



HIST 423: History of Fascism

Instructor: Prof. Joshua Arthurs

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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. 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.

Undergraduate Assignments:

Reflection Assignment (10%): At the beginning of the semester, you will write a brief (approx. 2 pages) reflection on the themes of the course. You will then revisit this paper at the end of term.

Papers (45%): A midterm and a final paper, worth 20% and 25% of your grade respectively. Each paper should be 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 rewriting 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 one week 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 on taking my capstone course next semester, HIST 484: Europe in Crisis, 1870-1945. **If you are interested in taking this option, you must notify me before the midterm paper prompt is handed out.** Like the graduate students, you will need to meet with me to discuss your topic and submit a proposal and bibliography.

eCampus Discussion (25%): As indicated on the syllabus, students will write a brief response to our longer readings during discussion weeks; these must be posted on the eCampus Discussion Board by the date and time indicated on the syllabus. Each response will be graded, with the results posted online. Students will be divided into discussion groups to facilitate conversation. You can also earn additional points for that week's assignment by commenting on your peers' posts. However, while you are encouraged to engage with one other, please ensure that your first post contains your original thoughts regarding the prompts. As these assignments will be taken up in discussion, no late work will be accepted.

Participation and Attendance (20%): As you will notice on the syllabus, some weeks will be focused on lectures while others are devoted to discussion. During discussion weeks, the class will be divided into groups to facilitate conversation. Your contributions for each discussion week are graded and form the core of your participation grade. You must attend the discussion group to which you are assigned.

Attendance counts towards your participation grade. You are expected to attend all class meetings, with a notebook and the readings in hand. Be prepared to discuss 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" misses** 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 improve your participation grade, while multiple absences will lower it. **Failure to attend at least 2/3 of our classes will result in a zero for participation and severely jeopardize your ability to pass the course.**

Extra Credit: Students may earn up to 3% 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 do one extra credit assignment per semester, and it is due by the last class meeting.

Graduate Assignments:

Term Paper (50%): 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. As indicated in the schedule, 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.

Reflection paper (10%): See above; same as for undergraduates.

eCampus discussion (20%): See above; same as for undergraduates.

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

Readings:

The books listed below must be purchased at the campus bookstore. Other readings, indicated by an asterisk (*), 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)
- Aristotle Kallis, ed., *The Fascism Reader* (Routledge, 2003)
- Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995)

eCampus:

The course website (which you can reach by logging on with your MIX user name and password at **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: 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 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.

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).

Schedule

Week I

8/17 Introduction and Overview

Week II

8/22 What is Fascism? When is Fascism?

REFLECTION #1 DUE

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

8/24 Origins and Contexts

Readings:

- Seymour Martin Lipset, "Fascism as 'Extremism of the Middle Class'" (Kallis)
- Roger Griffin, "Pre-Conditions for Fascism's Success" (Kallis)
- *Alan Kramer, "The First World War as Cultural Trauma" in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, ed. R.J.B. Bosworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 32-51)
- Payne, 23-62, 70-79

Week III

8/29 Intellectual Influences

Readings:

- *Walter Adamson, "The Language of Opposition in Early Twentieth-Century Italy: Rhetorical Continuities Between Prewar Florentine Avant-Gardism and Mussolini's Fascism." *Journal of Modern History* 64.1 (1992): 22-51
- Zeev Sternhell, "Fascist Ideology: A Dissident Revision of Marxism?" (Kallis)
- Payne, 62-68

Documents:

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

8/31 The Rise of Italian Fascism, 1919-1925

Readings:

- *Mimmo Franzinelli, "Squadristism" in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, 91-108
- Adrian Lyttelton, "The 'March on Rome': Fascist Triumph or Capitulation of the Liberal System?" (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)

Week IV – Discussion #1

ONLINE RESPONSES DUE BY 4 PM SUNDAY

9/5 NO CLASS – LABOR DAY

9/7 Whole class discussion

Week V

9/12 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)

9/14 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)
- *Michael Ebner, “Ordinary Fascist Violence” and “The Politics of Everyday Life” in *Ordinary Violence in Mussolini’s Italy* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011: 215-258)
- 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)

Week VI

9/19 Film – *Fascism and the Cult of the Duce*

9/21 Empire, Racism and War in “Late” Fascism
MIDTERM PROMPT HANDED OUT
GRAD PAPER PROPOSALS DUE

Readings:

- *Alexander De Grand, “Mussolini’s Follies: Fascism in its Imperial and Racist Phase, 1935-1940.” *Contemporary European History* 13.2 (2004): 127-147
- *Davide Rodogno, “Fascism and War” in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, 239-258
- Jonathan Steinberg, “Partners in Genocide?” (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)

Week VII – Discussion #2

ONLINE RESPONSES DUE BY 4 PM SUNDAY

9/26 Groups 1-4

9/28 Groups 5-8

Week VIII

10/3 Writing Workshop

MIDTERM PAPER PROMPT HANDED OUT

10/5 Origins and Rise of National Socialism

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)
- *Richard Bessel, “The Nazi Capture of Power.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39.2 (2004): 169-188
- 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)

Week IX

10/10 Nazi Ideology: Blood and Soil

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)
- R. Walther Darré, “Breeding a New Nobility” (Griffin)
- E. Günther Gründel, “The New Human Synthesis” (Griffin)

10/12 Ritual and Aesthetics in Hitler’s Germany

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* (Providence, RI: Berghahn Books, 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)

Week X

10/17 Film – *Eternal Beauty*

10/19 Film – *Eternal Beauty* ctd.

MIDTERM PAPER DUE

Week XI

10/24 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)

10/26 War and Genocide

Readings:

- *Avraham Barkai, “Aryanization’ and the Holocaust” in *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, ed. David Cesarini (New York: Routledge, 1994): 33-40
- *Omer Bartov, “Operation Barbarossa and the Origins of the Final Solution” in *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation in The Final Solution*: 119-136
- Payne, 355-382, 436-437

Documents:

- Paul Herre, “The New European Order” (Griffin)
- Walter Gross, “Improving the Stock” (Griffin)
- Joseph Goebbels, “The True Meaning of War” (Griffin)
- Heinrich Himmler, “Moral Dilemmas” (Griffin)

Week XII – Discussion #3

ONLINE RESPONSES DUE BY 4 PM SUNDAY

10/31 Groups 5-8

11/2 Groups 1-4

Week XIII

11/7 Franco's Spain and the Falange

Readings:

- *Mary Vincent, "Spain" in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, 362-379
- 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)

11/9 Other Interwar European Variants

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:

- Corneliu Codreanu, "The Resurrection of the Race" (Griffin)
- Jacques Doriot, "Saving France" (Griffin)
- Oswald Mosley, "Towards a Fascist Europe" (Griffin)

Week XIV

11/14 Fascism Outside Europe

Readings:

- *Joseph P. Sottile, "The Fascist Era: Imperial Japan and the Axis Alliance in Historical Perspective" in *Japan in the Fascist Era*, ed. E. Bruce Reynolds (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004): 10-48
- *Christopher Hitchens, "Defending Islamofascism," blog post on slate.com, October 22, 2007
- Payne, 328-349

Documents:

- Nakano Seigō, "The Need for a Totalitarian Japan" (Griffin)
- Carlos Keller, "Chilean Action and National Regeneration" (Griffin)

11/16 European Neo-Fascism and the Far Right after 1945

FINAL PAPER PROMPT HANDED OUT

Readings:

- *Diethelm Prowe, "'Classic' Fascism and the New Radical Right in Western Europe: Comparisons and Contrasts." *Contemporary European History* 3.3 (1993): 289-313
- *Anna Cento Bull, "Neo-Fascism" in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, 586-605
- *"How Far is Europe Swinging to the Right?" interactive tool, NYTimes.com.
- Payne, 496-520

Documents:

- Julius Evola, "The True Europe's Revolt Against the Modern World" (Griffin)

- Skrewdriver, “Songs for Europe” (Griffin)
- John Tyndall, “Spiritual AIDS” (Griffin)
- Movimento Sociale Italiano, “For a New Italy” (Griffin)

THANKSGIVING BREAK

Week XV

11/28 Can It Happen Here? Fascism in the USA

Readings:

- *Chris Hedges, “The Christian Fascists Are Growing Stronger,” blog post on truthdig.com, June 7, 2010.
- *Robert Kagan, “This is How Fascism Comes to America,” *Washington Post*, May 18, 2016.
- *Jan-Werner Mueller, “Trump is a Far Right Populist, Not a Fascist,” blog post on Aljazeera.com, December 26, 2015.
- Payne, 350-352

Documents:

- William Pierce, “The Cleansing Hurricane” (Griffin)
- *Donald Trump Speech Transcript: ‘Our Country Needs a Truly Great Leader,’ *Wall Street Journal*, June 16, 2015.

11/30 Memory and Representation

REFLECTION ASSIGNMENT #2 DUE

Readings:

- *Nathan Stoltzfus and R.J.B. Bosworth, “Memory and Representation of Fascism in Germany and Italy” in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, 566-585.
- *Sharon McDonald, “Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12.1 (2006): 9-28.

Week XVI – Discussion #4

ONLINE RESPONSES DUE BY 4 PM SUNDAY

12/5 Whole class discussion

EXTRA CREDIT PAPERS DUE

ALL FINAL PAPERS DUE IN HISTORY DEPT. MAILBOX (WOODBURN 220) BY 5 PM ON FRIDAY, DEC. 9TH