



HIST 493X: History of Fascism

Instructor: Prof. Joshua Arthurs

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Course Description:

Reactionary or revolutionary? Ideology or the rejection of ideas? Confined to interwar Europe or alive and well today? More than sixty years after its demise, fascism continues to fascinate yet resists definition. This course examines key themes in the history and historiography of fascism in Italy, Germany and other national contexts from Spain to Romania, as well as postwar neo-fascism. We will explore a range of topics including intellectual origins, the mobilization of culture, the totalitarian state, and political violence. In addition to reading recent scholarship on fascism, we will consider art, propaganda and film from the period.

Course Structure:

Each week of the course is dedicated to a specific theme or problem in the historiographical literature. The Tuesday session every week will be devoted to a lecture on key events and concepts from the readings; the second session (Thursday) will be a workshop-style discussion in which students engage directly with the texts.

Undergraduate Assignments:

Papers (45%): A midterm and a final paper, worth 20% and 25% of your grade respectively. Each paper is approximately 6-8 pages double-spaced. Assignment prompts will be distributed in class, and will assess your ability to understand and respond to the arguments made in the readings, lectures and class discussion. Papers must use the Chicago style of citation; see eCampus for the style guide. On eCampus you can also find a paper grading rubric and an explanation of grading criteria.

Students have the option of doing a rewrite of the midterm paper. When submitting a rewrite, you must also submit the original version of the paper, with my comments included. I strongly

encourage you to consult with me in revising papers. Rewrites will be accepted up to two weeks after graded papers are returned.

Alternative Undergraduate Paper Assignment (45%): Undergraduates may also opt to complete the paper assignment for graduate students; see below for details. Writing a longer research paper would be especially useful to students planning to take my capstone course next semester, HIST 484: European Totalitarianism. **If you are interested in taking this option, you must notify me before the midterm paper prompt is handed out on Tuesday, October 5th.** Like the graduate students, you will need to meet with me to discuss your topic and submit a proposal and bibliography.

Reflection Assignment (15%): In the early weeks of the semester, you will write a brief (2-3 page) reflection on the broad themes of the course; you will then revisit this paper at the end of term. Further explanation will be given in class.

Participation and Attendance (20%): Students are expected to attend class, to come prepared and to contribute constructively to our discussions. Be prepared to dissect the texts and ask questions. I do not distinguish between excused and unexcused absences; however, I understand that illness and problems can arise, so you will be allowed two “free” absences over the course of the semester. Be judicious about how you use these absences. If you use up your absences early in the semester, I will not be sympathetic when you need to miss class later in the term. Perfect attendance will raise your participation grade; multiple absences will lower it.

Group Presentation (20%): Over the course of the semester, groups of students will take turns leading a Thursday discussion class. Your group will give an approximately 20 minute summary of the readings and then pose questions that will serve as the basis for our conversation. An effective presentation will capture authors’ arguments, relate the text to our current discussions, and raise questions that will stimulate collective participation. Each student must also submit a 1-2 page written summary of their contribution to the presentation. A sign-up sheet will be distributed in coming weeks.

Extra Credit: Students may earn up to 5% extra credit by writing an analysis of a film that is relevant to the themes of the course; see the course website for a list of approved films. The paper should be approximately 3-4 pages double-spaced. Students are encouraged to consult with me for guidance ahead of time. You may only hand in one extra credit assignment per semester.

Graduate Assignments:

Term Paper (60%): Graduate students will write a **15-20 page historiography paper** on a subject of their choice, chosen in consultation with me and relevant to the themes of the course. In addition to assigned readings, they must choose 4-6 works of scholarly literature (books, journal articles, etc.) on their topic. By the end of the seventh week of term (Thursday, September 30th), students must submit a **2-3 page proposal and preliminary bibliography** and meet with me individually to discuss their project.

Participation and Attendance (20%): See above for attendance policies. I expect graduate students to be active participants in class, especially given the importance of intellectual debate to your program of study. At the same time, please be inclusive and respectful of undergraduates in your contributions.

Group Presentation (20%): See above.

Extra Credit: There is no extra credit for graduate students.

Readings:

The following books are available for purchase at the campus bookstore. Other readings, indicated by an asterisk (*), are available on eCampus.

- Roger Griffin, ed., *Fascism* (Oxford University Press, 1995)
- Aristotle Kallis, ed., *The Fascism Reader* (Routledge, 2003)
- Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995)
- Philip Roth, *The Plot Against America* (Houghton Mifflin, 2004)

Course Expectations:

Assignments: The papers must be submitted in **HARD COPY** and stapled – not sent via email. They should be double-spaced, with 1-inch margins and in 12-point font. Late papers will be deducted half a grade level (e.g. A to A-, B+ to B) for every day that they are late, beginning at the time at which they are due. No extensions will be given.

Communication: I will often communicate with the class via your WVU email account (MIX). Please be sure to check it regularly. Email is also the best way to contact me. When emailing, please ensure that you are polite and professional; an unpunctuated Blackberry message with no salutation will not be answered. I will work hard to get back to you in a timely manner.

Courtesy during Class: It is disruptive to others to arrive late to class or leave early. Please don't do it. If you know that you will have to leave class early, explain the situation to me beforehand and sit near the door so that you can exit as quietly as possible. Please turn off all cell phones, beepers, or any other wireless device that may make noise during class. I will confiscate your device if it rings in class. You may use a laptop in class for taking notes, but if you are using it for email, instant-messaging, or any other activity I will ask you to stop using your computer.

Writing Center: Writing is one of the most important skills in this course. You are encouraged to use the WVU Writing Center to help you revise papers. More information on the Writing Center's resources can be found via a link on the course eCampus page.

Academic Integrity: Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be dealt with severely. At a minimum, **offenders will fail the course**. Plagiarism means “submitting, without appropriate acknowledgement, a report, notebook, speech, outline, theme, thesis, dissertation, or other written, visual, or oral material that has been copied in whole or in part from the work of

others, whether such source is published or not, including (but not limited to) another individual's academic composition, compilation, or other product, or commercially prepared paper" (WVU Undergraduate Catalog, 2003-2005, p. 47). Plagiarism includes not only lifting passages word for word without using quotation marks (even if you cite the author!), but also the substantial use of anyone else's ideas without citing them. **Using material from the World Wide Web without citing it is plagiarism.** Your work is made stronger, not weaker, by showing that you are able to refer to the work of others and comment upon it critically. Whenever you use material word for word, you must use quotation marks and cite the proper author.

WVU Social Justice Statement: West Virginia University is committed to social justice. I concur with that commitment and expect to maintain a positive learning environment based upon open communication, mutual respect, and non-discrimination. Our University does not discriminate on the basis of race, sex, age, disability, veteran status, religion, sexual orientation, color, or national origin. Any suggestions as to how to further such a positive and open environment in this class will be appreciated and given serious consideration. If you are a person with a disability and anticipate needing any type of accommodation in order to participate in this class, please advise me and make appropriate arrangements with Disability Services (293-6700).

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Schedule

Aug. 24-26: What is Fascism? When is Fascism?

Readings:

- Gilbert Allardyce, "Generic Fascism: an Illusion?" (Kallis)
- Martin Kitchen, "Fascism and the Capitalist System: a Marxist View" (Kallis)
- Robert Paxton, "Fascism and its Evolution 'in Time': Five Stages" (Kallis)
- Ernst Nolte, "The 'Era of Fascism' and the Uniqueness of Fascist Ideology" (Kallis)
- Roger Griffin, "Fascism: 'Rebirth' and 'Ultra-Nationalism'" (Kallis)
- Payne, 3-19

Aug. 31-Sept. 2: Influences and Contexts

Readings:

- Seymour Martin Lipset, "Fascism as 'Extremism of the Middle Class'" (Kallis)
- Geoff Eley, "Fascism as the Product of 'Crisis'" (Kallis)
- Roger Griffin, "Pre-Conditions for Fascism's Success" (Kallis)
- Zeev Sternhell, "Fascist Ideology: a Dissident Revision of Marxism?" (Kallis)
- Payne, 23-79

Documents:

- *F.T. Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto"
- Giovanni Papini, "The War as a Source of National Renewal" (Griffin)
- F.T. Marinetti, "The War as the Catharsis of Italian Society" (Griffin)
- Benito Mussolini, "Trenchocracy" (Griffin)

Sept. 7-9: The Rise of Italian Fascism, 1919-1925

REFLECTION ASSIGNMENT DUE THURSDAY, SEPT. 9TH.

Readings:

- Adrian Lyttelton, “The ‘March on Rome’: Fascist Triumph or Capitulation of the Liberal System?” (Kallis)
- Bruno Wanrooij, “Italian Fascism as a ‘Generational’ Phenomenon” (Kallis)
- Payne, 80-128

Documents:

- Benito Mussolini, “San Sepolcro Fascism” (Griffin)
- Mario Piazzesi, “The Squadristi as the Revolutionaries of the New Italy” (Griffin)
- Benito Mussolini, “Fascism’s Myth: the Nation” (Griffin)
- Benito Mussolini, “The End of the Liberal Regime” (Griffin)

Sept. 14-16: Fascist Ideology and Culture

Readings:

- *Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, “Mussolini the Myth” and “The Politics of Symbols” in *Fascist Spectacle: the Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press (2000), 42-118
- Payne, 212-226

Documents:

- Giovanni Gentile, “Fascist as a Total Conception of Life” (Griffin)
- Augusto Turati, “The Leader as the Voice of the Reborn Race” (Griffin)

Sept. 21-23: Consent and Everyday Life in Fascist Italy

Readings:

- *Victoria De Grazia, “Going Out” in *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press (1993), 201-234
- *Bruno Wanrooij, “Italian Society under Fascism” in Adrian Lyttelton, ed., *Liberal and Fascist Italy*. New York: Oxford University Press (2002), 175-195
- Doug Thompson, “Devices of the ‘Fascist Consensus’” (Kallis)
- Tobias Abse, “Italian Workers and Italian Fascism” (Kallis)

Documents:

- Benito Mussolini, “The Strength in Numbers” (Griffin)
- Giovanni Giurati, “The Role of Youth in Fascism” (Griffin)
- Achille Starace, “Going to the People” (Griffin)

Sept. 28-30: Empire, Racism and War in “Late” Fascism

Readings:

- *Alexander De Grand, “Mussolini’s Follies: Fascism in its Imperial and Racist Phase, 1935-1940.” *Contemporary European History* 13.2 (2004), 127-147
- Jonathan Steinberg, “Partners in Genocide?” (Kallis)
- E.M. Robertson, “Italian Fascism and Racism” (Kallis)

- Payne, 227-244, 382-391, 411-414.

Documents:

- Benito Mussolini, “The Vital Need for Empire” (Griffin)
- Gioacchino Volpe, “The Introduction of Fascist Racial Policy” (Griffin)
- Carlo Costamagna, “The New Europe which will Arise from the Axis Victory” (Griffin)

Oct. 5-7: Origins and Rise of National Socialism

MIDTERM PAPER PROMPT HANDED OUT TUESDAY, OCT. 5TH

GRADUATE PAPER PROPOSALS DUE THURSDAY, OCT. 7TH

Readings:

- *Wolfgang Kruse, “The First World War: the ‘True German Revolution’?” in Reinhard Rürup, ed., *The Problem of Revolution in Germany*. Oxford: Berg (2000), 67-92
- *Hans Mommsen, “The Nazi Regime: Revolution or Counterrevolution?” in Rürup, ed., *The Problem of Revolution in Germany*, 109-128
- Detlev Peukert, “Fascism and the Crisis of Modernity: NSDAP Members and Supporters” (Kallis)
- Payne, 147-179

Documents:

- Theodor Fritsch, “The Need for the Nation to Be Healed” (Griffin)
- Adolf Hitler, “The Mission of the Nazi Movement” (Griffin)
- Gregor Strasser, “Motherhood and Warriorhood as the Key to a National Socialism” (Griffin)

Oct. 12-14: Volk, Race and War in Nazi Ideology

Readings:

- *Bernard Mees, “Hitler and *Germanentum*” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39.2 (2004), 255-270
- Daniel Goldhagen, “German Anti-Semitic Tradition, National Socialist Regime and ‘Ordinary Germans’” (Kallis)
- Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, “The ‘Uniqueness’ of Nazi Racialism” (Kallis)
- Mark Neocleous, “Racism, Fascism and Nationalism” (Kallis)
- Payne, 194-205

Documents:

- Hans F. K. Günther, “Nordic Thinking and the German Rebirth” (Griffin)
- Walter Gross, “Improving the Stock” (Griffin)
- Joseph Goebbels, “The True Meaning of War” (Griffin)

Oct. 19-21: Ritual and Aesthetics in Hitler’s Germany

MIDTERM PAPER DUE TUESDAY, OCT. 19TH

Readings:

- Ian Kershaw, “Charismatic Leadership: the ‘Cult’ of Hitler” (Kallis)
- *Hans-Ulrich Thamer, “The Orchestration of the National Community: the Nuremberg Party Rallies of the NSDAP” in Günther Berghaus, ed., *Fascism and Theater*. Berghahn Books: Providence (1996), 172-190
- * Alf Lüdke, “The ‘Honor of Labor’: Industrial Workers and the Power of Symbols under National Socialism” in David Crew, ed., *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*. New York: Routledge (1994), 67-109

Documents:

- Gottfried Feder, “Let There Be Light” (Griffin)
- Adolf Hitler, “The Place of Art in Germany’s Political Reawakening” (Griffin)
- Heinrich Himmler, “The Divine Mission of the SS” (Griffin)

Oct. 26-28: State and Society in Nazi Germany

Readings:

- Robert Koehl, “Nazi State and Neo-Feudalism” (Kallis)
- Jill Stephenson, “Fascism and Gender: Women under National Socialism” (Kallis)
- *Detlev Peukert, “Young People: Mobilisation and Refusal” in *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition and Racism in Everyday Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press (1982), 145-174
- Payne, 179-194, 205-211

Documents:

- Paula Siber, “The New German Woman” (Griffin)
- Carl Schmitt, “The Legal Basis of the Total State” (Griffin)
- Robert Ley, “The Joy of the Nazi Economy” (Griffin)

Nov. 2-4: Franco’s Spain and the Falange

Readings:

- Sheelagh Ellwood, “Spain: the ‘Falange’” (Kallis)
- Raymond Carr, “Spain in the 1930s: a Divided Society and the Coming of the Civil War” (Kallis)
- Payne, 252-267

Documents:

- Ramiro Ledesma Ramos, “The Voice of Spain” (Griffin)
- José Antonio Primo de Rivera, “Total Feeling” (Griffin)
- José Antonio Primo de Rivera, “Bread and Justice” (Griffin)

Nov. 9-11: Other Variants – Britain, France, Romania, Japan

Readings:

- Z. Barbu, “Romania: the ‘Iron Guard’ (Kallis)
- Robert Soucy, “France: the ‘Second Wave’ of Fascism in the 1930s” (Kallis)
- Richard Thurlow, “Britain: the ‘British Union of Fascists’” (Kallis)
- Payne, 277-299, 303-305, 328-337

Documents:

- Oswald Mosley, “Towards a Fascist Europe” (Griffin)
- Jacques Doriot, “Saving France” (Griffin)
- Corneliu Codreanu, “The Resurrection of the Race” (Griffin)
- Nakano Seigō, “The Need for a Totalitarian Japan” (Griffin)

Nov. 16 – Neo-Fascism and the European Far Right after 1945

NO CLASS ON THURSDAY, NOV. 18TH – PROFESSOR OUT OF TOWN

Readings:

- *Diethelm Prowe, “‘Classic’ Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts.” *Contemporary European History* 3.3 (1993), 289-313
- Payne, 496-520

Nov. 23-25

THANKSGIVING BREAK

Nov. 30-Dec. 2: It Can’t Happen Here? Fascism and the Far Right in America

FINAL PAPER PROMPT HANDED OUT TUESDAY, NOV. 30TH

Readings:

- Philip Roth, *The Plot against America*
- Payne, 350-352

Dec. 7-9: Memory and Representation

FINAL REFLECTION ASSIGNMENT DUE THURSDAY, DEC. 9TH

EXTRA CREDIT PAPERS DUE BY THURSDAY, DEC. 9TH.

Readings:

- *Sharon McDonald, “Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12.1 (2006), 9-28
- *Andrea Mammone, “A Daily Revision of the Past: Fascism, anti-Fascism and Memory in Contemporary Italy.” *Modern Italy* 11.2 (2006), 211-226

FINAL PAPERS AND GRADUATE TERM PAPERS DUE TUESDAY, DEC. 14TH AT NOON.