. | 1903 | In Italy, Giovanni Giolitti became Prime Minister. |
| 1889 | Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April in Braunau am Inn. | | In Germany, The <i>Wandervögel</i> movement was founded. |
| 1890 | Langbehn's <i>Rembrandt as Teacher</i> was published. | 1907 | The 'Triple Entente' between Britain, France, and Russia was formed in August. |
| | In Germany, Bismarck was dismissed as Chancellor. | 1908 | Sorel's <i>Reflections on Violence</i> was published.
Austria annexed Bosnia on 5 October. |
| 1891 | In Germany, the Socialist Party became the Social Democratic Party and adopted a Marxist program. | | In France, the <i>Action Française</i> launched their newspaper. |

C-2 Chronology of Fascism

- 1909 Marinetti's 'Futurist Manifesto' was published.
- 1910 In Italy, the Italian Nationalist Association was founded by Corradini and Federzoni.
- 1911–1912 The *Cercle Proudhon* met.
- 1911 A German gunboat was sent to Agadir in French-controlled Morocco, creating an international crisis.
- 1912 In Germany, the SDP became the largest party in the Reichstag.
- In Italy, Mussolini became editor of *Avanti*.
- 1914 In Bosnia, Archduke Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip of the Young Bosnia movement in Sarajevo on 28 June.
- Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia on 28 July.
- Germany declared war on Russia on 1 August.
- Germany declared war on France on 3 August.
- Britain declared war on Germany on 4 August.
- The German Army was defeated at the Battle of the Marne on 10 September, marking the failure of the Schlieffen Plan that was designed to secure a quick German victory.
- The Italian Socialist Party ousted Mussolini from the editorship of *Avanti* and from the party after he began to campaign for the entry of Italy into World War I.
- In Italy, the *Fasci di Azione Rivoluzionaria* was founded in October.
- 1915 Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies in May.
- In the United States, the Ku Klux Klan was reconstituted.
- 1916 In Germany, Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg became the Commander-in-Chief of the German Forces in August, and General Erich Ludendorff became his Chief of Staff.
- 1917 In Russia, Czar Nicholas II abdicated on 16 March after a period of revolutionary fervor.
- The United States declared war on Germany on 6 April.
- In Germany, the Fatherland Party was founded in September.
- Italians suffered hugely traumatic but galvanizing defeat at the Battle of Caporetto between October and November.
- In Russia, the Bolsheviks took power on 7 November.
- The 'Peace Decree' was issued by Lenin on 8 November.
- Russia and Germany agreed an armistice on 16 December.
- 1918 President Wilson announced his 'Fourteen Points' in January.
- In Argentina, the University Reform movement emerged.
- In South Africa, the *Broederbond* movement was founded.
- The peace treaty of 'Brest-Litovsk' was signed by the USSR and Germany on 14 March.
- In the USSR, civil war broke out in May and the Allied forces sided with the counterrevolutionaries.
- Germany began to negotiate peace with the Allies in October.
- In Germany, sailors based in Kiel revolted.
- In Bavaria, a Republic was declared on 7 November after the Bavarian monarchy was overthrown.

- In Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm's abdication was announced on 9 November and the German Republic was proclaimed.
- The German government signed an armistice at Compiègne on 11 November, ending World War I.
- In Germany, the German Communist Party was founded in December.
- 1919 The Paris Peace Conference began in January.
- In Germany, the 'Spartacist' rising of communists was suppressed by *Freikorps* in January.
- In Germany, the National Constitutional Assembly convened in Weimar in February, and Friedrich Ebert became President.
- The Comintern was founded in March.
- In Hungary, a Soviet Republic was formed in March.
- In Italy, Mussolini formed the *Fasci di Combattimento* on 23 March.
- In Germany, a Bavarian Soviet regime was proclaimed in April.
- The Soviet regime in Bavaria was suppressed in May by both the army and *Freikorps*.
- The Treaty of Versailles was signed on the 28 June.
- In Germany, the Weimar Constitution was adopted on 31 July.
- In Hungary, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was defeated in August by Yugoslav, Romanian, and Czech forces alongside nationalist counterrevolutionaries.
- Gabriele D'Annunzio began his occupation of Fiume in September.
- In Germany, Hitler joined the German Workers' Party based in Munich on 12 September.
- In Italy, Mussolini was defeated in national elections in November.
- 1920 The Covenant of the League of Nations was agreed in February.
- In Germany, the German Workers' Party was renamed the National Socialist German Workers' Party in February, and the '25 Point Program' was adopted by the party on 24 February.
- In Germany, the Kapp Putsch attempt occurred in Berlin in March.
- In Italy, the 'Red Two Years' reached its pinnacle, and was marked by worker occupation of factories in the summer.
- In Italy, Fascism spread into the countryside in the autumn, and *Squadristi* violence escalated.
- In the USSR, the civil war ended after an armistice with Poland was signed on 6 October.
- In Hungary, Admiral Horthy was elected head of state in December.
- D'Annunzio's occupation of Fiume was ended in December.
- 1921 In Italy, the Italian Communist Party was formed in January.
- In Italy, after national elections in May, Mussolini, alongside thirty-five other fascists, was elected to the Italian parliament.
- In Italy, the *Arditi del Popolo* was formed in the spring.
- The 'Little Entente' between Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia was completed in June.
- In Germany, the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) or Nazi Party appointed Hitler as party chairman on 29 July.
- In Italy, the Italian Fascist Party was formed in November.
- 1922 In Finland, the Academic Karelia Society was founded.

C-4 Chronology of Fascism

- In the United States, Texas returned a Ku Klux Klan representative to the U.S. Senate.
- In Italy, Mussolini was made Prime Minister of Italy on 30 October after the 'March on Rome'.
- 1923 The French and Belgian armies began their occupation of the industrialized Ruhr region of Germany on 11 January.
- In Italy, the Italian Grand Council was created in January.
- In Romania, the National Christian Defense League was founded.
- In Germany, the Nazi Party held its first Congress in Munich on 27 January.
- In Italy, the Italian Nationalists merged with the Fascist Party in March.
- Germany experienced a period of hyper-inflation from June, and Gustav Stresemann became Chancellor on 12 August and ended the policy of passive resistance to France.
- In Hungary, Gömbös alongside others formed the Party of Racial Defense in August.
- The Greek island of Corfu was occupied briefly by the Italian regime in August.
- In Spain, Miguel Primo de Rivera successfully mounted a military coup in September.
- In Germany, Bavaria broke off diplomatic relations with the central German government in Berlin on 20 October.
- In Germany, Hitler led the Nazi Party's failed 'Beer-Hall Putsch' in Munich on 9 November.
- In Germany, the inflationary crisis was ended after the introduction of a new currency on 15 November.
- In Italy, the Fascist government, Italian industrialists, and Fascist syndicates established the 'Palazzo Chigi' agreement in December.
- 1924 Fiume was annexed by Italy on 16 March.
- Hitler was convicted of high treason on 1 April and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, eligible for parole after six months.
- Italian Fascists gained 374 seats, an overwhelming majority in the Italian parliament, in April as a result of the Acerbo electoral law.
- The Dawes Plan to revise German reparations was agreed.
- In Italy, the Socialist deputy Matteotti was abducted and murdered by Italian Fascists because of his critique of Fascist violence during the April elections.
- In Italy, the Aventine Secession began.
- In Sweden, the National Socialist League of Freedom and the National Unity Movement were formed.
- In Germany, Hitler was released from prison on 20 December.
- 1925 In Italy, Mussolini resolved the Matteotti crisis by announcing the beginning of the Fascist dictatorship in January.
- In France, George Valois founded *Le Faisceau*.
- In Germany, the Nazi Party was re-established in February.
- In Germany, Hindenburg was elected president on 25 April.
- The first volume of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was published in July.
- In Italy, the 'Battle for Grain' was launched in October.
- In Germany, the SS protection squad was formed on 9 November.
- In Italy, Mussolini gained total executive powers in December.

- 1926 In Austria, the Nationalist Socialist German Workers' Party formed in April.
- In Italy, Syndical Laws were approved by the Fascist regime in April.
- In Poland, Josef Pilsudsky staged a military coup in May.
- In Portugal, General Gomes de Costa staged a military coup in May.
- In Romania, the National Christian Defense League gained six parliamentary seats.
- In Italy, the Ministry of Corporations was formed in June.
- Germany entered the League of Nations in September.
- 1927 In France, an Anti-Fascist congress was held in Paris in April.
- In Romania, Codreanu formed the Legion of the Archangel Michael in June.
- 1928 In France, Valois ended *Le Faisceau* in April.
- In Germany, the Nazi party polled 2.6 percent of the national vote in May, gaining only 12 seats in the Reichstag.
- In France, the *Croix de Feu* (CF) was founded.
- In Britain, the Imperial Fascist League was established.
- In Italy, the Fascist Grand Council was made into a constitutional organ in December.
- 1929 In Yugoslavia, King Alexander staged a royal coup in January.
- In Estonia, the Vaps movement was formed.
- In Sweden, the National Rural Association was formed.
- The Italian Fascist Regime and the Vatican signed the Lateran Agreements in February.
- The Young Plan was issued in June.
- The Wall Street Crash inflicted a worldwide economic downturn from October.
- In Finland, the Lapua movement was founded in November.
- 1930 In Germany, Chancellor Heinrich Brüning (who took office in March) began governing by decree under article 48 of the Weimar Constitution on 16 July.
- In Denmark, the Danish National Socialist Workers Party was founded.
- In Britain, Oswald Mosley founded his 'New Party'.
- In Romania, the Iron Guard was founded by Codreanu to work alongside the Legion of the Archangel Michael.
- In Sweden, the Swedish Religious People's Party was established.
- In Spain, the *Partido Nacionalista Español* was founded.
- In Portugal, the *União Nacional* was established.
- In Romania, King Carol returned from exile in June.
- In Germany, the Nazis experienced an electoral breakthrough and won over 18 percent of the national vote in the parliamentary elections in September.
- 1931 In Spain, the monarchy was replaced by a parliamentary republic in January.
- In the Netherlands, the Dutch National Socialist Movement was founded.
- In Norway, Quisling established the Nordic Folk Awakening movement.
- In Spain, the Redondo-Ramos JONS and *La Conquista del Estado* movements were founded.

C-6 Chronology of Fascism

In Britain, Mosley published his *A National Policy* in March.

In Britain, the 'National Government' was formed in August and the Gold Standard was abandoned in September.

Japan invaded Manchuria in September.

In Britain, Mosley's New Party failed to win a seat in the British General Election.

In Hungary, the Scythe cross movement was formed in December.

In the Netherlands, the Dutch National Socialist Party was formed in December.

In Germany, unemployment rose to 5.6 million.

1932 In Finland, after an attempted Lapua coup in February, the movement was banned and it evolved into the People's Patriotic Movement (IKL).

In Germany, Hitler was defeated by Hindenburg in German presidential elections in March and April.

In Germany, the SA and the SS were prohibited by Brüning in April.

In Germany, von Papen became Chancellor of Germany, replacing Brüning, in May.

In Germany, the ban on the SA and SS was lifted by von Papen.

In Chile, the *Movimiento Nacional Socialista de Chile* (MNS) was founded.

In the Netherlands, the General Dutch Fascist Union was founded.

In France, the *Cartel des Gauches* won the national elections in May.

In Finland, the People's Patriotic Movement was formed in June.

In Yugoslavia, the Ustasha movement was founded.

In Germany, the Nazis won over 37 percent of the national vote in parliamentary elections.

In Portugal, the National Syndicalist movement was founded by Rolão Preto in September.

In Hungary, Horthy appointed Gömbös as Prime Minister in October.

In Britain, after dissolving his New Party in April, Mosley established the British Union of Fascists (BUF) in October.

In Italy, Fascists celebrated the ten year anniversary of the 'March on Rome', which included the famous exhibition of the Fascist Revolution.

In Germany, the Nazis won 33 percent of the national vote in parliamentary elections in November and Communists increased their share of the vote, after which von Papen resigned as Chancellor.

In Germany, von Schleicher became chancellor in December.

1933 In Germany, Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January, von Papen was made his vice-chancellor.

In Germany, the Reichstag was destroyed by fire on 27 February, and, blaming the Communists, Hitler suspended many basic civil liberties the following day.

In Austria, Dollfuss suspended the parliament in March in order to rule by decree.

In Germany, Goebbels launched his Ministry of Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda in March.

In Germany, the first Nazi concentration camp was opened on 20 March in Dachau.

In Germany, Hitler was given full dictatorial powers on 23 March after the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act.

In Finland, *Lapua* gained fourteen seats in the general election.

- In France, the *Franciste* movement was formed.
- In Germany, *Gleichschaltung* began on 31 March.
- In Portugal, Salazar's 'New State' constitution came into effect in April.
- In Germany, Nazis organized for Jewish businesses to be boycotted on 1 April.
- In Germany, Jews, communists, social democrats, and miscellaneous other political opponents were expelled from the civil service by the Nazis on 7 April.
- In Norway, Vidkun Quisling's National Union movement was formed.
- In Mexico, the Mexican Revolutionary Action movement was founded.
- In Germany, the German Labour Front was established on 2 May.
- In Germany, 'un-German' books were burned on 10 May.
- In Germany, Nazis became the only legal party on 14 July.
- Germany signed a concordat with the Vatican on 20 July.
- Germany left the League of Nations and disarmament conference on 14 October.
- In Belgium, the Flemish National Front was formed in October.
- In Estonia, the Estonian War of Independence Veterans' League received 73 percent of the national vote in a referendum.
- In Spain, the *Falange* was formed in October by José Antonio Primo de Rivera.
- In the United States, Pelley's Silver Shirts movement was formed.
- 1934 Germany signed a non-aggression pact with Poland in January.
- Mussolini and Hitler met in Venice in June.
- In Germany, a purge directed at Ernst Röhm and the SA left over 120 dead on 30 June.
- In Britain, the BUF held its Olympia Rally.
- In Austria, Dollfuss was murdered by the Austrian Nazis in a failed coup in July.
- In Germany, Hitler became *Führer* after the death of Hindenburg in August gave him the opportunity to consolidate the role of President and Chancellor.
- The USSR joined the League of Nations in September.
- In Switzerland, the Montreux meeting of international fascist movements was held in December.
- In Latvia, the Fascist Peasants Union gained power.
- 1935 In Hungary, Szálasi formed the Party of National Will in January.
- In Bolivia, the *Falange Socialista Boliviana* was founded.
- In Germany, universal military training was introduced by Hitler on 1 March, in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles.
- In Serbia, the *Zbor* movement was founded.
- The Franco-Soviet treaty was signed in May.
- In Ireland, the National Corporate Party was founded by Eoin O'Duffy in June.
- The 'Popular Front' strategy was agreed upon by the USSR at a meeting of the Comintern in August.
- In Germany, the Nuremberg Racial Laws that denied Jews political rights were announced in September.
- Italy invaded Ethiopia in October, causing the League of Nations to impose sanctions.

C-8 Chronology of Fascism

- In Belgium, the Rex movement was formed.
- 1936 In Spain, a 'Popular Front' government was formed in February.
- The Nazis entered and remilitarized the Rhineland in March.
- In France, a 'Popular Front' government was formed in May.
- In Italy, Mussolini proclaimed the birth of the Italian Empire after victory in Ethiopia in May.
- In Spain, civil war broke out on 31 July after a right wing rising against the Spanish Republic led by Francisco Franco. Later, both Hitler and Mussolini intervened on the side of Franco.
- In Germany, the Berlin Olympics began on 1 August.
- In Germany in September, Hitler announced the 'Four Year Plan' to prepare Germany's armed forces and economy for war.
- The 'Axis' Italo-German treaty was created in October.
- The German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact was created in November.
- In Germany, the Hitler Youth program was made mandatory from December.
- 1937 The Papal encyclical on 'The Church in Germany' was issued on 14 March.
- Hitler and Mussolini met in Vienna.
- In Romania, the Legion of the Archangel Michael gained 16 percent of the vote and Antonescu was appointed Chief of General Staff.
- Italy joined Germany and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact in November.
- Under the policy of appeasement, Lord Halifax went to Germany in November seeking a British-German agreement.
- 1938 In Romania, King Carol abolished the country's parliamentary system in February.
- In Argentina, the Argentinian Fascist Party was founded.
- Germany annexed Austria in March, Mussolini supported the action.
- In Germany and Austria, a plebiscite in April gave over 99 percent approval to the Austrian *Anschluss*.
- In Italy, anti-Semitic legislation was introduced in July.
- The Sudetenland was transferred from Czechoslovakia to Germany after the Munich Agreement on 29 September.
- In Germany, the Nazi *Kristallnacht* pogrom terrorized Jewish communities on 9 November, leaving 267 synagogues and 815 Jewish shops destroyed.
- 1939 The new Franco regime was officially recognized by Britain on 27 February.
- In Romania, Codreanu was killed in a purge of the Legion of the Archangel Michael.
- German forces occupied Prague and the whole of Czechoslovakia in March, violating the Munich Agreement.
- Albania was occupied by Italy in April.
- In response to unauthorized German aggrandisement, the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain pledged military support for Poland.
- The Anglo-German Naval Treaty and the Non-Aggression Treaty with Poland were both renounced by Germany in May.
- In Hungary, the Arrow Cross gained 25 percent of the national vote in elections in May.
- The 'Pact of Steel' between Italy and Germany was signed on 22 May.

- Danzig (Gdansk) was demanded by the Germans from Poland on 16 August.
- The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was agreed on 23 August.
- Germany invaded Poland on 1 September, beginning World War II.
- Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September.
- Warsaw surrendered to Germany on 27 September.
- The Nazi euthanasia program was authorised by Hitler in October.
- France and Britain declined Hitler's peace offer of accepting the legitimacy of Germany's conquest of Poland on 6 October, and continued the war against Nazi expansionism.
- 1940 Construction began on the Auschwitz concentration camp in February.
- Germany occupied Norway and invaded Denmark in April.
- Germany attacked Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and France in May.
- Italy entered the war on the side of Germany on 10 June.
- The French signed an armistice with Germany at Compiègne on 22 June, following which the Vichy regime was established and Pétain became head of state.
- Hungary reclaimed Transylvania from Romania in August.
- Germany began the 'Battle of Britain' on 13 August.
- In Romania, King Carol abdicated and the Iron Guard jointly took power to form the 'National Legionary State' in September.
- The Tripartite Pact was signed by Italy, Germany, and Japan in September.
- Italy invaded Greece in October.
- Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov visited Berlin and met with Hitler in November.
- 1941 In Romania, Antonescu dissolved the Iron Guard in January after their attempted coup. German forces invaded Greece and Yugoslavia in April.
- Rudolf Hess flew to Scotland in May, ostensibly in a bid to bring about peace between Britain and Germany. Replacing him with Bormann, Hitler declared Hess 'mad.'
- Hitler issued the 'Commissar Order' on 6 June that called for the liquidation of all Communists in the forthcoming Operation Barbarossa.
- Operation Barbarossa commenced and German forces began the invasion of the USSR on 22 June.
- In Germany, the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories was created under the leadership of Alfred Rosenberg in July.
- In Croatia, the Ustasha came to power.
- In Occupied France, foreign Jews began to be rounded up.
- The Atlantic Charter was signed by Churchill and Roosevelt in August.
- At Auschwitz, the Nazis began experiments with Zyklon-B from September.
- In the USSR, Leningrad was surrounded on 4 September.
- In Germany, from 19 September Jews were forced to wear a yellow Star of David.
- At Chelmno, Nazis began to gas Jews in December.
- The Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on 7 December.

C-10 Chronology of Fascism

War on the United States was declared by Italy and Germany on 11 December.

In Germany, after the dismissal of Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch, Hitler assumed operational command of the German armed forces on 19 December.

1942 The Wannsee Conference was held with the aim of coordinating the genocide programs of the Holocaust on 20 January.

In Norway, Quisling became prime minister in February.

In Czechoslovakia, Heydrich was assassinated on May 27 in Prague.

In Poland, Jews began to be deported from the Warsaw Ghetto to Treblinka from June.

At Auschwitz, mass gassing of Jews began in June.

In the USSR, German forces reached Stalingrad in September.

At El Alamein in Egypt, Rommel's Afrika Korps were forced into retreat in October.

British and American troops landed in North Africa in November.

In Vichy France, German forces occupied the country on 11 November.

In the USSR, the German Sixth Army was encircled at Stalingrad on 23 November.

1943 In the USSR, the German Sixth Army surrendered at Stalingrad on 31 January.

In Poland, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising began in April.

In North Africa, the Afrika Korps surrendered on 12 May.

In Poland, the Warsaw Ghetto uprising was crushed by 16 May and the ghetto was destroyed.

Allied forces landed in Sicily on July 10, leading to Mussolini's removal as head of state and later arrest on 25 July.

Allied forces landed on the Italian mainland on 3 September.

An armistice with Allied forces was announced by the new Italian regime on 8 September.

Mussolini was rescued on 12–13 September by German forces from Gran Sasso, following which the birth of the Italian Social Republic was announced by Mussolini at Salò.

Italy declared war on Germany on 13 October.

1944 In Hungary, German forces occupied the country and Eichmann began a roundup of Hungarian Jews.

Rome was liberated by Allied forces on 4 June.

The D-Day landings began on 6 June.

Colonel Stauffenberg attempted to assassinate Hitler on 20 July.

In Romania, Antonescu's pro-German government fell in August.

The Red Army reached the German borders in East Prussia on 18 August.

Paris was liberated by the Allies on 25 August.

The Anglo-American forces reached Germany's western borders by 15 September.

The German counteroffensive, the Battle of the Bulge, began on 16 December in the Ardennes.

1945 Auschwitz was liberated by the Red Army in January.

In Germany, Hitler made his last broadcast to the German people on 30 January.

	At Yalta in the Crimea, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin met on 11 February and decided on the temporary post-war arrangements for Germany.		The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was established on 23 May, and Konrad Adenauer became Chancellor on 15 September.
	In Germany, Hitler issued his 'Nero Command' or scorched earth policy on March 19.		The German Democratic Republic (GDR) was established on 12 October, led by Walter Ulbricht.
	In Italy, after the liberation of northern Italy in April, Mussolini was captured by partisans on 26 April and executed on 28 April in Milan.		Salazar's Portugal entered NATO.
	Hitler committed suicide on 30 April.	1950	In Belgium, the <i>Mouvement Social Belge</i> was founded.
	Germany unconditionally surrendered on 8 May.		Nation Europa was founded.
	Japan unconditionally surrendered on 2 September after atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.		In West Germany, the far-right <i>Sozialistische Reichspartei</i> was founded.
	In Germany, the Nuremberg War Crimes trials began on 20 November.	1951	The European Social Movement was formed at Malmö.
1946	In Argentina, Juan Perón was elected President.	1952	Eva Perón died.
	In Germany, Nazi war criminals were executed at Nuremberg in October.		The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG—West Germany) agreed to restitution payments with Israel to the Jewish people.
	In Italy, the <i>Movimento Sociale Italiano</i> (MSI) was founded in December.	1953	In the Netherlands, the Dutch National European Socialist Movement was founded.
1947	George Marshall announced the European Recovery Program in June.		Evola's <i>Men Standing among the Ruins</i> was published.
1948	In Italy, the Italian Republic was officially proclaimed on 1 January, and its constitution outlawed a return of the Fascist Party.	1954	In France, the <i>Parti Patriotique Révolutionnaire</i> was created.
	The USSR blocked land access to Berlin in June in protest at the creation of the separate West German state.		In Britain, the League of Empire Loyalists was founded by A. K. Chesterton.
	In Ecuador, the <i>Alianza Revolucionaria Nacionalista Ecuatoriana</i> (ARNE) was founded.	1955	The Paris Agreements allowed FRG to rearm, though without developing weapons of mass destruction, and also gave full sovereignty to the new state.
	In South Africa, apartheid was established.		The USSR formed the Warsaw Pact in response to FRG rearmament and the rise of NATO.
1949	The Soviet blockade of Berlin ended in May.		

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- 1956 In Austria, the Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) was formed.
- 1960 In Britain, the British National Party (BNP) was founded.
- 1961 In Israel, Eichmann was tried and convicted.
- The German Democratic Republic (GDR—East Germany) began building the Berlin Wall.
- Evola's *To Ride the Tiger* was published.
- 1962 The World Union of National Socialists was formed.
- In Britain, the National Socialist Movement was founded.
- 1964 In France, *Occident* was founded.
- In Germany, the National Democratic Party of Germany was founded.
- 1966 In Portugal, the Portuguese National Revolutionary Front was formed.
- 1967 In Britain, the British National Front was established.
- In the United States, the leading Nazi sympathizer George Lincoln Rockwell was assassinated; the U.S. government published a report investigating contemporary activities of the Ku Klux Klan.
- 1968 In France, *Occident* was banned.
- In Portugal, Salazar left office.
- The Group for Research and Studies on European Civilization (GRECE) was founded.
- 1969 In France, the *Ordre Nouveau* was born.
- In Italy, Almirante became leader of the MSI.
- In the United States, the Posse Comitatus movement was founded.
- In West Germany, the National Democratic Party gained 4 percent of the vote.
- 1970 In the United States, Christian Identity ideologue Wesley Smith died.
- 1971 In the FRG, the *Deutsche Volks Union* was founded.
- In the GDR, Walter Ulbricht was replaced by Erich Honecker as head of state.
- 1972 In Italy, the MSI gained 8.7 percent of the vote in national elections.
- In France, Le Pen's *Front National* was founded.
- 1973 In Belgium, the Flemish *Vlaams-Nationale Raad* was founded.
- In Argentina, Perón returned to the position of President.
- In Germany, *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann* was created.
- In South Africa, the African Resistance Movement was formed.
- Thies Christopherson's *The Auschwitz Lie* was published.
- 1974 In Portugal, the dictatorship collapsed.
- In France, the *Parti des Forces Nouvelles* (PNF) was formed.
- 1975 In Spain, the death of Franco ended his dictatorship.
- In Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge came to power.
- 1976 In Belgium, the Belgian Nationalist Student Confederation was created.
- 1977 In the United States, the Christian Patriot's Defense League was founded.
- In Greece, the National Alignment (EP) movement was founded.
- In Belgium, the Flemish *Vlaams-Nationale Partij* (VNP) and the *Vlaamse Volkspartij* (VVP) were formed.

- In Portugal, the *Movimento Independente para a Reconstrução Nacional* (MIRN) was founded.
- In Germany, the neo-Nazi movement *Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten* (ANS) was formed.
- 1978 William Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* was published.
- Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* was published.
- In France, the *Légitime Défense* was created.
- In Belgium, the *Vlaams Blok* (VB) and the *Union Démocratique pour le Respect du Travail* (UDRT) were formed.
- 1979 In Cambodia, after a sustained program of genocide the Khmer Rouge fell from power.
- In France, *Securité et Liberté* was formed.
- In Greece, the United Nationalist Movement was founded.
- 1980 In Germany, the Thule Seminar was founded.
- In Austria, Norbert Burger of the National Democratic Party gained 3.2 percent of the presidential vote.
- In the United States, National Socialist sympathizer Harold Covington won 43 percent of the vote in North Carolina.
- 1982 In Belgium, the Belgian Nationalist Young Students Association was created.
- In Britain, the BNP was re-constituted.
- 1983 In FRG, the *Republikaner* party was founded.
- In France, Le Pen's National Front made an electoral breakthrough.
- In the United States, the Order movement was founded.
- 1984 In France, Le Pen's National Front gained over 10 percent in European elections.
- 1985 In Spain, the *Junta Coordinadora de Fuerzas Nacionales* was created.
- In Belgium, the *Front National-Nationaal Front* was formed.
- 1986 In France, the National Front won thirty-five seats in parliamentary elections.
- In Yugoslavia, Milošević issued the SANU Memorandum.
- In Austria, Kurt Waldheim ran a controversial election campaign, while Haider took over leadership of the FPÖ.
- 1987 Klaus Barbie was tried for war crimes.
- In Austria, far-right ideologues held 'summit talks' with Haider.
- 1988 In France, Le Pen received 14.6 percent of the vote in the presidential election.
- Fred Leuchter published *The Leuchter Report*, a revisionist history of the Nazi gas chambers.
- 1989 In Belgium, the Agir movement was founded.
- In France, the National Front won a seat in the Dreux parliamentary by election.
- In Germany, the Berlin Wall fell, providing a symbolic historical reference point marking the end of the Cold War.
- In FRG, the *Republikaner* party won eleven seats in West Berlin in national elections, and six seats in European elections. Also the *Deutsche Alternative*, *Freundeskreis Freiheit für Deutschland*, and *Nationale List* movements were created.
- In Greece, the Nationalist Youth Front was founded.
- In Portugal, the *Força Nacional-Nova Monarquia* was formed.
- 1990 GDR and FRG were united under the West German constitution.

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- In Denmark, the Party of Well-Being was founded.
- In the United States, white supremacist candidate David Duke won 44 percent in a Louisiana election.
- In Romania, the Romanian Cradle movement was formed.
- In Austria, the FPÖ received over 15 percent in elections.
- In Germany, the *Republikaner* party lost its eleven seats in Berlin, and Schönhuber resigned the leadership in May, and was re-elected leader in June.
- In Italy, Rauti replaced Fini as leader of the MSI after the party gained a mere 4 percent in local elections.
- 1991 In Austria, in Vienna local elections the FPÖ won 23 percent of the vote.
- In Germany, the *Deutscher Kameradschaftsbund*, *Nationaler Bloc*, and *Deutsche Liga für Volk und Heimat* were founded.
- In South Africa, Apartheid ended.
- In the United States, David Duke won 39 percent of the vote in Louisiana governor elections.
- In Italy, Fini was re-instated as leader of MSI.
- In Romania, the Movement for Romania was formed.
- 1992 In Croatia, the Croatian Party of Pure Rights and the Croatian Party of Rights Youth Group were founded.
- In Romania, the Romanian Party of the National Right was formed.
- In Baden–Württemberg in Germany, the *Republikaner* party received 11 percent of the vote.
- 1993 In Britain, the BNP gained its first councillor in the Isle of Dogs after winning 34 percent of the vote in local elections.
- In Italy, the MSI's Fini stood for Mayor of Rome and Alessandra Mussolini stood for the Mayor of Naples.
- In Austria, dissenters left the FPÖ, while Haider published *Freiheitlichen Thesen*.
- 1994 In Austria, the FPÖ polled 22 percent in parliamentary elections.
- In Italy, Fini launched Alleanza Nazionale (AN) in January, and in May the AN won 13.5 percent in Italian elections gaining five seats in Berlusconi's cabinet.
- In European elections, the French National Front and the German Republikaner party won 10.5 percent and 3.9 percent of the vote respectively.
- 1995 In Denmark, the Danish People's Party was founded.
- In Russia, the *Derzhava* movement was formed.
- In the United States, Timothy McVeigh exploded a massive bomb in government offices in Oklahoma.
- In France, Le Pen won fifteen percent of the vote in French presidential elections.
- 1996 In Austria, the FPÖ polled 28 percent in European elections.
- In Italy, the AN won 15.7 percent in Italian parliamentary elections and 150,000 attended an AN rally in September in Milan.
- 1998 In India, Bharatiya Janata made an electoral breakthrough.
- 1999 In France, friends of Bruno Mégret formed the *Mouvement National Républicain* after splitting with Le Pen's National Front.

- In Britain, David Copeland exploded a series of nail bombs in London.
- In European elections, the FPÖ in Austria won five seats in the European parliament; elsewhere the *Republikaner* party in Germany polled 1.7 percent, and in France the National front gained 5.7 percent of the vote.
- 2000 In Italy, Fini became Berlusconi's Deputy Prime Minister.
- 2001 In Britain, the BNP exploited race riots in Oldham, Burnley, and Bradford.
- In Denmark, the Danish People's Party won 22 parliamentary seats.
- 2002 In France, Le Pen gained 17 percent in the first round of the presidential elections and went through to the second round.
- In Britain, the BNP won three council seats in Burnley.
- In the Netherlands, the far-right leader Pim Fortuyn was assassinated.
- 2003 In Italy, Alessandra Mussolini left AN after disagreeing with Fini over his denunciation of fascism.
- 2004 In Italy, Alessandra Mussolini was elected to the European parliament.

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