



## HIST 423: History of Fascism

**Instructor:** Dr. Joshua Arthurs

**Location:** Oglebay G10, MWF 12:30-1:20

**Email:** Joshua.Arthurs@mail.wvu.edu

**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.
- Aristotle Kallis, ed., *The Fascism Reader* (Routledge, 2003)
- 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:**

Grade	Percentage range
A	93+

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 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. For more on WVU’s academic integrity policies, see <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

(<https://accessibilityservices.wvu.edu/>). More information is available at the Division of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (<https://diversity.wvu.edu/>) as well.

	<p><b>SpeakWrite:</b> 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:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emphasize informal and formal modes of communication;</li> <li>• Teach discipline-specific communication techniques;</li> <li>• Use a process-based approach to learning that provides opportunities for feedback and revision;</li> <li>• Base a substantial portion of the final grade on successful spoken and/or written performance.</li> </ul>
---	---

\* \* \*

### 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:

- Kevin Passmore, “The Ideological Origins of Fascism before 1914.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R. J. B Bosworth, 11–31. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- 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)
- Alan Kramer, “The First World War as Cultural Trauma.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R. J. B Bosworth, 32–51. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- Payne, 70-79

Documents:

- Ernst Jünger, “The Great War: Father of a New Age” (Griffin)

1/16 The Roots of Italian Fascism

Readings:

- Emilio Gentile, “The Conquest of Modernity: From Modernist Nationalism to Fascism.” Translated by Lawrence S. Rainey. *Modernism/Modernity* 1, no. 3 (1994): 55–87 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Mimmo Franzinelli, “Squadrim.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R. J. B Bosworth, 91–108. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Emilio Gentile, “The Problem of the Party in Italian Fascism.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 19, no. 2 (1984): 251–274 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini's Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 42-118 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Christopher Duggan, "The Internalisation of the Cult of the Duce: The Evidence of Diaries and Letters." In *The Cult of the Duce: Mussolini and the Italians*, edited by Stephen Gundle, Christopher Duggan, and Giuliana Pieri, 129–143. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Alexander De Grand, "Mussolini's Follies: Fascism in its Imperial and Racist Phase, 1935-1940." *Contemporary European History* 13, no. 2 (2004): 127-147 (eCampus)
- Valeria Galimi, "The 'New Racist Man': Italian Society and the Fascist Anti-Jewish Laws." In *In the Society of Fascists: Acclamation, Acquiescence, and Agency in Mussolini's Italy*, edited by Giulia Albanese and Roberta Pergher, 149–168. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Davide Rodogno, "Fascism and War." In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R.J.B. Bosworth, 239–258. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- Marco Fincardi, "Anglo-American Air Attacks and the Rebirth of Public Opinion in Fascist Italy." In *Bombing, States and Peoples in Western Europe, 1940-1945*, edited by Claudia Baldoli, Andrew Knapp, and Richard Overy (London: Continuum, 2011: 241-255) (eCampus)
- 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:

- Wolfgang Kruse, "The First World War: The 'True German Revolution?'" In *The Problem of Revolution in Germany, 1789-1989*, edited by Reinhard Rürup, 67–92. Oxford: Berg, 2000 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Richard Bessel, "The Nazi Capture of Power." *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 2 (2004): 169–188 (eCampus)
- 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*

*Politics of Performance, 1925-1945*, edited by Günther Berghaus, 172–190. Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 1996 (eCampus)

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)
- Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*. Translated by Richard Deveson. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989, 145-174 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Alexander Rossino, “Destructive Impulses: German Soldiers and the Conquest of Poland.” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11, no. 3 (1997): 351–365 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Avraham Barkai, “‘Aryanization’ and the Holocaust.” In *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, edited by David Cesarini, 33–50. New York: Routledge, 1994 (eCampus)
- Detlev Peukert, “The Genesis of the ‘Final Solution’ from the Spirit of Science.” In *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*, edited by David F. Crew, 274–299. New York: Routledge, 1994 (eCampus)
- 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:

- Mary Vincent, "Spain." In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R.J.B. Bosworth, 362–379. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- 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)
- Joan Tumblety, "France." In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R.J.B. Bosworth, 507–525. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- Payne, 290-299, 303-305

### Documents:

- Jacques Doriot, "Saving France" (Griffin)
- Oswald Mosley, "Towards a Fascist Europe" (Griffin)

3/29 Eastern European Variants

### Documents:

- Mark Pittaway, "Hungary." In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R.J.B. Bosworth, 380–97. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- Radu Ioanid, "Romania" in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, ed. R.J.B. Bosworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 398-413) (eCampus)
- 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:

- Nathan Stoltzfus and R.J.B. Bosworth. "Memory and Representations of Fascism in Germany and Italy." In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R.J.B. Bosworth, 566–85. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009 (eCampus)
- Joshua Arthurs, "Fascism as 'Heritage' in Contemporary Italy." In *Italy Today: The Sick Man of Europe*, edited by Andrea Mammone and Giuseppe A. Veltri, 114–27. London: Routledge, 2010 (eCampus)

4/3 Neo-Fascism since 1945

Readings:

- Anna Cento Bull, “Neo-Fascism” in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, ed. R.J.B. Bosworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 586-605) (eCampus)
- 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:

- Joseph P. Sottile, “The Fascist Era: Imperial Japan and the Axis Alliance in Historical Perspective.” In *Japan in the Fascist Era*, edited by E. Bruce Reynolds, 1–48. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004 (eCampus)
- 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?

- Hans-Georg Betz and Carol Johnson. “Against the Current-Stemming the Tide: The Nostalgic Ideology of the Contemporary Radical Populist Right.” In *The Populist Radical Right: A Reader*, edited by Cas Mudde, 68–82. New York: Routledge, 2017 (eCampus)
- “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**