HIST 423: History of Fascism

Instructor: Dr. Joshua Arthurs
Location: Oglebay G10, MWF 12:30-1:20
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Telephone: (304) 293-9303
Office Hours: 302D Woodburn Hall, MW 2:00-3:00 or by appointment

Course Description: Reactionary or revolutionary? Coherent ideology or the rejection of ideas? Limited to interwar Europe or alive 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 and the contemporary far right. 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.

Learning Outcomes: At the end of this History course, students will be able to
- demonstrate general knowledge of the facts, concepts, and approaches of history;
- critically analyze and assess primary sources;
- critically analyze and assess secondary sources;
- conduct original historical research and report results orally and in writing;
- produce historical essays that are coherent, grammatically correct, and use proper historical documentation.

Readings: The books listed below must be purchased at the campus bookstore and on reserve at the Downtown Library. Other readings, as indicated on the syllabus, are available on eCampus. You will also notice that the texts are divided into “readings” – works of historical analysis by scholars – and “documents” (i.e. primary sources).
- Roger Griffin, ed., Fascism (Oxford University Press, 1995) – the main primary sourcebook for the course.
- Stanley Payne, A History of Fascism 1914-1945 (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995) – also available as an eBook via WVU libraries.

Undergraduate Assignments:
Papers (60%): There are three papers – each roughly 6-8 pages, double-spaced – over the course of the semester. The first is worth 15% of your overall grade; the second is worth 20%; and the third is worth 25%. Students will be given prompts, workshop their ideas in class, and develop written arguments based on evidence from 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 rewriting the first or second papers, but may only do one rewrite per semester. The rewrites are due within a week of receiving feedback on the original paper.

**Short response paper (10%)**: Students will write a short (2-3 pages) response paper on different theories of fascism covered in the early weeks of the semester.

**Final essay (15%)**: An essay of 3-5 pages, due at the end of the semester, applying historical perspectives on fascism to contemporary politics.

**Participation and Attendance (15%)**: Students should come to all class meetings having already read the texts assigned for that day, and must have the readings and a notebook or laptop in hand. Be prepared to ask questions and contribute to our discussion. In-class exercises also contribute to your participation grade. Grading criteria is available on eCampus under “Resources.”

As noted above, some weeks are devoted to discussion workshops; during these, the class will be divided in half to facilitate conversation. Your contributions during these sessions form the core of your participation grade. You must attend the discussion group to which you are assigned; otherwise, you will be considered absent for that week’s workshop.

Attendance counts towards your participation grade. I do not distinguish between excused and unexcused absences; however, I understand that issues can arise, so you will be allowed **three “free” absences** over the course of the semester; more than these will count against your participation grade. Absences for university-approved or military commitments will be excused upon receipt of the appropriate documentation. Students who arrive more than 5 minutes late to class will receive a 0.5 absence for that day’s attendance. **Failure to attend at least 2/3 of our class meetings will result in an F for your participation grade.**

**Extra Credit**: Students may earn up to 3% extra credit by writing an analysis of the documentary *Eternal Beauty*, which is assigned while I am out of town in Week X. The prompt and video are available on eCampus.

**Graduate Assignments:**

**Term Paper (45%)**: Graduate students will write a **16 to 20-page historiography paper** on a topic of their choice, chosen in consultation with me and relevant to the themes of the course. In addition to assigned readings, they must choose 5-7 works of scholarly literature (books, journal articles, etc.) on their topic.

**Proposal and preliminary annotated bibliography (15%)**: At midterm, graduate students must submit a 3- to 4-page proposal and preliminary annotated bibliography and meet with me individually to discuss their project.

**Short response paper (10%)**: See undergraduate description.

**Final essay (15%)**: See undergraduate description.

**Participation and Attendance (15%)**: See undergraduate description 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.

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

**Grading Scale:**

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<th>Grade</th>
<th>Percentage range</th>
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<td>A</td>
<td>93+</td>
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A- 90-92
B+ 87-89
B  83-86
B- 80-82
C+ 77-79
C  73-76
C- 70-72
D+ 67-69
D  63-66
D- 60-62
F  0-59

**eCampus:** The course website (which you can reach by logging on with your MIX user name and password at [ecampus.wvu.edu](http://ecampus.wvu.edu)) contains important materials including slides from past lectures, some readings, discussion questions for sections, assignments, this syllabus, and useful links.

**Course Expectations:**

**Assignments:** Assignments should be uploaded as Word (.docx) files to eCampus. They should be double-spaced, with 1-inch margins and in 12-point font. Late papers will be deducted 3 points 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 message with no salutation and emojis 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.

**Academic Integrity:** Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be dealt with severely. Penalties can range from a zero on an assignment to an unforgivable F for 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). It includes not only lifting passages word for word 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. For more on WVU’s academic integrity policies, see [https://tlcommons.wvu.edu/syllabus-policies-and-statements#4](https://tlcommons.wvu.edu/syllabus-policies-and-statements#4).

**Inclusivity Statement:** The West Virginia University community is committed to creating and fostering a positive learning and working environment based on open communication, mutual respect, and inclusion. If you are a person with a disability and anticipate needing any type of accommodation in order to participate in your classes, please advise your instructors and make appropriate arrangements with the Office of Accessibility Services.
More information is available at the Division of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (https://diversity.wvu.edu/) as well.

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<th>SpeakWrite: HIST 423 has been designated as a SpeakWrite course by the Eberly College of Arts and Sciences. As part of the Eberly College’s commitment to fostering effective communication skills, this course will:</th>
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<td>• Emphasize informal and formal modes of communication;</td>
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<td>• Teach discipline-specific communication techniques;</td>
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<td>• Use a process-based approach to learning that provides opportunities for feedback and revision;</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Base a substantial portion of the final grade on successful spoken and/or written performance.</td>
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Schedule

Week I
1/7   Introduction and Overview
1/9   What is Fascism? When is Fascism?

Readings:
• Gilbert Allardyce, “Generic Fascism: An Illusion?” (Kallis)
• Robert Paxton, “Fascism and its Evolution ‘in Time’: Five Stages” (Kallis)
• Roger Griffin, “Fascism: ‘Rebirth’ and ‘Ultra-Nationalism’” (Kallis)
• Payne, 3-19

Documents:
• “Three Comintern Interpretations of Fascism” (Griffin)

1/11  Origins and Influences

Readings:
• Payne, 23-62

Documents:
• Karl Pearson, “Social Darwinism: Imperialism Justified by Nature” (eCampus)
• Friedrich Nietzsche, “The Will to Power and The Antichrist” (eCampus)
• Gustave Le Bon, “Mass Psychology” (eCampus)

Week II
1/14  The Great War and its Legacies

Readings:
• Roger Griffin, “Pre-Conditions for Fascism’s Success” (Kallis)
• Seymour Martin Lipset, “Fascism as ‘Extremism of the Middle Class’” (Kallis)
• Payne, 70-79
1/16 The Roots of Italian Fascism

Readings:
- Payne, 80-94

Documents:
- F.T. Marinetti, “The Futurist Manifesto” (eCampus)
- Giovanni Papini, “The War as a Source of National Renewal” (Griffin)
- Revolutionary Syndicalism, “The War as a Proletarian Cause” (Griffin)
- Benito Mussolini, “Trenchocracy” (Griffin)

1/18 Mussolini’s March to Power

Readings:
- Adrian Lyttelton, “The ‘March on Rome’: Fascist Triumph or Capitulation of the Liberal System?” (Kallis)
- Payne, 94-115

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)

Week III – Workshop #1
1/21 NO CLASS – MLK DAY
1/23 Group 1
1/25 Group 2

Week IV
1/28 Building the Stato Totalitario

Readings:
- Doug Thompson, “Devices of the ‘Fascist Consensus’” (Kallis)
- Payne, 115-128

Documents:
- Benito Mussolini, “The End of the Liberal Regime” (Griffin)
- Benito Mussolini, “The Strength in Numbers” (Griffin)
- Achille Starace, “Going to the People” (Griffin)

1/30 Fascist Culture and Spectacle

Short response paper due by start of class

Readings:
• 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)

2/1 Film: Fascism and the Cult of the Duce

Week V
2/4 Everyday Life under Fascism

Readings:
• Michael Ebner, Ordinary Violence in Mussolini’s Italy (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 239-258) (eCampus)

2/6 Empire and Race in “Late” Fascism

Readings:
• Payne, 227-244

Documents:
• Benito Mussolini, “The Vital Need for Empire” (Griffin)
• Gioacchino Volpe, “The Introduction of Fascist Racial Policy” (Griffin)

2/8 The Second World War and the Social Republic

Readings:
• Payne, 382-391, 411-414

Documents:
• Carlo Costamagna, “The New Europe which will Arise from the Axis Victory” (Griffin)
• The Fascist Republican Party, “Fascism Reborn” (Griffin)

Week VI – Workshop #2
2/11 Writing workshop (whole class)
2/13  Group 2
2/15  Group 1

Week VII
2/18  The Origins of Nazism

Readings:
• Detlev Peukert, “Fascism and the Crisis of Modernity: NSDAP Members and Supporters” (Kallis)
• Payne, 147-157, 161-164

Documents:
• Theodor Fritsch, “The Need for the Nation to Be Healed” (Griffin)
• Ernst von Salomon, “The Germany of the Freikorps” (Griffin)
• Adolf Hitler, “The Mission of the Nazi Movement” (Griffin)

2/20  Building the Nazi Regime

Paper #1 due by start of class

Readings:
• Payne, 157-161, 164-211

Documents:
• Gottfried Feder, “Let There Be Light” (Griffin)
• Carl Schmitt, “The Legal Basis of the Total State” (Griffin)
• Robert Ley, “The Joy of the Nazi Economy” (Griffin)

2/22  Race, Blood and Soil

Readings:
• 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)

Documents:
• Adolf Hitler, “Mein Kampf” (eCampus)
• Hans F. K. Günther, “Nordic Thinking and the German Rebirth” (Griffin)
• R. Walther Darré, “Breeding a New Nobility” (Griffin)

Week VIII
2/25  Nazi Culture and Ritual

Readings:
• Ian Kershaw, “Charismatic Leadership: The ‘Cult’ of Hitler” (Kallis)
• Hans-Ulrich Thämer, “The Orchestration of the National Community: The Nuremberg Party Rallies of the NSDAP.” In Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and

Documents:
- Adolf Hitler, “The Place of Art in Germany’s Political Reawakening” (Griffin)
- Helmuth Langenbucher, “The Successful Cleansing of German Culture” (Griffin)

2/27 German Society under Nazism

Readings:
- Jill Stephenson, “Fascism and Gender: Women under National Socialism” (Kallis)
- Payne, 179-194, 205-208

Documents:
- Paula Siber, “The New German Woman” (Griffin)
- Robert Ley, “The Joy of the National Socialist Economy” (Griffin)

3/1 Foreign Policy and the March to War

Readings:
- Payne, 355-380

Documents:
- Paul Herre, “The New European Order” (Griffin)
- Joseph Goebbels, “The Real Meaning of War” (Griffin)

Week IX – Workshop #3

3/4 Nazism and Genocide

Readings:
- Payne, 380-382, 436-437

Documents:
- Walter Gross, “Improving the Stock” (Griffin)
- Heinrich Himmler, “Moral Dilemmas” (Griffin)

3/6 Group 1

3/8 Group 2

Spring Break – 3/11-3/16

Week X (3/18-3/22) – NO CLASS; PROFESSOR OUT OF TOWN

Paper #2 due by class time on 3/20
Watch documentary Eternal Beauty for extra credit assignment
Week XI

3/25  Franco’s Spain

Extra credit paper due by start of class

Readings:
• 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)

3/27  Western European Variants

Readings:
• Richard Thurlow, “Britain: The ‘British Union of Fascists’” (Kallis)
• Payne, 290-299, 303-305

Documents:
• Jacques Doriot, “Saving France” (Griffin)
• Oswald Mosley, “Towards a Fascist Europe” (Griffin)

3/29  Eastern European Variants

Documents:
• Payne, 267-289

Readings:
• Corneliu Codreanu, “The Resurrection of the Race” (Griffin)
• Ferenc Szálasi, “Hungarism” (Griffin)

Week XII

4/1  European Memories of Fascism

Readings:
• Joshua Arthurs, “Fascism as ‘Heritage’ in Contemporary Italy.” In Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe, edited by Andrea Mammonne and Giuseppe A. Veltri, 114–27. London: Routledge, 2010 (eCampus)

4/3  Neo-Fascism since 1945
Readings:
• Payne, 496-520

Documents:
• Julius Evola, “The True Europe’s Revolt Against the Modern World” (Griffin)
• Movimento Sociale Italiano, “For a New Italy” (Griffin)
• John Tyndall, “Spiritual AIDS” (Griffin)

4/5 Fascism beyond Europe?

Readings:
• Christopher Hitchens, “Defending Islamofascism,” Slate, October 22, 2007 (eCampus)
• Payne, 328-349, 352-353

Documents:
• Nakano Seigō, “The Need for a Totalitarian Japan” (Griffin)
• Carlos Keller, “Chilean Action and National Regeneration” (Griffin)

Week XIII – Workshop #4

4/8 Can It Happen Here? Fascism in the USA

Readings:
• Christopher R. Browning, “The Suffocation of Democracy.” New York Review of Books, October 25, 2018 (eCampus)
• Ruth Ben-Ghiat, “An American Authoritarian.” The Atlantic, August 10, 2016 (eCampus)
• Isaac Chotiner, “Is Donald Trump a Fascist? Yes and No.” Slate, May 12, 2016 (eCampus)
• Payne, 350-352

Documents:
• Donald Trump, “The Escalator Speech” (eCampus)

4/10 Group 2

4/12 Group 1

Week XIV

4/15 Is Fascism Back?

• “Madeleine Albright Warns: Don’t Let Fascism Go ‘Unnoticed Until It’s Too Late.’” Fresh Air with Terry Gross, April 3, 2018.
• Timothy Snyder, “20 Lessons from the 20th Century on How to Survive in Trump’s America.” In These Times, November 21, 2016.

4/17 Final essay workshop
Paper #3 due by class time
4/19  NO CLASS – WORK ON FINAL ESSAY

Week XV – Workshop #5
4/22  NO CLASS – WORK ON FINAL ESSAY
4/24  Group 1
4/26  Group 2

Final essay due by noon on Monday, 4/29