FASCISM

Critical Concepts in Political Science

Edited by Roger Griffin with Matthew Feldman

Volume I

The Nature of Fascism

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK
CONTENTS

Preface xvi
Acknowledgements xix
Chronological table of reprinted articles and chapters xx

General introduction 1
ROGER GRIFFIN

Select bibliography 17

VOLUME I THE NATURE OF FASCISM

Introduction 22
ROGER GRIFFIN

PART I
Initial reactions to fascism 31

1 Extract from ‘The ancestry of fascism’ 33
BERTRAND RUSSELL

2 The conservative revolution 42
HERMANN RAUSCHNING

3 ‘As I please’, 17 [What is Fascism?] 49
GEORGE ORWELL
PART 2
The emergence and crisis of fascist studies 53

4 Interpretations of fascism 55
STANLEY G. PAYNE

5 Extract from Varieties of Fascism 76
EUGEN WEBER

6 Fascist ideology 81
ZEEV STERNHELL

7 Toward a general theory of fascism 142
GEORGE L. MOSSE

8 What fascism is not: thoughts on the deflation of a concept 176
GILBERT ALLARDYCE, with responses by S. G. Payne and E. Nolte

9 Whatever happened to 'fascism'? 209
TIM MASON

PART 3
The 'new consensus' and its critics 219

10 Towards a new model of generic fascism 221
ROGER EATWELL

11 Fascism: a working definition 255
STANLEY G. PAYNE

12 Defining "fascism" 272
STEPHEN D. SHENFIELD

13 The prison of ideas 291
DAVE RENTON

14 The five stages of fascism 305
ROBERT O. PAXTON

15 The problem 327
A. JAMES GREGOR

16 Extract from 'Was there fascism outside Europe? Diffusion from Europe and domestic impulses' 350
STEIN UGELVIK LARSEN
CONTENTS

17 The primacy of culture: the current growth (or manufacture) of consensus within fascist studies 362
ROGER GRIFFIN

VOLUME II THE SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF FASCISM

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction 1
ROGER GRIFFIN

PART 4
Marxist and communist theories of fascism 11

18 Extract from Marxists in Face of Fascism 13
DAVID BEETHAM

19 Extracts from Comintern debates over the dangers posed by fascism 32

20 Fascism and social revolution 42
R. PALME DUTT

21 August Thalheimer’s theory of fascism 58
MARTIN KITCHEN

22 Leon Trotsky’s theory of fascism 70
ROBERT S. WISTRICH

PART 5
Non-Marxist theories of fascism’s social dynamics 95

23 The greatest danger, the state 97
ORTEGA Y GASSET

24 Extract from ‘Prospects of scientific politics’ 103
KARL MANNHEIM

25 Sociology and fascism in the interwar period: the myth and its frame 113
STEPHEN P. TURNER

26 Some sociological aspects of the fascist movements 126
TALCOTT PARSONS
CONTENTS

27 Political space and fascism as a late-comer: conditions conducive to the success or failure of fascism as a mass movement in inter-war Europe 141
JUAN J. LINZ

28 Thoughts on a theory of collective action: language, affect, and ideology in revolution 174
GERALD M. PLATT

29 Who were the Nazis? The social characteristics of the support mobilised by the Nazi movement 1920–1933 198
DETLEF MÜHLBERGER

PART 6
Fascism in relation to modernity 213

30 State and individual under National Socialism 215
HERBERT MARCUSE

31 Ideology and terror: a novel form of government 236
HANNAH ARENDT

32 Revolution from above and fascism 256
BARRINGTON MOORE, Jr

33 Fascism and modernization 271
HENRY A. TURNER, Jr

34 Impeding modernity: fascism and the ambivalent image of the United States 288
EMILIO GENTILE

35 Nazi modern 308
PETER FRITZSCHE

36 The uniqueness and normality of the Holocaust 330
ZYGMUNT BAUMAN

VOLUME III FASCISM AND CULTURE

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction 1
ROGER GRIFFIN

viii
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART 7</th>
<th>Fascism as the negation or revolution of culture</th>
<th>11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>State terrorism and irrational terror</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ALBERT CAMUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Terror and aesthetics: Nazi strategies for mass organisation</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>KATYA MANDOKI</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>The sacralisation of politics: definitions, interpretations and reflections on the question of secular religion and totalitarianism</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EMILIO GENTILE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>The ritual core of fascist theatre: an anthropological perspective</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GÜNTER BERGHAUS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Notes towards the definition of fascist culture: the prospects for synergy between Marxist and liberal heuristics</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ROGER GRIFFIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Fascism, modernism, and modernity</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MARK ANTLIFF</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PART 8</th>
<th>Aspects of the fascistization of culture</th>
<th>169</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Fascism</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Manifesto of Fascist Intellectuals (1925)</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GIOVANNI GENTILE, and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reply</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benedetto Croce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Mussolini's cultural revolution: fascist or nationalist?</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PHILIP V. CANNISTRARO</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Extract from 'The kingdom of the word'</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TRACY H. KOON</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Fascism/identity/ritual</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MABEL BEREZIN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Sironi in context</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EMILY BRAUN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

8.2 Nazism

48 Spiritual revolution and magic: speculation and political action in National Socialism 251
KL AUS V ONDUNG

49 The birth of fascist man from the spirit of the Front: from Langemarck to Verdun 264
BER ND H UPPAUF

50 Berlin, 1 May 1936 292
IA IN BOYD WH YTE

51 Mass spectacle, history, cinema: embodiments of social fantasy 307
LIN DA SCH ULTE-SASSE

8.3 The BUF's revolt against decadence 331

52 A host of 'decadent' phenomena 333
THOM AS LINE HAN

8.4 Post-war 'metapolitical' fascism 352

53 Interregnum or endgame? The radical right in the 'post-fascist' era 355
ROGER GRIFFIN

54 Ernst Jünger's millennium: bad citizens for the new century 372
ELLIOT NEAMAN

VOLUME IV THE 'FASCIST EPOCH'

Acknowledgements viii

Introduction 1
ROGER GRIFFIN

PART 9 European fascisms 13

9.1 Fascist regimes 15

55 Italy: Fascism in power: the totalitarian experiment 17
EMILIO GENTILE
CONTENTS

56 Germany: The essence of Nazism: form of fascism, brand of totalitarianism, or unique phenomenon? 47
IAN KERSHAW

9.2 Fascisms under authoritarian conservatism 75

57 Portugal: National Syndicalism and international fascism 77
ANTONIO COSTA PINTO

58 Spain: Conclusion to Fascism in Spain 1923–1977 91
STANLEY G. PAYNE

59 Hungary: Extract from ‘Hungary’ 102
IGOR DÉAK

60 Romania: Extract from ‘Characteristics of Rumanian fascism’ 119
RADU IOANID

9.3 Fascisms under liberalism 143

61 Great Britain: The black-shirted utopians 145
PHILIP M. COUPLAND

62 Finland: Extract from ‘From white to blue-and-black: Finnish fascism in the inter-war era’ 164
LAURI KARVONEN

63 Sweden: Swedish fascism – why bother? 177
LENA BERGGREN

64 France: The Croix de Feu: Bonapartism, national populism or fascism? 202
KEVIN PASSMORE

9.4 ‘Parafascism’ 229

65 Nazi-occupied France: Vichy and fascism 231
JULIAN JACKSON

66 Ireland: Extract from ‘Connections with fascism’ 247
MIKE CRONIN

xi
CONTENTS

PART 10
Fascism in Latin America 267

67 Brazil: Extract from ‘Fascism and authoritarianism in Brazil under Vargas (1930–1945)’ 269
HELIGO TRINDADE

68 Chile: A case of non-European fascism: Chilean National Socialism in the 1930s 304
MARIO SZNAJDER

69 Argentina: The fascist and populist syndromes in the Argentine revolution of the right 328
ALBERTO SPEKTOROWSKI

PART 11
Fascism in Africa, Asia and the USA 357

70 South Africa: The Berlin connection 359
PATRICK J. FURLONG

71 China: Blue Shirts, Nationalists and nationalism: fascism in 1930s China 384
FAN HONG

72 Japan: Japanese fascism and the Tennō imperial state 403
TETSUNARI MATSUZAWA

73 Japan: Fascism from below? A contemporary perspective on the Japanese right 1931–1936 419
GREGORY J. KASZA

74 USA: Extract from The Coming American Fascism 438
LAWRENCE DENNIS

VOLUME V POST-WAR FASCISMS

Acknowledgements viii

Introduction 1
ROGER GRIFFIN

xii
## PART 12
**Perspectives on post-war fascism**

75 Extract from ‘Eurofascism: the lessons of the past and current tasks’

CHRIS BAMBERY

76 Extract from ‘Clerical fascism and the Third World’

WALTER LAQUEUR

77 Extract from ‘Understanding fascism’

MARTIN BLINKHORN

78 Conclusion: the politics of identity

NICHOLAS GOODRICK-CLARKE

79 Xenophobia, identity politics and exclusionary populism in Western Europe

HANS-GEORG BETZ

80 A neo-fascist third way: the discourse of ethno-differentialist revolutionary nationalism

STEVE BASTOW

## PART 13
**The party political radical right and fascism**

81 From the ghetto to *Palazzo Chigi*: the ascent of the National Alliance

ANTONIO CARIOTI

82 Sinister fascist Haider behind rightist government in Austria

THE INTERNATIONALIST

83 Extract from ‘New faces for white nationalism: reframing supremacist narratives’

CHIP BERLET AND MATTHEW N. LYONS

84 The cultural struggle of the extreme right and the case of Terre et Peuple

CHRISTOPHER FLOOD

85 The National-Bolshevik Party and Arctogaia – two neo-fascist groupuscules in the post-Soviet political space

MARKUS MATHYL
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>Nazi shooter targets Chirac</td>
<td>GRAEME ATKINSON</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>Paper tiger or Cheshire cat? A spotter’s guide to fascism in the</td>
<td>ROGER GRIFFIN</td>
<td>386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>post-fascist era</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PART 16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Postscript</td>
<td></td>
<td>395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>Terms &amp; concepts: use with caution</td>
<td>CHIP BERLET</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>Ur-Fascism</td>
<td>UMBERTO ECO</td>
<td>405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Index</td>
<td></td>
<td>417</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>