



HISC20: Fascism and the Far Right Winter 2024

Instructor: Prof. Joshua Arthurs

Meeting Time and Location: THURS 11-1, HW308

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Office Hours: THURS 3:30-5:00, MW 238

Course Description: This course examines the political, cultural, and social history of fascism, from twentieth-century Europe to contemporary global expressions of the far right, alt-right and populist nationalism. We will explore topics including intellectual origins, the mobilization of culture, the totalitarian state, and political violence. We will examine original texts, propaganda and film alongside recent scholarship.

Given the subject matter, our course content will regularly include topics, readings, and images that some students may find controversial, disturbing, offensive and/or traumatizing. Our classroom provides an open space for the critical and civil exchange of ideas; I ask all students to help to create an atmosphere of mutual respect and sensitivity. If you are aware of course material that may be traumatizing to you, I'd be happy to discuss any concerns you may have with it before it comes up in class. Likewise, if you ever wish to discuss your personal reactions to such material with the class or with me afterwards, I welcome such discussion as an appropriate part of our coursework.

Readings: All texts have been posted to Quercus within the weekly modules. You will notice that the texts are divided into “readings” – works of historical analysis by scholars – and “documents” (primary sources including written works and video clips). If you would benefit from further background reading, the following are all available as eBooks through the UofT library:

- Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*
- Martin Blinkhorn, *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1914-1945*
- Peter David and Derek Lynch, *The Routledge Companion to Fascism and the Far Right*

Assignments:

Midterm and Final Take-Home Exams (58%): There are a midterm (25% of overall grade, due February 28th) and a final (33% of your overall grade, TBA); both are untimed take-home exams to be submitted on Quercus. Students scoring below 70% have option of rewriting the essay portion of the midterm, provided that they have submitted the original on time. The rewrite is due within a week of receiving marks and comments and must be accompanied with a paragraph explaining how the revisions respond to the feedback on the original. On Quercus you can also find a detailed explanation of grading criteria.

Reflection Assignment (2%): Students will write a brief reflection on their understanding of the fascism, first at the start of the semester and then at the end. Both reflections must be submitted to receive credit for this assignment.

Quercus Discussion (25%): Every week, I will post discussion prompts related to the lectures, readings and documents. Over the course of the semester, students must post **five** responses. Unless otherwise indicated, these are **due by 9 AM on Wednesdays**. As these assignments are taken up in class, posts will not be accepted after the start of the class in which they are discussed. You may comment on your peers' posts for additional points toward that week's grade. You may also post more than five responses; if you do so, I will count the five highest scores for the semester. Guidelines are available on Quercus.

Participation and Attendance (15%): Students are expected to attend all meetings, with class materials and notes in hand. Be prepared to ask questions and contribute to our discussion. Typically, the first half of class will be devoted to discussion of the material covered in the previous lecture; in the second half, I will provide a lecture introducing a new topic. Participation criteria is available on Quercus.

Your final grade for attendance and participation is calculated as follows: grade for participation minus 4% for each absence. Students are granted one "free" absence that will not count against your attendance grade. So, for example, if you had an 85% for participation and attended all classes, your final participation grade would be 85; if you missed three classes, one would be excused and the other two would reduce your participation mark by 8%, for a final grade of 77%. Keep in mind that you can only be evaluated for participation if you are present in class! Regular absences will also affect your participation mark.

To promote collaboration and assist students who miss a class meeting, students are invited to upload their lecture notes on Quercus. In so doing, they will earn 1% additional credit per week toward their final participation mark. Notes must be thorough and complete to receive this credit.

Grading Scale: A+ 90+; A 85-89; A- 80-84; B+ 77-79; B 73-76; B- 70-72; C+67-69; C 63-66; C-60-62; D+ 57-59; D 53-56%; D- 50-52; F 0-49.

Late/Missed Assignments: Late assignments will be deducted 2% for every 24 hours that they are late, beginning at the time at which they are due, and including weekends. Normally they will be accepted up to a week after their original due date, though in the case of the final exam will also be determined by the university calendar. If you know that you will be unable to submit an assignment on time, please request an extension prior to the due date.

Course Policies and Expectations:

Communication: As your professor, I am profoundly invested in your learning and success, both in this course and beyond. Whether you are struggling in the course, have unanswered questions, want suggestions for further exploration, or would like to discuss future goals, please reach out and schedule a meeting with me. I will often communicate with the class via your University email account, so please 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 need 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 silence all devices that may make noise during class. You may use a laptop for taking notes, but if you are distracting other students with it, I will ask you to leave class.

Academic Integrity: The University treats cases of cheating and plagiarism very seriously. The University of Toronto's Code of Behaviour on Academic Matters (<http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>) outlines the behaviours that constitute academic dishonesty and the processes for addressing academic offences. Potential offences in papers and assignments include using someone else's ideas or words without appropriate acknowledgement, submitting your own work in more than one course without the permission of the instructor, making up sources or facts, obtaining or providing unauthorized assistance on any assignment. On tests and exams cheating includes using or possessing unauthorized aids, looking at someone else's answers during an exam or test, misrepresenting your identity, or falsifying or altering any documentation required by the University, including (but not limited to) doctor's notes. Penalties for violations of academic integrity in this course will range from zero for an assignment to an F in the course.

Artificial Intelligence: Students may not copy or paraphrase from any generative artificial intelligence applications, including ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants, for the purpose of completing assignments in this course. This policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development.

Plagiarism Detection: Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation website (<https://uoft.me/pdt-faq>).

Accessibility: Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Services Office as soon as possible: <http://www.utoronto.ca/ability>. AccessAbility Services staff (located in Rm AA142, Arts and Administration Building) are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations 416-287-7560 (tel/TTY) or email ability.utoronto.ca. The sooner you let us know your needs the quicker we can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

Religious Accommodations: The University has a commitment concerning accommodation for religious observances. I will make every reasonable effort to avoid scheduling tests, examinations, or other compulsory activities on religious holy days not captured by statutory holidays. According to University Policy, if you anticipate being absent from class or missing a major course activity (like a test, or in-class assignment) due to a religious observance, please let me know as early in the course as possible, and with sufficient notice (at least two to three weeks), so that we can work together to make alternate arrangements.

Specific Medical Circumstances: Students who need to miss academic activities due to illness or other reason should submit a [self-declaration form](#) through ACORN. If you become ill and it affects your ability to do your academic work, consult the course instructor right away. If you get a concussion, break your hand, or suffer some other acute injury, you should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

Health and Wellness: Your health and well-being are important to all of us at UTSC. If you feel you are in need of support, the campus has a number of services to assist you. You can find out more about these services at: <https://www.utoronto.ca/hwc/>

- [Student Mental Health web portal](#)
- [Health and Wellness Peer Support](#)

- [UTSC International Student Centre](#) (UTSC students)
- [Navi](#) - Your mental health wayfinder.
- [Contacts to support you through different types of distress](#) (24/7 Emergency, mental health, academic, financial, housing, sexual assault/safety, equity offices and communities of care on campus).
- [My Student Support Program \(MySSP\)](#) - Confidential mental health counselling by online chat or phone is available from anywhere in the world, 24/7, in multiple languages through.

Schedule

Week I (Jan. 11) – Introduction and Definitions

Readings:

- Roger Griffin, “Fascism: General Introduction.” In *Comparative Fascist Studies: New Perspectives*, edited by Constantin Iordachi, 115–24. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Stanley Payne, *A History of Fascism 1914-1945*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995, 3-14.
- Robert O. Paxton, “The Five Stages of Fascism.” *Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 1 (1998): 1–23.

Week II (Jan. 18) – Roots, Influences, Contexts

Reflection #1 due by start of class

Readings:

- Martin Blinkhorn, *Fascism and the Right in Europe, 1919-1945*. New York: Longman, 2000, 8-16.
- 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.

Documents:

- Gustave Le Bon, “Mass Psychology”
- Ernst Jünger, “The Great War: Father of a New Age”

Week III (Jan. 25) – Italian Fascism: Origins and Rise to Power

Readings:

- Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, “The Artist to Power? Futurism, Fascism and the Avant-Garde.” *Theory, Culture & Society* 13, no. 2 (1996): 39–58.
- Giulia Albanese, “Violence and Political Participation during the Rise of Fascism (1919-1926).” In *In the Society of Fascists: Acclamation, Acquiescence, and Agency in Mussolini’s Italy*, edited by Giulia Albanese and Roberta Pergher, 49–68. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

Documents:

- F.T. Marinetti, “The Futurist Manifesto”
- Benito Mussolini, “Trenchocracy”

Week IV (Feb. 1) – State, Society and Culture under Mussolini

Readings:

- Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 64-118.

- 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.
- Victoria De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, 41-76.

Documents:

- Giovanni Gentile, “Fascist as a Total Conception of Life”
- Benito Mussolini, “The Strength in Numbers”

Week V (Feb. 8) – Late Fascism: Empire, War and Collapse

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.
- 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.
- 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.

Documents:

- Benito Mussolini, “The Vital Need for Empire”
- Carlo Costamagna, “The New Europe which will Arise from the Axis Victory”

Week VI (Feb. 15) – Nazism: Origins and Rise to Power

Readings:

- Jill Stephenson, “The Rise of the Nazis: Sonderweg or Spanner in the Works?” In *Twentieth-Century Germany: Politics, Culture and Society 1918-1990*, edited by Mary Fulbrook, 77–98. London: Arnold, 2001.
- Richard Bessel, “The Nazi Capture of Power.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 2 (2004): 169–188.

Documents:

- Adolf Hitler, “Mein Kampf”
- Kurt G. W. Ludecke, “The Demagogic Orator”

READING WEEK FEB. 19-23

Week VII (Feb. 29) – The Volksgemeinschaft: Society and Spectacle

Midterm due by noon on Wednesday, Feb. 28

Readings:

- Ian Kershaw, “The ‘Hitler Myth’: Image and Reality in Nazi Germany.” In *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*, edited by David F. Crew, 197–215. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- David Welch, “Nazi Propaganda and the Volksgemeinschaft: Constructing a People’s Community.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no. 2 (2004): 213–38.

- Gisela Bock, “Antinatalism, Maternity and Paternity in National Socialist Racism.” In *Nazism and German Society, 1933-1945*, edited by David F. Crew, 110–40. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Documents:

- R. Walther Darré, “Breeding a New Nobility”
- Paula Siber, “The New German Woman”
- *Triumph of the Will* (video) - watch 0:00-9:09; 31:20-38:10; 41:45-50:50.

Week VIII (Mar. 7) – Nazi War 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.
- Alexander Rossino, “Destructive Impulses: German Soldiers and the Conquest of Poland.” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11, no. 3 (1997): 351–365.
- Jürgen Förster, “The Relation between Operation Barbarossa as an Ideological War of Extermination and the Final Solution.” In *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, edited by David Cesarini, 85–102. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Documents:

- Paul Herre, “The New European Order”
- Walter Gross, “Improving the Stock”
- Heinrich Himmler, “Moral Dilemmas”
- *The Eternal Jew* (video) – watch 0:00-9:45

Week IX (Mar. 14) – Other Interwar European Variants

Readings:

- Mary Vincent, “Spain.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, edited by R.J.B. Bosworth, 362–379. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Raul Cârstocea, “The Path to the Holocaust - Fascism and Antisemitism in Interwar Romania.” *S.I.M.O.N. Shoab: Intervention. Methods. Documentation.* 1, no. 1 (2014): 43–53.
- Gary Love, “‘What’s the Big Idea?’: Oswald Mosley, the British Union of Fascists and Generic Fascism.” *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, no. 3 (2007): 447–68.

Documents:

- José Antonio Primo de Rivera, “Total Feeling”
- Corneliu Codreanu, “The Resurrection of the Race”
- Oswald Mosley, “Towards a Fascist Europe”

Week X (Mar. 21) – Fascism Beyond Europe?

Readings:

- Liam Liburd, Paul Jackson, Leslie James, Benjamin Zachariah, Raul Cârstocea, Daniel Hedinger et al. “Debate: Decolonising Fascist Studies.” *Fascism* 10, no. 2 (2021): 323–45.
- Donald I. Warren, “Depression Era Fascism and Nazism in the United States and Canada: Threat to Democracy or Theater of the Absurd?” In *Fascism Outside Europe: The European Impulse against Domestic Conditions in the Diffusion of Global Fascism*, edited by Stein Ugelvik Larsen, 635–704. Boulder, CO: Social Science Monographs, 2001.

Documents:

- Nakano Seigō, “The Need for a Totalitarian Japan”
- V.D. Savarkar, “Speech to the 1938 Congress of the Hindu Mahasabha”
- Charles Coughlin, “Persecution – Jewish and Christian”

Week XI (Mar. 28) – Postwar Neo-Fascism and Memory Politics

Readings:

- Anna Cento Bull, “Neo-Fascism” in *The Oxford Handbook of Fascism*, ed. R.J.B. Bosworth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009: 586-605).
- Sharon Macdonald, “Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12, no. 1 (2006): 9–28.
- 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.

Documents:

- CasaPound, “2018 Political Program”
- Giorgia Meloni, “Address to the World Congress of Families”

Week XII (Apr. 4) – Is Fascism Back?

Reflection #2 due by the start of class

Readings:

- Hans-Georg Betz and Carol Johnson, “Against the Current - Stemming the Tide: The Nostalgic Ideology of the Contemporary Radical Populist Right.” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 9, no. 3 (2004): 311–27.
- Jan-Werner Müller, “Real Citizens.” *Boston Review*, October 24, 2016.
- Paul Jackson, “Debate: Donald Trump and Fascism Studies.” *Fascism* 10, no. 1 (2021): 1–15.

Documents:

- Donald Trump, “CPAC Speech, March 5, 2023”

Final take-home to be scheduled by registrar