

Populism

Thirteen Wikipedia Articles

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Populism

Populism has been viewed as a political ideology, political philosophy, or as a type of discourse. Generally, populists tend to claim that they side with "the people" against "the elites". While for much of the twentieth century, populism was considered to be a political phenomenon mostly of Latin America and India, since the 1980s populist movements and parties have enjoyed degrees of success in First World democracies such as Canada, Italy, the Netherlands, Scandinavian countries and the USA.



Il Quarto Stato by Giuseppe Pellizza da Volpedo,
1901

Academic definitions

Academic and scholarly definitions of populism have varied widely over the past centuries and the term has often been employed in loose and inconsistent ways to denote appeals to 'the people', 'demagogy' and 'catch-all' politics or as a receptacle for new types of parties whose classification is unclear. A factor traditionally held to diminish the value of 'populism' as a category has been that, as Margaret Canovan notes in her 1981 study ^[1] *Populism*, unlike conservatives or socialists, populists rarely call themselves 'populists' and usually reject the term when it is applied to them. ^[2]

Nonetheless, in recent years academic scholars have produced definitions of populism which enable populist identification and comparison. Daniele Albertazzi and Duncan McDonnell define populism ^[3] as an ideology that "pits a virtuous and homogeneous people against a set of elites and dangerous 'others' who were together depicted as depriving (or attempting to deprive) the sovereign people of their rights, values, prosperity, identity, and voice". ^[4]

Rather than viewing populism in terms of specific social bases, economic programs, issues, or electorates — as discussions of right-wing populism have tended to do ^[5] — this type of definition is in line with the approaches of scholars such as Ernesto Laclau, ^[6] Pierre-Andre Taguieff, ^[7] Yves Meny and Yves Surel, ^[8] who have all sought to focus on populism *per se*, rather than treating it simply as an appendage of other ideologies.

Although in the US and Europe, it currently tends to be associated with right-wing parties, the central tenet of populism that democracy should reflect the pure and undiluted will of the people, means it can sit easily with ideologies of both right and left. However, while leaders of populist movements in recent decades have claimed to be on either the left or the right of the political spectrum, there are also many populists who reject such classifications and claim to be neither "left wing", "centrist" nor "right wing". ^{[9][10][11]}

Although "populist" is often used pejoratively in the media and in political debate, exceptions to this do exist, notably in the United States. In this case, it appears likely that this is due to the memories and traditions of earlier democratic movements (for example, farmers' movements, New Deal reform movements, and the civil rights movement) that were often called populist, by supporters and outsiders alike. ^[12]

Styles and methods

Some scholars argue that populist organizing for empowerment represents the return of older "Aristotelian" politics of horizontal interactions among equals who are different, for the sake of public problem solving. ^[13] Populism has taken left-wing, right-wing, and even centrist ^[14] forms, as well as forms of politics that bring together groups and individuals of diverse partisan views. ^[15] The use of populist rhetoric in the United States has recently included references such as "the powerful trial lawyer lobby", ^{[16][17]} "the liberal elite", or "the Hollywood elite". ^[18] Examples of populist rhetoric on the other side of the political spectrum is the anti-corporate greed views of the Occupy Wall Street movement and the theme of "Two Americas" in the 2004 Presidential Democratic Party campaign of John

Edwards.

Populists are seen by some politicians as a largely democratic and positive force in society, while a wing of scholarship in political science contends that populist mass movements are irrational and introduce instability into the political process. Margaret Canovan argues that both these polar views are faulty, and has defined two main branches of modern populism worldwide—*agrarian* and *political*—and mapped out seven disparate sub-categories:

Agrarian

- Commodity farmer movements with radical economic agendas such as the US People's Party of the late 19th century.
- Subsistence peasant movements, such as the Eastern European Green Rising militias, which followed World War I.
- Intellectuals who romanticize hard-working farmers and peasants and build radical agrarian movements like the Russian *narodniki*.

Political

- Populist democracy, including calls for more political participation through reforms such as the use of popular referendums.
- Politicians' populism marked by non-ideological appeals for "the people" to build a unified coalition.
- Reactionary populism, such as the white backlash harvested by George Wallace.
- Populist dictatorship, such as that established by Getúlio Vargas in Brazil.^[19]

In addition to Canovan's list that only lists right-wing political populist reactions, leftist movements such as the Cultural Revolution and Cambodia's "Year Zero" campaign would also be examples of political populism.

Fascism and populism

Scholars have argued that populist elements have sometimes appeared in far-right authoritarian or fascist movements.^{[20][21][22][23][24][25]} Conspiracist scapegoating employed by various populist movements can create "a seedbed for fascism."^[26] National socialist populism interacted with and facilitated fascism in interwar Germany.^[27] In this case, distressed middle-class populists during the pre-Nazi Weimar period mobilized their anger at government and big business. The Nazis "parasitized the forms and themes of the populists and moved their constituencies far to the right through ideological appeals involving demagoguery, scapegoating, and conspiracism."^[28] According to Fritzsche:

The Nazis expressed the populist yearnings of middle-class constituents and at the same time advocated a strong and resolutely anti-Marxist mobilization....Against "unnaturally" divisive parties and querulous organized interest groups, National Socialists cast themselves as representatives of the commonwealth, of an allegedly betrayed and neglected German public....Breaking social barriers of status and caste, and celebrating at least rhetorically the populist ideal of the people's community...^[29]

In Argentina in the 1940s, a local brand of fascist populism emerged known as Peronism, after its leader Juan Perón. It emerged out of an intellectual fascist movement in the 1920s and 1930s that delegitimized democracy.^[30]

History in Europe

Classical populism

The word populism is derived from the Latin word *populus*, which means *people* in English (in the sense of "folk", "nation", as in: "The Roman People" (*populus Romanus*), *not* in the sense of "multiple individual persons" as in: "There are people visiting us today"). Therefore, populism espouses government by the people as a whole (that is to say, the masses). This is in contrast to elitism, aristocracy, synarchy or plutocracy, each of which is an ideology that espouse government by a small, privileged group above the masses.

Populism has been a common political phenomenon throughout history. The Populares were an unofficial faction in the Roman senate whose supporters were known for their populist agenda. Some of the best known of these were Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Marius, Julius Caesar and Caesar Augustus, all of whom eventually used referendums to bypass the Roman Senate and appeal to the people directly.

Early modern period

Populism rose during the Reformation; Protestant groups like the Anabaptists formed ideas about ideal theocratic societies, in which peasants would be able to read the Bible themselves. Attempts to establish these societies were made during the German Peasants' War (1524–1525) and the Münster Rebellion (1534–1535). The peasant movement ultimately failed as cities and nobles made their own peace with the princely armies, which restored the old order under the nominal overlordship of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, represented in German affairs by his younger brother Ferdinand.

The same conditions contributed to the outbreak of the English Revolution of 1642–1651, also known as the English Civil War. Conditions led to a proliferation of ideologies and political movements among peasants, self-employed artisans, and working-class people in England. Many of these groups had a dogmatic Protestant religious bent. They included Puritans and the Levellers.^[citation needed]

Religious revival

Romanticism, the anxiety against rationalism, broadened after the beginnings of the European and Industrial Revolutions because of cultural, social, and political insecurity. Romanticism led directly to a strong popular desire to bring about religious revival, nationalism and populism. The ensuing religious revival eventually blended into political populism and nationalism, becoming at times a single entity and a powerful force of public will for change. This paradigm shift was marked by people looking for security and community because of a strong emotional need to escape from anxiety and to believe in something larger than themselves.^[citation needed]

The revival of religiosity all over Europe played an important role in bringing people to populism and nationalism. In France, François-René de Chateaubriand provided the opening shots of Catholic revivalism as he opposed enlightenment's materialism with the "mystery of life", the human need for redemption.^[31] In Germany, Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher promoted pietism by stating that religion was not the institution, but a mystical piety and sentiment with Christ as the mediating figure raising the human consciousness above the mundane to God's level.^[32] In England, John Wesley's Methodism split with the Anglican church because of its emphasis on the salvation of the masses as a key to moral reform, which Wesley saw as the answer to the social problems of the day.^[33]

Rejection of ultramontanism

Chateaubriand's beginning brought about two Catholic Revivals in France: first, a conservative revival led by Joseph de Maistre, which defended ultramontanism, which is a religious philosophy placing strong emphasis on the supremacy of the Pope, and a second populist revival led by Hugues Felicité Robert de Lamennais, an excommunicated priest. This religious populism opposed ultramontanism and emphasized a church community dependent upon all the people, not just the elite. It stressed that church authority should come from the bottom up and that the church should alleviate suffering, not merely accept it. Both of these religious principles are based on populism.^[34]

Latin America

Populism has been an important force in Latin American political history, where many charismatic leaders have emerged since the beginning of the 20th century, as the paramountcy of agrarian oligarchies had been dislocated by the onset of industrial capitalism, allowing for the emergence of an industrial bourgeoisie and the activation of an urban working class,^[35] causing the emergence of reformist and multi-class nationalist politics, centered on a charismatic leadership,^[36] such as Aprismo in Peru, the MNR in Bolivia, and the political movements gravitating around Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, Perón in Argentina, Lázaro Cárdenas in Mexico, Ecuador's Velasco Ibarra and others.^[37] Ideologically, Latin American populism, with its emphasis on nation-building under an authoritarian leadership as a prerequisite for technological modernization, betrayed the earlier influence of Comtean positivism. Socially, for many authors—such as Brazil's Octavio Ianni—populism should be understood as the political alliance between an emerging industrial bourgeoisie and a newly organizing urban working class, in which the former accepts social reforming for the latter's sake as long as the working class remains politically subordinated to both a more or less authoritarian State and private enterprise,^[38] in a process of controlled inclusion of the "masses" into the political system,^[39] a co-opting process some Marxist authors like Brazil's Francisco Weffort ascertain was accepted by the newly urbanized working class given their lack of a previously developed class consciousness.^[40]

Despite efforts to charter an ideological pedigree to Populism in Latin America, as has been attempted by some, working, e.g., with concepts taken from Perón's Third Position,^[41] Latin American countries have not always had a clear and consistent political ideology under populism. Populist practitioners and movements in Latin America usually adapt politically to the prevailing mood of the nation, moving within the ideological spectrum from left to right many times during their political lives. If populist movements in 1930s and 1940s Latin America had apparent fascist overtones and based themselves on authoritarian politics, as was the case of Vargas' *Estado Novo* dictatorship in Brazil (1937–1945),^[42] or of some of Peron's openly expressed sympathies,^[43] in the 1950s populism adapted—not without considerable unease from its political leadership^[44]—to heightened levels of working-class mobilization. Therefore the fact that 1960s populism was associated mainly with radical, left-leaning petty-bourgeois nationalism, which emptied the State of its function as a coercive class-rule apparatus and saw it instead as an organ of representation of the Nation as a whole.^[45] Such was the case, for instance, of the Goulart government (1961–1964) in Brazil, Goulart being described as a fiery populist who identified—mainly rhetorically—with the dispossessed and tried to foster a reformist agenda through ties to the organized Left.^[46] The fact that Goulart was eventually ousted by the military points, in the views of some authors, to the fact that he, as well as other populist leaders of the time, faced a jeopardy: they were reformists who, in the pursuit of their agenda, had to encourage popular mobilization and class conflict they ultimately abhorred.^[47] Therefore the fact that populism was eventually identified by the 1970s military dictatorships as "demagogery" and as a risk to the stability of the existing social order.^[48]

If "left", reformist and nationalist populism never died out altogether during the 1970s Latin American military dictatorships—as offered proof by the prompt and successful return of a populist like Brazil's Leonel Brizola to electoral politics in the early 1980s^[49]—a different streak of populism appeared in the post-military dictatorship era. This 1980s populism, in the persons of leaders like Argentina's Carlos Menem or Brazil's Fernando Collor, adapted itself to prevailing neoliberal policies of economic adjustment, setting aside nationalistic reforms and retaining the need for charismatic leadership policies, mass support and a concern for the plight of the "common people".^[50] In the 1990s and 2000s, with the emergence of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela—albeit Chavez refuses himself to be labelled as "populist"^[51]—reformist and nationalism Latin American populism has resurfaced with new patterns, as what is called by some authors socialist populism^{[52][53]} that appeals to masses of poor by promising redistributive policies^[53] and state control of the nation's energy resources.^[54]—a blueprint that had already appeared, however—albeit with no openly "socialist" rhetoric, viz., in the nationalist policies—including the launch of the State-owned oil-company Petrobrás—that were the hallmark of Vargas' second term as Brazil's democratically elected president (1951–1954) and that led to his eventual suicide.^[55]

In some countries, Populism has been fiscally supported in Latin America during periods of growth such as the 1950s and 1960s and during commodity price booms such as in oil and precious metals. Political leaders could gather followers among the popular classes with broad redistributive programs during these boom times. Conversely, in others countries, Populism has been historically associated with countering the relative decline of export agriculture with deficit spending and import-substitution policies aimed at developing an internal market for industrial consumer goods.^[56] Populism in Latin America has been sometimes criticized for the fiscal policies of many of its leaders, but has also been defended for having allowed historically weak states to alleviate disorder and achieve a tolerable degree of stability while initiating large-scale industrialization. Though populist fiscal and monetary policies may be criticized by conservative economic historians and policy makers, who seem in it the ultimately dysfunctional subordination of economic policy to political goals,^[57] some authors acknowledge populism to have allowed non-radical leaders and parties to co-opt the radical ideas of the masses so as to redirect them in a non revolutionary direction.^[58]—something that would exclude from the spectrum of "populism" governments committed to the social revolution blueprint, such as Allende's Unidad Popular government in Chile and Ortega's first revolutionary government in Nicaragua. It's generally regarded that populists hope "to reform the system, not to overthrow it".^[59]

Often adapting a nationalist vocabulary and rhetorically convincing, populism was used to appeal to broad masses while remaining ideologically ambivalent. Notwithstanding, there have been notable exceptions. 21st century Latin-American populist leaders have had a decidedly—even if mostly rhetorical^[60]—socialist bent.^{[52][53]}

When populists take strong positions on economic philosophies such as capitalism versus socialism, the position sparks strong emotional responses regarding how best to manage the nation's current and future social and economic position. Mexico's 2006 Presidential election was hotly debated among supporters and opponents of populist candidate Andrés Manuel López Obrador.^[61]

Inequality

Populism in Latin American countries has both an economic and an ideological edge. Populism in Latin America has mostly addressed the problem, not of capitalist economic development as such but its *inclusiveness*,^[62] in the backdrop of highly unequal societies in which people are divided between a relative few wealthy groups and masses of poor, even in the case of societies such as Argentina, where strong and educated middle classes are a significant segment of the population.^[63] Therefore the key role of the State in Latin American populism, as an institution mediating between traditional elites and the "people" in general.^[64] In appealing to the masses of poor people prior to gaining power, populists may promise widely-demanded food, housing, employment, basic social services, and income redistribution. Once in political power, they may not always be financially or politically able to fulfill all these promises. However, they are very often successful in providing many broad and basic services.^{[65][66]}

US policy

Since one of the ideological hallmarks of Latin American populism was the empowerment of the *national* and its identification with the state,^[67] including nationalization of the land, natural resources and key industries as common practice,^[68] it was seen almost from the start by American policy makers to offer a challenge to US hegemony over the Americas. The US has intervened in Latin American governments on many occasions where populism was seen threatening its interests: the 1954 Guatemalan coup d'état, when the populist Arbenz government was overthrown by a coup backed by the American company United Fruit and the American ambassador in 1954, and the support given by the US to the 1964 Brazilian coup d'état^[69] are just two cases of American intervention. Another example of US intervention has been seen in Colombia, particularly since the assassination of the populist leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán in April 1948. Gaitán supported land reform and other populist initiatives, and his murder is assumed to have foreclosed subsequent development of populism in mainstream Colombian politics.^[70]

Populist "socialism"

Populism has remained a significant force in Latin America. Populism has recently been reappearing on the left with promises of far-reaching socialist changes as seen in Venezuela under Hugo Chávez, and in Bolivia under Evo Morales- a process, however, seen by some as contradictory in that it tries to meld the populist traditional celebration of folk wisdom and charismatic leadership with doctrinaire socialism.^[71] And, in fact, "socialist" changes in today's Venezuela have mostly included the expenditure of oil revenue to benefit the working poor as a form of social welfare to help enable an eventual (and imprecise) socialist transformation. For some authors, as far as ideology is concerned, Chávez's political blueprint is more of a "throwback" to traditional populist nationalism and redistributivism.^[72] The Venezuelan government often spars verbally with the United States and accuses it of attempting to overthrow Chavez after supporting a failed coup against him. Chavez has been one of the most outspoken and blunt critics of U.S. foreign policy. Nevertheless, a large commodity trade continues between Venezuela and the U.S. because of the economic constraints of oil delivery and the proximity of the two countries.^[73]

As populist tradition ascertains the paramountcy of the "people" (instead of class) as a political subject,^[74] it suffices to say that, in the 21st century, the large numbers of voters living in extreme poverty in Latin America has remained a bastion of support for new populist candidates. By early 2008 governments with varying forms of populism and with some form of left leaning (albeit vague) social democratic or democratic socialist platform had come to dominate virtually all Latin American nations with the exceptions of Colombia, El Salvador and Mexico.^[75] This political shift includes both more developed nations such as Argentina's Front for Victory and Chile with its Socialist Party, and smaller income countries like Bolivia with its Movement towards Socialism and Paraguay with the Patriotic Alliance for Change. Even in middle-income Mexico, a populist candidate like López Obrador, albeit defeated, nevertheless appeared as part of a strong neopopulist reaction.^[76] Nevertheless, populist candidates have been more successful in poorer Latin American countries such as Bolivia (under Morales), Ecuador (under Correa) and Nicaragua (under Ortega). By the use of broad grassroots movements populist groups have managed to gain power from better organized, funded and entrenched groups such as the Bolivian Nationalist Democratic Action and the Paraguayan Colorado Party.^[77]

Countries in Latin America with high rates of poverty, whose governments maintain and support unpopular privatizations and more orthodox economic policies that don't deliver general societal gains, will be under pressure from populist politicians and movements^[78] accusing them of benefiting the upper and upper-middle classes^{[79][80]} and of being allied to foreign and business interests.^{[81][82]}

Mexico

In Mexico, Andres Manuel López Obrador's candidacy sparked very emotional debates throughout the country regarding policies that affect ideology, class, equality, wealth, and society. Andres Manuel López Obrador's most controversial economic policies included his promise to expand monthly stipends to the poor and elderly from Mexico City to the rest of the country and to re-negotiate the North American Free Trade Agreement to protect the Mexican poor.

The ruling party in Mexico, the National Action Party (PAN), portrayed him as a danger to Mexico's hard-earned economic stability. In criticizing his redistributive promises that would create new entitlement programs somewhat similar to social security in the US (though not as broad in scope) and his trade policies that would not fully uphold prior agreements (such as NAFTA), the economic debate between capitalists and socialists became a major part of the debate. Felipe Calderón, the PAN candidate, portrayed himself as not just a standard-bearer for recent economic policy, but as a more proactive candidate, to distance himself from the main criticisms of his predecessor Vicente Fox regarding inaction. He labeled himself the "jobs president" and promised greater national wealth for all through steady future growth, fiscal prudence, international trade, and balanced government spending.^[citation needed]

During the immediate aftermath of the tight elections in which the country's electoral court was hearing challenges to the vote tally that had Calderon winning, López Obrador showed the considerable influence over the masses that are a trademark of populist politicians. He effectively led huge demonstrations, filling the central plaza with masses of sympathizers who supported his challenge. The demonstrations lasted for several months and eventually dissipated after the electoral court did not find sufficient cause from the challenges presented to overturn the results.^{[83][84]}

United States

There have been several versions of a populist party in the United States, some inspired by the Populist Party of the 1890s. This was the party of the early U.S. populist movement in which millions of farmers and other working people successfully enacted their anti-trust agenda.^[citation needed]

Other early populist political parties in the United States included the Greenback Party, the Progressive Party of 1912 led by Theodore Roosevelt, the Progressive Party of 1924 led by Robert M. La Follette, Sr., and the Share Our Wealth movement of Huey Long in 1933–35^[citation needed].

George Wallace, Four-Term Governor of Alabama, led a populist movement that carried five states and won 13.5% of the popular vote in the 1968 presidential election. Campaigning against intellectuals and liberal reformers, Wallace gained a large share of the white working class vote in Democratic primaries in 1972.^{[85][86]}

Populism continues to be a force in modern U.S. politics, especially in the 1992 and 1996 third-party presidential campaigns of billionaire Ross Perot^[citation needed]. The 1996, 2000, 2004, and the 2008 presidential campaigns of Ralph Nader had a strong populist cast^[citation needed]. The 2004 campaigns of Dennis Kucinich^{[87][88][89]} and Al Sharpton also had populist elements. The 2004 and 2008 Democratic presidential candidate John Edwards has been described by many^[90] (and by himself) as a "one economic community, one commonwealth"^[90] populist.

Comparison between earlier surges of populism and those of today are complicated by shifts in what are thought to be the interests of the common people.

In 1984, the Populist Party name was revived by Willis Carto, and was used in 1988 as a vehicle for the presidential campaign of former Ku Klux Klan leader, and later member of both the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, David Duke. Right-wing Patriot movement organizer Bo Gritz was briefly Duke's running mate. This incarnation of populism was widely regarded as a vehicle for white supremacist recruitment. In this instance, populism was maligned by the use of a definition of "the people" that was not the prevailing definition.^[citation needed]

Another populist mechanism was the initiative and referendum driven term limits movement of the early 1990s. In every state where term limits were on the ballot, the measure to limit incumbency in Congress passed. The average vote was 67% in favor. However, the U.S. Supreme Court struck down term limits in 1995 in the court case *U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton*.^[91]

In 1995, the Reform Party of the United States of America (RPUSA) was organized after the populist presidential campaign of Ross Perot in 1992. In the year 2000, an intense fight for the presidential nomination made Patrick J. Buchanan the RPUSA standard bearer. As result of his nomination as party candidate there were many party splits, not only from Buchanan supporters after he left the party, but also moderates, progressivists and libertarians around Jesse Ventura who refused to collaborate with the Buchanan candidacy. Since then the party's fortunes have markedly declined.

In the 2000s, new populist parties were formed in America. One was the Populist Party of America in 2002; another was the Populist Party of Maryland formed to support Ralph Nader in 2004, which ran candidates for governor, lieutenant governor, U.S. Senate and state delegate in the 2006 elections. Other examples are the American Populist Party, founded in 2009, and the American Populist Renaissance, founded in 2005.^{[92][93]} The American Moderation Party, also formed in 2005, adopted several populist ideals, chief among them working against multinational neo-corporatism. Much of the Tea Party movement has used populist rhetoric, particularly in areas and states where Democrats are in power. For instance, in New York, Carl Paladino and his conservative-populist Taxpayers Party of

New York have used the motto "Paladino for the People" and have attempted to woo common people to vote for them by pitting them against the state government and the special interests that have influence in it.

In the most recent example of populist movements, participants of the Occupy movement chose the slogan "We are the 99%". The Occupy leadership used the phrase "the 1%" to refer to the 1% of Americans who are most wealthy; that 1% has more than 50% of the country's wealth. The Occupy movement believed that the 1% was creating economic instability and undermining the social safety nets implemented during the New Deal. Political science professors Joe Lowndes and Dorian Warren were among those to pose the question, "Is Occupy Wall Street a Populist Movement?". They both concluded that it was the "first major populist movement on the U.S. left since the 1930s."^[94]

Germany

Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, a Lutheran Minister, a professor at the University of Berlin and the "father of gymnastics", introduced the concept of Volkstum, a racial notion that draws on the essence of a people that was lost in the Industrial Revolution. Adam Mueller went a step further by positing the state as a bigger totality than the government institution. This paternalistic vision of aristocracy concerned with social orders had a dark side in that the opposite force of modernity was represented by the Jews, who were said to be eating away at the state.^[95] Populism also played a role in mobilizing middle class support for the Nazi Party in Weimar Germany.^[96] In this case, distressed middle-class populists during the pre-Nazi Weimar period mobilized their anger at government and big business. According to Fritzsche:

The Nazis expressed the populist yearnings of middle-class constituents and at the same time advocated a strong and resolutely anti-Marxist mobilization.... Against "unnaturally" divisive parties and querulous organized interest groups, National Socialists cast themselves as representatives of the commonwealth, of an allegedly betrayed and neglected German public....[b]reaking social barriers of status and caste, and celebrating at least rhetorically the populist ideal of the people's community...^[29]

France

In the late 18th century, the French Revolution, though led by wealthy intellectuals, could also be described as a manifestation of populist sentiment against the elitist excesses and privileges of the Ancien Régime.^[97]

In France, the populist and nationalist picture was more mystical, metaphysical and literarian in nature.^[98] Historian Jules Michelet (sometimes called a populist^[99]) fused nationalism and populism by positing the people as a mystical unity who are the driving force of history in which the divinity finds its purpose.^[97] Michelet viewed history as a representation of the struggle between spirit and matter; he claims France has a special place because the French became a people through equality, liberty, and fraternity. Because of this, he believed, the French people can never be wrong. Michelet's ideas are not socialism or rational politics, and his populism always minimizes, or even masks, social class differences.

In the 1950s, Pierre Poujade was the leader of the right-wing populist movement Union de Defense Commerçants et Artisans (UDCA).^[100] Jean Marie Le Pen (who was UDCA's youngest deputy in the 1950s)^[101] can be characterized as right-wing populist^[102] or extreme-right populist.^[101]

Italy

An example of modern populism can be studied in current Italian politics. When Silvio Berlusconi entered in politics in 1994 with his new party Forza Italia, he created a new kind of populism focused on the media's control ^[103]. Berlusconi and his allies have won three election, the first one in 1994, than in 2001 and the last one in 2008, with his new right-wing party People of Freedom; he has been Prime Minister of Italy for almost ten years. ^[104]

Another Italian populism party is the Lega Nord, ^[105] a federalist and regionalist political party in Italy founded in 1991 as a federation of several regional parties of Northern and Central Italy, most of which had arisen and expanded their share of the electorate over the 1980s. Lega Nord is the principal ally of Berlusconi's People of Freedom. The Lega Nord's political program advocates the transformation of Italy into a federal state, fiscal federalism and greater regional autonomy, especially for the Northern regions. At times it has advocated the secession of the North, which it calls Padania. The Lega Nord also fights for the implementation of stricter rules and laws in order to contrast the expansion of Islam into Europe. It is opposed to Turkish membership of the European Union and is considered one of the eurosceptic movements. It also emphasizes the fight against illegal immigration. Lega Nord's best electoral result has been in 1996 general election, where it gained the 10.8% of votes. In 2008 election Lega supported Berlusconi's right-wing coalition, helping him to reach the winnig, with 8.3% of votes, 60 deputies and 26 senators. ^[106]

In 2009 Beppe Grillo, a former comedian, blogger and activist, founded the Five Star Movement. It advocates direct democracy, free access to the Internet, and condemns corruption. The M5S's programme also contains elements of right-wing populism and American-style libertarianism. The party is considered populist, ecologist, and partially Eurosceptic ^[107]. In 2013 Italian election the Five Star Movement gained 25.5% of votes, with 109 deputies and 54 senators. ^[108]

Notes

- [1] http://books.google.it/books/about/Populism.html?id=PUO6AAAAIAAJ&redir_esc=y
- [2] Canovan, Margaret, 1981, *Populism*, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, p.5
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- [11] Kazin, Michael. 1995. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*.
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- Populism and Neo-populism in Latin America, especially Mexico (<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayAbstract?jsessionid=A788471E330CCCBDA241C14480BA8B6F.tomcat1?fromPage=online&aid=16379>)
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Liberal elite

Liberal elite is a political stigma used to describe politically left-leaning people, whose education had traditionally opened the doors to affluence. It is commonly used with the pejorative implication that the people who claim to support the rights of the working class are themselves members of the upper class, or upper middle class, and are therefore out of touch with the real needs of the people they claim to support and protect. The phrase "liberal elite" should not be confused with the term "elite" as used by writers such as Vilfredo Pareto and C. Wright Mills. They use the term to mean those who exercise the most political power.

The label is essentially a rhetorical device with flexible meaning depending on where in the English speaking world it is used. As a polemical term it has been used to refer to political positions as diverse as secularism, environmentalism, feminism, and other positions associated with the left.

The originating usage in the United States is applied with various changes to other English speaking countries and by extension to left-leaning elites in other countries. However, the term "liberal" does not have the same political connotation in all English speaking countries. In Australia it has the opposite connotation to that which it enjoys in the US. It is associated with the Liberal Party, a conservative and powerful party whose name is based on their objective to liberalise the market economy within Australia. In the UK, the Liberal Democratic Party occupies the political center between the rightist Conservative and the leftist Labour parties.

United States usage

In the United States, the lifestyle of the liberal elite is often considered noteworthy.^{[1][2]} The term "liberal elite" often carries the implicit connotation that the individuals described by the term are hypocritical. For instance, they may support busing and oppose school choice and vouchers, but send their children to private, parochial or racially homogeneous wealthy public schools. The liberal elite are often characterized as having an affinity for European culture, especially the culture of France and foreign films. Thus the phrase liberal elite suggests that liberals are unpatriotic, because they like other cultures and are disdainful of American life and culture. Columnist Dave Barry drew attention to these stereotypes when he commented, "Do we truly believe that ALL red-state residents are ignorant racist fascist knuckle-dragging NASCAR-obsessed cousin-marrying roadkill-eating tobacco-juice-dribbling gun-fondling religious fanatic rednecks; or that ALL blue-state residents are godless unpatriotic pierced-nose Volvo-driving France-loving left-wing communist latte-sucking tofu-chomping holistic-wacko neurotic vegan weenie perverts"^[3]? *South Park's* creators Trey Parker and Matt Stone use the stereotypes attributed to the liberal elite for comic effect. In the episode "Chef's Chocolate Salty Balls", they portrayed members of Hollywood's movie industry as being hypocritical and self-serving and having an affinity for tofu, steamed celery, couscous and the products of organic markets. In the episode "Smug Alert", they portray San Francisco liberals as haughty and condescending towards people less progressive than themselves and poking fun at the large number of wine and cheese stores in San Francisco. The film *Team America: World Police* includes jokes about the liberal elite, implying that they live in their own protected niche and are thus unaware of the dangers of internationalism. The film lampooned several Hollywood celebrities, including Susan Sarandon, Liv Tyler etc. for their left-wing political views. Michael Moore, who is famous for having left-wing viewpoints whilst making large amounts of money from his books and films, is also lampooned in the film.

During the 2008 U.S. Presidential Election, Republican candidate John McCain likened Democratic candidate Barack Obama's celebrity appeal to that of pop star Britney Spears and socialite Paris Hilton.^[4]

A political ad from the right wing organization Club for Growth attacked the Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean by portraying him as part of the liberal elite: "Howard Dean should take his tax-hiking, government-expanding, latte-drinking, sushi-eating, Volvo-driving, *New York Times*-reading, body-piercing, Hollywood-loving, left-wing freak show back to Vermont, where it belongs."^[5]

Those Americans who equate intellectual pursuits and careers with elitism often point out American intellectuals, most of whom are upper middle class not upper class,^[6] are primarily liberal. Fully 72% of professors identify themselves as liberals. At Ivy League Universities, an even larger majority, 87% of professors identified themselves as liberals.^[7] Those with post-graduate degrees are increasingly Democratic.^[8]

In Thomas Frank's *What's the Matter with Kansas?* the idea of a liberal elite is compared to George Orwell's character Emmanuel Goldstein in the book *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, the fictional hated enemy of the people. Frank argues that anger directed towards this perceived enemy is what keeps the conservative coalition together.^[8]

New Class

The concept of "liberal elites" is a product of 'new class' discourse, which emerged in the United States in the 1970s. Like the 'new class', liberal elites are often understood to be university/college educated professionals, often considered to wield immense cultural power in the media, academy, and school system. The label suggests that any such cultural power is used to gain influence in politics beyond the group's numerical significance. Further, any such influence tends to be characterised as (a) advocating the interests of 'fringe' groups to the detriment of 'mainstream' opinion; and (b) pursuing political goals that are self-serving and/or frivolous, with the effect of restricting public choice.

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Conspiracy theory

A **conspiracy theory** is an explanatory proposition that accuses a person, group or organization of having caused or covered up an event or phenomenon of great social, political, or economic impact.

Usage

The term "conspiracy theory" is used to indicate a narrative genre that includes a broad selection of (not necessarily related) arguments for the existence of grand conspiracies.^[1] Less illustrious uses refer to folklore and urban legend and a variety of explanatory narratives which are constructed with methodological flaws or biases.^[2] Originally a neutral term, since the mid-1960s it has acquired a somewhat derogatory meaning, implying a paranoid tendency to see the influence of some malign covert agency in events.^[3] The term is sometimes used to automatically dismiss claims that are deemed ridiculous, misconceived, paranoid, unfounded, outlandish or irrational.^[4] Wikipedia:Citing sources A proven conspiracy theory, such as the notion that United States President Richard Nixon and his aides were behind the Watergate break-in and cover-up, is usually referred to as something else, such as investigative journalism or historical analysis.^{[5][6]}

The political scientist Michael Barkun discussing the usage of this term in contemporary American culture holds that a conspiracy theory is a belief which explains an event as the result of a secret plot by exceptionally powerful and cunning conspirators to achieve a malevolent end.^[7] According to Barkun, the appeal of conspiracism is threefold: First, conspiracy theories claim to explain what institutional analysis cannot. They appear to make sense out of a world that is otherwise confusing. Second, they do so in an appealingly simple way, by dividing the world sharply between the forces of light, and the forces of darkness. They trace all evil back to a single source, the conspirators and their agents. Third, conspiracy theories are often presented as special, secret knowledge unknown or unappreciated by others. For conspiracy theorists, the masses are a brainwashed herd, while the conspiracy theorists in the know can congratulate themselves on penetrating the plotters' deceptions.^[8]

Some scholars argue that conspiracy theories once limited to fringe audiences have become commonplace in mass media, contributing to conspiracism emerging as a cultural phenomenon in the United States of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, and the possible replacement of democracy by conspiracy as the dominant paradigm of political action in the public mind.^{[9][10]} According to anthropologists Todd Sanders and Harry G. West, evidence suggests that a broad cross section of Americans today gives credence to at least some conspiracy theories.^[7] Belief in conspiracy theories has therefore become a topic of interest for sociologists, psychologists and experts in folklore.

In an essay on conspiracy theories originating in the Middle East, Daniel Pipes notes that "[f]ive assumptions distinguish the conspiracy theorist from more conventional patterns of thought: appearances deceive; conspiracies drive history; nothing is haphazard; the enemy always gains; power, fame, money, and sex account for all."^[11] According to West and Sanders, when talking about conspiracies in the Vietnam War era, Pipes includes within the fringe element anyone who entertains the thought that conspiracies played a role in the major political scandals and assassinations that rocked American politics in the Vietnam era. "He sees the paranoid style in almost any critical historical or social-scientific analysis of oppression."^[8]

Economist Murray Rothbard distinguished between what he described as "shallow" and "deep" conspiracy theories. The shallow conspiracy theorist observes a questionable or potentially shady event and asks *Qui bono?* (who benefits?), jumping to the conclusion that a posited beneficiary is in fact responsible for covertly influencing events. In contrast, the deep conspiracy theorist begins with a suspicious hunch similar to that of the shallow theorist, but goes further by seeking out reputable, verifiable evidence. "'Scholarship,' Rothbard quipped, 'is essentially confirming your early paranoia through a deeper factual analysis.'"^[9]

Noam Chomsky, linguist and scholar, contrasts conspiracy theory as more or less the opposite of institutional analysis, which focuses mostly on the public, long-term behaviour of publicly known institutions, as recorded in, for

example, scholarly documents or mainstream media reports, rather than secretive coalitions of individuals.^[10]

Usage history

The *Oxford English Dictionary* records the first use of the phrase "conspiracy theory" to a 1909 article in *The American Historical Review*.^{[11][12]} Other sources predate this use by nearly four decades to at least 1871, where it is used in *The Journal of Mental Science* reporting on a conference of the Fifth Quarterly Meeting of the Medico-Psychological Association (now the Royal College of Psychiatrists), held on Thursday, January 27, 1870:

"The theory of Dr. Sankey as to the manner in which these injuries to the chest occurred in asylums deserved our careful attention. It was at least more plausible that the conspiracy theory of Mr. Charles Beade, ..."^[13]

On conspiracism

Academic work in conspiracy theories and conspiracism (a world view that places conspiracy theories centrally in the unfolding of history) presents a range of hypotheses as a basis of studying the genre. According to Berlet and Lyons, "Conspiracism is a particular narrative form of scapegoating that frames demonized enemies as part of a vast insidious plot against the common good, while it valorizes the scapegoater as a hero for sounding the alarm".^[14]

The historian Richard Hofstadter addressed the role of paranoia and conspiracism throughout American history in his essay *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, published in 1964. Bernard Bailyn's classic *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967) notes that a similar phenomenon could be found in America during the time preceding the American Revolution. Conspiracism labels people's attitudes as well as the type of conspiracy theories that are more global and historical in proportion.^[15]

The term "conspiracism" was popularized by academic Frank P. Mintz in the 1980s.^[citation needed] According to Mintz, conspiracism denotes "belief in the primacy of conspiracies in the unfolding of history".^[16]

"Conspiracism serves the needs of diverse political and social groups in America and elsewhere. It identifies elites, blames them for economic and social catastrophes, and assumes that things will be better once popular action can remove them from positions of power. As such, conspiracy theories do not typify a particular epoch or ideology".^[17]

Throughout human history, political and economic leaders genuinely *have* been the cause of enormous amounts of death and misery, and they sometimes have engaged in conspiracies while at the same time promoting conspiracy theories about their targets. Hitler and Stalin would be merely the 20th century's most prominent examples; there have been numerous others.^[18] In some cases there have been claims dismissed as conspiracy theories that later proved to be true.^{[19][20]} The idea that history itself is controlled by large long-standing conspiracies is rejected by historian Bruce Cumings:

"But if conspiracies exist, they rarely move history; they make a difference at the margins from time to time, but with the unforeseen consequences of a logic outside the control of their authors: and this is what is wrong with 'conspiracy theory.' History is moved by the broad forces and large structures of human collectivities."^[21]

Justin Fox of *Time Magazine* gives a pragmatic justification of conspiracism. He says that Wall Street traders are among the most conspiracy-minded group of people, and ascribes this to the reality of some financial market conspiracies, and to the ability of conspiracy theories to provide necessary orientation in the market's day-to-day movements. Most good investigative reporters are also conspiracy theorists, according to Fox, and some of their theories turn out to be at least partly true.^[22]

Belief in conspiracy theories has become a topic of interest for sociologists, psychologists and experts in folklore since at least the 1960s, when the assassination of US President John F. Kennedy eventually provoked an unprecedented public response directed against the official version of the case as expounded in the Report of the Warren Commission.^[citation needed]

Types

Barkun has categorized, in ascending order of breadth, the types of conspiracy theories as follows:

- *Event conspiracy theories.* The conspiracy is held to be responsible for a limited, discrete event or set of events. The conspiratorial forces are alleged to have focused their energies on a limited, well-defined objective. The best-known example in the recent past is the Kennedy assassination conspiracy literature, though similar material exists concerning the September 11 attacks, the crash of TWA Flight 800, and the spread of AIDS in the black community.^[1]
- *Systemic conspiracy theories.* The conspiracy is believed to have broad goals, usually conceived as securing control of a country, a region, or even the entire world. While the goals are sweeping, the conspiratorial machinery is generally simple: a single, evil organization implements a plan to infiltrate and subvert existing institutions. This is a common scenario in conspiracy theories that focus on the alleged machinations of Jews, Freemasons, or the Catholic Church, as well as theories centered on Communism or international capitalists.^[1]
- *Superconspiracy theories.* Conspiratorial constructs in which multiple conspiracies are believed to be linked together hierarchically. Event and systemic are joined in complex ways, so that conspiracies come to be nested together. At the summit of the conspiratorial hierarchy is a distant but powerful force manipulating lesser conspiratorial factors. Superconspiracy theories have enjoyed particular growth since the 1980s, in the work of authors such as David Icke and Milton William Cooper.^[1]

Popular knowledge

Clare Birchall at King's College London describes conspiracy theory as a form of popular knowledge.^[23] By giving it the title 'knowledge', conspiracy theory is considered alongside more 'legitimate' modes of knowing. The relationship between legitimate and illegitimate knowledges, Birchall claims, is far closer than common dismissals of conspiracy theory would have us believe. Other popular knowledges might include alien abduction narratives, gossip, some new age philosophies and astrology.

Psychological origins

According to some psychologists, a person who believes in one conspiracy theory tends to believe in others; a person who does not believe in one conspiracy theory tends not to believe another.^[24]

Psychologists believe that the search for meaning is common in conspiracism and the development of conspiracy theories, and may be powerful enough alone to lead to the first formulation of the idea. Once cognized, confirmation bias and avoidance of cognitive dissonance may reinforce the belief. In a context where a conspiracy theory has become popular within a social group, communal reinforcement may equally play a part. Some research carried out at the University of Kent, UK suggests people may be influenced by conspiracy theories without being aware that their attitudes have changed. After reading popular conspiracy theories about the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, participants in this study correctly estimated how much their peers' attitudes had changed, but significantly underestimated how much their own attitudes had changed to become more in favor of the conspiracy theories. The authors conclude that conspiracy theories may therefore have a 'hidden power' to influence people's beliefs.^[25]

A study published in 2012 also found that conspiracy theorists frequently believe in multiple conspiracies, even when one conspiracy contradicts the other.^[1] For example, the study found that people who believe Osama Bin Laden was captured alive by Americans are also likely to believe that Bin Laden was actually killed prior to the 2011 raid.

Humanistic psychologists argue that even if the cabal behind the conspiracy is almost always perceived as hostile, there is often still an element of reassurance in it for conspiracy theorists. This is due, in part, because it is more consoling to think that complications and upheavals in human affairs are created by human beings rather than factors beyond human control. Belief in such a cabal is a device for reassuring oneself that certain occurrences are not random, but ordered by a human intelligence. This renders such occurrences comprehensible and potentially controllable. If a cabal can be implicated in a sequence of events, there is always the hope, however tenuous, of

being able to break the cabal's power – or joining it and exercising some of that power oneself. Finally, belief in the power of such a cabal is an implicit assertion of human dignity – an often unconscious but necessary affirmation that man is not totally helpless, but is responsible, at least in some measure, for his own destiny.[□]

Projection

Some historians have argued that there is an element of psychological projection in conspiracism. This projection, according to the argument, is manifested in the form of attribution of undesirable characteristics of the self to the conspirators. Richard Hofstadter, in his essay *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, stated that:

...it is hard to resist the conclusion that this enemy is on many counts the projection of the self; both the ideal and the unacceptable aspects of the self are attributed to him. The enemy may be the cosmopolitan intellectual, but the paranoid will outdo him in the apparatus of scholarship... the Ku Klux Klan imitated Catholicism to the point of donning priestly vestments, developing an elaborate ritual and an equally elaborate hierarchy. The John Birch Society emulates Communist cells and quasi-secret operation through "front" groups, and preaches a ruthless prosecution of the ideological war along lines very similar to those it finds in the Communist enemy. Spokesmen of the various fundamentalist anti-Communist "crusades" openly express their admiration for the dedication and discipline the Communist cause calls forth.[□]

Hofstadter also noted that "sexual freedom" is a vice frequently attributed to the conspiracist's target group, noting that "very often the fantasies of true believers reveal strong sadomasochistic outlets, vividly expressed, for example, in the delight of anti-Masons with the cruelty of Masonic punishments."[□]

Recent empirical research has lent support to the theory that psychological projection plays a role in conspiracy belief. A 2011 study found that highly Machiavellian people are more likely to believe in conspiracy theories, since they themselves would be more willing to engage in a conspiracy when placed in the same situation as the alleged conspirators.^[26]

Epistemic bias

It is possible that certain basic human epistemic biases are projected onto the material under scrutiny. According to one study, humans apply a rule of thumb by which we expect a significant event to have a significant cause.^[27] The study offered subjects four versions of events, in which a foreign president was (a) successfully assassinated, (b) wounded but survived, (c) survived with wounds but died of a heart attack at a later date, and (d) was unharmed. Subjects were significantly more likely to suspect conspiracy in the case of the major events—in which the president died—than in the other cases, despite all other evidence available to them being equal. Connected with pareidolia, the genetic tendency of human beings to find patterns in coincidence, this allows the discovery of conspiracy in any significant event.

Another epistemic "rule of thumb" that can be misapplied to a mystery involving other humans is *cui bono?* (who stands to gain?). This sensitivity to the hidden motives of other people may be an evolved and universal feature of human consciousness.^[citation needed]

Clinical psychology

For some individuals, an obsessive compulsion to believe, prove, or re-tell a conspiracy theory may indicate one or a combination of well-understood psychological conditions, and other hypothetical ones: paranoia, denial, schizophrenia, mean world syndrome.^[28]

Socio-political origins

Christopher Hitchens represents conspiracy theories as the "exhaust fumes of democracy",^[29] the unavoidable result of a large amount of information circulating among a large number of people.

Conspiratorial accounts can be emotionally satisfying when they place events in a readily understandable moral context. The subscriber to the theory is able to assign moral responsibility for an emotionally troubling event or situation to a clearly conceived group of individuals. Crucially, that group *does not include* the believer. The believer may then feel excused of any moral or political responsibility for remedying whatever institutional or societal flaw might be the actual source of the dissonance.^[30] Likewise, Roger Cohen, in an op-Ed for the New York Times propounded that, "captive minds... resort to conspiracy theory because it is the ultimate refuge of the powerless. If you cannot change your own life, it must be that some greater force controls the world."^[31]

Where responsible behavior is prevented by social conditions, or is simply beyond the ability of an individual, the conspiracy theory facilitates the emotional discharge or closure that such emotional *challenges* (after Erving Goffman)^[citation needed] require. Like moral panics, conspiracy theories thus occur more frequently within communities that are experiencing social isolation or political dis-empowerment.

Sociological historian Holger Herwig found in studying German explanations for the origins of World War I, "Those events that are most important are hardest to understand, because they attract the greatest attention from myth makers and charlatans."^[citation needed]

This normal process could be diverted by a number of influences. At the level of the individual, pressing psychological needs may influence the process, and certain of our universal mental tools may impose epistemic 'blind spots'. At the group or sociological level, historic factors may make the process of assigning satisfactory meanings more or less problematic.

Alternatively, conspiracy theories may arise when evidence available in the public record does not correspond with the common or official version of events. In this regard, conspiracy theories may sometimes serve to highlight 'blind spots' in the common or official interpretations of events.^[19]

Influence of critical theory

French sociologist Bruno Latour^[32] suggests that the widespread popularity of conspiracy theories in mass culture may be due, in part, to the pervasive presence of Marxist-inspired critical theory and similar ideas in academia since the 1970s.

Latour suggests that about 90% of contemporary social criticism in academia displays one of two approaches which he terms "the fact position and the fairy position." (p. 237) The fact position is anti-fetishist, arguing that "objects of belief" (e.g., religion, arts) are merely concepts onto which power is projected; the "fairy position" argues that individuals are dominated, often covertly and without their awareness, by external forces (e.g., economics, gender). (p. 238) "Do you see now why it feels so good to be a critical mind?" asks Latour: no matter which position you take, "You're always right!" (p. 238-239)

Latour notes that such social criticism has been appropriated by those he describes as conspiracy theorists, including global warming denialists and the 9/11 Truth movement: "Maybe I am taking conspiracy theories too seriously, but I am worried to detect, in those mad mixtures of knee-jerk disbelief, punctilious demands for proofs, and free use of powerful explanation from the social neverland, many of the weapons of social critique." (p. 230)

Media tropes

Media commentators regularly note a tendency in news media and wider culture to understand events through the prism of individual agents, as opposed to more complex structural or institutional accounts.^[33] If this is a true observation, it may be expected that the audience which both demands and consumes this emphasis itself is more receptive to personalized, dramatic accounts of social phenomena.

A second, perhaps related, media trope is the effort to allocate individual responsibility for negative events. The media have a tendency to start to seek culprits if an event occurs that is of such significance that it does not drop off the news agenda within a few days. Of this trend, it has been said that the concept of a pure accident is no longer permitted in a news item.^[34] Again, if this is a true observation, it may reflect a real change in how the media consumer perceives negative events.

Hollywood motion pictures and television shows perpetuate and enlarge belief in conspiracy as a standard functioning of corporations and governments. Feature films such as *Enemy of the State* and *Shooter*, among scores of others, propound conspiracies as a normal state of affairs, having dropped the idea of questioning conspiracies typical of movies of eras prior to about 1970. *Shooter* even contains the line, "that is how conspiracies work" in reference to the JFK murder. Interestingly, movies and television shows do the same as the news media in regard to personalizing and dramatizing issues which are easy to involve in conspiracy theories. *Coming Home* converts the huge problem of the returning injured Vietnam War soldier into the chance that the injured soldier will fall in love, and when he does, the strong implication is that the larger problem is also solved. This factor is a natural outcome of Hollywood script development which wishes to highlight one or two major characters which can be played by major stars, and thus a good way of marketing the movie is established but that rings false upon examination. Further, the necessity to serve up a dubiously justified happy ending, although expected by audiences, actually has another effect of heightening the sense of falseness and contrived stories, underpinning the public's loss of belief in virtually anything any mass media says. Into the vacuum of that loss of belief falls explanation by conspiracy theory.

Too, the act of dramatizing real or fictional events injects a degree of falseness or contrived efforts which media savvy people today can identify easily. "News" today is virtually always dramatized, at least by pitting "one side" against another in the fictional journalistic concept that all stories must contain "both sides" (as though reality could be reduced to two sides) or by using more intensive dramatic developments similar to feature movies. That is, by obvious dramatizing, the media reinforces the idea that all things are contrived for someone's gain which could be another definition of, at least, political conspiracies theories. --Dr. Charles Harpole in "History of American Cinema" Scribner/U. Calif Press.^[citation needed]

Fusion paranoia

Michael Kelly, a *Washington Post* journalist and critic of anti-war movements on both the left and right, coined the term "fusion paranoia" to refer to a political convergence of left-wing and right-wing activists around anti-war issues and civil liberties, which he said were motivated by a shared belief in conspiracism or anti-government views.

Social critics have adopted this term to refer to how the synthesis of paranoid conspiracy theories, which were once limited to American fringe audiences, has given them mass appeal and enabled them to become commonplace in mass media, thereby inaugurating an unrivaled period of people actively preparing for apocalyptic millenarian scenarios in the United States of the late 20th and early 21st centuries. They warn that this development may not only fuel lone wolf terrorism but have devastating effects on American political life, such as the rise of a revolutionary right-wing populist movement capable of subverting the established political powers.^[35]

Daniel Pipes wrote in a 2004 *Jerusalem Post* article titled *Fusion Paranoia*:

Fears of a petty conspiracy – a political rival or business competitor plotting to do you harm – are as old as the human psyche. But fears of a grand conspiracy – that the Illuminati or Jews plan to take over the world – go back only 900 years and have been operational for just two centuries, since the French Revolution. Conspiracy theories grew in importance from then until World War II, when two arch-conspiracy theorists, Hitler and

Stalin, faced off against each other, causing the greatest blood-letting in human history. This hideous spectacle sobered Americans, who in subsequent decades relegated conspiracy theories to the fringe, where mainly two groups promoted such ideas.

The politically disaffected: Blacks (Louis Farrakhan, Cynthia McKinney), the hard Right (John Birch Society, Pat Buchanan), and other alienated elements (Ross Perot, Lyndon LaRouche). Their theories imply a political agenda, but lack much of a following.

The culturally suspicious: These include "Kennedy assassinologists," "ufologists," and those who believe a reptilian race runs the earth and alien installations exist under the earth's surface. Such themes enjoy enormous popularity (a year 2000 poll found 43 percent of Americans believing in UFOs), but carry no political agenda.

The major new development, reports Barkun, professor of political science in the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, is not just an erosion in the divisions between these two groups, but their joining forces with occultists, persons bored by rationalism. Occultists are drawn to what Barkun calls the "cultural dumping ground of the heretical, the scandalous, the unfashionable, and the dangerous" — such as spiritualism, Theosophy, alternative medicine, alchemy, and astrology. Thus, the author who worries about the Secret Service taking orders from the Bavarian Illuminati is old school; the one who worries about a "joint Reptilian-Bavarian Illuminati" takeover is at the cutting edge of the new synthesis. These bizarre notions constitute what Michael Kelly termed "fusion paranoia," a promiscuous absorption of fears from any source whatsoever.^[1]

Proven conspiracies and conspiracy theories

Katherine K. Young states "(t)he fact remains, however, that not all conspiracies are imagined by paranoids. Historians show that every real conspiracy has had at least four characteristic features: groups, not isolated individuals; illegal or sinister aims, not ones that would benefit society as a whole; orchestrated acts, not a series of spontaneous and haphazard ones; and secret planning, not public discussion." Above all else a real conspiracy is evidenced by provable facts.^[36]

"Some historians have put forward the idea that more recently the United States has become the home of conspiracy theories because so many high-level prominent conspiracies have been undertaken and uncovered since the 1960s."^[37] The existence of such real conspiracies helps feed the belief in conspiracy theories.^{[38][39][40]}

In the criminal justice system, actual conspiracies and conspiracy theories can also be distinguished by scale, as actual conspiracies are usually small in scale and involve "a single event or issue."^[41]

Controversy

Aside from controversies over the merits of particular conspiratorial claims, the general discussion of conspiracy theory is *itself* a matter of some public contention. Conspiracy theorists on the internet are often dismissed as a "fringe" group, but evidence suggests that a broad cross section of Americans today—traversing ethnic, gender, education, occupation, and other divides—gives credence to at least some conspiracy theories.^[42]

Given this popular understanding of the term, it can also be used illegitimately and inappropriately, as a means to dismiss what are in fact substantial and well-evidenced accusations. The legitimacy of each such usage will therefore be a matter of some controversy. Michael Parenti, in his 1996 essay which examines the role of progressive media in the use of the term, "The JFK Assassination II: Conspiracy Phobia On The Left", states,

"It is an either-or world for those on the Left who harbor an aversion for any kind of conspiracy investigation: either you are a structuralist in your approach to politics or a 'conspiracist' who reduces historical developments to the machinations of secret cabals, thereby causing us to lose sight of the larger systemic forces."^[43]

Structuralist or institutional analysis shows that the term is misused when it is applied to institutions acting in pursuit of their acknowledged goals, for example, when a group of corporations engage in price-fixing to increase profits.

Complications occurs for terms such as *UFO*, which literally means "unidentified flying object" but connotes alien spacecraft, a concept also associated with some conspiracy theories, and thus possessing a certain social stigma.

Michael Parenti gives an example of the use of the term which underscores the conflict in its use. He states,

"In most of its operations, the CIA is by definition a conspiracy, using covert actions and secret plans, many of which are of the most unsavory kind. What are covert operations if not conspiracies? At the same time, the CIA is an institution, a structural part of the national security state. In sum, the agency is an institutionalized conspiracy."^[43]

Political use

“Conspiracy theories exist in the realm of myth, where imaginations run wild, fears trump facts, and evidence is ignored. As a superpower, the United States is often cast as a villain in these dramas.”

—America.gov^[44]

In his two volume work *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, Karl Popper used the term "conspiracy theory" to criticize the ideologies driving fascism, nazism, and Stalinism.^[citation needed] Popper argued that totalitarianism was founded on "conspiracy theories" which drew on imaginary plots driven by paranoid scenarios predicated on tribalism, chauvinism, or racism. Popper did not argue against the existence of everyday conspiracies (as incorrectly suggested in much of the later literature). Popper even uses the term "conspiracy" to describe ordinary political activity in the classical Athens of Plato (who was the principal target of his attack in *The Open Society and Its Enemies*).

In his critique of the twentieth century totalitarians, Popper wrote, "I do not wish to imply that conspiracies never happen. On the contrary, they are typical social phenomena."[□] He reiterated his point, "Conspiracies occur, it must be admitted. But the striking fact which, in spite of their occurrence, disproved the conspiracy theory is that few of these conspiracies are ultimately successful. Conspirators rarely consummate their conspiracy."[□]

In a paper written in 2008, Cass Sunstein, legal scholar, and Administrator of the White House Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, wrote of appropriate government responses to conspiracy theories. In the paper he stated:

What can government do about conspiracy theories? Among the things it can do, what should it do? We can readily imagine a series of possible responses. (1) Government might ban conspiracy theorizing. (2) Government might impose some kind of tax, financial or otherwise, on those who disseminate such theories. (3) Government might itself engage in counterspeech, marshaling arguments to discredit conspiracy theories. (4) Government might formally hire credible private parties to engage in counterspeech. (5) Government might engage in informal communication with such parties, encouraging them to help. Each instrument has a distinctive set of potential effects, or costs and benefits, and each will have a place under imaginable conditions. However, our main policy idea is that government should engage in cognitive infiltration of the groups that produce conspiracy theories, which involves a mix of (3), (4) and (5).^[45]

Notes

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Scapegoating

Scapegoating (from the verb "to scapegoat") is the practice of singling out any party for unmerited negative treatment or blame as a scapegoat.^[1] Scapegoating may be conducted by individuals against individuals (e.g. "Hattie Francis did it, not me!"), individuals against groups (e.g., "I failed because our school favors boys"), groups against individuals (e.g., "Jane was the reason our team didn't win"), and groups against groups (e.g., "Immigrants are taking all of the jobs").

A scapegoat may be an adult, sibling, child, employee, peer, ethnic or religious group, or country. A whipping boy, identified patient or "fall guy" are forms of scapegoat.

At the individual level

A medical definition of scapegoating is:^[2]

"Process in which the mechanisms of projection or displacement are utilised in focusing feelings of aggression, hostility, frustration, etc., upon another individual or group; the amount of blame being unwarranted."

Scapegoating is a tactic often employed to characterize an entire group of individuals according to the unethical or immoral conduct of a small number of individuals belonging to that group. Scapegoating relates to guilt by association and stereotyping.

Scapegoated groups throughout history have included almost every imaginable group of people: genders, religions, people of different races or nations, people with different political beliefs, or people differing in behaviour from the majority. However, scapegoating may also be applied to organizations, such as governments, corporations, or various political groups.

Projection: Unwanted thoughts and feelings can be unconsciously projected onto another who becomes a scapegoat for one's own problems. This concept can be extended to projection by groups. In this case the chosen individual, or group, becomes the scapegoat for the group's problems. "Political agitation in all countries is full of such projections, just as much as the backyard gossip of little groups and individuals."^[3] Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung considered indeed that "there must be some people who behave in the wrong way; they act as scapegoats and objects of interest for the normal ones".^[4]

In psychopathology, projection is an especially commonly used defense mechanism in people with the following personality disorders:^[citation needed]

- antisocial personality disorder
 - borderline personality disorder
-

- narcissistic personality disorder
- paranoid personality disorder
- psychopathy

At the group level

The **scapegoat theory** of intergroup conflict provides an explanation for the correlation between times of relative economic despair and increases in prejudice and violence toward outgroups.^[5] For example, studies of anti-black violence in the southern US between 1882 and 1930 show a correlation between poor economic conditions and outbreaks of violence (e.g., lynchings) against blacks. The correlation between the price of cotton (the principal product of the area at that time) and the number of lynchings of black men by whites ranged from -0.63 to -0.72, suggesting that a poor economy induced white people to take out their frustrations by attacking an outgroup.^[6]

Scapegoating as a group however, requires that ingroup members settle on a specific target to blame for their problems.^[7] Scapegoating is also more likely to appear when a group has experienced difficult, prolonged negative experiences (as opposed to minor annoyances). When negative conditions frustrate a group's attempts at successful acquisition of its most essential needs (e.g., food, shelter), groups may develop a compelling, shared ideology that - when combined with social and political pressures - may lead to the most extreme form of scapegoating: genocide.

Scapegoating can also cause oppressed groups to lash out at other oppressed groups. Even when injustices are committed against a minority group by the majority group, minorities sometimes lash out against a different minority group in lieu of confronting the more powerful majority.

In management: Scapegoating is a known practice in management where a lower staff employee is blamed for the mistakes of senior executives. This is often due to lack of accountability in upper management.^[8]

For example, a teacher who constantly gets blamed or accused of wrongdoing could be a scapegoat if said teacher is only guilty of doing her job so well that she makes her coworkers and supervisory administration look bad. This could result in letters being placed in permanent files, condescending remarks from co-workers and constant blame finding from administration.

The "scapegoat mechanism" in philosophical anthropology

Literary critic and philosopher Kenneth Burke first coined and described the expression "scapegoat mechanism" in his books *Permanence and Change*^[9] (1935), and *A Grammar of Motives*^[10] (1945). These works influenced some philosophical anthropologists, such as Ernest Becker and René Girard.

René Girard

Girard developed the concept much more extensively as an interpretation of human culture. In Girard's view, it is humankind, not God, who has the problem with violence. Humans are driven by desire for that which another has or wants (mimetic desire). This causes a triangulation of desire and results in conflict between the desiring parties. This mimetic *contagion* increases to a point where society is at risk; it is at this point that the *scapegoat mechanism*^[11] is triggered. This is the point where one person is singled out as the cause of the trouble and is expelled or killed by the group. This person is the scapegoat. Social order is restored as people are contented that they have solved the cause of their problems by removing the scapegoated individual, and the cycle begins again. The keyword here is "content", scapegoating serves as a psychological relief for a group of people. Girard contends that this is what happened in the case of Jesus. The difference in this case, Girard believes, is that he was resurrected from the dead and shown to be innocent; humanity is thus made aware of its violent tendencies and the cycle is broken. Thus Girard's work is significant as a re-construction of the *Christus Victor* atonement theory.

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Demagogue

A **demagogue** (/ˈdɛməɡɒɡ/) or **rabble-rouser** is a political leader in a democracy who appeals to the emotions, prejudices, and ignorance of the less-educated people of a population in order to gain power and promote political motives. Demagogues usually oppose deliberation and advocate immediate, violent action to address a national crisis; they accuse moderate and thoughtful opponents of weakness. Demagogues have appeared in democracies since ancient Athens. They exploit a fundamental weakness in democracy: because ultimate power is held by the people, nothing stops the people from giving that power to someone who appeals to the lowest common denominator of a large segment of the population.

History and definition of the word

The word *demagogue*, meaning a leader of the common people,^[1] first arose in ancient Greece, originally with no negative connotation,^[2] but eventually came to mean a troublesome kind of leader who occasionally arose in Athenian democracy. Even though democracy gave power to the common people, elections still tended to favor the aristocratic class, which favored deliberation and decorum. Demagogues were a new kind of leader who emerged from the lower classes. Demagogues relentlessly advocated action, usually violent^[3]—immediately and without deliberation. Demagogues appealed directly to the emotions of the poor and uninformed, pursuing power, telling lies to stir up hysteria, exploiting crises to intensify popular support for their calls to immediate action and increased authority, and accusing moderate opponents of weakness or disloyalty to the nation. All politicians in a democracy must make occasional small sacrifices of truth, subtlety, long-term concerns, or other matters that don't have immediate popular impact or else they will lose the popular support which is the base of their political power.^[4] Demagogues do these things relentlessly and without self-restraint.^[5]

Demagogues have been found in democracies from Athens to the present day.^[6] Democracies are instituted to ensure freedom for all and popular control over government authority; through their popular appeal, demagogues exploit the freedom secured under democracy to gain a level of power for themselves that overrides the rule of law, thereby undermining democracy.^[7] The Greek historian Polybius thought that democracies are inevitably undone by demagogues. He said that every democracy eventually decays into "a government of violence and the strong hand," leading to "tumultuous assemblies, massacres, banishments."^[8]

Throughout its history, the word *demagogue* has been used to disparage any leader thought to be manipulative, pernicious, or bigoted.^[9]

Famous historical demagogues

Cleon

The Athenian leader Cleon is known as a notorious demagogue mainly because of three events described in the writings of Thucydides^[1] and Aristophanes.^[2]

First, after the failed revolt by the city of Mytilene, Cleon persuaded the Athenians to slaughter not just the Mytilenean prisoners, but every man in the city, and to sell their wives and children as slaves. The Athenians rescinded the resolution the following day when they came to their senses.

Second, after Athens had completely defeated the Peloponnesian fleet and Sparta could only beg for peace on almost any terms, Cleon persuaded the Athenians to reject the peace offer.

Third, he taunted the Athenian generals over their failure to bring the war in Sphacteria to a rapid close, accusing them of cowardice, and declared that he could finish the job himself in twenty days, despite having no military knowledge. They gave him the job, expecting him to fail. Cleon shrank at being called to make good on his boast, and tried to get out of it, but he was forced to take the command. In fact, he succeeded—by getting the general Demosthenes to do it, now treating him with respect after previously slandering him behind his back. Three years later, he and his Spartan counterpart Brasidas were killed at the Battle of Amphipolis, enabling a restoration of peace that lasted until the outbreak of the Second Peloponnesian War (conceptualized by some historians as the second phase of a single Peloponnesian War).

Modern commentators suspect that Thucydides and Aristophanes exaggerated the vileness of Cleon's real character. Both had personal conflicts with Cleon, and *The Knights* is a satirical, allegorical comedy that doesn't even mention Cleon by name. Cleon was a tradesman—a leather-tanner; Thucydides and Aristophanes came from the upper classes, predisposed to look down on the commercial classes. Nevertheless, their portrayals define the archetypal example^[2] of the "low-born demagogue" or "rabble-rouser": born into the lower classes, hating the nobility, uneducated, despising thought and deliberation, ruthless and unprincipled, bullying, coarse and vulgar in style, rising in popularity by exploiting a national crisis, telling lies to whip up emotions and drive a mob against an opponent, deriving political support primarily from the poor and ignorant, quick to accuse any opponent of weakness or disloyalty, eager for war and violence, inciting the people to terrible acts of destruction they later regret.

Alcibiades

Alcibiades convinced the people of Athens to attempt to conquer Sicily during the Peloponnesian War, with disastrous results. He led the Athenian assembly to support making him commander by claiming victory would come easily, appealing to Athenian vanity, and appealing to action and courage over deliberation. It should be noted, however, that Alcibiades's expedition could have succeeded if he was not denied from command due to the political manoeuvres of his rivals.^[citation needed]

Gaius Flaminius

Gaius Flaminius was a Roman consul most known for being defeated by Hannibal in the battle of Lake Trasimene during the second Punic war. Hannibal was able to make pivotal decisions during this battle because he understood his opponent. Gaius Flaminius was described as a demagogue by Polybius, in his book the Rise of the Roman Empire. "...Flaminius possessed a rare talent for the arts of demagogy..."^[3] Because Flaminius was thus ill suited, he lost 15,000 Roman lives, his included, in the battle.

Father Coughlin

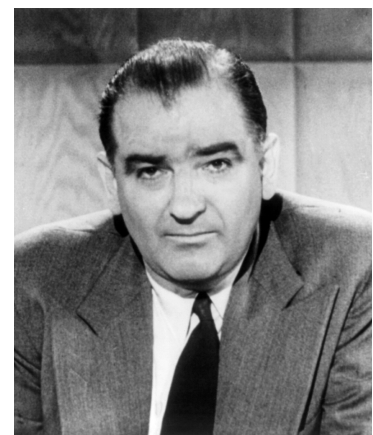
An American Catholic priest, Father Charles Coughlin was one of the first to use radio to reach a mass audience in the 1930s, and was close friends with Huey Long. While initially a vocal supporter of Franklin D. Roosevelt and his New Deal, he later became a harsh critic of Roosevelt. Coughlin's themes eventually became increasingly antisemitic and supportive of assorted aspects of the fascist policies of leaders like Benito Mussolini.^[citation needed]

Adolf Hitler

Adolf Hitler led the Nazi party to power in Germany by appeals to ethnic pride and conspiracy theories that blamed Jews for the nation's economic troubles. He instituted government control over the news media^[citation needed], and used his charisma and great oratorical skills to lead Germany into a war aimed at expanding its territory.

Joseph McCarthy

Joseph McCarthy^{[4][5][6][7]} was a U.S. Senator from the state of Wisconsin from 1947 to 1957. Though a poor orator,^[8] McCarthy rose to national prominence during the early 1950s by proclaiming that high places in the United States federal government and military were "infested" with communists,^[1] contributing to the second "Red Scare". Ultimately his inability to provide proof for his claims led him to be censured by the United States Senate in 1954, and to fall from popularity.^[6]



Senator Joseph McCarthy, an American demagogue

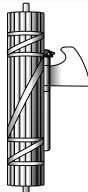
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- [1] Michael Grant, *Ancient Historians*, p. 98 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=e4st2bdc8CQC&pg=PA98#v=onepage>), pp. 110–111 (<http://books.google.com/books?id=e4st2bdc8CQC&pg=PA110#v=onepage>). Barnes & Noble Publishing (1994). ISBN 1-56619-599-3
- [2] Aristophanes, *The Knights*. Here (<http://books.google.com/books?id=fBEWAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA5#v=onepage>) is an old free version translated by William Walter Merry, Clarendon Press (1902). The translator says on p. 5:
"The picture of Cleon the demagogue has been painted for us in the comedies of Aristophanes, and in the graver history of Thucydides. On the strength of these representations, he is commonly taken as the type of the reckless mob-orator, who trades upon popular passions to advance his own interests."
- [3] Polybius, the Rise of the Roman Empire
- [4] Richard Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy*, Methuen Books (1959); reprinted by the University of California Press (1996). ISBN 0-520-20472-7
- [5] The book describes McCarthy's tactics, compares him to the ancient demagogues and previous U.S. demagogues, and concludes that McCarthy was the first "national demagogue" in the U.S. (as opposed to demagogues whose influence is limited to a small area like a town or county).
- [6] Tom Wicker, *Shooting Star: the Brief Arc of Joe McCarthy*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (2006) ISBN 0-15-101082-X
"Joe McCarthy may have been the most destructive demagogue in American history." p. 5
"McCarthy's Senate colleagues voted sixty-seven to twenty-two to censure him for his reckless accusations and fabrications." back cover
- [7] Haynes Johnson, *The Age of Anxiety: McCarthyism to Terrorism*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt (2006). ISBN 0-15-603039-X
"Joe McCarthy was a demagogue, but never a real leader of the people." p. 193
"McCarthy represented what Richard Hofstadter called 'the paranoid style of American politics.'" p. 193–4
"While he never approached the importance of a Hitler or a Stalin, McCarthy resembled those demagogic dictators by also employing the techniques of the Big Lie." p. 194
- [8] History News Network - What Qualifies as Demagoguery? (<http://hnn.us/articles/7603.html>)

Fascism

Part of a series on

Fascism



Fascism portal
Politics portal

Part of a series on

Nationalism

Politics portal

Fascism (pron.: /ˈfæʃɪzəm/) is a form of radical authoritarian nationalism^{[1][2]} that came to prominence in mid-20th century Europe. Fascists seek to unify their nation through a totalitarian state that promotes the mass mobilization of the national community,^{[3][4]} relying on a vanguard party to initiate a revolution to organize the nation on fascist principles.^[5] Hostile to liberal democracy, socialism, and communism, fascist movements share certain common features, including the veneration of the state, a devotion to a strong leader, and an emphasis on ultranationalism, ethnocentrism, and militarism. Fascism views political violence, war, and imperialism as a means to achieve national rejuvenation^{[3][6][7][8]} and asserts that nations and races deemed superior should attain living space by displacing ones deemed weak or inferior.^[9]

Fascist ideology consistently invoked the primacy of the state. Leaders such as Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany embodied the state and claimed indisputable power. Fascism borrowed theories and terminology from socialism but applied them to what it saw as the more significant conflict between nations and races rather than to class conflict, and focused on ending the divisions between classes within the nation.^[10] It advocated a mixed economy, with the principal goal of achieving autarky to secure national self-sufficiency and independence through protectionist and interventionist economic policies.^[11] Fascism opposed socialist and communist ideology but was also critical of some aspects of capitalism, arguing for what is sometimes called a Third Position between capitalism and Marxist socialism.^[12] Fascist movements emphasized a belligerent, virulent form of nationalism (chauvinism) and a fear of foreign people (xenophobia), which they frequently linked to an exaggerated ethnocentrism. The typical fascist state also embraced militarism, a belief in the rigors and virtues of military life as an individual and national ideal, meaning much of public life was organized along military lines and an emphasis put on uniforms, parades, and monumental architecture.

Influenced by national syndicalism, the first fascist movements emerged in Italy around World War I, combining elements of left-wing politics with more typically right-wing positions, in opposition to socialism, communism, liberal democracy and, in some cases, traditional right-wing conservatism. Although fascism is usually placed on the

far right on the traditional left-right spectrum, fascists themselves and some commentators have argued that the description is inadequate.^{[13][14]} Following the Second World War, few parties openly describe themselves as fascist and the term is more usually used pejoratively by political opponents. The term neo-fascist or post-fascist is sometimes applied more formally to describe parties of the far right with ideological similarities to, or roots in, 20th century fascist movements respectively.

Etymology

The term *fascismo* is derived from the Latin word *fasces*.^[15] The fasces, which consisted of a bundle of rods that were tied around an axe,^[16] was an ancient Roman symbol of the authority of the civic magistrate.^[17] They were carried by his lictors and could be used for corporal and capital punishment at his command.^[11] The word *fascismo* also relates to political organizations in Italy known as *fasci*, groups similar to guilds or syndicates.

The symbolism of the fasces suggested *strength through unity*: a single rod is easily broken, while the bundle is difficult to break.^[1] Similar symbols were developed by different fascist movements. For example the Falange symbol is five arrows joined together by a yoke.^[1]

Definitions

Historians, political scientists and other scholars have long debated the exact nature of fascism.^[1] Each form of fascism is distinct, leaving many definitions too wide or narrow.^[11]

Roger Griffin describes fascism as "a genus of political ideology whose mythic core in its various permutations is a palingenetic form of populist ultranationalism".^[18] Griffin describes the ideology as having three core components: "(i) the rebirth myth, (ii) populist ultra-nationalism and (iii) the myth of decadence".^[19] Fascism is "a genuinely revolutionary, trans-class form of anti-liberal, and in the last analysis, anti-conservative nationalism" built on a complex range of theoretical and cultural influences. He distinguishes an inter-war period in which it manifested itself in elite-led but populist "armed party" politics opposing socialism and liberalism and promising radical politics to rescue the nation from decadence.^[20]

Emilio Gentile describes fascism within ten constituent elements:^[1]

- "1) a mass movement with multiclass membership in which prevail, among the leaders and the militants, the middle sectors, in large part new to political activity, organized as a party militia, that bases its identity not on social hierarchy or class origin but on a sense of comradeship, believes itself invested with a mission of national regeneration, considers itself in a state of war against political adversaries and aims at conquering a monopoly of political power by using terror, parliamentary politics, and deals with leading groups, to create a new regime that destroys parliamentary democracy;"
- "2) an 'anti-ideological' and pragmatic ideology that proclaims itself antimaterialist, anti-individualist, antiliberal, antidemocratic, anti-Marxist, is populist and anticapitalist in tendency, expresses itself aesthetically more than theoretically by means of a new political style and by myths, rites, and symbols as a lay religion designed to acculturate, socialize, and integrate the faith of the masses with the goal of creating a 'new man';"
- "3) a culture founded on mystical thought and the tragic and activist sense of life conceived of as the manifestation of the will to power, on the myth of youth as artificer of history, and on the exaltation of the militarization of politics as the model of life and collective activity;"
- "4) a totalitarian conception of the primacy of politics, conceived of as an integrating experience to carry out the fusion of the individual and the masses in the organic and mystical unity of the nation as an ethnic and moral community, adopting measures of discrimination and persecution against those considered to be outside this community either as enemies of the regime or members of races considered to be inferior or otherwise dangerous for the integrity of the nation;"

- "5) a civil ethic founded on total dedication to the national community, on discipline, virility, comradeship, and the warrior spirit;"
- "6) a single state party that has the task of providing for the armed defense of the regime, selecting its directing cadres, and organizing the masses within the state in a process of permanent mobilization of emotion and faith;"
- "7) a police apparatus that prevents, controls, and represses dissidence and opposition, even by using organized terror;"
- "8) a political system organized by hierarchy of functions named from the top and crowned by the figure of the 'leader,' invested with a sacred charisma, who commands, directs, and coordinates the activities of the party and the regime;"
- "9) corporative organization of the economy that suppresses trade union liberty, broadens the sphere of state intervention, and seeks to achieve, by principles of technocracy and solidarity, the collaboration of the 'productive sectors' under control of the regime, to achieve its goals of power, yet preserving private property and class divisions;"
- "10) a foreign policy inspired by the myth of national power and greatness, with the goal of imperialist expansion."^[1]

Stanley Payne describes fascism within three sectors of characteristics: its ideology and goals, its negations, and its style and organization.^[21] They are the following:^[21]

- "A. Ideology and Goals:"
 - "Espousal of an idealist, vitalist, and voluntaristic philosophy, normally involving the attempt to realize a new modern, self-determined, and secular culture"
 - "Creation of a new nationalist authoritarian state not based on traditional principles or models"
 - "Organization of a new highly regulated, multiclass, integrated national economic structure, whether called national corporatist, national socialist, or national syndicalist"
 - "Positive evaluation and use of, or willingness to use violence and war"
 - "The goal of empire, expansion, or a radical change in the nation's relationship with other powers"
- "B. The Fascist Negations:"
 - "Antiliberalism"
 - "Anticommunism"
 - "Anticonservatism (though with the understanding that fascist groups were willing to undertake temporary alliances with other sectors, more commonly with the right)"
- "C. Style and Organization:"
 - "Attempted mass mobilization with militarization of political relationships and style and with the goal of a mass single party militia"
 - "Emphasis on aesthetic structure of meetings, symbols, and political liturgy, stressing emotional and mystical aspects"
 - "Extreme stress on the masculine principle and male dominance, while espousing a strongly organic view of society"
 - "Exaltation of youth above other phases of life, emphasizing the conflict of the generations, at least in effecting the initial political transformation"
 - "Specific tendency toward an authoritarian, charismatic, personal style of command, whether or not the command is to some degree initially elective"^[21]

Paxton sees fascism as "a form of political behavior marked by obsessive preoccupation with community decline, humiliation, or victimhood and by compensatory cults of unity, energy, and purity, in which a mass-based party of committed nationalist militants, working in uneasy but effective collaboration with traditional elites, abandons democratic liberties and pursues with redemptive violence and without ethical or legal restraints goals of internal cleansing and external expansion."^[1]

One common definition of fascism focuses on three groups of ideas:

- The *Fascist Negations* of anti-liberalism, anti-communism and anti-conservatism.
- Nationalist, authoritarian goals for the creation of a regulated economic structure to transform social relations within a modern, self-determined culture.
- A political aesthetic using romantic symbolism, mass mobilisation, a positive view of violence, promotion of masculinity and youth and charismatic leadership.^{[22][23][24]}

Position in the political spectrum

Fascism is commonly described as "extreme right"^{[25][1]} although some writers have found placing fascism on a conventional left-right political spectrum difficult.^{[26][27][28][29][30]} Fascism was influenced by both left and right, conservative and anti-conservative, national and supranational, rational and anti-rational.^[28] A number of historians have regarded fascism either as a revolutionary centrist doctrine, as a doctrine which mixes philosophies of the left and the right, or as both of those things.^{[29][30]} Fascism was founded during World War I by Italian national syndicalists who combined left-wing and right-wing political views.

Fascism is considered by certain scholars to be right-wing because of its social conservatism and authoritarian means of opposing egalitarianism.^[1] Roderick Stackelberg places fascism—including Nazism, which he says is "a radical variant of fascism"—on the right, explaining that "the more a person deems absolute equality among all people to be a desirable condition, the further left he or she will be on the ideological spectrum. The more a person considers inequality to be unavoidable or even desirable, the further to the right he or she will be."^[31]

Italian Fascism gravitated to the right in the early 1920s.^{[32][33]} A major element of fascism that has been deemed as clearly far-right is its goal to promote the right of claimed superior people to dominate while purging society of claimed inferior elements.^[34]

Benito Mussolini in 1919 described fascism as a movement that would strike "against the backwardness of the right and the destructiveness of the left".^{[35][36]} Later the Italian Fascists described fascism as a right-wing ideology in the political program *The Doctrine of Fascism*, stating: "We are free to believe that this is the century of authority, a century tending to the 'right,' a fascist century."^{[37][38]} However Mussolini clarified that fascism's position on the political spectrum was not a serious issue to fascists and stated that:

Fascism, sitting on the right, could also have sat on the mountain of the center ... These words in any case do not have a fixed and unchanged meaning: they do have a variable subject to location, time and spirit. We don't give a damn about these empty terminologies and we despise those who are terrorized by these words.^[39]

The accommodation of the political right into the Italian Fascist movement in the early 1920s led to the creation of internal factions. The "Fascist left" included Michele Bianchi, Giuseppe Bottai, Angelo Oliviero Olivetti, Sergio Panunzio and Edmondo Rossoni, who were committed to advancing national syndicalism as a replacement for parliamentary liberalism in order to modernize the economy and advance the interests of workers and the common people.^[40] The "Fascist right" included members of the paramilitary *Squadristi* and former members of the Italian Nationalist Association (ANI).^[40] The *Squadristi* wanted to establish Fascism as a complete dictatorship, while the former ANI members, including Alfredo Rocco, sought an authoritarian corporatist state to replace the liberal state in Italy, while retaining the existing elites.^[40] However upon accommodating the political right, there arose a group of monarchist Fascists who sought to use Fascism to create an absolute monarchy under King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy.^[40]

After King Victor Emmanuel III forced Mussolini to resign as head of government and put him under arrest in 1943, Mussolini was rescued by German forces and now dependent on Germany for support, Mussolini and remaining loyal Fascists founded the Italian Social Republic with Mussolini as head of state. Mussolini sought to re-radicalize Italian Fascism, declaring that the Fascist state had been overthrown because Italian Fascism had been subverted by Italian conservatives and the bourgeoisie.^[41] Then the new Fascist government proposed the creation of workers'

councils and profit-sharing in industry, however German authorities who effectively controlled northern Italy at this point, ignored these measures and did not seek to enforce them.^[41]

A number of fascist movements described themselves as a "third position" outside the traditional political spectrum.^[42] Spanish Falangist leader José Antonio Primo de Rivera said: "basically the Right stands for the maintenance of an economic structure, albeit an unjust one, while the Left stands for the attempt to subvert that economic structure, even though the subversion thereof would entail the destruction of much that was worthwhile".^[43]

Fascist as insult

Following the defeat of the Axis powers in World War II, the term *fascist* has been used as a pejorative word,^[44] often referring to widely varying movements across the political spectrum.[□] George Orwell wrote in 1944 that "the word 'Fascism' is almost entirely meaningless ... almost any English person would accept 'bully' as a synonym for 'Fascist'".[□] Richard Griffiths argued in 2005 that "fascism" is the "most misused, and over-used word, of our times".[□] "Fascist" is sometimes applied to post-war organizations and ways of thinking that academics more commonly term "neo-fascist".[□]

Contrary to the common mainstream academic and popular use of the term, Communist states have sometimes been referred to as "fascist", typically as an insult. Marxist interpretations of the term have, for example, been applied in relation to Cuba under Fidel Castro and Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh.^[45] Herbert Matthews, of the *New York Times* asked "Should we now place Stalinist Russia in the same category as Hitlerite Germany? Should we say that she is Fascist?"^[46] J. Edgar Hoover wrote extensively of "Red Fascism".^[47] Chinese Marxists used the term to denounce the Soviet Union during the Sino-Soviet Split, and likewise, the Soviets used the term to identify Chinese Marxists.^[48]

History

***Fin de siècle* era and the fusion of Maurrasism with Sorelianism (1880–1914)**

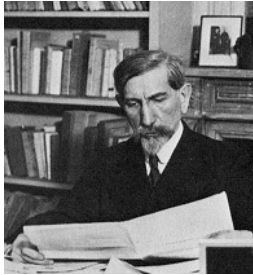
The ideological roots of fascism have been traced to the 1880s, and in particular the *fin de siècle* theme of that time.^{[49][50]} The theme was based on revolt against materialism, rationalism, positivism, bourgeois society and democracy.^[51] The *fin-de-siècle* generation supported emotionalism, irrationalism, subjectivism and vitalism.^[52] The *fin-de-siècle* mindset saw civilization as being in a crisis that required a massive and total solution.^[51] The *fin-de-siècle* intellectual school considered the individual as only one part of the larger collectivity, which should not be viewed as an atomized numerical sum of individuals.^[51] They condemned the rationalistic individualism of liberal society and the dissolution of social links in bourgeois society.^[51]

The *fin-de-siècle* outlook was influenced by various intellectual developments, including Darwinian biology; Wagnerian aesthetics; Arthur de Gobineau's racialism; Gustave Le Bon's psychology; and the philosophies of Friedrich Nietzsche, Fyodor Dostoyevsky and Henri Bergson.^[53] Social Darwinism, which gained widespread acceptance, made no distinction between physical and social life, and viewed the human condition as being an unceasing struggle to achieve the survival of the fittest.^[53] Social Darwinism challenged positivism's claim of deliberate and rational choice as the determining behaviour of humans, with social Darwinism focusing on heredity, race, and environment.^[53] Social Darwinism's emphasis on biogroup identity and the role of organic relations within societies fostered legitimacy and appeal for nationalism.^[54] New theories of social and political psychology also rejected the notion of human behaviour being governed by rational choice, and instead claimed that emotion was more influential in political issues than reason.^[53] Nietzsche's argument that "God is dead" coincided with his attack on the "herd mentality" of Christianity, democracy and modern collectivism; his concept of the *übermensch*; and his advocacy of the will to power as a primordial instinct, were major influences upon many of the *fin-de-siècle* generation.^[55] Bergson's claim of the existence of an "*élan vital*" or vital instinct centred upon free choice and

rejected the processes of materialism and determinism, this challenged Marxism.^[56]

Gaetano Mosca in his work *The Ruling Class* (1896) developed the theory that claims that in all societies an "organized minority" will dominate and rule over the "disorganized majority".^{[57][58]} Mosca claims that there are only two classes in society, "the governing" (the organized minority) and "the governed" (the disorganized majority).^[59] He claims that the organized nature of the organized minority makes it irresistible to any individual of the disorganized majority.^[59]

The rise of support for anarchism in this period of time was important in influencing the politics of fascism.^[60] The anarchist Mikhail Bakunin's concept of propaganda of the deed that stressed the importance of direct action as the primary means of politics - including revolutionary violence, became popular amongst fascists who admired the concept and adopted it as a part of fascism.^[60]



Charles Maurras.



Georges Sorel

French nationalist and reactionary monarchist Charles Maurras influenced fascism.^[61] Maurras promoted what he called integral nationalism, that called for organic unity of a nation, Maurras insisted that a powerful monarch was an ideal leader of a nation. Maurras distrusted what he considered the democratic mystification of the popular will that created an impersonal collective subject.^[61] He claimed that a powerful monarch was a personified sovereign who could exercise authority to unite a nation's people.^[61] Maurras' integral nationalism was idealized by fascists, but modified into a modernized revolutionary form that was devoid of Maurras' monarchism.^[61]

One of the key persons who greatly influenced fascism, the French revolutionary syndicalist Georges Sorel was greatly influenced by anarchism and contributed to the fusion of anarchism and syndicalism together into anarcho syndicalism.^[62] Sorel promoted the legitimacy of political violence in his work *Reflections on Violence* (1908) and other works in which he advocated radical syndicalist action to achieve a revolution to overthrow capitalism and the bourgeoisie through a general strike.^[63] In *Reflections on Violence*, Sorel emphasized need for a revolutionary political religion.^[64] Also, in his work *The Illusions of Progress*, Sorel denounced democracy as reactionary, saying "nothing is more aristocratic than democracy".^[65] By 1909 after the failure of a syndicalist general strike in France, Sorel and his supporters left the radical left and went to the radical right, where they sought to merge militant Catholicism and French patriotism with their views - advocating anti-republican Christian French patriots as ideal revolutionaries.^[66] Initially Sorel had officially been a revisionist of Marxism, but by 1910 announced his abandonment of socialist literature and claimed in 1914, using an aphorism of Benedetto Croce that "socialism is dead" because of the "decomposition of Marxism".^[67] Sorel became a supporter of reactionary Maurrassian nationalism beginning in 1909 that influenced his works.^[67] Maurras held interest in merging his nationalist ideals

with Sorelian syndicalism as a means to confront democracy.^[68] Maurras famously stated "a socialism liberated from the democratic and cosmopolitan element fits nationalism well as a well made glove fits a beautiful hand".^[69]

The fusion of Maurassian nationalism and Sorelian syndicalism influenced radical Italian nationalist Enrico Corradini.^[70] Corradini spoke of the need for a nationalist-syndicalist movement, led by elitist aristocrats and anti-democrats who shared a revolutionary syndicalist commitment to direct action and a willingness to fight.^[70] Corradini spoke of Italy as being a "proletarian nation" that needed to pursue imperialism in order to challenge the "plutocratic" French and British.^[71] Corradini's views were part of a wider set of perceptions within the right-wing Italian Nationalist Association (ANI), which claimed that Italy's economic backwardness was caused by corruption in its political class, liberalism, and division caused by "ignoble socialism".^[71] The ANI held ties and influence among conservatives, Catholics, and the business community.^[71] Italian national syndicalists held a common set of principles: the rejection of bourgeois values, democracy, liberalism, Marxism, internationalism, and pacifism, and the promotion of heroism, vitalism, and violence.^[72] The ANI claimed that liberal democracy was no longer compatible with the modern world, and advocated a strong state and imperialism, claiming that humans are naturally predatory and that nations were in a constant struggle, in which only the strongest could survive.^[73]



Enrico Corradini



Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Italian modernist author of the *Futurist Manifesto* (1908) and later the co-author of the *Fascist Manifesto* (1919)

Futurism that was both an artistic-cultural movement and initially a political movement in Italy led by Filippo Tommaso Marinetti who founded the *Futurist Manifesto* (1908), that championed the causes of modernism, action, and political violence as necessary elements of politics while denouncing liberalism and parliamentary politics. Marinetti rejected conventional democracy for based on majority rule and egalitarianism while promoting a new form of democracy, that he described in his work "The Futurist Conception of Democracy" as the following: "We are therefore able to give the directions

to create and to dismantle to *numbers, to quantity, to the mass*, for with us *number, quantity and mass* will never be—as they are in Germany and Russia—the number, quantity and mass of mediocre men, incapable and indecisive".^[74]

Futurism influenced fascism in its emphasis on recognizing the virile nature of violent action and war as being necessities of modern civilization.^[75] Marinetti promoted the need of physical training of young men, saying that in male education, gymnastics should take precedence over books, and he advocated segregation of the genders on this matter, in that womanly sensibility must not enter men's education whom Marinetti claimed must be "lively, bellicose, muscular and violently dynamic".^[76]

World War I and aftermath (1914–1929)

At the outbreak of World War I in August 1914, the Italian political left became severely split over its position on the war. The Italian Socialist Party (PSI) opposed the war on the grounds of internationalism, but a number of Italian revolutionary syndicalists supported intervention against Germany and Austria-Hungary on the grounds that their reactionary regimes needed to be defeated to ensure the success of socialism.^[77] Corradini presented the same need for Italy as a "proletarian nation" to defeat a reactionary Germany from a nationalist perspective.^[78] The origins of Italian Fascism resulted from this split, first with Angelo Oliviero Olivetti forming an pro-interventionist fasci called the Fasci of International Action in October 1914.^[77] Benito Mussolini upon being expelled from his position as chief editor of the PSI's newspaper *Avanti!* for his pro-Entente stance, joined the interventionist cause in a separate fasci.^[79] The term "Fascism" was first used in 1915 by members of Mussolini's movement, the Fasci of Revolutionary Action.^[80]

Mussolini accused conventional socialists for being dogmatic and in December 1914 criticized the PSI for their association with Marxism that Mussolini declared had become obsolete.^[81] Mussolini made a list of socialist figures ranging from the top of admirable socialist figures at the top like Mazzini, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Mikhail Bakunin, Charles Fourier, and Henri de Saint-Simon; while placing unadmirable socialists at the bottom, including Karl Marx.^[81] The first meeting of the Fasci of Revolutionary Action was held on 24 January 1915.^[82] At the meeting Mussolini declared that it was necessary for Europe to resolve its national problems - including national borders - of Italy and elsewhere "for the ideals of justice and liberty for which oppressed peoples must acquire the right to belong to those national communities from which they descended".^[82] Amidst discussion on the question of irredentism, Mussolini noted from the proceedings of the members that "the difficult question of irredentism was posed and resolved in the ambit of ideals of socialism and liberty which do not however exclude the safeguarding of a positive national interest".^[82] Its attempts to hold mass meetings were ineffective and it was regularly harassed by government authorities and socialists.^[83] Antagonism between interventionists, including Fascists, and anti-interventionist socialists resulted in violence.^[84]



Benito Mussolini in 1917, as a soldier in World War I. In 1914, Mussolini founded the *Fasci d'Azione Rivoluzionaria* that he led. Mussolini promoted the Italian intervention in the war as a revolutionary nationalist action to liberate Italian-claimed lands from Austria-Hungary.



German soldiers being cheered in Lubeck during their advance to the front lines in 1914 during World War I. The concept of the "Spirit of 1914" by Johann Plenge identified the outbreak of war as forging national solidarity of Germans.

Similar political ideas arose in Germany after the outbreak of the war. German sociologist Johann Plenge spoke of the rise of a "National Socialism" in Germany within what he termed the "ideas of 1914" that were a declaration of war against the "ideas of 1789" (the French Revolution).^[85] According to Plenge, the "ideas of 1789" that included rights of man, democracy, individualism and liberalism were being rejected in favour of "the ideas of 1914" that included "German values" of duty, discipline, law, and order.^[85] Plenge

believed that ethnic solidarity (*volksgemeinschaft*) would replace class division and that "racial comrades" would unite to create a socialist society in the struggle of "proletarian" Germany against "capitalist" Britain.^[85] He believed that the "Spirit of 1914" manifested itself in the concept of the "People's League of National Socialism".^[86] This National Socialism was a form of state socialism that rejected the "idea of boundless freedom" and promoted an economy that would serve the whole of Germany under the leadership of the state.^[86] This National Socialism was opposed to capitalism because of the components that were against "the national interest" of Germany, but insisted that National Socialism would strive for greater efficiency in the economy.^[86] Plenge advocated an authoritarian rational ruling elite to develop National Socialism through a hierarchical technocratic state.^[87]

Fascists viewed World War I as bringing revolutionary changes in the nature of war, society, the state, and technology, as the advent of total war and mass mobilization had broken down the distinction between civilian and combatant, as civilians had become a critical part in economic production for the war effort, and thus arose a "military citizenship" in which all citizens were involved to the military in some manner during the war.^{[4][88]} World War I had resulted in the rise of a powerful state capable of mobilizing millions of people to serve on the frontlines or provide economic production and logistics to support those on the front lines, as well as having preceded authority to intervene in the lives of citizens.^{[4][88]} Fascists viewed technological developments of weaponry and the state's total mobilization of its population in the war as symbolizing the beginning of a new era fusing state power with mass politics, technology, and particularly the mobilizing myth that they contended had triumphed over the myth of progress and the era of liberalism.^[4]

A major event that greatly influenced the development of fascism was the October Revolution of 1917 in which Bolshevik communists led by Vladimir Lenin seized power in Russia.^[89] In 1917, Mussolini as leader of the Fasci of Revolutionary Action praised the October Revolution, however Mussolini later became unimpressed with Lenin, regarding him as merely a new version of Tsar Nicholas.^[90] After World War I fascists have commonly campaigned on anti-Marxist agendas.^[89] However both Bolshevism and fascism hold ideological similarities: both advocate a revolutionary ideology, both believe in the necessity of a vanguard elite, both have disdain for bourgeois values, and both had totalitarian ambitions.^[89] In practice, fascism and Bolshevism have commonly emphasized revolutionary action, proletarian nation theories, single-party states, and party-armies.^[89]



Members of Italy's *Arditi* corps in 1918 holding daggers, a symbol of their group.

The *Arditi* were founded in 1917 as groups of soldiers trained for: dangerous missions, refusal to surrender, and to be willing to fight to the death. The *Arditi*'s black uniform and use of the fez, were adopted by the Italian Fascist movement in homage to the *Arditi*.

With the antagonism between anti-interventionist Marxists and pro-interventionist Fascists complete by the end of the war, the two sides became irreconcilable. The Fascists presented themselves as anti-Marxists and as opposed to the Marxists.^[91] Benito Mussolini consolidated control over the Fascist movement in 1919 with the founding of the *Fasci italiani di combattimento*, whose opposition to socialism he declared:

We declare war against socialism, not because it is socialism, but because it has opposed nationalism. Although we can discuss the question of what socialism is, what is its program, and what are its tactics, one thing is obvious: the official Italian Socialist Party has been reactionary and absolutely conservative. If its views had prevailed, our survival in the world of today would be impossible.^[92]

In 1919, Alceste De Ambris and Futurist movement leader Filippo Tommaso Marinetti created *The Manifesto of the Italian Fasci of Combat* (a.k.a. the *Fascist Manifesto*).^[93] The Manifesto was presented on June 6, 1919 in the Fascist newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*. The Manifesto supported the creation of universal suffrage for both men and women (the latter being realized only partly in late 1925, with all opposition parties banned or disbanded^[94]); proportional representation on a regional basis; government representation through a corporatist system of "National Councils" of experts, selected from professionals and tradespeople, elected to represent and hold legislative power over their respective areas, including labour, industry, transportation, public health, communications, etc.; and the abolition of the Italian Senate.^[95] The Manifesto supported the creation of an eight-hour work day for all workers, a minimum wage, worker representation in industrial management, equal confidence in labour unions as in industrial executives and public servants, reorganization of the transportation sector, revision of the draft law on invalidity insurance, reduction of the retirement age from 65 to 55, a strong progressive tax on capital, confiscation of the property of religious institutions and abolishment of bishoprics, and revision of military contracts to allow the government to seize 85% of their profits.^[96] It also called for the creation of a short-service national militia to serve defensive duties, nationalization of the armaments industry, and a foreign policy designed to be peaceful but also competitive.^[97]



Residents of Fiume cheer the arrival of Gabriele d'Annunzio and his blackshirt-wearing nationalist raiders. D'Annunzio and Fascist Alceste De Ambris developed the quasi-fascist Italian Regency of Carnaro, a city-state in Fiume, from 1919 to 1920. D'Annunzio's actions in Fiume inspired the Italian Fascist movement.

The next events that influenced the Fascists in Italy was the raid of Fiume by Italian nationalist Gabriele d'Annunzio and the founding of the Charter of Carnaro in 1920.^[98] D'Annunzio and De Ambris designed the Charter, which advocated national-syndicalist corporatist productionism alongside D'Annunzio's political views.^[99] Many Fascists saw the Charter of Carnaro as an ideal constitution for a Fascist Italy.^[100] This behaviour of aggression towards Yugoslavia and South Slavs was pursued by Italian Fascists with their persecution of South Slavs - especially Slovenes and Croats.

With the 1920, militant strike activity by industrial workers reached its peak in Italy,

where 1919 and 1920 were known as the "Red Years".^[101] Mussolini and the Fascists took advantage of the situation by allying with industrial businesses and attacking workers and peasants in the name of preserving order and internal peace in Italy.^[102]

Fascists identified their primary opponents as the majority of socialists on the left who had opposed intervention in World War I.^[100] The Fascists and the Italian political right held common ground: both held Marxism in contempt, discounted class consciousness and believed in the rule of elites.^[103] The Fascists assisted the anti-socialist campaign by allying with the other parties and the conservative right in a mutual effort to destroy the Italian Socialist Party and labour organizations committed to class identity above national identity.^[103]

Fascism sought to accommodate Italian conservatives by making major alterations to its political agenda;—abandoning its previous populism, republicanism, and anticlericalism, adopting policies in support of free enterprise, and accepting the Roman Catholic Church and the monarchy as institutions in Italy.^[104] To appeal to Italian conservatives, Fascism adopted policies such as promoting family values, including promotion policies designed to reduce the number of women in the workforce limiting the woman's role to that of a mother. The fascists banned literature on birth control and increased penalties for abortion in 1926, declaring both crimes against the state.^[105] Though Fascism adopted a number of positions designed to appeal to reactionaries, the Fascists sought to maintain Fascism's revolutionary character, with Angelo Oliviero Olivetti saying "Fascism would like to be conservative, but it will [be] by being revolutionary."^[106] The Fascists supported revolutionary action and committed to secure law and order to appeal to both conservatives and syndicalists.^[107]

Prior to Fascism's accommodation of the political right, Fascism was a small, urban, northern Italian movement that had about a thousand members.^[108] After Fascism's accommodation of the political right, the Fascist movement's membership soared to approximately 250,000 by 1921.^[109]

Beginning in 1922, Fascist paramilitaries escalated their strategy from one of attacking socialist offices and homes of socialist leadership figures to one of violent occupation of cities. The Fascists met little serious resistance from authorities and proceeded to take over several northern Italian cities.^[110] The Fascists attacked the headquarters of socialist and Catholic unions in Cremona and imposed forced Italianization upon the German-speaking population of Trent and Bolzano.^[110] After seizing these cities, the Fascists made plans to take Rome.^[110]

On 24 October 1922, the Fascist party held its annual congress in Naples, where Mussolini ordered Blackshirts to take control of public buildings and trains and to converge on three points around Rome.^[110] The Fascists managed to seize control of several post offices and trains in northern Italy while the Italian government, led by a left-wing coalition, was internally divided and unable to respond to the Fascist advances.^[111] King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy perceived the risk of bloodshed in Rome in response to attempting to disperse the Fascists to be too high.^[112] Victor Emmanuel III decided to appoint Mussolini as Prime Minister of Italy, and Mussolini arrived in Rome on 30 October to accept the appointment.^[112] Fascist propaganda aggrandized this event, known as "March on Rome", as a "seizure" of power because of Fascists' heroic exploits.^[110]



Benito Mussolini with 3 of the 4 quadrumvirs during the March on Rome: from left to right: unknown, de Bono, Mussolini, Balbo and de Vecchi

Upon being appointed Prime Minister of Italy, Mussolini had to form a coalition government, because the Fascists did not have control over the Italian parliament.^[113] Mussolini's coalition government initially pursued economically liberal policies under the direction of liberal finance minister Alberto De Stefani, including balancing the budget through deep cuts to the civil service.^[113] Initially, little drastic change in government policy had occurred and repressive police actions were limited.^[113]

The Fascists began their attempt to entrench Fascism in Italy with the Acerbo Law, which guaranteed a plurality of the seats in parliament to any party or coalition list in an election that received 25% or more of the vote.^[114] Through considerable Fascist violence and intimidation, the list won a majority of the vote, allowing many seats to go to the Fascists.^[114] In the aftermath of the election, a crisis and political scandal erupted after Socialist Party deputy Giacomo Matteoti was kidnapped and murdered by a Fascist.^[114] The liberals and the leftist minority in parliament walked out in protest in what became known as the Aventine Secession.^[115] On 3 January 1925, Mussolini addressed the Fascist-dominated Italian parliament and declared that he was personally responsible for what happened, but he insisted that he had done nothing wrong. He proclaimed himself dictator of Italy, assuming full responsibility over the government and announcing the dismissal of parliament.^[115] From 1925 to 1929, Fascism steadily became entrenched in power: opposition deputies were denied access to parliament, censorship was introduced, and a December 1925 decree made Mussolini solely responsible to the King.^[116]

In 1929, the Fascist regime gained the political support and blessing of the Roman Catholic Church after the regime signed a concordat with the Church, known as the Lateran Treaty, which gave the papacy state sovereignty and financial compensation for the seizure of Church lands by the liberal state in the nineteenth century.^[117]

The Fascist regime created a corporatist economic system in 1925 with creation of the Palazzo Vidioni Pact, in which the Italian employers' association Confindustria and Fascist trade unions agreed to recognize each other as the sole representatives of Italy's employers and employees, excluding non-Fascist trade unions.^[118] The Fascist regime first created a Ministry of Corporations that organized the Italian economy into 22 sectoral corporations, banned workers' strikes and lock-outs, and in 1927 created the Charter of Labour, which established workers' rights and duties and created labour tribunals to arbitrate employer-employee disputes.^[118] In practice, the sectoral corporations exercised little independence and were largely controlled by the regime, and employee organizations were rarely led by employees themselves but instead by appointed Fascist party members.^[118]

In the 1920s, Fascist Italy pursued an aggressive foreign policy that included an attack on the Greek island of Corfu, aims to expand Italian territory in the Balkans, plans to wage war against Turkey and Yugoslavia, attempts to bring Yugoslavia into civil war by supporting Croat and Macedonian separatists to legitimize Italian intervention, and making Albania a *de facto* protectorate of Italy, which was achieved through diplomatic means by 1927.^[119] In response to revolt in the Italian colony of Libya, Fascist Italy abandoned previous liberal-era colonial policy of cooperation with local leaders. Instead, claiming that Italians were a superior race to African races and thereby had the right to colonize the "inferior" Africans, it sought to settle 10 to 15 million Italians in Libya.^[120] This resulted in an aggressive military campaign known as the Pacification of Libya against natives in Libya, including mass killings, the use of concentration camps, and the forced starvation of thousands of people.^[120] Italian authorities committed ethnic cleansing by forcibly expelling 100,000 Bedouin Cyrenaicans, half the population of Cyrenaica in Libya, from their settlements that was slated to be given to Italian settlers.^{[121][122]}



Nazis in Munich during the Beer Hall Putsch.

The March on Rome brought Fascism international attention. One early admirer of the Italian Fascists was Adolf Hitler, who, less than a month after the March, had begun to model himself and the Nazi Party upon Mussolini and the Fascists.^[123] The Nazis, led by Hitler and the German war hero Erich Ludendorff, attempted a "March on Berlin" modeled upon the March on Rome, which resulted in the failed Beer Hall Putsch in Munich in November 1923.^[124]

International surge of fascism and World War II (1929–45)

The events of the Great Depression resulted in an international surge of fascism and the creation of several fascist regimes and regimes that adopted fascist policies. The most important new fascist regime was Nazi Germany, under the leadership of Adolf Hitler. With the rise of Hitler and the Nazis to power in 1933, liberal democracy was dissolved in Germany, and the Nazis mobilized the country for war, with expansionist territorial aims against several countries. In the 1930s the Nazis implemented racial laws that deliberately discriminated against, disenfranchised, and persecuted Jews and other racial and minority groups.

Fascist movements grew in strength elsewhere in Europe. Hungarian fascist Gyula Gömbös rose to power as Prime Minister of Hungary in 1932 and attempted to entrench his Party of National Unity throughout the country; created an eight-hour work day, a forty-eight hour work week in industry, and sought to entrench a corporatist economy; and pursued irredentist claims on Hungary's neighbors.^[125] The fascist Iron Guard movement in Romania soared in political support after 1933,



Benito Mussolini (left) and Adolf Hitler (right).

gaining representation in the Romanian government, and an Iron Guard member assassinated Romanian prime minister Ion Duca.^[126] During the 6 February 1934 crisis, France faced the greatest domestic political turmoil since the Dreyfus Affair when the fascist Francist Movement and multiple far right movements rioted *en masse* in Paris against the French government resulting in major political violence.^[127] A variety of para-fascist governments that borrowed elements from fascism were formed during the Great Depression, including those of Greece, Lithuania, Poland, and Yugoslavia.^[128]

In the Americas, the Brazilian Integralists led by Plínio Salgado, claimed as many as 200,000 members although following coup attempts it faced a crackdown from the Estado Novo of Getúlio Vargas in 1937.^[129] In the 1930s, the National Socialist Movement of Chile gained seats in Chile's parliament and attempted a coup d'état that resulted in the Seguro Obrero massacre of 1938.^[130]

During the Great Depression, Mussolini promoted active state intervention in the economy. He denounced the contemporary "supercapitalism" that he claimed began in 1914 as a failure because of its alleged decadence, its support for unlimited consumerism and its intention to create the "standardization of humankind".^[131] Fascist Italy created the Institute for Industrial Reconstruction (IRI), a giant state-owned firm and holding company that provided state funding to failing private enterprises.^[132] The IRI was made a permanent institution in Fascist Italy in 1937, pursued Fascist policies to create national autarky, and had the power to take

over private firms to maximize war production.^[132] In the late 1930s, Italy enacted manufacturing cartels, tariff barriers, currency restrictions, and massive regulation of the economy to attempt to balance payments.^[133] However, Italy's policy of autarky failed to achieve effective economic autonomy.^[133] Nazi Germany similarly pursued an economic agenda with the aims of autarky and rearmament and imposed protectionist policies, including forcing the German steel industry to use lower-quality German iron ore rather than superior-quality imported iron.^[134]

In Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany both Mussolini and Hitler pursued territorial expansionist and interventionist foreign policy agendas from the 1930s through the 1940s culminating in World War II. Mussolini called for irredentist Italian claims to be reclaimed, establishing Italian domination of the Mediterranean Sea and securing Italian access to the Atlantic Ocean, and the creation of Italian *spazio vitale* ("vital space") in the Mediterranean and Red Sea regions.^[135] Hitler called for irredentist German claims to be reclaimed along with the creation of German *lebensraum* ("living space") in Eastern Europe, including territories held by the Soviet Union, that would be colonized by Germans.^[136]



Integralists marching in Brazil.



Rally of Great Japan Youth Party in 1940.

From 1935 to 1939 Germany and Italy escalated their demands for territorial claims and greater influence in world affairs. Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935 resulting in condemnation by the League of Nations and widespread diplomatic isolation. In 1936 Germany remilitarized the industrial Rhineland; the region had been ordered demilitarized by the Treaty of Versailles. In 1938 Germany annexed Austria and Italy assisted in Germany in resolving the diplomatic crisis between Germany versus Britain and France over claims on Czechoslovakia by arranging the Munich Agreement that gave Germany the Sudetenland and was perceived at the time to have averted a European war, these hopes faded when Hitler violated the Munich Agreement by ordering the invasion and partition of Czechoslovakia between Germany and a client state of Slovakia in 1939. At the same time from 1938 to 1939, Italy was demanding territorial and colonial concessions from France and Britain.^[137] In 1939, Germany prepared for war with Poland, but attempted to gain territorial concessions from Poland through diplomatic means.^[138] The Polish government did not trust Hitler's promises and refused to accept Germany's demands.^[138]

The invasion of Poland by Germany was deemed unacceptable by Britain, France and their allies, resulting in their mutual declaration of war against Germany that was deemed the aggressor in the war in Poland, resulting in the outbreak of World War II. In 1940, Mussolini led Italy into World War II on the side of the Axis. Mussolini was aware that Italy did not have the military capacity to carry out a long war with France or the United Kingdom and waited until France was on the verge of imminent collapse and surrender from German invasion before declaring war on France and the United Kingdom on 10 June 1940, on the assumption that the war would be short-lived following France's collapse.^[139] Mussolini believed that following a brief entry of Italy into war with France, followed by the imminent French surrender, Italy could gain some territorial concessions from France and then concentrate its forces on a major offensive in Egypt where British and Commonwealth forces were outnumbered by Italian forces.^[140] Plans by Germany to invade the UK in 1940 failed after Germany lost the aerial warfare campaign in the Battle of Britain. The war became prolonged contrary to Mussolini's plans resulting in Italy losing battles on multiple fronts and requiring German assistance. In 1941 the Axis campaign spread to the Soviet Union after Hitler launched Operation Barbarossa. Axis forces at the height of their power controlled almost all of continental Europe.

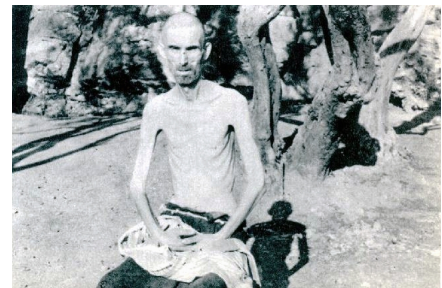
During World War II, the Axis Powers in Europe, led by Nazi Germany participated in the extermination of millions of Poles, Jews, Gypsies and others in the genocide known as the Holocaust. In Asia, Japan committed large massacres of Chinese civilians.

After 1942, Axis forces began to falter. By 1943, after Italy faced multiple military failures, complete reliance and subordination of Italy to Germany, and Allied invasion of Italy, and corresponding international humiliation, Mussolini was removed as head of government and arrested by the order of King Victor Emmanuel III who proceeded to dismantle the Fascist state and declared Italy's switching of allegiance to the Allied side. Mussolini was rescued from arrest by German forces and led the German client state, the Italian Social Republic from 1943 to 1945. Nazi Germany faced multiple losses and steady Soviet and Western Allied offensives from 1943 to 1945.

On 28 April 1945, Mussolini was captured and executed by Italian communist partisans. On 30 April 1945, Hitler committed suicide. Shortly afterwards Germany surrendered and the Nazi regime was dismantled and key Nazi members arrested to stand trial for crimes against humanity involving the Holocaust.



Corpses of victims of the German Buchenwald concentration camp.



Emaciated male inmate at the Italian Rab concentration camp.

Post-World-War II (1945–present)



Francisco Franco, the quasi-fascist *Caudillo* of Spain from 1939 to 1975.



Juan Perón, President of Argentina from 1946 to 1955 and 1973 to 1974. Perón admired Italian Fascism and modelled his economic policies on those pursued by Fascist Italy.

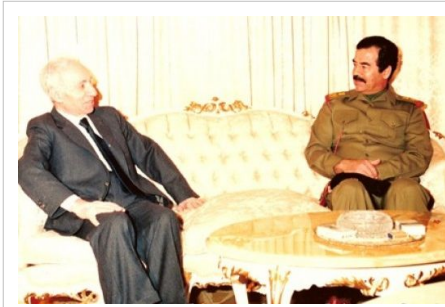
In the aftermath of World War II, the victory of the Allies over the Axis powers led to the collapse of multiple fascist regimes in Europe. The Nuremberg Trials convicted multiple Nazi leaders of crimes against humanity involving the Holocaust.

However there remained multiple ideologies and governments that were ideologically related to fascism.

Francisco Franco's Falangist single-party state in Spain was officially neutral in World War II and survived the collapse of the Axis Powers. Franco's rise to power had been directly assisted by the militaries of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany during the Spanish Civil War, and had sent volunteers to fight on the side of Nazi Germany against the Soviet Union during World War II. After World War II and a period of international isolation, Franco's regime normalized relations with Western powers in the Cold War, until Franco's death in 1975 and the transformation of Spain into a liberal democracy.

Peronism associated with the regime of Juan Peron in Argentina from 1946 to 1955 and 1973 to 1974, was strongly influenced by fascism.^[141]

Prior to rising to power, from 1939 to 1941, Peron had developed a deep admiration of Italian Fascism and modelled his economic policies on Italian Fascist economic policies.^[141]



Ba'ath Party founder Michel Aflaq (left) with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein (right) in 1988.

Another ideology strongly influenced by fascism is Ba'athism.^[142] Ba'athism is a revolutionary Arab nationalist ideology that seeks the unification of all claimed Arab lands into a single Arab state.^[142] Zaki al-Arsuzi, one of the principal founders of Ba'athism was strongly influenced by and supportive of fascism and Nazism.^[143] Several close associates of Ba'athism's key ideologist Michel Aflaq have admitted that Aflaq had been directly inspired by certain fascist and Nazi theorists.^[142] Ba'athist regimes in power in Iraq and Syria have held strong similarities to fascism, they are radical authoritarian nationalist single-party states.^[142] Because of Ba'athism's anti-Western stances it preferred the Soviet Union in the Cold War and admired and adopted

certain Soviet organizational structures for their governments, however the Iraqi Ba'athist regimes persecuted communists while the Syrian Ba'athist regime collaborated with them.^[142] Like fascist regimes, Ba'athism became heavily militarized in power.^[142] Ba'athist movements governed Iraq in 1963 and again from 1968 to 2003 and in Syria from 1963 to present. Ba'athist heads of state such as Syrian President Hafez al-Assad and Iraqi President Saddam Hussein created personality cults around themselves portraying themselves as the nationalist saviours of the Arab world.^[142]

Ba'athist Iraq under Saddam Hussein pursued ethnic cleansing or liquidation of minorities, pursued expansionist wars against Iran and Kuwait, and gradually replaced pan-Arabism with an Iraqi nationalism that emphasized Iraq's connection to the glories of ancient Mesopotamian empires, including Babylonia.^[144] Ba'athist Iraq openly promoted anti-Persian and antisemitic racism, such as Ba'athist Iraq's endorsement of Khairallah Talfah's *Three Whom God Should Not Have Created: Persians, Jews, and Flies* (1940) during the Iran-Iraq War, including other works alleging of Jewish-Persian conspiracy against Iraq dating back to ancient times when Nebuchadnezzar II persecuted the Jews in Babylonia while the Persia allowed the Babylonian Jews to seek refuge in their lands.^[145] Historian of fascism Stanley Payne has said about Saddam Hussein's regime: "There will probably never again be a reproduction of the Third Reich, but Saddam Hussein has come closer than any other dictator since 1945".^[144]

Tenets

Nationalism

Nationalism is the main foundation of fascism.^[146] The fascist view of a nation is of a single organic entity which binds people together by their ancestry and is a natural unifying force of people.^[147] Fascism seeks to solve economic, political, and social problems by achieving a millenarian national rebirth, exalting the nation or race above all else, and promoting cults of unity, strength and purity. European fascist movements all typically espouse a racist conception of non-Europeans being inferior to Europeans.^[148] However beyond this, fascists in Europe have not held a unified set of racial views.^[148]

Historically most fascists promoted imperialism, however there were several fascist movements that were uninterested in the pursuit of new imperial ambitions.^[148]

Totalitarianism

Fascism promotes the establishment of a totalitarian state.^[149] The *Doctrine of Fascism* states, "The Fascist conception of the State is all-embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentiates the whole life of a people."^[150] In *The Legal Basis of the Total State*, Nazi political theorist Carl Schmitt described the Nazi intention to form a "strong state which guarantees a totality of political unity transcending all diversity" in order to avoid a "disastrous pluralism tearing the German people

apart".^[151]

Fascist states pursued policies of social indoctrination through propaganda in education and the media and regulation of the production of educational and media materials.^[152] Education was designed to glorify the fascist movement and inform students of its historical and political importance to the nation. It attempted to purge ideas that were not consistent with the beliefs of the fascist movement and to teach students to be obedient to the state.^[153]

Third Position economics

Fascism promotes such economics as a "third position" alternative to capitalism and Marxism, as fascism declares both as being obsolete.^[1] Such an economic system, is variously termed by fascists as "national corporatism", "national socialism" or "national syndicalism".^[1]

Benito Mussolini spoke of this as a "Third Alternative" in 1940 upon Italy's entry into World War II, saying:

This conflict must not be allowed to cancel out all our achievements of the past eighteen years, nor, more importantly, extinguish the hope of a Third Alternative held out by Fascism to mankind fettered between the pillar of capitalist slavery and the post of Marxist chaos.

—Benito Mussolini, 1940.^[1]

Fascism officially advocates resolution to domestic class conflict within a nation to secure national solidarity.^[10] While fascism opposes domestic class conflict, fascism believes that bourgeois-proletarian conflict primarily exists in national conflict between proletarian nations versus bourgeois nations.^[154]

Fascism denounces capitalism not because of its competitive nature nor its support of private property that fascism supports; but due to its materialism, individualism, alleged bourgeois decadence, and alleged indifference to the nation.^[155] Fascism denounces Marxism for its advocacy of materialist internationalist class identity that fascism regards as an attack upon the emotional and spiritual bonds of nationality and thwarting the achievement of genuine national solidarity.^[156]

Benito Mussolini promised a "social revolution" that would "remake" the Italian people. According to Patricia Knight, this was only achieved in part.^[157] The people who primarily benefited from Italian fascist social policies were members of the middle and lower-middle classes, who filled jobs in the vastly expanded government workforce, which grew from about 500,000 to 1,000,000 jobs in 1930 alone.^[157] Health and welfare spending grew dramatically under Italian fascism, with welfare rising from 7% of the budget in 1930 to 20% in 1940.^[158]

The *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* (OND) or "National After-work Program" was one major social welfare initiative in Fascist Italy. Created in 1925, it was the state's largest recreational organisation for adults.^[159] The *Dopolavoro* was responsible for establishing and maintaining 11,000 sports grounds, over 6,400 libraries, 800 movie houses, 1,200 theatres, and over 2,000 orchestras.^[159] Membership of the *Dopolavoro* was voluntary, but it had high participation because of its nonpolitical nature.^[159] It is estimated that, by 1936, the OND had organised 80% of salaried workers^[160] and, by 1939, 40% of the industrial workforce. The sports activities proved popular with large numbers of workers. The OND had the largest membership of any of the mass Fascist organisations in Italy.^[161]

The enormous success of the *Dopolavoro* in Fascist Italy was the key factor in Nazi Germany's creation of its own version of the *Dopolavoro*, the *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF) or "Strength through Joy" program of the Nazi government's German Labour Front, which became even more successful than the *Dopolavoro*.^[162] KdF provided government-subsidized holidays for German workers.^[163] KdF was also responsible for the creation of the original Volkswagen ("People's Car"), a state-manufactured automobile that was meant to be cheap enough to allow all German citizens to be able to own one.

While fascists promoted social welfare to ameliorate economic conditions affecting their nation or race as whole, they did not support social welfare for egalitarian reasons. Fascists criticised egalitarianism as preserving the weak. They instead promoted social Darwinist views.^{[164][165]} Adolf Hitler was opposed to egalitarian and universal social welfare because, in his view, it encouraged the preservation of the degenerate and feeble.^[166] While in power, the

Nazis created social welfare programs to deal with the large numbers of unemployed. However, those programs were neither egalitarian nor universal, excluding many minority groups and other people whom they felt posed a threat to the future health of the German people.^[167]

Action

Fascism emphasizes direct action, including supporting the legitimacy of political violence, as a core part of its politics.^{[7][168]} Fascism views violent action as a necessity in politics that fascism identifies as being an "endless struggle".^[169]

The basis of fascism's support of violent action in politics is connected to social Darwinism.^[169] Fascist movements have commonly held social Darwinist views of nations, races, and societies.^[170] They argue that nations and races must purge themselves of socially and biologically weak or degenerate people, while simultaneously promoting the creation of strong people, in order to survive in a world defined by perpetual national and racial conflict.^[171]

Age and gender roles

Fascism emphasizes youth both in a physical sense of age and in a spiritual sense as related to virility and commitment to action.^[172] The Italian Fascists' political anthem was called *Giovenezza* ("The Youth").^[172] Fascism identifies the physical age period of youth as a critical time for the moral development of people that will affect society.^[173]

Italian Fascism pursued what it called "moral hygiene" of youth, particularly regarding sexuality.^[174] Fascist Italy promoted what it considered normal sexual behaviour in youth while denouncing what it considered deviant sexual behaviour.^[174] It condemned pornography, most forms of birth control and contraceptive devices (with the exception of the condom), homosexuality, and prostitution as deviant sexual behaviour, although enforcement of laws opposed to such practices was erratic and authorities often turned a blind eye.^[174] Fascist Italy regarded the promotion of male sexual excitation before puberty as the cause of criminality amongst male youth.^[174] Fascist Italy declared homosexuality to be a social disease.^[174] Fascist Italy pursued an aggressive campaign to reduce prostitution of young women.^[174]

Mussolini perceived women's primary role to be childbearers, while men were warriors, once saying, "war is to man what maternity is to the woman".^[175] In an effort to increase birthrates, the Italian Fascist government gave financial incentives to women who raised large families, and initiated policies designed to reduce the number of women employed.^[176] Italian Fascism called for women to be honoured as "reproducers of the nation", and the Italian Fascist government held ritual ceremonies to honour women's role within the Italian nation.^[177] In 1934, Mussolini declared that employment of women was a "major aspect of the thorny problem of unemployment" and that for women, working was "incompatible with childbearing". Mussolini went on to say that the solution to unemployment for men was the "exodus of women from the work force".^[178]

The German Nazi government strongly encouraged women to stay at home to bear children and keep house.^[179] This policy was reinforced by bestowing the Cross of Honor of the German Mother on women bearing four or more babies. The unemployment rate was cut substantially, mostly through arms production and sending women home so that men could take their jobs. Nazi propaganda sometimes promoted premarital and extramarital sexual relations, unwed motherhood and divorce, but at other times the Nazis opposed such behaviour.^[180] The growth of Nazi power, however, was accompanied by a breakdown of traditional sexual morals with regard to extramarital sex and licentiousness.^[181]

The Nazis decriminalized abortion in cases where fetuses had hereditary defects or were of a race the government disapproved of, while the abortion of healthy "pure" German, "Aryan" fetuses remained strictly forbidden.^[1] For non-Aryans, abortion was often compulsory. Their eugenics program also stemmed from the "progressive biomedical model" of Weimar Germany.^[182] In 1935 Nazi Germany expanded the legality of abortion by amending its eugenics law, to promote abortion for women with hereditary disorders.^[1] The law allowed abortion if a woman

gave her permission and the fetus was not yet viable,^[11] and for purposes of so-called racial hygiene.^[11]

The Nazis argued that homosexuality was degenerate, effeminate, perverted, and undermined masculinity because it did not produce children.^[183] They considered homosexuality curable through therapy, citing modern scientism and the study of sexology, which said that homosexuality could be felt by "normal" people and not just an abnormal minority.^[184] Open homosexuals were interned in Nazi concentration camps.^[1]

Palingenesis and modernism

Fascism emphasizes both palingenesis and modernism.^[185] In particular, fascism's nationalism has been identified as having a palingenetic character.^[146] Fascism promotes the regeneration of the nation and purging it of decadence.^[185] Fascism accepts forms of modernism that it deems promotes national regeneration while rejecting forms of modernism that are regarded as antithetical to national regeneration.^[186] Fascism aestheticized modern technology and its association with speed, power, and violence.^[187] Fascism admired advances in the economy in the early 20th century, particularly Fordism and scientific management.^[188] Fascist modernism has been recognized to be inspired or developed by various figures such as Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Ernst Jünger, Gottfried Benn, Louis-Ferdinand Céline, Knut Hamsun, Ezra Pound, and Wyndham Lewis.^[189]

In Italy, such modernist influence was exemplified by Marinetti who advocated a palingenetic modernist society that condemned liberal-bourgeois values of tradition and psychology, while promoting a technological-martial religion of national renewal that emphasized militant nationalism.^[190] In Germany, it was exemplified by Jünger who was influenced by his observation of the technological warfare during World War I, and claimed that a new social class had been created that he described as the "warrior-worker".^[191] Jünger like Marinetti emphasized the revolutionary capacities of technology, and emphasized an "organic construction" between human and machine as a liberating and regenerative force in that challenged liberal democracy, conceptions of individual autonomy, bourgeois nihilism, and decadence.^[191] He conceived of a society based on a totalitarian concept of "total mobilization" of such disciplined warrior-workers.^[191]

Criticism of fascism

Fascism has been widely criticized and condemned in popular culture since the defeat of the Axis Powers in World War II.

Fascism as a form of tyranny

One of the most common and strongest criticisms of fascism is that it is a tyranny in practice.^[192]

Fascism is commonly regarded as deliberately and entirely non-democratic and anti-democratic.^{[193][194][195]} Scholar on democracy, Anthony Arblaster has recorded fascists' policy claim about the ideology supporting a form of democracy, but Arblaster regards the claim as a deliberate lie and empty rhetoric, claiming that fascism never intended to put such claims of democracy into practice, and thus he categorizes fascism as non-democratic and anti-democratic in practice.^[196]

However, some scholars have rebuked this common critical view. Walter Laqueur says that fascists "would not necessarily accept the label of 'anti-democratic'. In fact many of them argued that they were fighting for a purer and more genuine democracy in which the participation of the individual in politics would not be mediated by professional politicians, clerical influences, the availability of the mass media, but through personal, almost full time involvement in a political movement and through identification with the leader who would represent the feelings and sentiments of the whole people."^[197]

Scholar on fascism, Dylan J. Riley has investigated the possibility of fascism being an authoritarian democracy, a term used by Italian Fascist theorist and policymaker Giovanni Gentile to describe fascism.^[198] Gentile explicitly rejected the conventional form of democracy, parliamentary democracy for being based on majority rule and thus an

inherent assumption of the equality of citizens, while fascism rejects the concept of universal egalitarianism.^[196] But Gentile claimed that fascism supported what he called authoritarian democracy.^[196] Riley in analysis accepts that fascism can be identified as an authoritarian democracy, and claims that in particular the fascist and quasi-fascist regimes in Italy, Spain, and Romania, replaced multi-party based democracy with corporatist representation of state-sanctioned corporate groups.^[198] It was claimed that this system would unite people into interest groups to address the state that would act in the interest of the general will of the nation and thus exercise an orderly form of popular rule.^[198] Riley notes that fascists argued that this authoritarian democracy is capable of representing the different interests of society that advise the state and the state acts in the interest of the nation.^[199] Riley also notes that in contrast, fascists denounced liberal democracy for not being a true democracy but in fact being un-democratic because from the fascist perspective, elections and parliaments are unable to represent the interests of the nation because it lumps together individuals who have little in common into geographical districts to vote for an array of parties to represent them that results in little unanimity in terms of interests, projects, or intentions, and that liberal democracy's multi-party elections merely serve as a means to legitimize elite rule without addressing the interests of the general will of the nation.^[199]

Unprincipled opportunism

A common criticism of the original version of fascism, Italian Fascism, has been the accusation that much of the ideology was merely a by-product of unprincipled opportunism by Mussolini, whom they claimed changed his political stances merely to bolster his personal ambitions while he disguised them as being purposeful to the public.^[200] The American ambassador to Italy Richard Washburn Child who became a personal friend and admirer of Mussolini and worked with Mussolini to translate and write an English language autobiography; directly addressed the issue of opportunism in Mussolini's behaviour in the preface of the English language autobiography of Mussolini.^[201] Child said "*Opportunist is a term of reproach used to brand men who fit themselves to conditions for the reasons of self-interest. Mussolini, as I have learned to know him, is an opportunist in the sense that he believed that mankind itself must be fitted to changing conditions rather than to fixed theories, no matter how many hopes and prayers have been expended on theories and programmes.*".^[201] Child quoted Mussolini as saying, "*The sanctity of an ism is not in the ism; it has no sanctity beyond its power to do, to work, to succeed in practice. It may have succeeded yesterday and fail to-morrow. Failed yesterday and succeed to-morrow. The machine first of all must run!*".^[201]

Mussolini's actions at the time of the outbreak of World War I were then, and have since, been commonly criticized for being completely opportunist for allegedly suddenly abandoning Marxist egalitarian internationalism he had formerly held in favour of non-egalitarian nationalism. Furthermore such criticisms have noted that upon Mussolini endorsing Italy's intervention in the war against Germany and Austria-Hungary, that he and the new Fascist movement received financial support from foreign sources. Such as receiving funds from Ansaldo (an armaments firm) and other companies.^[202] Mussolini was supported by the British Security Service MI5, and was being paid a £100 weekly wage from MI5; this help was authorised by Sir Samuel Hoare.^[1] However such criticism has been challenged even by Mussolini's socialist critics at the time who noted that regardless of the financial support he accepted for his pro-interventionist stance, that Mussolini was free to write whatever he wished in his newspaper *Il Popolo d'Italia*, without prior sanctioning by his financial backers.^[203] Furthermore, the major source that Mussolini and the Fascist movement received in World War I was not from capitalists who sought to use Mussolini's new movement, but rather it came from France and is widely believed to have come from French socialists who supported the French government's war against Germany and were sending support to Italian socialists who wanted Italian intervention on France's side.^[204]

Furthermore Mussolini's transformation away from Marxism into eventually what became fascism, began prior to World War I, as Mussolini had grown increasingly pessimistic of Marxism and egalitarianism while at the same time he had become increasingly supportive of figures who opposed egalitarianism, such as Nietzsche.^[205] By 1902 Mussolini was studying Sorel, Nietzsche, and the sociologist Vilfredo Pareto.^[206] Sorel's emphasis on the need for

overthrowing decadent liberal democracy and capitalism by the use of violence, direct action, the general strike, and the use of neo-Machiavellian appeals to emotion, impressed Mussolini deeply.^[207] His use of Nietzsche made him a highly unorthodox socialist, due to Nietzsche's promotion of elitism and anti-egalitarian views.^[205] Prior to World War I, Mussolini's writings over time indicated that he had abandoned Marxism and egalitarianism that he had previously supported, in favour of Nietzsche's *übermensch* concept and anti-egalitarianism.^[205] In 1908, Mussolini wrote a short essay called "Philosophy of Strength" based on his Nietzschean influence, in which Mussolini openly spoke fondly of the ramifications of an impending war in Europe in challenging both religion and nihilism, saying:

a new kind of free spirit will come, strengthened by the war, ... a spirit equipped with a kind of sublime perversity, ... a new free spirit will triumph over God and over Nothing.

—Benito Mussolini, "Philosophy of Strength", 1908.^[75]

Ideological dishonesty

Fascism has been criticized for being ideologically dishonest.

Major examples of ideological dishonesty have been identified in Italian Fascism's changing relationship with German Nazism.^{[208][209]} Fascist Italy's official foreign policy positions were known to commonly utilize rhetorical ideological hyperbole to justify its actions, although during Dino Grandi's tenure as Italy's foreign minister, the country engaged in *realpolitik* free of such fascist hyperbole.^[210] Italian Fascism's stance towards German Nazism fluctuated from support from the late 1920s to 1934 involving praising Hitler's rise to power and meeting with Hitler in 1934; to opposition from 1934 to 1936 after the assassination of Italy's ally leader in Austria, Engelbert Dollfuss by Nazis in Austria; and again back to support after 1936 when Germany was the only significant power that did not denounce Italy's invasion and occupation of Ethiopia.

Upon antagonism exploding between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy over the assassination of Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss in 1934, Mussolini and Italian Fascists denounced and ridiculed Nazism's racial theories, particularly by denouncing its Nordicism, while promoting Mediterraneanism.^[209] Mussolini himself responded to Nordicists' claims of Italy being divided into Nordic and Mediterranean racial areas due to Germanic invasions of Northern Italy, by claiming that while Germanic tribes such as the Lombards took control of Italy after the fall of ancient Rome, that they arrived in small numbers of about 8,000 and quickly assimilated into Roman culture and spoke the Latin language within fifty years.^[211] Italian Fascism was influenced by the tradition of Italian nationalists scornfully looking down upon Nordicists' claims, and taking pride in comparing the age and sophistication of ancient Roman civilization as well as the classical revival in the Renaissance, to that of Nordic societies that Italian nationalists described as "newcomers" to civilization in comparison.^[208] At the height of antagonism between the Nazis and Italian Fascists over race, Mussolini claimed that the Germans themselves were not a pure race and noted with irony that Nazi theory on German superiority was based on the theory of non-German foreigners, such as Frenchman Arthur de Gobineau.^[212] However after German-Italian relations reduced in tension in the late 1930s, Italian Fascism sought to harmonize its ideology with German Nazism and combined Nordicist and Mediterranean racial theories, noting that Italians were members of the Aryan Race of a mixed Nordic-Mediterranean subtype.^[209]

Mussolini declared in 1938 that Italian Fascism had always been antisemitic, upon Italy adopting antisemitic laws in 1938.^[209] When in fact Italian Fascism did not endorse antisemitism until the late 1930s when Mussolini feared alienating antisemitic Nazi Germany whose power and influence was growing in Europe, prior to then there had been notable Jewish Italians who had been senior Italian Fascist officials prior to this, including Margherita Sarfatti, who had also been Mussolini's mistress.^[209] Also, contrary to Mussolini's claim in 1938, only a small number of Italian Fascists were staunchly antisemitic such as Roberto Farinacci and Giuseppe Preziosi while other members, such as Italo Balbo who came from Ferrara, which had one of Italy's largest Jewish communities, were disgusted with the antisemitic laws and opposed them.^[209] However fascism scholar Mark Neocleous notes that while Italian Fascism did not have a clear commitment to antisemitism, there were occasional antisemitic statements issued prior to 1938, such as Mussolini in 1919 declaring that the Jewish bankers in London and New York were connected by

race to the Russian Bolsheviks, and claimed that eight percent of the Russian Bolsheviks were Jews.^[213]

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Notes

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External links

- The Doctrine of Fascism (<http://www.worldfuturefund.org/wffmaster/Reading/Germany/mussolini.htm>)
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Nazism

Part of a series on
Nazism

•  Category

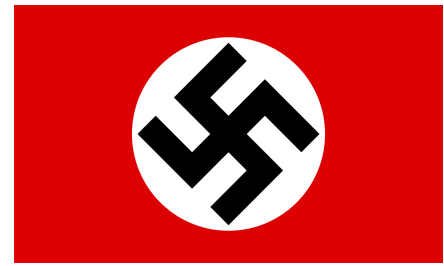
Nazism, or **National Socialism** (German: *Nationalsozialismus*, the first part pronounced as "Nazi"), is the ideology of the Nazi Party in Germany and related movements elsewhere.^{[1][2][3][4][5]} It is a variety of fascism that incorporates biological racism and antisemitism.^[6] Nazism developed from the influences of pan-Germanism, the far-right *Völkisch* German nationalist movement and the anti-communist *Freikorps* paramilitary culture which fought against the communists in post-World War I Germany.^[7] It was designed to draw workers away from communism and into *völkisch* nationalism.^[8] Major elements of Nazism have been described as far-right, such as allowing domination of society by people deemed racially superior, while purging society of people declared inferior, who were said to be a threat to national survival.^{[9][10]} Both the Nazi Party and the Nazi-led state were organized under the *Führer* principle ("leader principle"), a pyramidal structure with the *Führer* - Adolf Hitler - at the top, who appointed subordinate leaders for all branches of the party and the state and whose orders had the force of law.^[11]

Nazism claimed that an Aryan master race was superior to all other races.^[12] To maintain what it regarded as the purity and strength of the Aryan race, Nazis sought to exterminate Jews and Romani, and the physically and mentally disabled.^[13] Other groups deemed "degenerate" or "asocial" received exclusionary treatment, including homosexuals, blacks, Jehovah's Witnesses and political opponents.^[13] The Nazis supported territorial expansionism. According to Nazi ideology, the gaining of *Lebensraum* ("living space") is a law of nature for all healthy and vigorous peoples of superior races - who, as they grow in population size and face overpopulation, displace peoples of inferior races.^[14]

Nazism rejected the Marxist concept of class struggle and instead promoted the idea of *Volksgemeinschaft* ("people's community"). Nazis wanted to overcome social divisions which they considered artificial; instead, all parts of the racially homogenous society should cooperate for national unity.^[15] Nazism denounced both capitalism and communism for being associated with Jewish materialism.^[16] Like other fascist movements, Nazism supported the outlawing of strikes by employees and lockouts by employers, because these were regarded as a threat to national unity.^[17] Instead, the state controlled and approved wage and salary levels.^[17]

Etymology

The full name of Adolf Hitler's party was *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Workers' Party). The shorthand *Nazi* was formed from the first two syllables of the German pronunciation of the word "national" (IPA: [na-tʃi-o'-na:l]).^[18]



Flag of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (alternative national flag of Germany, 1933-35)

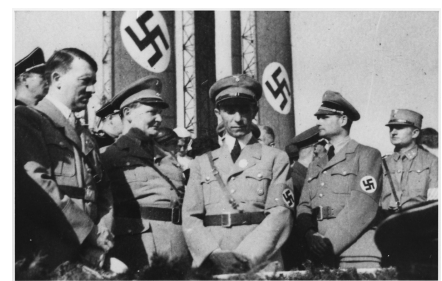
Position in the political spectrum

A majority of scholars identify Nazism in practice as a form of far-right politics.^[19] Far-right themes in Nazism include the argument that superior people have a right to dominate over other people and purge society of supposed inferior elements.^[9] Adolf Hitler and other proponents officially portrayed Nazism as being neither left- nor right-wing, but syncretic.^{[20][21]} Hitler in *Mein Kampf* directly attacked both left-wing and right-wing politics in Germany, saying:

Today our left-wing politicians in particular are constantly insisting that their craven-hearted and obsequious foreign policy necessarily results from the disarmament of Germany, whereas the truth is that this is the policy of traitors [...] But the politicians of the Right deserve exactly the same reproach. It was through their miserable cowardice that those ruffians of Jews who came into power in 1918 were able to rob the nation of its arms.^[22]

Hitler, when asked whether he supported the "bourgeois right-wing", claimed that Nazism was not exclusively for any class, and indicated that it favoured neither the left nor the right, but preserved "pure" elements from both "camps", stating: "From the camp of bourgeois tradition, it takes national resolve, and from the materialism of the Marxist dogma, living, creative Socialism".^[23]

The Nazis were strongly influenced by the post-World War I far-right in Germany, which held common beliefs such as anti-Marxism, anti-liberalism, and antisemitism, along with nationalism, contempt towards the Treaty of Versailles, and condemnation of the Weimar Republic for signing the armistice in November 1918 that later led to their signing of the Treaty of Versailles.^[24] A major inspiration for the Nazis were the far-right nationalist *Freikorps*, paramilitary organizations that engaged in political violence after World War I.^[24] Initially, the post-World War I German far right was dominated by monarchists, but the younger generation, who were associated with *Völkisch* nationalism, were more radical and did not express any emphasis on the restoration of the



Foreground, left to right: Führer Adolf Hitler; Hermann Göring; Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels; Rudolf Hess



Nazis alongside members of the far-right reactionary and monarchist German National People's Party (DNVP), during the brief Nazi-DNVP alliance in the Harzburg Front from 1931 to 1932

German monarchy.^[25] This younger generation desired to dismantle the Weimar Republic and create a new radical and strong state based upon a martial ruling ethic that could revive the "Spirit of 1914" that was associated with German national unity (*Volkgemeinschaft*).^[25]

The Nazis, the far-right monarchist and reactionary German National People's Party (DNVP), and others, such as monarchist officers of the German army and several prominent industrialists, formed an alliance in opposition to the Weimar Republic on 11 October 1931 in Bad Harzburg; officially known as the "National Front", but commonly referred to as the Harzburg Front.^[26] The Nazis stated the alliance was purely tactical and there remained substantial differences with the DNVP. The Nazis described the DNVP as a bourgeois party and called themselves an anti-bourgeois party.^[26] After the elections in 1932, the alliance broke after the DNVP lost many of its seats in the Reichstag. The Nazis denounced them as "an insignificant heap of reactionaries".^[27] The DNVP responded by denouncing the Nazis for their socialism, their street violence, and the "economic experiments" that would take place if the Nazis rose to power.^[28]

Kaiser Wilhelm II, who was pressured to abdicate the throne and flee into exile amidst an attempted communist revolution in Germany, initially supported the Nazi Party. His four sons, including Prince Eitel Friedrich and Prince Oskar, became members of the Nazi Party, in hopes that in exchange for their support, the Nazis would permit the restoration of the monarchy.^[29]

There were factions in the Nazi Party, both conservative and radical.^[30] The conservative Nazi Hermann Göring urged Hitler to conciliate with capitalists and reactionaries.^[30] Other prominent conservative Nazis included Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich.^[31]

The radical Nazi Joseph Goebbels, hated capitalism, viewing it as having Jews at its core, and he stressed the need for the party to emphasize both a proletarian and national character. Those views were shared by Otto Strasser, who later left the Nazi Party in the belief that Hitler had betrayed the party's socialist goals by allegedly endorsing capitalism.^[30] Large segments of the Nazi Party staunchly supported its official socialist, revolutionary, and anti-capitalist positions and expected both a social and economic revolution upon the party gaining power in 1933.^[32] Many of the million members of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) were committed to the party's official socialist program.^[32] The leader of the SA, Ernst Röhm, pushed for a "second revolution" (the "first revolution" being the Nazis' seizure of power) that would entrench the party's official socialist program. Further, Röhm desired that the SA absorb the much smaller German Army into its ranks under his leadership.^[32]

Prior to becoming an antisemite and a Nazi, Hitler had lived a Bohemian lifestyle as a wandering watercolour artist in Austria and southern Germany, though he maintained elements of it later in life.^[33] Hitler served in World War I. After the war, his battalion was absorbed by the Bavarian Soviet Republic from 1918 to 1919, where he was elected Deputy Battalion Representative. According to the historian Thomas Weber, he attended the funeral of communist Kurt Eisner (a German Jew), wearing a black mourning armband on one arm and a red communist armband on the other,^[34] which he took as evidence that Hitler's political beliefs had not yet solidified, and at that time supported the idea of a classless society and was an anti-monarchist.^[34] In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler never mentioned any service with the Bavarian Soviet Republic, and stated that he became an antisemite in 1913 in Vienna. This statement has been disputed with the contention he was not an antisemite at that time.^[35]

Hitler altered his political views in response to the Treaty of Versailles of June 1919, and it was then that he became an antisemitic, German nationalist.^[35] As a Nazi, Hitler had expressed opposition to capitalism; he regarded capitalism as having Jewish origins, and accused capitalism of holding nations ransom in the interests of a parasitic cosmopolitan rentier class.^[36]

Hitler took a pragmatic position between the conservative and radical factions of the Nazi Party, in that he accepted private property and allowed capitalist private enterprises to exist as long as they adhered to the goals of the Nazi state. However, if a capitalist private enterprise resisted Nazi goals, he sought to destroy it.^[30] Upon the Nazis achieving power, Röhm's SA began attacks against individuals deemed to be associated with conservative reaction, without Hitler's authorization to do so.^[37] Hitler considered Röhm's independent actions to be violating and possibly

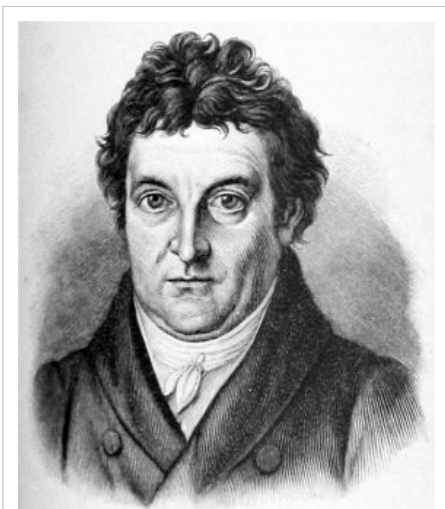
threatening his leadership, as well as jeopardizing the regime by alienating the conservative President Paul von Hindenburg and the conservative-oriented German Army.^[38] This resulted in Hitler purging Röhm and other radical members of the SA in what came to be known as the Night of the Long Knives.^[38]

Although he opposed communist ideology, Hitler on numerous occasions publicly praised the Soviet Union's leader Joseph Stalin and Stalinism.^[39] Hitler commended Stalin for seeking to purify the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Jewish influences, noting Stalin's purging of Jewish communists such as Leon Trotsky, Grigory Zinoviev, Lev Kamenev and Karl Radek.^[40] While Hitler always intended to bring Germany into conflict against the Soviet Union to gain *Lebensraum* ("living space"), he supported a temporary strategic alliance between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union to form a common anti-liberal front to crush liberal democracies, particularly France.^[39]

Origins

Völkisch nationalism

One of the most significant ideological influences on the Nazis was the German nationalist Johann Gottlieb Fichte, whose works had served as inspiration to Hitler and other Nazi members, including Dietrich Eckart and Arnold Fanck.^[41] In *Speeches to the German Nation* (1808), written amid Napoleonic France's occupation of Berlin, Fichte called for a German national revolution against the French occupiers, making passionate public speeches, arming his students for battle against the French, and stressing the need for action by the German nation to free itself.^[42] Fichte's nationalism was populist and opposed to traditional elites, spoke of the need of a "People's War" (*Volkskrieg*), and put forth concepts similar to those the Nazis adopted.^[42] Fichte promoted German exceptionalism and stressed the need for the German nation to be purified (including purging the German language of French words, a policy that the Nazis undertook upon rising to power).^[42]



Johann Gottlieb Fichte, considered one of the fathers of German nationalism

Völkisch nationalism denounced soulless materialism, individualism, and secularized urban industrial society, while advocating a "superior" society based on ethnic German "folk" culture and German "blood".^[43] It denounced foreigners, foreign ideas and declared that Jews, national minorities, Catholics, and Freemasons were "traitors to the nation" and unworthy of inclusion.^[44] *Völkisch* nationalism saw the world in terms of natural law and romanticism, viewed societies as organic, extolling the virtues of rural life, condemning the neglect of tradition and decay of morals, denounced the destruction of the natural environment, and condemned "cosmopolitan" cultures such as Jews and Romani.^[45]

During the era of Imperial Germany, *Völkisch* nationalism was overshadowed by both Prussian patriotism and the federalist tradition of various states therein.^[46] The events of World War I including the end of the Prussian monarchy in Germany, resulted in a surge of revolutionary *Völkisch* nationalism.^[47] The Nazis supported such revolutionary *Völkisch* nationalist policies.^[46] The Nazis claimed that their ideology was influenced by the leadership and policies of German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, the founder of the German Empire.^[48] The Nazis declared that they were dedicated to continuing the process of creating a unified German nation state that Bismarck had begun and desired to achieve.^[49] While Hitler was supportive of Bismarck's creation of the German Empire, he was critical of Bismarck's moderate domestic policies.^[50] On the issue of Bismarck's support of a *Kleindeutschland* ("Lesser Germany", excluding Austria) versus the pan-German *Großdeutschland* ("Greater Germany") of the Nazis, Hitler stated that Bismarck's attainment of *Kleindeutschland* was the "highest achievement" Bismarck could have achieved "within the limits possible of that time".^[51] In *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*), Hitler presented himself as a "second Bismarck".^[51]

During his youth in Austria, Hitler was politically influenced by Austrian pan-Germanist proponent Georg Ritter von Schönerer, who advocated radical German nationalism, antisemitism, anti-Catholicism, anti-Slavism and anti-Habsburg views.^[52] From von Schönerer and his followers, Hitler adopted for the Nazi movement the *Heil* greeting, the *Führer* title, and the model of absolute party leadership.^[52] Hitler was also impressed with the populist antisemitism and anti-liberal bourgeois agitation of Karl Lueger, who as the mayor of Vienna during Hitler's time in the city used a rabble-rousing oratory style that appealed to the wider masses.^[53] Unlike von Schönerer, however, Lueger was not a German nationalist, but a pro-Catholic Habsburg supporter.^[53]

Racial theories and antisemitism

The concept of the Aryan race, which the Nazis promoted, stems from racial theories asserting that Europeans are the descendants of Indo-Iranian settlers, people of ancient India and ancient Persia.^[54]

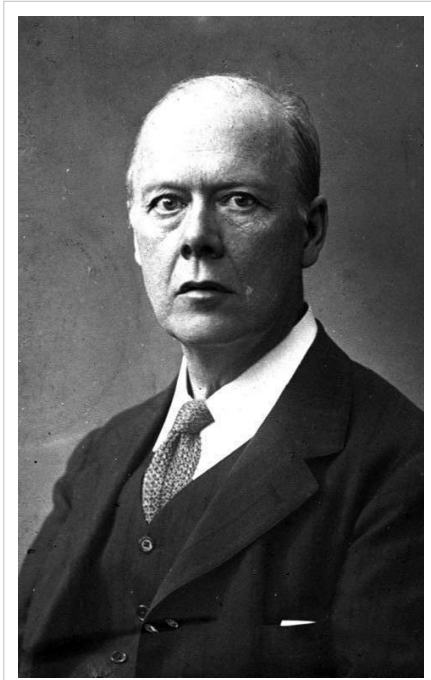
Proponents of this theory based their assertion on the similarity of European words and their meaning to those of Indo-Iranian languages.^[54] Johann Gottfried Herder argued that the Germanic peoples held close racial connections with the ancient Indians and ancient Persians, who he claimed were advanced peoples possessing a great capacity for wisdom, nobility, restraint, and science.^[54] Contemporaries of Herder used the concept of the Aryan race to draw a distinction between what they deemed "high and noble" Aryan culture versus that of "parasitic" Semitic culture.^[54]

Notions of white supremacy and Aryan racial superiority combined in the 19th century, with white supremacists maintaining that white people were members of an Aryan "master race" which is superior to other races, and particularly the Semitic race, which they associated with "cultural sterility".^[54] Arthur de Gobineau, a French racial theorist and aristocrat, blamed the fall of the *ancien régime* in France on racial degeneracy caused by racial intermixing, which he argued destroyed the purity of the Aryan race.^[55] Gobineau's theories, which attracted a strong following in Germany,^[55] emphasized the existence of an irreconcilable polarity between Aryan and Jewish cultures.^[54]



Georg Ritter von Schönerer

Aryan mysticism claimed that Christianity originated in Aryan religious tradition and that Jews had usurped the legend from Aryans.^[54] Houston Stewart Chamberlain, an English proponent of racial theory, supported notions of Germanic supremacy and antisemitism in Germany.^[55] Chamberlain's work, *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1899) praised Germanic peoples for their creativity and idealism while asserting that the Germanic spirit was threatened by a "Jewish" spirit of selfishness and materialism.^[55] Chamberlain used his thesis to promote monarchical conservatism while denouncing democracy, liberalism, and socialism.^[55] The book became popular, especially in Germany.^[55] Chamberlain stressed the need of a nation to maintain racial purity in order to prevent degeneration, and argued that racial intermingling with Jews should never be permitted.^[55] In 1923, Chamberlain met Hitler, whom he admired as a leader of the rebirth of the free spirit.^[56]



Houston Stewart Chamberlain

Beginning in the 1870s, German *Völkisch* nationalism began to adopt antisemitic and racist themes and was adopted by a number of radical right political movements.^[57]

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (1912) was an antisemitic forgery created by the police of the Russian Empire. Antisemites believed it was real, and the Protocol became widely popular after World War I.^[58] *The Protocols* claimed that there was a secret international Jewish conspiracy to take over the world.^[59] Hitler had been introduced to *The Protocols* by Alfred Rosenberg, and from 1920 onward, Hitler focused his attacks on claiming that Judaism and Marxism were directly connected; that Jews and Bolsheviks were one and the same, and that Marxism was a Jewish ideology.^[60] Hitler believed that *The Protocols* were authentic.^[61]

Radical antisemitism was promoted by prominent advocates of *Völkisch* nationalism, including Eugen Diederichs, Paul de Lagarde, and Julius Langbehn.^[45] De Lagarde called the Jews a "bacillus, the carrier of decay...who pollute every national culture...and destroy all faith with their materialistic liberalism," and he called for the extermination of the Jews.^[62] Langbehn called for a war of annihilation of the Jews; his genocidal policies were published by the Nazis and given to soldiers on the front during World War II.^[62]

Johann Gottlieb Fichte accused Jews in Germany of having been, and inevitably continuing to be, a "state within a state" that threatened German national unity.^[42] Fichte promoted two options to address this: the first was the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine to impel the Jews to leave Europe.^[63] The other option was violence against Jews, saying that the goal would be "...to cut off all their heads in one night, and set new ones on their shoulders, which should not contain a single Jewish idea".^[63]

The Nazis claimed that Bismarck was unable to complete German national unification because of Jewish infiltration of the German parliament, and that their abolition of parliament ended the obstacle to unification.^[48] Using the "stab in the back" legend, the Nazis accused Jews, and other populaces it considered non-German, of possessing extra-national loyalties, thereby exacerbating German antisemitism about the *Judenfrage* (the Jewish Question), the perennial far right political canard popular when the ethnic *Völkisch* movement and their politics of Romantic nationalism for establishing a *Großdeutschland* were strong.^{[64][65]}

Nazism's racial policy positions may have developed from the views of important biologists of the 19th century, including French biologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, through Ernst Haeckel's idealist version of Lamarckism and the father of genetics, German botanist Gregor Mendel.^[66] However Haeckel's works were later condemned and banned from bookshops and libraries by the Nazis as inappropriate for "National-Socialist formation and education in the Third Reich." This may have been because of his "monist" atheistic, materialist philosophy which the Nazis disliked.^[67] Unlike Darwinian theory, Lamarckian theory officially ranked races in a hierarchy of evolution from

apes while Darwinian theory did not grade races in a hierarchy of higher or lower evolution from apes, simply categorizing humans as a whole of all as having progressed in evolution from apes.^[66] Many Lamarckians viewed "lower" races as having been exposed to debilitating conditions for too long for any significant "improvement" of their condition in the near future.^[68] Haeckel utilized Lamarckian theory to describe the existence of interracial struggle and put races on a hierarchy of evolution, ranging from being wholly human to subhuman.^[66]

Mendelian inheritance or Mendelism was supported by the Nazis and also mainstream eugenics proponents at the time. The Mendelian theory of inheritance declared that genetic traits and attributes were passed from one generation to another.^[69] Proponents of eugenics used Mendelian inheritance theory to demonstrate the transfer of biological illness and impairments from parents to children, including mental disability; others also utilized Mendelian theory to demonstrate the inheritance of social traits, with racialists claiming a racial nature of certain general traits such as inventiveness or criminal behaviour.^[70]

Response to World War I and fascism

During World War I, German sociologist Johann Plenge spoke of the rise of a "National Socialism" in Germany within what he termed the "ideas of 1914" that were a declaration of war against the "ideas of 1789" (the French Revolution).^[71] According to Plenge, the "ideas of 1789" that included rights of man, democracy, individualism and liberalism were being rejected in favour of "the ideas of 1914" that included "German values" of duty, discipline, law, and order.^[71] Plenge believed that ethnic solidarity (*Volksgemeinschaft*) would replace class division and that "racial comrades" would unite to create a socialist society in the struggle of "proletarian" Germany against "capitalist" Britain.^[71] He believed that the "Spirit of 1914" manifested itself in the concept of the "People's League of National Socialism".^[72] This National Socialism was a form of state socialism that rejected the "idea of boundless freedom" and promoted an economy that would serve the whole of Germany under the leadership of the state.^[72] This National Socialism was opposed to capitalism due to the components that were against "the national interest" of Germany, but insisted that National Socialism would strive for greater efficiency in the economy.^[72] Plenge advocated an authoritarian rational ruling elite to develop National Socialism through a hierarchical technocratic state.^[73] Plenge's ideas formed the basis of Nazism.^[71]

Oswald Spengler, a German cultural philosopher, was a major influence on Nazism; although after 1933 Spengler became alienated from Nazism and was later condemned by the Nazis for criticizing Adolf Hitler.^[74] Spengler's conception of national socialism along with a number of his political views were shared by the Nazis and the Conservative Revolutionary movement.^[75] Spengler's views were also popular amongst Italian Fascists, including Benito Mussolini.^[76]

Spengler's book *The Decline of the West* (1918) written during the final months of World War I, addressed the claim of decadence of modern European civilization, which he claimed was caused by atomizing and irreligious individualization and cosmopolitanism.^[74] Spengler's major thesis was that a law of historical development of cultures existed involving a cycle of birth, maturity, aging, and death when it reaches its final form of civilization.^[74] Upon reaching the point of civilization, a culture will lose its creative capacity and succumb to decadence until the emergence of "barbarians" create a new epoch.^[74] Spengler considered the Western world as having succumbed to decadence of intellect, money, cosmopolitan urban life, irreligious life, atomized individualization, and the end of biological fertility as well as "spiritual" fertility.^[74] He believed that the "young" German nation as an imperial power would inherit the legacy of Ancient Rome, lead a restoration of value in "blood" and instinct, while the ideals of rationalism would be revealed as absurd.^[74]



Oswald Spengler

Spengler's notions of "Prussian socialism" as described in his book *Preussentum und Sozialismus* ("Prussiandom and Socialism", 1919), influenced Nazism and the Conservative Revolutionary movement.^[75] Spengler wrote: "The meaning of socialism is that life is controlled not by the opposition between rich and poor, but by the rank that achievement and talent bestow. That is *our* freedom, freedom from the economic despotism of the individual."^[75] Spengler adopted the anti-English ideas addressed by Plenge and Sombart during World War I that condemned English liberalism and English parliamentarianism while advocating a national socialism that was free from Marxism and that would connect the individual to the state through corporatist organization.^[74] Spengler claimed that socialistic Prussian characteristics existed across Germany, including creativity, discipline, concern for the greater good, productivity and self-sacrifice.^[77] He prescribed war as a necessity, saying "War is the eternal form of higher human existence and states exist for war: they are the expression of the will to war."^[78]



The Marinebrigade Erhardt during the Kapp Putsch in Berlin, 1920.^[79] The Marinebrigade Erhardt used the swastika as its symbol, as seen on their helmets and on the truck; it inspired the Nazi Party to adopt it as the movement's symbol.

Spengler's definition of socialism did not advocate a change to property relations.^[75] He denounced Marxism for seeking to train the proletariat to "expropriate the expropriator", the capitalist, and then to let them live a life of leisure on this expropriation.^[80] He claimed that "Marxism is the capitalism of the working class" and not true socialism.^[80] True socialism, according to Spengler, would be in the form of corporatism, stating that "local corporate bodies organized according to the importance of each occupation to the people as a whole; higher representation in stages up to a supreme council of the state; mandates revocable at any time; no

organized parties, no professional politicians, no periodic elections."^[81]

Wilhelm Stapel, an antisemitic German intellectual utilized Spengler's thesis on the cultural confrontation between Jews as whom Spengler described as a Magian people versus Europeans as a Faustian people.^[1] Stapel described Jews as a landless nomadic people in pursuit of an international culture whereby they can integrate into Western civilization.^[1] As such, Stapel claims that Jews have been attracted to "international" versions of socialism, pacifism, or capitalism, because as a landless people the Jews have transgressed various national cultural boundaries.^[1]

Arthur Moeller van den Bruck who initially was the dominant figure of the Conservative Revolutionaries influenced Nazism.^[82] He rejected reactionary conservatism, while proposing a new state, that he coined the "Third Reich", which would unite all classes under authoritarian rule.^[83] Van den Bruck advocated a combination of the nationalism of the right and the socialism of the left.^[84]

Fascism was a major influence on Nazism. The seizure of power by Italian Fascist leader Benito Mussolini in the March on Rome in 1922 drew admiration by Hitler who less than a month later had begun to model himself and the Nazi Party upon Mussolini and the Fascists.^[85] Hitler presented the Nazis as a German fascism.^{[86][87]}

In November 1923, the Nazis attempted a "March on Berlin" modelled upon the March on Rome that resulted in the failed Beer Hall Putsch in Munich.^[88] Other Nazis — especially more radical ones such as Gregor Strasser, Joseph Goebbels and Heinrich Himmler — rejected Italian Fascism, accusing it of being too conservative or capitalist.^[89] Alfred Rosenberg condemned Italian Fascism for being racially confused and having influences from philo-Semitism.^[90] Strasser criticized the policy of *Führerprinzip* as being created by Mussolini, and considered its presence in Nazism as a foreign imported idea.^[91] Throughout the relationship between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, a number of lower-ranking Nazis scornfully viewed fascism as a conservative movement that lacked a full revolutionary potential.^[91]



Benito Mussolini (centre in suit with fists against body) along with other Fascist leader figures and Blackshirts during the March on Rome

Ideology

Nationalism and racialism

German Nazism emphasized German nationalism, including both irredentism and expansionism. Nazism held racial theories based upon the belief of the existence of an Aryan master race that was believed to be superior to all other races. The Nazis emphasized the existence of racial conflict between the Aryan race and others, particularly Jews whom the Nazis viewed as a mixed race that had infiltrated multiple societies, and was responsible for exploitation and repression of the Aryan race.

Irredentism and expansionism

The German Nazi Party supported German irredentist claims to Austria, Alsace-Lorraine, the region now known as the Czech Republic, and the territory since 1919 known as the Polish Corridor. A major policy of the German Nazi Party was *lebensraum* ("living space") for the German nation based on claims that Germany after World War I was facing an overpopulation crisis and that expansion was needed to end the country's overpopulation within existing confined territory, and provide resources necessary to its people's well-being.^[92] Since the 1920s, the Nazi Party publicly promoted the expansion of Germany into territories held by the Soviet Union.^[93]

Hitler in his early years as Nazi leader had claimed that he would be willing to accept friendly relations with Russia on the tactical condition that Russia agree to return to the borders established by the German-Russian peace agreement of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed by Vladimir Lenin of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in 1918 which gave large territories held by Russia to German control in exchange for peace.^[93] Hitler in 1921 had commended the Treaty of Brest Litovsk as opening the possibility for restoration of relations between Germany and Russia, saying:

Through the peace with Russia the sustenance of Germany as well as the provision of work were to have been secured by the acquisition of land and soil, by access to raw materials, and by friendly relations between the two lands.

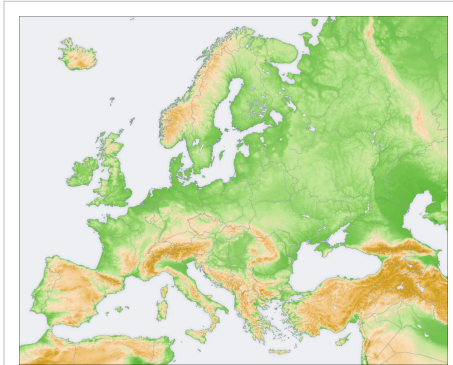
—Adolf Hitler, 1921^[93]

Hitler from 1921 to 1922 evoked rhetoric of both the achievement of *lebensraum* involving the acceptance of a territorially reduced Russia as well as supporting Russian nationals in overthrowing the Bolshevik government and establishing a new Russian government.^[93] However Hitler's attitudes changed by the end of 1922, in which he then supported an alliance of Germany with Britain to destroy Russia.^[93] Later Hitler declared how far into Russia he intended to expand Germany to:

Asia, what a disquieting reservoir of men! The safety of Europe will not be assured until we have driven Asia back behind the Urals. No organized Russian state must be allowed to exist west of that line.

—Adolf Hitler.^[94]

Policy for *lebensraum* planned mass expansion of Germany eastwards to the Ural Mountains.^{[94][95]} Hitler planned for the "surplus" Russian population living west of the Urals were to be deported to the east of the Urals.^[96]



Topographical map of Europe with present-day borders. The Nazi Party declared support for expansion of Germany east to the Ural Mountains, that is shown on the upper right side of the map as a brown diagonal line.

Racial theories



The *Meyers Blitz-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1932) depicts German war hero Karl von Müller as an example of the Nordic racial type. The Nazis considered the Nordic type to be the highest in racial hierarchy within the Aryan race.

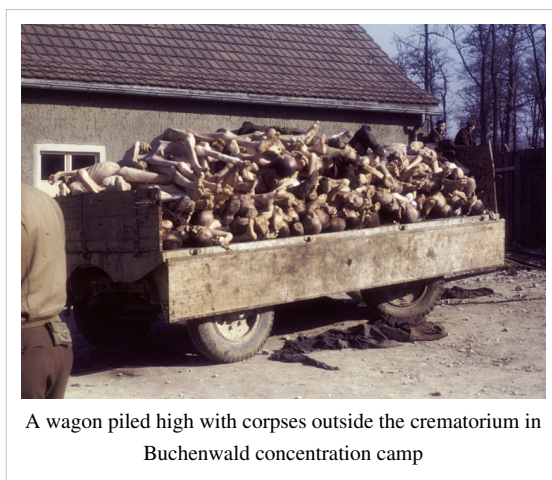
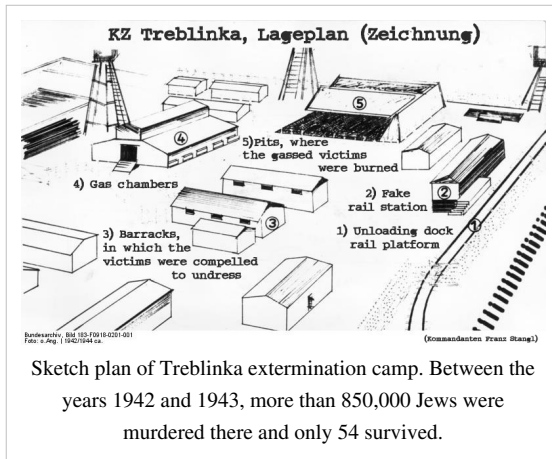
Nazi racial theorist Hans F. K. Günther identified the Aryan race in Europe as having five subtype races: Nordic, Mediterranean, Dinaric, Alpine, and East Baltic.^[97] Günther applied a Nordicism conception that Nordics were the highest in the racial hierarchy amongst these five Aryan subtype races.^[97] In his book *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1922) ("Racial Science of the German People"), Günther recognized Germans as being composed of all five Aryan subtypes, but emphasized the strong Nordic heritage amongst Germans.^[98] Hitler read *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* that influenced his racial policy.^[99]

Günther distinguished Aryans from Jews, and identified Jews as descending from non-European races, and particularly what he classified as the Near Asian race (*Vorderasiatische*) more commonly known as the Armenoid race, and said that such origins rendered Jews as fundamentally different and incompatible with Germans and most Europeans.^[100] Günther claimed the Near Eastern type were commercially spirited and artful traders, that the type held strong psychological manipulation skills that aided them in trade.^[100] He claimed that the Near Eastern race had been "bred not so much for the

conquest and exploitation of nature as it was for the conquest and exploitation of people".^[100]

Hitler's conception of the Aryan race explicitly excluded the vast majority of Slavs from being part of the master race, regarding Slavs as having dangerous Jewish and Asiatic influences.^[101] The Nazis because of this declared Slavs to be *unttermenschen* (subhumans).^[102] Exceptions were made for certain Slavs who were deemed to have sufficient Aryan characteristics.^[103] Hitler described Slavs as "a mass of born slaves who feel the need of a master".^[104] The Nazi notion of Slavs being inferior served as legitimizing their goal for creating *lebensraum* for Germans and other Germanic people in eastern Europe, where millions of Germans and other Germanic settlers would be moved into conquered territories of Eastern Europe, while the original Slavic inhabitants were to be annihilated, removed, or enslaved.^[105] Nazi Germany's policy changed towards Slavs in response to military manpower shortages, in which it accepted Slavs to serve in its armed forces within occupied territories, in spite of

them being considered subhuman.^[106]



A wagon piled high with corpses outside the crematorium in Buchenwald concentration camp

To maintain the "purity and strength" of the Aryan race, the Nazis sought to exterminate Jews, Romani, and the physically and mentally disabled.^[13] Other groups deemed "degenerate" and "asocial" who were not targeted for extermination, but received exclusionary treatment by the Nazi state, included homosexuals, blacks, Jehovah's Witnesses and political opponents.^[13] One of Hitler's ambitions at the start of the war was to exterminate, expel, or enslave most or all Slavs from central and eastern Europe so as to make living space for German settlers.^[107]

Hitler declared that racial conflict against Jews was necessary to save Germany from suffering under them and dismissed concerns about such conflict being inhumane or an injustice:

We may be inhumane, but if we rescue Germany we have achieved the greatest deed in the world. We may work injustice, but if we rescue Germany then we have removed the greatest injustice in the world. We may be immoral, but if our people is rescued we have opened the way for morality.^[108]

Nazi propagandist Joseph Goebbels frequently employed antisemitic rhetoric to underline this view: "The Jew is the enemy and destroyer of the purity of blood, the conscious destroyer of our race ... As socialists, we are opponents of the Jews, because we see, in the Hebrews, the incarnation of

capitalism, of the misuse of the nation's goods."^[109]

In Germany, the idea of creating a master-race resulted in efforts to "purify" the *Deutsche Volk* through eugenics; its culmination was compulsory sterilization or involuntary euthanasia of physically or mentally disabled people. The ideological justification was Adolf Hitler's view of Sparta (11th century – 195 BC) as the original *Völkisch* state; he praised their dispassionate destruction of congenitally deformed infants in maintaining racial purity.^[11] The number of Germans of African descent was low; however, some of them were enlisted into Nazi organisations like the Hitler Youth and the *Wehrmacht*.^[110]

Social class

In 1922, Adolf Hitler discredited other nationalist and racist political parties as disconnected from the mass populace, especially lower and working-class young people:

The racialsists were not capable of drawing the practical conclusions from correct theoretical judgements, especially in the Jewish Question. In this way, the German racist movement developed a similar pattern to that of the 1880s and 1890s. As in those days, its leadership gradually fell into the hands of highly honourable, but fantastically naïve men of learning, professors, district counsellors, schoolmasters, and lawyers — in short a bourgeois, idealistic, and refined class. It lacked the warm breath of the nation's youthful vigour.^[111]

Despite many working-class supporters and members, the appeal of the Nazi Party was arguably more effective with the middle class. Moreover, the financial collapse of the white collar middle-class of the 1920s figures much in their strong support of Nazism, thus the great percentage of declared middle-class support for the Nazis.^[112] In the poor

country that was the Weimar Republic of the early 1930s, the Nazi Party realised their socialist policies with food and shelter for the unemployed and the homeless — later recruited to the Brownshirt *Sturmabteilung* (SA — Storm Detachment).^[112]

Sex and gender

Nazi ideology advocated excluding women from political involvement and confining them to the spheres of "Kinder, Küche, Kirche" (Children, Kitchen, Church).^[citation needed]

Opposition to homosexuality

After the Night of the Long Knives, Hitler promoted Himmler and the SS, who then zealously suppressed homosexuality, saying: "We must exterminate these people root and branch ... the homosexual must be eliminated."^[113] In 1936, Himmler established the "Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Homosexualität und Abtreibung" ("Reich Central Office for the Combating of Homosexuality and Abortion").[□] The Nazi régime incarcerated some 100,000 homosexuals during the 1930s.[□] As concentration camp prisoners, homosexual men were forced to wear pink triangle badges.^{[114][115]}



Homophobia: Berlin memorial to homosexual victims of the Holocaust: *Totgeschlagen—Totgeschwiegen* (Struck Dead—Hushed Up)

Religion

The Nazi Party Programme of 1920 guaranteed freedom for all religious denominations not hostile to the State and endorsed Positive Christianity to combat "the Jewish-materialist spirit".^[116] It was a modified version of Christianity which emphasized racial purity and nationalism.^[117] The Nazis were aided by theologians, such as, Dr. Ernst Bergmann (philosopher). Bergmann, in his work, *Die 25 Thesen der Deutschreligion* (Twenty-five Points of the German Religion), held that the Old Testament and portions of the New Testament of the Bible were inaccurate. He claimed that Jesus was not a Jew and of Aryan origin, and that Adolf Hitler was the new messiah.^[117] At the same time the Nazis utilized Protestant Martin Luther in their propaganda. Nazis publicly displayed an original of Luther's *On the Jews and their Lies* during the annual Nuremberg rallies.^{[118][119]} The Nazis endorsed the pro-Nazi Protestant German Christians organization.

The Nazis were initially highly hostile to Catholics because most Catholics supported the German Centre Party. Catholics opposed the Nazis' promotion of sterilization of those deemed inferior, and the Catholic Church forbade its members to vote for the Nazis. In 1933, extensive Nazi violence occurred against Catholics due to their association with the Centre Party and their opposition to the Nazi regime's sterilization laws.^[120] The Nazis demanded that Catholics



Members of the German Christians organization celebrating Luther Day in Berlin in 1933, speech by Bishop Hossenfelder



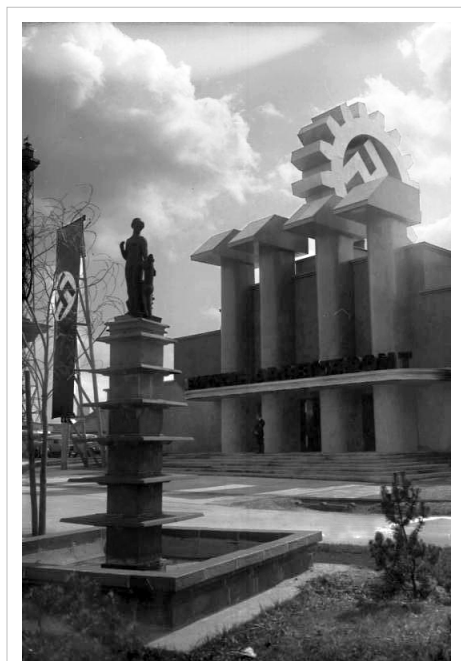
Hitler with Cesare Orsenigo, the Catholic Church's nuncio to Germany, in 1935

declare their loyalty to the German state.^[121] In propaganda, the Nazis used elements of Germany's Catholic history, in particular the German Catholic Teutonic Knights and their campaigns in Eastern Europe. The Nazis identified them as "sentinels" in the East against "Slavic chaos", though beyond that symbolism the influence of the Teutonic Knights on Nazism was limited.^[122] Hitler also admitted that the Nazis' night rallies were inspired by the Catholic rituals he witnessed during his Catholic upbringing.^[123] The Nazis did seek official reconciliation with the Catholic Church and endorsed the creation of the pro-Nazi Catholic *Kreuz und Adler* organization that supported a national Catholicism.^[121] On 20 July 1933, a successful concordat (*Reichskonkordat*) was signed between Nazi Germany and the Catholic Church which demanded loyalty of German Catholics to the German state in exchange for acceptance of the Catholic Church in Germany. The Catholic Church then ended its ban on members supporting the Nazi Party.^[121]

Historian Michael Burleigh claims that Nazism used Christianity for political purposes, but such use required that "fundamental tenets were stripped out, but the remaining diffuse religious emotionality had its uses".^[123] Burleigh claims that Nazism's conception of spirituality was "self-consciously pagan and primitive".^[123] However, historian Roger Griffin rejects the claim that Nazism was primarily pagan, noting that although there were some influential neo-paganists in the Nazi Party, such as Heinrich Himmler and Alfred Rosenberg, they represented a minority and their views did not influence Nazi ideology beyond its use for symbolism; it's noted that Hitler denounced Germanic paganism in *Mein Kampf* and condemned Rosenberg's and Himmler's paganism as "nonsense".^[124]

Economics

Hitler had little interest in money or economics in general. After he became *Reichskanzler* on 30 January 1933 he never touched his salary from the state.^[125] At the national level, Hitler left the subject to others. In the early days of the Nazi government Alfred Hugenberg, the party leader of the conservative German-National party, DNVP, was the Minister of Finance - the *Reichswirtschaftsminister*. He continued to serve in this position for a short time even after all parties except the NSDAP were prohibited in March 1933. In June Hugenberg was replaced by Kurt Schmitt, a man that had joined the Nazi Party in late spring of 1933. Schmitt's time in office was also short and in 1934 the president of the national German bank Hjalmar Schacht became the third man responsible for the economy of Nazi Germany. He lasted until 1938 when the first real Nazi, Walther Funk was appointed to the position. Afterwards, Schacht remained minister without portfolio until he was put in a concentration camp in 1944. Schacht survived and was later put on trial in Nürnberg where he was found "not guilty" on all counts. During Walther Funk's era as Minister of Finance, he had to follow a *four year plan* created by Herman Göring. Although this was not possible due to the war and the incompetence of Göring, the fall of the Third Reich had little to do with economics.^[126]



Deutsches Volk—Deutsche Arbeit: German People, German Work, the alliance of worker and work (1934)

Hitler believed that private ownership was useful in that it encouraged creative competition and technical innovation, but insisted that it had to conform to national interests and be "productive" rather than "parasitical".^[127] Private property rights were conditional upon the economic mode of use; if it did not advance Nazi economic goals then the state could nationalize it.^[128] Although the Nazis privatised public properties and public services, they also increased economic state control.^[128] Under Nazi economics, free competition and self-regulating markets diminished; nevertheless, Hitler's social Darwinist beliefs made him reluctant to entirely disregard business competition and private property as economic engines.^{[129][130]}

To tie farmers to their land, selling agricultural land was prohibited.^[131] Farm ownership was nominally private, but discretion over operations and residual income were proscribed.^[citation needed] That was achieved by granting business monopoly rights to marketing boards to control production and prices with a quota system.^[132]

The Nazis sought to gain support of workers by declaring May Day, a day celebrated by organized labour, to be a paid holiday and held celebrations on 1 May 1933 to honour German workers.^[133] The Nazis stressed that Germany must honour its workers.^[134] The regime believed that the only way to avoid a repeat of the disaster of 1918 was to secure workers' support for the German government.^[133] The Nazis wanted all Germans take part in the May Day celebrations in the hope that this would help break down class hostility between workers and burghers.^[134] Songs in praise of labour and workers were played by state radio throughout May Day as well as an airshow in Berlin and fireworks.^[134] Hitler spoke of workers as patriots who had built Germany's industrial strength and had honourably served in the war and claimed that they had been oppressed under economic liberalism.^[135] *Berliner Morgenpost* that had been strongly associated with the political left in the past praised the regime's May Day celebrations.^[135]

Bonfires were made of school children's differently colored caps as symbolic of the abolition of class differences.^[136]

The Nazis continued social welfare policies initiated by the governments of the Weimar Republic and mobilized volunteers to assist those impoverished, "racially-worthy" Germans through the National Socialist People's Welfare organization.^[137] This organization oversaw charitable activities, and became the largest civic organization in Nazi Germany.^[137] Successful efforts were made to get middle-class women involved in social work assisting large families.^[136] The Winter Relief campaigns acted as a ritual to generate public feeling.^[138]

Anti-communism

Historians Ian Kershaw and Joachim Fest argue that in post-World War I Germany, the Nazis were one of many nationalist and fascist political parties contending for the leadership of Germany's anti-communist movement. The Nazis claimed that communism was dangerous to the well-being of nations because of its intention to dissolve private property, its support of class conflict, its aggression against the middle class, its hostility towards small businessmen, and its atheism.^[139] Nazism rejected class conflict-based socialism and economic egalitarianism, favouring instead a stratified economy with social classes based on merit and talent, retaining private property, and the creation of national solidarity that transcends class distinction.^[140]

During the 1920s, Hitler urged disparate Nazi factions to unite in opposition to "Jewish Marxism."^[141] Hitler asserted that the "three vices" of "Jewish Marxism" were democracy, pacifism and internationalism.[□]

In 1930, Hitler said: "Our adopted term 'Socialist' has nothing to do with Marxist Socialism. Marxism is anti-property; true Socialism is not."^[142] In 1942, Hitler privately said: "I absolutely insist on protecting private property ... we must encourage private initiative".[□]

During the late 1930s and the 1940s, anti-communist regimes and groups that supported Nazism included the Falange in Spain; the Vichy regime and the 33rd Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS Charlemagne (1st French) in France; and in Britain the Cliveden Set, Lord Halifax, the British Union of Fascists under Sir Oswald Mosley, and associates of Neville Chamberlain.^[143]

Anti-capitalism

The Nazis argued that capitalism damages nations due to international finance, the economic dominance of big business, and Jewish influences.^[139] Nazi propaganda posters in working class districts emphasized anti-capitalism, such as one that said: "The maintenance of a rotten industrial system has nothing to do with nationalism. I can love Germany and hate capitalism."^[144]

Adolf Hitler, both in public and in private, expressed disdain for capitalism, arguing that it holds nations ransom in the interests of a parasitic cosmopolitan rentier class.^[145] He opposed free market capitalism's profit-seeking impulses and desired an economy in which community interests would be upheld.^[127]

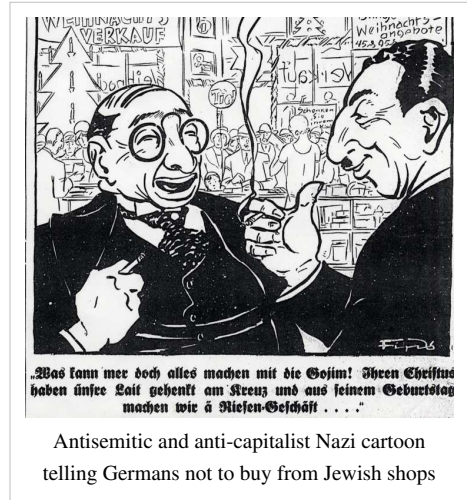
Hitler distrusted capitalism for being unreliable due to its egotism, and he preferred a state-directed economy that is subordinated to the interests of the Volk.^[145] Hitler said in 1927, "We are socialists, we are enemies of today's capitalistic economic system for the exploitation of the economically weak, with its unfair salaries, with its unseemly evaluation of a human being according to wealth and property instead of responsibility and performance, and we are determined to destroy this system under all conditions."^[146]

Hitler told a party leader in 1934, "The economic system of our day is the creation of the Jews."^[145] Hitler said to Benito Mussolini that "Capitalism had run its course".^[145] Hitler also said that the business bourgeoisie "know nothing except their profit. 'Fatherland' is only a word for them."^[147] Hitler was personally disgusted with the ruling bourgeois elites of Germany during the period of the Weimar Republic that he obscenely referred to as "cowardly shits".^[148]

In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler effectively supported mercantilism, in the belief that economic resources from their respective territories should be seized by force; he believed that the policy of *Lebensraum* would provide Germany with such economically valuable territories.^[149] He argued that the only means to maintain economic security was to have direct control over resources rather than being forced to rely on world trade.^[149] He claimed that war to gain such resources was the only means to surpass the failing capitalist economic system.^[149]

A number of other Nazis held strong revolutionary socialist and anti-capitalist beliefs, most prominently Ernst Röhm, the leader of the Sturmabteilung (SA).^[150] Röhm claimed that the Nazis' rise to power constituted a national revolution, but insisted that a socialist "second revolution" was required for Nazi ideology to be fulfilled.^[37] Röhm's SA began attacks against individuals deemed to be associated with conservative reaction.^[37] Hitler saw Röhm's independent actions as violating and possibly threatening his leadership, as well as jeopardizing the regime by alienating the conservative President Paul von Hindenburg and the conservative-oriented German Army.^[38] This resulted in Hitler purging Röhm and other radical members of the SA.^[38]

Another radical Nazi, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels adamantly stressed the socialist character of Nazism, and claimed in his diary that if he were to pick between Bolshevism and capitalism, he said "in final analysis", "it would be better for us to go down with Bolshevism than live in eternal slavery under capitalism."^[151]



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External links

- Hitler's National Socialist Party platform (http://avalon.law.yale.edu/subject_menus/nca_v4menu.asp)
 - NS-Archiv (<http://www.ns-archiv.de/index.php>), a large collection of scanned original Nazi documents.
 - WWII: Nazi Thugs and Thinkers (<http://www.life.com/image/first/in-gallery/23127/wwii-nazi-thugs-and-thinkers>) - slideshow by *Life magazine*
 - Exhibit on Hitler and the Germans (http://www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2010/10/16/world/20101016_HITLER.html) - slideshow by *The New York Times*
 - Jonathan Meades (1994): Jerry Building - Unholy Relics of Nazi Germany (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jagoBzZT1q8>) (in 4 parts)
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Nazi Germany

<div>Greater German Reich</div> <div>Großdeutsches Reich</div>	
<div>←1933–1945→</div>	
<div></div>	<div>Flag</div> <div>Emblem</div>
<div>Motto</div> <div>Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer</div> <div>"One people, one Reich, one leader"</div>	
<div>Anthem</div> <div>"Das Lied der Deutschen"</div> <div>"</div> <div>Horst-Wessel-Lied"</div>	
<div></div> <div>Europe at the height of German expansion, 1941–1942</div> <div><ul style="list-style-type: none">Greater Germany^[1]Areas under German and/or Axis occupationGerman allies,^[1] co-belligerents, and puppet states^[1]Soviet Union (Allied-held)Western Allied-heldNeutral countries</div>	
Capital	Berlin
Languages	German
Government	Nazi single-party state Totalitarian dictatorship
President / Führer	

-	1933–1934	Paul von Hindenburg
-	1934–1945	Adolf Hitler ^[2]
-	1945	Karl Dönitz
Chancellor		
-	1933–1945	Adolf Hitler
-	1945	Joseph Goebbels
-	1945 (as leading minister)	Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk
Legislature		Reichstag
-	State council	Reichsrat
Historical era		Interwar period/World War II
-	Machtergreifung	30 January 1933
-	Gleichschaltung	27 February 1933
-	Anschluss	12 March 1938
-	World War II	1 September 1939
-	Death of Adolf Hitler	30 April 1945
-	Surrender of Germany	8 May 1945
Area		
-	1939 ^[3]	633,786 km ² (244,706 sq mi)
Population		
-	1939 est. ^[4]	69,314,000
Density		109.4 /km ² (283.3 /sq mi)
Currency		Reichsmark (ℛ.ℳ)
Today part of		<ul style="list-style-type: none">  Germany  Austria  Czech Republic  Luxembourg Areas of  Poland Areas of  Russia Areas of  Belgium Areas of  Denmark Areas of  Ukraine Areas of  France

Nazi Germany, also known as the **Third Reich**, is the common name for Germany during the period from 1933 to 1945, when its government was controlled by Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP; Nazi Party). Under Hitler's rule, Germany was transformed from a democracy into a dictatorship using the process of *Gleichschaltung* (coordination), which brought all civilian organisations except the church under party control. The country was a totalitarian state after August 1934. Nazi Germany ceased to exist after the Allied Forces defeated the Wehrmacht in May 1945, thus ending World War II in Europe.

On 30 January 1933, Hitler was appointed Chancellor of Germany by the President of the Weimar Republic, Paul von Hindenburg. The NSDAP began to eliminate all political opposition and consolidate their power. Upon the death of Hindenburg on 2 August 1934, Hitler became dictator of Germany when the powers and offices of the Chancellery and Presidency were merged. A national referendum held 19 August 1934 confirmed Hitler as sole Führer (leader) of Germany. All power was centralised in Hitler's hands, and his word was above all laws. The

government was not a coordinated, cooperating body, but rather a collection of factions struggling to amass power and gain favour with the Führer. Top officials reported to Hitler and followed his policies, but had considerable autonomy. In the midst of the Great Depression, the Nazis restored economic stability and ended mass unemployment using heavy military spending and a mixed economy. Extensive public works were undertaken, including the construction of *Autobahns* (high speed highways). The return to economic stability boosted the regime's popularity.

Racism, especially antisemitism, was a central feature of the Nazi regime. The Germanic peoples—also referred to as the Nordic race—were considered to be the purest representation of Aryanism, and therefore the master race. Jews and others deemed undesirable were persecuted or murdered. All opposition to Hitler's rule was ruthlessly suppressed by the Gestapo (secret state police) and *Schutzstaffel* (SS) under Heinrich Himmler. Opponents such as the liberal, socialist, and communist opposition were killed, imprisoned, or forced into exile. The Christian churches were also oppressed, with many leaders imprisoned. Education focused on racial biology, population policy, and fitness for military service. Career and educational opportunities for women were curtailed. Entertainment and tourism were organised via the Strength Through Joy program, and the 1936 Summer Olympics showcased the Third Reich on the international stage. Propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels made effective use of film, mass rallies, and Hitler's hypnotising oratory to control public opinion. The government controlled artistic expression, promoting specific art forms and discouraging or banning others.

Germany made increasingly aggressive territorial demands, threatening war if they were not met. Austria and Czechoslovakia were seized in 1938 and 1939. Hitler made a pact with Joseph Stalin and invaded Poland in September 1939, launching World War II. In alliance with Benito Mussolini's Italy, Germany conquered most of Europe by 1940 and threatened Great Britain. *Reichskommissariats* took brutal control of conquered areas, and a German administration was established in Poland. Jews and others deemed undesirable were imprisoned in concentration camps. The system that began as an instrument of political oppression culminated in the mass murder of Jews and other minorities in the Holocaust. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the tide turned against the Third Reich, and major military defeats were suffered in 1943. Large-scale bombing of German cities, rail lines, and oil plants escalated in 1944. Germany was overrun in 1945 by the Soviets from the east and the other Allies from the west. Hitler's refusal to admit defeat led to massive destruction of German infrastructure and unnecessary loss of life in the closing months of the war. The victorious Allies initiated a policy of denazification and put the surviving Nazi leadership on trial for war crimes at the Nuremberg Trials.

Name

The official name of the state was the *Deutsches Reich* (German Reich) from 1933 to 1943, and the *Großdeutsches Reich* (Greater German Reich) from 1943 to 1945. The name *Deutsches Reich* is usually translated into English as "German Empire" or "German Reich".^[5] The term "Reich" does not always connote an empire; the official name of Germany remained "Deutsches Reich" during the Weimar Republic (1918–1933).

Common English terms are "Nazi Germany" and "Third Reich." The latter, adopted by the Nazis, was first used in a 1923 novel by Arthur Moeller van den Bruck. The book counted the medieval Holy Roman Empire (962–1806) as the first Reich and the German Empire (1871–1918) as the second.^[6] The Nazis ignored the Weimar Republic, which they denounced as a historical aberration, contemptuously referring to it as "the System".^[7] Modern Germans refer to the period as *Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (National Socialist period) or *Nationalsozialistische Gewaltherrschaft* (National Socialist tyranny).

History

Background

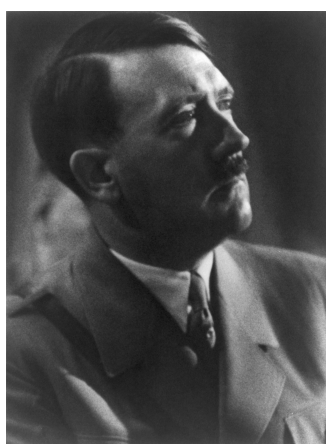
The German economy suffered severe setbacks after the end of World War I, partly because of huge reparations payments required under the 1919 Treaty of Versailles. The government printed money to make the payments and to repay the country's war debt; hyperinflation was the result.^[8] When they failed to make the payments in January 1923, French troops occupied German industrial areas along the Ruhr. Widespread civil unrest was the result.^[9]

The National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP; Nazi Party) was founded as the German Workers' Party in 1919, one of several far-right political parties active in Germany at the time.^[10] The party platform included removal of the Weimar Republic, rejection of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, radical antisemitism, and anti-Bolshevism.^[11] They promised a strong central government, increased *Lebensraum* (living space) for Germanic peoples, formation of a national community based on race, and racial cleansing via the active suppression of Jews, who would be stripped of their citizenship and civil rights.^[12] The Nazis proposed national and cultural renewal based upon the *Völkisch* movement.^[13]

When the stock market in the United States crashed on 24 October 1929, the impact in Germany was dire. Millions were thrown out of work and several major banks collapsed. Hitler and the NSDAP prepared to take advantage of the emergency to gain support for their party. They promised to strengthen the economy and provide jobs.^[14] Many voters decided the NSDAP was capable of restoring order, quelling civil unrest, and restoring Germany's international reputation. After the federal election of 1932, the Nazis were the largest party in the Reichstag, holding 230 seats with 37.4 per cent of the popular vote.^[15]

Nazi seizure of power

Under pressure from politicians, industrialists, and the business community, President Paul von Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor of Germany on 30 January 1933. This event is known as the *Machtergreifung* (seizure of power).^[16] Although the Nazis won the greatest share of the popular vote in the two Reichstag general elections of 1932, they did not have a majority, so Hitler led a short-lived coalition government formed by the NSDAP and the German National People's Party.^[17] In the following months, the NSDAP used a process termed *Gleichschaltung* (coordination) to rapidly bring all aspects of life in the Reich under control of the party.^[18] All civilian organisations, including agricultural groups, volunteer organisations, and sports clubs, had their leadership removed and replaced with Nazi sympathisers or party members. By June 1933 the only organisations not in the control of the NSDAP were the army and the churches.^[19]



Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany, January 1933

On the night of 27 February 1933, the Reichstag building was set afire; Marinus van der Lubbe, a Dutch communist, was found guilty of starting the blaze. Hitler proclaimed that the arson marked the start of a communist uprising. Violent suppression of communists by the *Sturmabteilung* (SA) was undertaken all over the country, and four thousand Communist Party of Germany members were arrested. The Reichstag Fire Decree, imposed on 28 February 1933, rescinded most German civil liberties, including rights of assembly and freedom of the press. The decree also allowed the police to detain people indefinitely without charges or a court order. The legislation was accompanied by a propaganda blitz that led to public support for the measure.^[20]

In March 1933, an amendment to the Weimar Constitution called the Enabling Act passed in the Reichstag by a vote of 444 to 94.^[21] This amendment allowed Hitler and his cabinet to pass laws—even laws that violated the

constitution—without the consent of the president or the Reichstag.^[22] As the bill required a two-thirds majority to pass, the Nazis used the provisions of the Reichstag Fire Decree to keep several Social Democratic deputies from attending; the Communists had already been banned.^[23] The NSDAP continued to eliminate all political opposition. On 10 May the government seized the assets of the Social Democrats; they were banned in June.^[24] The remaining political parties were dissolved, and on 14 July 1933, Germany became a de facto single-party state when the founding of new parties was made illegal.^[25] Further elections in November 1933, 1936, and 1938 were entirely Nazi-controlled and saw only the Nazis and a small number of independents elected to the Reichstag.^[26] The regional state parliaments and the *Reichsrat* (federal upper house) were abolished in January 1934.^[27]

The Nazi regime abolished the symbols of the Weimar Republic, including the black, red, and gold tricolor flag, and adopted reworked imperial symbolism. The previous imperial black, white, and red tricolor was restored as one of Germany's two official flags; the second was the swastika flag of the NSDAP, which became the sole national flag in 1935. The NSDAP anthem "Horst-Wessel-Lied" ("Horst Wessel Song") became a second national anthem.^[28]

In this period, Germany was still in a dire economic situation; millions were unemployed and the balance of trade deficit was daunting. Workers were desperate for an economic turnaround.^[29] Hitler knew that reviving the economy was vital for his future plans. In 1934, using deficit spending, huge public works projects were undertaken. A total of 1.7 million Germans were put to work on the projects in 1934 alone.^[29] Average wages both per hour and per week began to rise.^[30]

On 2 August 1934, President von Hindenburg died. The previous day, the cabinet had enacted the "Law Concerning the Highest State Office of the Reich", which stated that upon Hindenburg's death, the office of president would be abolished and its powers merged with those of the chancellor.^[31] Hitler thus became head of state as well as head of government. He was formally named as *Führer und Reichskanzler* (leader and chancellor). Germany was now a totalitarian state with Hitler at its head.^[32] As head of state, Hitler became Supreme Commander of the armed forces. The new law altered the traditional loyalty oath of servicemen so that they affirmed loyalty to Hitler personally rather than the office of supreme commander or the state.^[33] On 19 August, the merger of the presidency with the chancellorship was approved by 90 per cent of the electorate in a plebiscite.^[34]

Most German people were relieved that the conflicts and street fighting of the Weimar era had ended. They were deluged with propaganda orchestrated by Joseph Goebbels, who promised peace and plenty for all in a united, Marxist-free country without the constraints of the Versailles Treaty.^[35] The first Nazi concentration camp, initially for political prisoners, was opened at Dachau, near Munich, in 1933.^[36] Hundreds of camps of varying size and function were created by the end of the war.^[37]

Violations of the Versailles Treaty

As early as February 1933 Hitler announced that rearmament must be undertaken, albeit clandestinely at first, as to do so was in violation of the Versailles Treaty. A year later he told his military leaders that 1942 was the target date for going to war in the east.^[38] He pulled Germany out of the League of Nations in 1933, claiming its disarmament clauses were unfair, as they applied only to Germany.^[39] The Saarland, which had been placed under League of Nations supervision for 15 years at the end of World War I, voted in January 1935 to become part of Germany.^[40] In March 1935 Hitler announced that the *Reichswehr* would be increased to 550,000 men and that he was creating an air force.^[41] Britain agreed that the Germans would be allowed to build a naval fleet with the signing of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement on 18 June 1935.^[42]

When the Italian invasion of Ethiopia led to only mild protests by the British and French governments, on 7 March 1936 Hitler ordered the *Reichswehr* to march 3,000 troops into the demilitarised zone in the Rhineland in violation of the Versailles Treaty, with an additional 30,000 troops on standby. As the territory was part of Germany, the British and French governments did not feel that attempting to enforce the treaty was worth the risk of war.^[43] In the single-party election held on 29 March the NSDAP received 98.9 per cent support.^[43] In 1936 Hitler signed an Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan and a non-aggression agreement with the Fascist Italy of Benito Mussolini, who

was soon referring to a "Rome-Berlin Axis".^[44]

Austria and Czechoslovakia

In February 1938, Hitler emphasised to Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg the need for Germany to secure its frontiers. Attempting to preserve Austria's independence, Schuschnigg scheduled a plebiscite on the issue for 13 March, but Hitler demanded that it be cancelled. On 11 March, Hitler sent an ultimatum to Schuschnigg, demanding that he hand over all power to the Austrian NSDAP or face an invasion. The *Wehrmacht* entered Austria the next day, to be greeted with enthusiasm by the populace.^[45]

The Republic of Czechoslovakia was home to a substantial minority of Germans, who lived mostly in the Sudetenland, in the western part of the country. Under pressure from separatist groups within the Sudeten German Party, the Czech government offered economic concessions to the region.^[46] Hitler decided to incorporate not just the Sudetenland but the whole of Czechoslovakia into the Reich.^[47] Throughout the summer the Nazis undertook a propaganda campaign to try to drum up support for an invasion.^[48] Top leaders of the armed forces were not in favour of the plan, as Germany was not yet ready for war.^[49] The crisis led to preparations for war by the British, the Czechs, and France (Czechoslovakia's ally). Attempting to avoid war, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain arranged a series of meetings, the result of which was the Munich Agreement, signed on 29 September 1938. The Czechoslovak government was forced to accept the Sudetenland's annexation into Germany. Chamberlain was greeted with cheers when he landed in London bringing, he said, "peace for our time."^[50] The agreement lasted six months before Hitler seized the rest of Czech territory in March 1939.^[51]



"Peace for our time": Neville Chamberlain returns to London after signing the Munich Agreement (1938)

Austrian and Czech foreign exchange reserves were soon seized by the Nazis, as were stockpiles of raw materials such as metals and completed goods such as weaponry and aircraft, which were shipped back to Germany. The *Reichswerke Hermann Göring* industrial conglomerate took control of steel and coal production facilities in both countries.^[52]

Poland

In March 1939, Hitler demanded the return of the Free City of Danzig and the Polish Corridor, a strip of land that separated Prussia from the rest of Germany. The British announced they would come to the aid of Poland if they were attacked. Hitler, believing the British would not actually take action, ordered an invasion plan should be readied for a target date of September 1939.^[53] On 23 May he described to his generals his overall plan of not only seizing the Polish Corridor but greatly expanding German territory eastward at the expense of Poland. He expected this time they would be met by force.^[54]

The Germans reaffirmed their alliance with Italy and signed non-aggression pacts with Denmark, Estonia, and Latvia. Trade links were formalised with Romania, Norway, and Sweden.^[55] Hitler's foreign minister, Joachim von Ribbentrop, arranged in negotiations with the Soviet Union a non-aggression pact, the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, which was signed in August 1939.^[56] The treaty also contained secret protocols dividing Poland and the Baltic states into German and Soviet spheres of influence.^{[57][58]}

World War II

Outbreak of war

Germany invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. Britain and France declared war on Germany two days later. World War II was under way.^[59] Poland fell quickly, as the Soviets attacked from the east on 17 September.^[60] Reinhard Heydrich, then head of the Gestapo, ordered on 21 September that Jews should be rounded up and concentrated into cities with good rail links. Initially the intention was to deport the Jews to points further east, or possibly to Madagascar.^[61] Using lists prepared ahead of time, some 65,000 Polish intelligentsia, noblemen, clergy, and teachers were killed by the end of 1939 in an attempt to destroy Poland's identity as a nation.^{[62][63]} The Soviets continued to attack, advancing into Finland in the Winter War, and German forces were involved in action at sea. But little other activity occurred until spring, so the period became known as the "Phoney War".^[64]

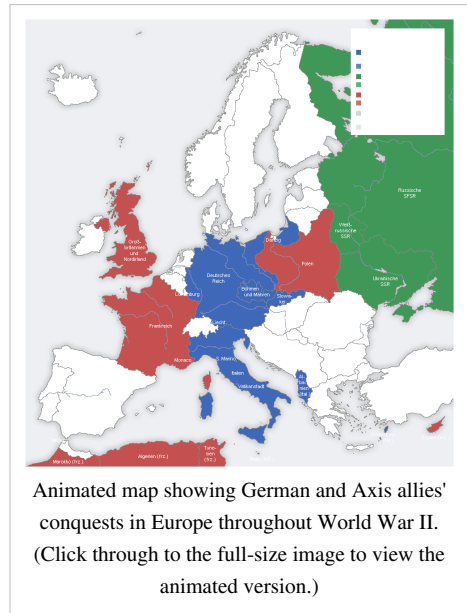
From the start of the war, a British blockade on shipments to Germany had an impact on the Reich economy. The Germans were particularly dependent on foreign supplies of oil, coal, and grain.^[65] To safeguard Swedish iron ore shipments to Germany, Hitler ordered an attack on Norway, which took place on 9 April 1940. Much of the country was occupied by German troops by the end of April. Also on 9 April, the Germans invaded and occupied Denmark.^{[66][67]}

Conquest of Europe

Against the judgement of many of his senior military officers, Hitler ordered an attack on France and the Low Countries, which began in May 1940.^[68] They quickly conquered Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Belgium, and France surrendered on 22 June.^[69] In spite of the provisions of the Hague Convention, industrial firms in the Netherlands, France, and Belgium were put to work producing war materiel for the occupying German military. Officials viewed this option as being preferable to their citizens being deported to the Reich as forced labour.^[70]

The Nazis seized from the French thousands of locomotives and rolling stock, stockpiles of weapons, and raw materials such as copper, tin, oil, and nickel.^[71] Financial demands were levied on the governments of the occupied countries as well; huge payments for occupation costs were received from France, Belgium, and Norway.^[72] Barriers to trade led to hoarding, black markets, and uncertainty about the future.^[73] Food supplies were precarious; production dropped in most areas of Europe, but not as much as during World War I.^[74] Greece experienced famine in the first year of occupation and the Netherlands in the last year of the war.^[74]

Hitler made peace overtures to the new British leader, Winston Churchill, and upon their rejection he ordered a series of aerial attacks on Royal Air Force airbases and radar stations in south-east England. However, the German Luftwaffe failed to defeat the Royal Air Force in what became known as the Battle of Britain.^[75] By the end of October, Hitler realised the necessary air superiority for his planned invasion of Britain could not be achieved, and he ordered nightly air raids on British cities, including London, Plymouth, and Coventry.^[76]





German soldiers march near the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, 14 June 1940

In February 1941, the German *Afrika Korps* arrived in Libya to aid the Italians in the North African Campaign and attempt to contain Commonwealth forces stationed in Egypt.^[77] On 6 April, Germany launched the invasion of Yugoslavia and the battle of Greece.^[78] German efforts to secure oil included negotiating a supply from their new ally, Romania, who signed the Tripartite Pact in November 1940.^{[79][80]}

On 22 June 1941, contravening the Molotov–Ribbentrop pact, 5.5 million Axis troops attacked the Soviet Union. In addition to Hitler's stated purpose of providing *Lebensraum* for the German people, this

large-scale offensive (codenamed Operation Barbarossa) was intended to destroy the Soviet Union and seize its natural resources for subsequent aggression against the Western powers.^[81] The reaction among the German people was one of surprise and trepidation. Many were concerned about how much longer the war would drag on or suspected that Germany could not win a war fought on two fronts.^[82] The invasion conquered a huge area, including the Baltic republics, Belarus, and West Ukraine. After the successful Battle of Smolensk, Hitler ordered Army Group Centre to halt its advance to Moscow and temporarily divert its Panzer groups to aid in the encirclement of Leningrad and Kiev.^[83] This pause provided the Red Army with an opportunity to mobilise fresh reserves. The Moscow offensive, which resumed in October 1941, ended disastrously in December.^[83] On 7 December 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. Four days later, Germany declared war on the United States.^[84]

Food was in short supply in the conquered areas of the Soviet Union and Poland, with rations inadequate to meet nutritional needs. The retreating armies had burned the crops, and much of the remainder was sent back to the Reich.^[85] In Germany itself, food rations had to be cut in 1942. In his role as Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan, Hermann Göring demanded increased shipments of grain from France and fish from Norway. The 1942 harvest was a good one, and food supplies remained adequate in Western Europe.^[86]

Reichsleiter Rosenberg Taskforce was an organisation set up to loot artwork and cultural material from Jewish collections, libraries, and museums throughout Europe. Some 26,000 railroad cars full of art treasures, furniture, and other looted items were sent back to Germany from France alone.^[87] In addition, soldiers looted or purchased goods such as produce and clothing—items which were becoming harder to obtain in Germany—for shipment back home.^[88]

Turning point and collapse

Germany, and Europe as a whole, was almost totally dependent on foreign oil imports.^[89] In an attempt to resolve the persistent shortage, Germany launched *Fall Blau* (Case Blue), an offensive against the Caucasian oilfields, in June 1942.^[90] The Soviets launched a counter-offensive on 19 November and encircled the German armies, who were trapped in Stalingrad on 23 November.^[91] Göring assured Hitler that the 6th Army could be supplied by air, but this turned out not to be possible.^[92] Hitler's refusal to allow a retreat led to the deaths of 200,000 German and Romanian soldiers; of those who surrendered on 31 January 1943, only 6,000 survivors returned to Germany after the war.^[93] Soviet forces continued to push the invaders westward after the failed the German offensive at the Battle of Kursk, and by the end of 1943 the Germans had lost most of their territorial gains in the east.^[94]



Battle of Stalingrad, August 1942

In Egypt, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's *Afrika Korps* were defeated by British forces under Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery in October 1942.^[95] Allied forces landed in Sicily in July 1943 and in Italy in September.^[96]

Meanwhile, American and British bomber fleets, based in Britain, began operations against Germany. In an effort to destroy German morale, many sorties were intentionally given civilian targets.^[97] Soon German aircraft production could not keep pace with the losses being sustained, and the Allied bombing campaign became even more devastating. By targeting oil refineries and factories, they crippled the German war effort by late 1944.^[98]

On 6 June 1944, American, British, and Canadian forces established a western front with the D-Day landings in Normandy.^[99] On 20 July 1944, Hitler narrowly survived a bomb attack at Wolf's Lair at Rastenburg.^[100] He ordered savage reprisals, resulting in 7,000 arrests and the execution of more than 4,900 people.^[101] The failed Ardennes Offensive (16 December 1944 – 25 January 1945) was the last major German campaign of the war. Soviet forces entered Germany on 27 January.^[102] Hitler's refusal to admit defeat and his repeated insistence that the war be fought to the last man led to unnecessary death and destruction in the closing months of the war.^[103] Through his Justice Minister, Otto Georg Thierack, he ordered that anyone who was not prepared to fight should be summarily court-martialed. Thousands of people were put to death as a result.^[104] In many areas, people looked for ways to surrender to the approaching Allies, in spite of exhortations of local leaders to continue the struggle. In one rural area, German soldiers were attacked with pitchforks by local residents when they tried to stop the advancing Americans.^[105] Hitler also ordered the intentional destruction of transport, bridges, industries, and other infrastructure—a scorched earth decree—but Armaments Minister Albert Speer was able to keep this order from being fully carried out.^[103]



Berlin in ruins, 1945

During the Battle of Berlin (16 April 1945 – 2 May 1945), Hitler and his staff lived in the underground *Führerbunker*, while the Red Army approached the city above.^[106] On 22 April, Hitler announced he would stay in Berlin until the end and then shoot himself.^[107] As the Red Army continued to draw closer, both Göring and Heinrich Himmler attempted but failed to seize power from Hitler.^{[108][109]} On 30 April, when Soviet troops were one or two blocks away from the Reich Chancellery, Hitler and Eva Braun committed suicide in the *Führerbunker*.^[110] On 2 May General Helmuth Weidling unconditionally surrendered Berlin to Soviet General Vasily

Chuikov.^[111] Hitler was succeeded by Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz as Reich President and Goebbels as Reich Chancellor.^[112] Goebbels committed suicide outside the Reich Chancellery the next day.^[113] On 4–8 May 1945 most of the remaining German armed forces throughout Europe surrendered unconditionally. The German Instrument of Surrender was signed 7 May, marking the end of World War II in Europe.^[114]

Suicide rates increased more than tenfold in some areas after the fall of the Nazi regime, especially among young people whose entire lives had been spent under the constant barrage of propaganda. But the overall number of suicides was not large.^[115] Historian Sir Ian Kershaw argues that most civilians and military personnel were too busy adjusting to the collapse of the economy or fleeing from the fighting to take any interest in Hitler's death.^[116] There were no public outpourings of grief.^[115]

Casualties

According to political scientist Rudolph Rummel, the Nazi regime was responsible for the democidal killing of an estimated 19.3 million civilians and prisoners of war.^[118] In addition, 29 million soldiers and civilians died as a result of military action in the European theatre of World War II.^[119] These figures include 5.5 to six million Jews,^{[120][121]} between 200,000 and 1,500,000 Romani people,^{[122][121]} and two million ethnic Poles.^[123]

The Soviet Union lost 27 million people during the war; less than nine million of these were combat deaths.^[124] One in four Soviets were killed or wounded.^[125] At the end of the war, Europe had more than 40 million refugees,^[126] its economy had collapsed, and 70 per cent of its industrial infrastructure was destroyed.^[127] Eleven million ethnic Germans were expelled from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and returned—or tried to return—to Germany.^[128] By the end of the war more than three million Germans had been imprisoned for political reasons.^[129] Political courts called *Sondergerichte* sentenced some 12,000 members of the German resistance to death, and civil courts sentenced an additional 40,000 Germans.^[130]



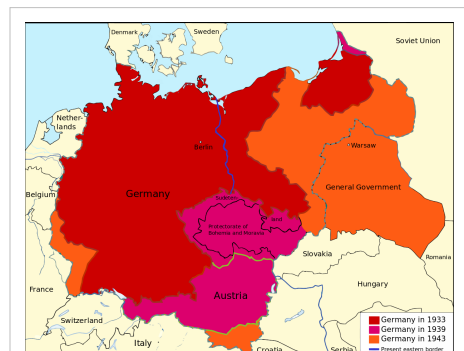
A million people died during the siege of Leningrad.^[117]

Geography

Territorial changes

As a result of their defeat in World War I and the resulting Treaty of Versailles, Germany lost Alsace-Lorraine, Northern Schleswig, and Memel. The Saarland was made part of Czechoslovakia, under the condition that its residents would later decide by referendum which country to join. Poland became a separate nation and was given access to the sea by the creation of the Polish Corridor, which separated Prussia from the rest of Germany. Danzig was made a free city.^[131]

Germany regained control of the Saarland via a referendum held in 1935 and annexed Austria in the Anschluss of 1938.^[132] The Munich Agreement of 1938 gave Germany control of the Sudetenland, and they seized the remainder of Czechoslovakia six months later.^[50] Under threat of invasion by sea, Lithuania surrendered the Memel district to the Nazis in March 1939.^[133]



Territorial expansion of Germany from 1933 to 1943. Red: 1933; pink: 1939; orange: 1943

Between 1939 and 1941 the Third Reich invaded Poland, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium, and the Soviet Union.^[69] Trieste, South Tyrol, and Istria were ceded to Germany by Mussolini in 1943.^[134] Two puppet districts were set up in their place, the Operational Zone of the Adriatic Littoral and the Operational Zone of the Alpine Foothills.^[135]

Occupied territories

Some of the conquered territories were immediately incorporated into Germany as part of Hitler's long-term goal of creating a Greater Germanic Reich. Several areas, such as Alsace-Lorraine, were placed under the authority of an adjacent *Gau* (regional district). Beyond the territories incorporated into Germany were the *Reichskommissariate* (Reich Commissariats), quasi-colonial regimes established in a number of occupied countries. Areas placed under German administration included the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (encompassing the Baltic states and Belarus), and *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. Conquered areas of Belgium and

France were placed under control of the Military Administration in Belgium and Northern France.^[136] Hitler intended to eventually incorporate many of these areas into the Reich.^[137]

The governments of Denmark, Norway (*Reichskommissariat Norwegen*), and the Netherlands (*Reichskommissariat Niederlande*) were placed under civilian administrations staffed largely by natives.^[136] More such districts, such as the *Reichskommissariat Moskowien* (Moscow), *Reichskommissariat Kaukasus* (Caucasus), and *Reichskommissariat Turkestan* (Turkestan) were also proposed in the event that these areas were brought under German rule.

Post-war changes

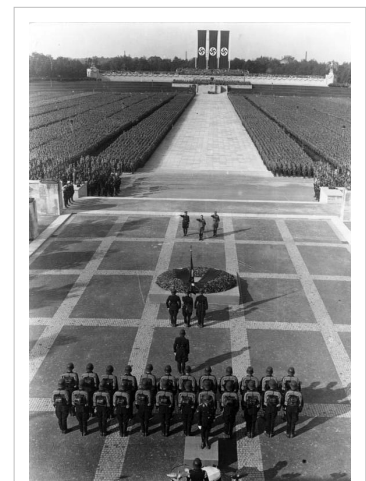
With the issuance of the Berlin Declaration on 5 June 1945 and later creation of the Allied Control Council, the four Allied powers temporarily assumed governance of Germany.^[138] At the Potsdam Conference in August 1945, the Allies arranged for the Allied occupation and denazification of the country. Germany was split into four zones, each occupied by one of the Allied powers, who drew reparations from their zone. Since most of the industrial areas were in the western zones, the Soviet Union was transferred additional reparations.^[139] The Allied Control Council disestablished Prussia on 20 May 1947 with Law No. 46.^[140] Aid to Germany began arriving from the United States under the Marshall Plan in 1948.^[141] The occupation lasted until 1949, when the countries of East Germany and West Germany were created. Germany finalised her border with Poland by signing the Treaty of Warsaw (1970).^[142] Germany remained divided until 1990, when the Allies renounced all claims to German territory with the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany, under which Germany also renounced claims to territories lost during World War II.^[143]

Politics

Ideology

The NSDAP, a far-right political party founded in 1919, came into its own during the social and financial upheavals that occurred with the onset of the Great Depression in 1929.^[144] While in prison after the failed Beer Hall Putsch of 1923, Hitler wrote *Mein Kampf*, which laid out his plan for transforming German society into one based on race.^[145] The ideology of Nazism brought together elements of antisemitism, racial hygiene, and eugenics, and combined them with pan-Germanism and territorial expansionism with the goal of obtaining more *Lebensraum* for the Germanic people.^[146] The regime attempted to obtain this new territory by attacking Poland and the Soviet Union, intending to deport or kill the Jews and Slavs living there, who were viewed as being inferior to the Aryan master race and part of the Jewish Bolshevik conspiracy.^{[147][148]} Others deemed unworthy of life by the Nazis included the mentally and physically disabled, Romani people, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, and social misfits.^{[149][150]}

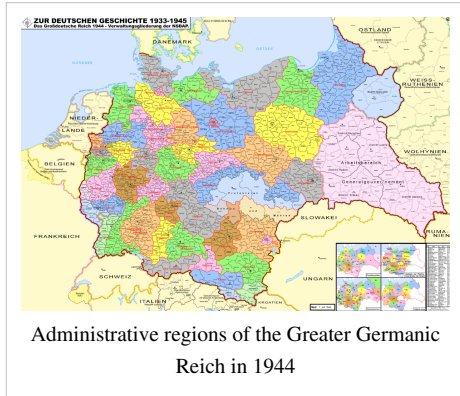
Influenced by the *Völkisch* movement, the regime was against cultural modernism and supported the development of an extensive military at the expense of intellectualism.^{[13][151]} Creativity and art were stifled, except where they could serve the regime as propaganda media.^[152] The party used symbols such as the Blood Flag and rituals such as the Nazi party rallies to foster unity and bolster the regime's popularity.^[153]



Heinrich Himmler, Hitler, and Viktor Lutze perform the Nazi salute at the Nuremberg Rally, September 1934

Government

A law promulgated 30 January 1934 abolished the existing *Länder* (constituent states) of Germany and replaced them with the new administrative divisions of Nazi Germany, the *Gaue*, headed by the NSDAP leaders (*Gauleiters*), who effectively became the governor of their region. The change was never fully implemented; for example, Göring remained the *Reichsstatthalter* (Reich state governor) and Minister President of Prussia until 1945.^{[154][155]}



Jewish civil servants lost their jobs in 1933, except for those who had seen military service in World War I. Members of the NSDAP or party supporters were appointed in their place.^[156] As part of the process of *Gleichschaltung* (coordination; bringing into line), the Reich Local Government Law of 1935 abolished local elections. From that point forward, mayors were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior.^[157] The process of nazification extended to sports clubs, choirs, and volunteer groups, who had their leadership removed and replaced by Nazi sympathisers or party members. By June 1933 the only organisations not in the control of the NSDAP were the army and the churches.^[19]

Hitler ruled Germany autocratically by asserting the *Führerprinzip* (leader principle), which called for absolute obedience of all subordinates to their superiors. He viewed the government structure as a pyramid, with himself—the infallible leader—at the apex. Rank in the party was not determined by elections; positions were filled through appointment by those of higher rank.^[158] Using propaganda, a cult of personality was developed around Hitler.^[159] Historians such as Kershaw emphasize the psychological impact of Hitler's skill as an orator.^[160] Kressel writes, "Overwhelmingly ... Germans speak with mystification of Hitler's 'hypnotic' appeal ..."^[161]

Top officials reported to Hitler and followed his policies, but they had considerable autonomy.^[162] Officials were expected to "work towards the Führer" – to take the initiative in promoting policies and actions in line with his wishes and the goals of the NSDAP, without Hitler having to be involved in the day-to-day running of the country.^[163] The government was not a coordinated, cooperating body, but rather a disorganised collection of factions led by members of the party elite who struggled to amass power and gain favour with the Führer.^[164] Hitler's leadership style was to give contradictory orders to his subordinates and to place them in positions where their duties and responsibilities overlapped.^[165] In this way he fostered distrust, competition, and infighting among his subordinates in order to consolidate and maximise his own power.^[166]

Law

On 20 August 1934, civil servants were required to swear an oath of unconditional obedience to Hitler; a similar oath had been required of members of the military several weeks prior. This law became the basis of the *Führerprinzip*, the concept that Hitler's word overrode all existing laws.^[167] Any acts that were sanctioned by Hitler—even murder—thus became legal.^[168] All legislation proposed by cabinet ministers had to be approved by the office of Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess, who also had a veto over top civil service appointments.^[169]

Most of the judicial system and legal codes of the Weimar Republic remained in use during and after the Third Reich to deal with non-political crimes.^[170] The courts issued and carried out far more death sentences than before the Nazis took power.^[170] People who were convicted of three or more offences—even petty ones—could be deemed a habitual offender and jailed indefinitely.^[171] People such as prostitutes and pickpockets were judged to be inherently criminal and a threat to the racial community. Thousands were arrested and confined indefinitely without trial.^[172]

Although the regular courts handled political cases and even issued death sentences for these cases, a new type of court, the *Volksgerichtshof* (People's Court), was established in 1934 to deal with politically important matters.^[173] This court handed out over 5,000 death sentences from its formation until its dissolution in 1945.^[174] The death

penalty could be issued for offences such as being a communist, printing seditious leaflets, or even making jokes about Hitler or other top party officials.^[175] Political offenders who were released from prison were often immediately re-arrested by the Gestapo and confined in a concentration camp.^[176] The Gestapo was in charge of investigative policing to enforce National Socialist ideology. They located and confined political offenders, Jews, and others deemed undesirable.^[177]

In September 1935 the Nuremberg Laws were enacted. These laws prohibited marriages between Jews and people of Germanic extraction, extramarital relations between Jews and Germans, and the employment of Jewish women under the age of 45 as domestic servants in German households.^[178] The Reich Citizenship Law stated that only those of Germanic or related blood were defined as citizens. Thus Jews and other minority groups were stripped of their German citizenship. The wording of the law also opened the door for the Nazis to deny citizenship to anyone who was not supportive enough of the regime.^[179] A supplementary decree issued in November defined as Jewish anyone with three Jewish grandparents, or two grandparents if the Jewish faith was followed.^[180]

Military and paramilitary

Wehrmacht

The unified armed forces of Germany from 1935 to 1945 were called the Wehrmacht. This included the *Heer* (army), *Kriegsmarine* (navy), and the *Luftwaffe* (air force). From 2 August 1934, members of the armed forces were required to pledge an oath of unconditional obedience to Hitler personally. In contrast to the previous oath, which required allegiance to the constitution of the country and its lawful establishments, this new oath required members of the military to obey Hitler even if they were being ordered to do something illegal.^[181] Hitler decreed that the army would have to tolerate and even offer logistical support to the *Einsatzgruppen*—the mobile death squads responsible for millions of deaths in Eastern Europe—when it was tactically possible to do so.^[182] Members of the *Wehrmacht* also participated directly in the Holocaust by shooting civilians or undertaking genocide under the guise of anti-partisan operations.^[183]



A column of tanks and other armoured vehicles of the *Panzerwaffe* near Stalingrad, 1942

In spite of efforts to prepare the country militarily, the economy could not sustain a lengthy war of attrition such as had occurred in World War I. A strategy was developed based on the tactic of *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war), which involved using quick coordinated assaults that avoided enemy strong points. Attacks began with artillery bombardment, followed by bombing and strafing runs. Next the tanks would attack and finally the infantry would move in to secure any ground that had been taken.^[184] Victories continued through the summer of 1940, but Nazi Germany's failure to defeat Britain was the first major turning point in the war. The decision to attack the Soviet Union and the decisive defeat at Stalingrad led to the retreat of the German armies and the eventual loss of the war.^[185] The total number of soldiers who served in the *Wehrmacht* from 1935 to 1945 was around 18.2 million, of whom 5.3 million died.^[186]

The SA and SS

The *Sturmabteilung* (SA; Storm Detachment; Brownshirts), founded in 1921, was the first paramilitary wing of the Nazi Party. Their initial assignment was to protect Nazi leaders at rallies and assemblies.^[187] They also took part in street battles against the forces of rival political parties and violent actions against Jews and others.^[188] By 1934, under Ernst Röhm's leadership, the SA had grown to over half a million members—4.5 million including reserves—at a time when the regular army was still limited to 100,000 men by the Versailles Treaty.^[189] Röhm favoured a "second revolution", which would tear down industrialists, big business, and the Junker aristocracy, and

eliminate Prussian control of the military.^[190] To fulfil this goal, he intended to assume command of the army and absorb it into the ranks of the SA.^[191]

Hitler suspected that Röhm was plotting to depose him, and could not afford to lose the support of the army.^[192] He ordered the deaths of Röhm and other political enemies. Up to 200 people were killed from 30 June to 2 July 1934 in an event that became known as the Night of the Long Knives.^[193] After this purge the SA was no longer a major force in the party; its size was reduced by 40 per cent over the next year as it was converted into a sports and training organisation.^[194]

Initially a force of a dozen men under the command of the SA, the *Schutzstaffel* (SS) grew to become one of the largest and most powerful groups in Nazi Germany.^[195] Led by *Reichsführer-SS* Heinrich Himmler from 1929, the SS had over a quarter million members by 1938 and continued to grow.^[196] Himmler envisioned the SS as being an elite group of guards, Hitler's last line of defence. Strict membership requirements ensured that all members were deemed to be of Aryan genealogy.^[197] The *Waffen-SS*, the military branch of the SS, became a de facto fourth branch of the Wehrmacht. It was under Wehrmacht control whilst in combat zones and the *SS Führungshauptamt* (SS Leadership Main Office) when not at the front.^[198]

In 1931 Himmler organised an SS intelligence service which became known as the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD; Security Service) under his deputy, *SS-Obergruppenführer* Reinhard Heydrich.^[199] This organisation was tasked with locating and arresting communists and other political opponents. Himmler hoped it would eventually totally replace the existing police system.^{[200][201]} Himmler also established the beginnings of a parallel economy under the auspices of the SS Economy and Administration Head Office. This holding company owned housing corporations, factories, and publishing houses.^{[202][203]}

From 1935 forward the SS was heavily involved in the persecution of Jews, who were rounded up into ghettos and concentration camps.^[204] With the outbreak of World War II, SS units called *Einsatzgruppen* followed the army into Poland and the Soviet Union, where from 1941 and 1945 they killed more than two million people, including 1.3 million Jews.^{[205][206]} The *SS-Totenkopfverbände* (death's head units) were in charge of the concentration camps and extermination camps, where millions more were killed.^{[207][120]}

Economy

Reich economics

The most pressing economic matter the Nazis initially faced was the 30 per cent national unemployment rate.^[208] Economist Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, President of the Reichsbank and Minister of Economics, created in May 1933 a scheme for deficit financing. Capital projects were paid for with the issuance of promissory notes called Mefo bills. When the notes were presented for payment, the Reichsbank printed money to do so. While the national debt soared, Hitler and his economic team expected that the upcoming territorial expansion would provide the means of repaying the debt.^[209] Schacht's administration achieved a rapid decline in the unemployment rate, the largest of any country during the Great Depression.^[208]



Members of the SA enforce the boycott of Jewish stores. 1 April 1933



20 Reichsmark note

Major public works projects financed with deficit spending included the construction of a network of *Autobahns* and funding programmes initiated by the previous government for housing and agricultural improvements.^[210] To stimulate the construction industry, credit was offered to private businesses and subsidies were made available for home purchases and repairs.^[211] On the condition that the wife would leave the workforce, a loan of up to 1,000 Reichsmarks could be accessed by young couples of Aryan descent who intended to marry. The amount that had to be repaid was reduced by 25 per cent for each child born.^[212] The caveat that the woman had to remain unemployed was dropped by 1937 due to a shortage of skilled labourers.^[213]

Hitler envisioned widespread car ownership as part of the new Germany. He arranged for designer Ferdinand Porsche to draw up plans for the *KdF-wagen* (Strength Through Joy car), intended to be an automobile that every German citizen could afford. A prototype was displayed at the International Motor Show in Berlin on 17 February 1939. With the outbreak of World War II the factory was converted to produce military vehicles. No production models were sold until after the war, when the vehicle was renamed the Volkswagen (people's car).^[214]

Six million people were unemployed when the Nazis took power in 1933, and by 1937 there were fewer than a million.^[215] This was in part due to the removal of women from the workforce.^[216] Real wages dropped by 25 per cent between 1933 and 1938.^[208] Trade unions were abolished in May 1933 with the seizure of the funds and arrest of the leadership of the Social Democratic trade unions. A new organisation, the German Labour Front, was created and placed under NSDAP functionary Robert Ley.^[217] The average German worked 43 hours a week in 1933, and by 1939 this increased to 47 hours a week.^[218]

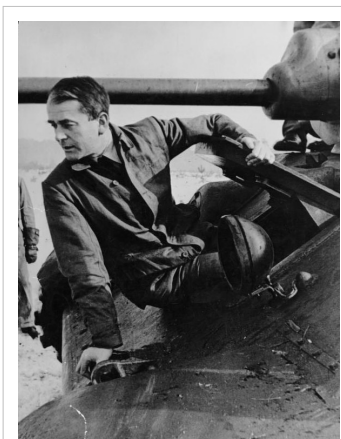
On 18 October 1936 Hitler named Göring as Plenipotentiary of the Four Year Plan, intended to speed up the rearmament programme. Göring created a new organisation to administer the Plan and drew the ministries of labour and agriculture under its umbrella.^[219] The Plan called for the rapid construction of steel mills, synthetic rubber plants, and other factories. Göring also instituted wage and price controls, curbed imports, and restricted the issuance of stock dividends.^[208] Huge expenditures were made on rearmament, in spite of growing deficits.^[220] With the introduction of compulsory military service in 1935, the *Reichswehr*, which had been limited to 100,000 by the terms of the Versailles Treaty, expanded to 750,000 on active service at the start of World War II, with a million more in the reserve.^[221] By January 1939, unemployment was down to 301,800, and it dropped further, to only 77,500, by September.^[222]

Wartime economy and forced labor

The Nazi war economy was a mixed economy that combined a free market with central planning; historian Richard Overy described it as being somewhere in between the command economy of the Soviet Union and the capitalist system of the United States.^[223]

In 1942, after the death of Armaments Minister Fritz Todt, Hitler appointed Albert Speer as his replacement.^[224] Speer improved production via streamlined organisation, the use of single-purpose machines operated by unskilled workers, rationalisation of production methods, and better coordination between the many different firms that made tens of thousands of components. Factories were relocated away from rail yards, which were bombing targets.^{[225][226]} By 1944, the war was consuming 75 per cent of Germany's gross domestic product, compared to 60 per cent in the Soviet Union and 55 per cent in Britain.^[227]

The wartime economy relied heavily upon the large-scale employment of forced labourers. Germany imported and enslaved some 12 million people from 20 European countries to work in factories and on farms; approximately 75 per cent were Eastern European.^[228] They



Armaments Minister Albert Speer examines a captured Soviet T-34 tank, 1943

worked long hours in munitions factories and clearing rubble after bombing raids. Many were casualties of Allied bombing, as they received poor air raid protection. Poor living conditions led to high rates of sickness, injury, and death, as well as sabotage and criminal activity.^[229]



Woman with *OST-Arbeiter* badge at the IG Farben plant in Auschwitz concentration camp

Women played an increasingly large role. By 1944 over a half million served as auxiliaries in the German armed forces, especially in anti-aircraft units of the Luftwaffe; a half million worked in civil aerial defense; and 400,000 were volunteer nurses. Large numbers replaced drafted men in the wartime economy, especially on farms and in small family-owned shops.^[230]

Very heavy strategic bombing by the Allies targeted refineries producing synthetic oil and gasoline as well as the German transportation system, especially rail yards and canals.^[231] The armaments industry began to break down by autumn 1944. By

November fuel coal was no longer reaching its destinations, and the production of new armaments was no longer possible.^[232] Overy argues that the bombing created a defensive response that strained the German war economy and forced it to divert up to one-fourth of its manpower and industry into anti-aircraft resources, and very likely shortened the war.^[233]

Society

Racial policy

Persecution of Jews

Racism and antisemitism were basic tenets of the NSDAP and the Nazi regime.^[234] Discrimination against Jews began immediately after the seizure of power; following a month-long series of attacks by members of the SA on Jewish businesses, synagogues, and members of the legal profession, on 1 April 1933 Hitler declared a national boycott of Jewish businesses.^[235] A law was passed on 7 April excluding most Jews from the legal profession and the civil service. Similar legislation soon deprived Jewish members of other professions of the right to practise. On 11 April a decree was promulgated that stated anyone who had even one Jewish parent or grandparent was considered non-Aryan. As part of the drive to remove Jewish influence from cultural life, members of the National Socialist Student League removed from libraries any books considered un-German, and a nation-wide book burning was held on 10 May.^[236]

Violence and economic pressure were used by the regime to encourage Jews to voluntarily leave the country.^[237] Jewish businesses were denied access to markets, forbidden from advertising in newspapers, and deprived of access to government contracts. Citizens were harassed and subjected to violent attacks and continued boycotts of their businesses.^[238] Many towns posted signs forbidding entry to Jews.^[239]



Damage caused during *Kristallnacht*. 9
November 1938

In November 1938, a young Jewish man requested an interview with the German ambassador in Paris. He met with a legation secretary, whom he shot and killed to protest his family's treatment in Germany. This incident provided the pretext for a pogrom the NSDAP incited against the Jews on 9 November 1938. Members of the SA damaged or destroyed synagogues and Jewish property throughout Germany. At least 91 German Jews were killed during this pogrom, later called *Kristallnacht*, the Night of Broken Glass.^{[240][241]} Further restrictions were imposed on Jews in the coming months – they were forbidden to own businesses or work in retail shops, drive cars, go to the cinema, visit the library, or own weapons. Jewish pupils were removed from

schools. The Jewish community was fined one billion marks to pay for the damage caused by *Kristallnacht* and told that any money received via insurance claims would be confiscated.^[242] By 1939 around 250,000 of Germany's 437,000 Jews emigrated to the United States, Palestine, Great Britain, and other countries.^{[243][244]} Many chose to stay in continental Europe. Emigrants to Palestine were allowed to transfer property there under the terms of the Haavara Agreement, but those moving to other countries had to leave virtually all their property behind, and it was seized by the government.^[245]

The Holocaust

Germany's war in the East was based on Hitler's long-standing view that Jews were the great enemy of the German people and that *Lebensraum* was needed for the expansion of Germany. He focused on Eastern Europe, aiming to defeat Poland and the Soviet Union and remove or kill the resident Jews and Slavs, who were viewed as being inferior to the Aryan master race and part of the Jewish Bolshevik conspiracy.^{[147][148]} At the outset of World War II, the German authority in the General Government in occupied Poland ordered that all Jews face compulsory labour and that those who were physically incapable such as women and children were to be confined to ghettos.^[246] In 1941 Hitler decided to destroy the Polish nation completely. He planned that within 10 to 20 years the section of Poland under German occupation would be cleared of ethnic Poles and resettled by German colonists.^[247] About 14 million people would be allowed to remain, but would be treated as slaves.^[148]



A Jewish woman protects a child with her body
as Einsatzgruppen soldiers aim their rifles,
Ukraine, 1942

The *Generalplan Ost* (General Plan for the East) called for deporting the population of occupied Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union to West Siberia, for use as slave labour or to be murdered.^[117] In order to determine who should be killed, Himmler created the *Volkliste*, a system of classification of people deemed to be of German blood.^[248] He ordered that those of Germanic descent who refused to be classified as ethnic Germans should be deported to concentration camps, have their children taken away, or be assigned to forced labour.^{[249][250]} The plan also included the kidnapping of children deemed to have Aryan traits.^[251] The goal was to implement *Generalplan Ost* after the conquest of the Soviet Union, but when the invasion failed, Hitler had to consider other options.^{[117][252]} One suggestion was a mass forced deportation of Jews. Continued deportations into occupied Poland were rejected by Hans Frank, Governor of the General Government. The territory already contained large numbers of Jews.^[246] Adolf Eichmann suggested they should be forced to emigrate to Palestine.^[246] Franz Rademacher proposed that they should be deported to Madagascar, an idea dismissed as impractical in 1942.^[246]

Somewhere around the time of the failed offensive against Moscow in December 1941, Hitler finally resolved that the Jews of Europe were to be exterminated.^[253] Plans for the total eradication of the Jewish population of

Europe—eleven million people—were formalised at the Wannsee Conference on 20 January 1942. Some would be worked to death and the rest would be killed in the implementation of *Die Endlösung der Judenfrage* (the Final Solution of the Jewish question).^[254] Initially the victims were killed with gas vans or by *Einsatzgruppen* firing squads, but these methods proved impracticable for an operation of this scale.^[255] By 1941, killing centres at Auschwitz concentration camp, Sobibor, Treblinka, and other Nazi extermination camps replaced *Einsatzgruppen* as the primary method of mass killing.^[256]



A teenage boy views his murdered family before his own death. Zboriv, Ukraine, 1941

The total number of Jews murdered during the war is estimated at 5.5 to six million people,^[120] including over a million children.^[121] Twelve million people were put into forced labour.^[228] In the 1960s the term "the Holocaust" came into general use to describe this genocide in English.^[257] It is called the *Shoah* in Hebrew.

German citizens had access to information about what was happening, as soldiers returning from the occupied territories would report on what they had seen and done.^[258] Most German citizens disapproved of the genocide but kept quiet out of fear of reprisals from the SS.^[259] Some people tried to rescue or hide the remaining Jews, and others attempted

to get word to the outside world as to what was happening. When reports of the genocide reached Britain, Churchill and the Allies concluded that the best plan was to concentrate on winning the war as quickly as possible.^[260]

In addition to eliminating Jews, the Nazis also planned to reduce the population of the conquered territories by 30 million people through starvation in an action called the Hunger Plan. Food supplies would be diverted to the German army and German civilians. Cities would be razed and the land allowed to return to forest or resettled by German colonists.^[261] Together, the *Hunger Plan* and *Generalplan Ost* would have led to the starvation of 80 million people in the Soviet Union.^[262] These partially fulfilled plans resulted in the democidal deaths of an estimated 19.3 million civilians and prisoners of war.^[118]

Persecution of other groups

Under the provisions of a law promulgated 14 July 1933, the Nazi regime carried out the compulsory sterilization of over 400,000 individuals labelled as having hereditary defects.^[263] More than half the people sterilised under this law were those considered mentally deficient, which included not only people who scored poorly on intelligence tests, but those who deviated from expected standards of behaviour regarding thrift, sexual behaviour, and cleanliness. Mentally and physically ill people were also targeted. The majority of the victims came from disadvantaged groups such as prostitutes, the poor, the homeless, and criminals.^[264]

Like the Jews, the Romani people (also known as Gypsies) were subjected to persecution from the early days of the regime. As a non-Aryan race, they were forbidden to marry people of German extraction. Romani were shipped to concentration camps starting in 1935 and were killed in large numbers.^{[149][150]} Action T4 was a programme of systematic murder of the physically and mentally handicapped and patients in psychiatric hospitals that mainly took place from 1939 to 1941 but continued until the end of the war. Initially the victims were shot by the *Einsatzgruppen* and others, but gas chambers were put into use by the end of 1941.^[265] Between June 1941 and January 1942, the Nazis killed an estimated 2.8 million Soviet prisoners of war.^[266] Many starved to death while being held in open-air pens at Auschwitz and elsewhere.^[267] Other groups persecuted and killed included Jehovah's Witnesses, Poles and other Slavs, homosexuals, social misfits, and members of the political and religious opposition.^{[150][257]}



Naked Soviet prisoners of war in Mauthausen-Gusen concentration camp

Oppression of Christian religions

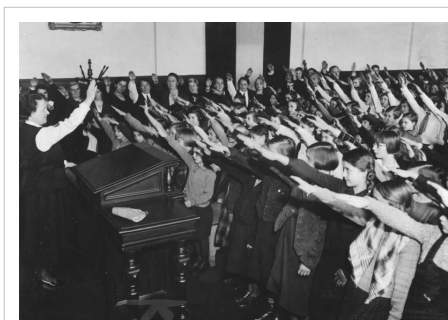
About 65 per cent of the population of Germany was Protestant when the Nazis seized power in 1933.^[268] As part of his plan to bring all organisations in Germany under control of the regime, Hitler created what he hoped would become a single state church, the Protestant Reich Church, and made efforts to disband or nazify the 28 existing Protestant churches. A pro-Nazi pressure group called the German Christians gained control of the new church. Citing the Aryan Paragraph, the German Christians demanded that all Jews employed by German churches be dismissed from their posts. They called for the removal of the Old Testament from the Bible, claiming it was Jewish in origin, and demanded that Jews who had converted to Protestantism be barred from church attendance. Opposition groups and a rival church called the Confessing Church were formed by 1934. Some 700 pastors who refused to support the Nazis were jailed, including Martin Niemöller, one of the founders of the Confessing Church; he remained confined in various concentration camps almost until the end of the war. When the Confessing Church became popular, especially in rural areas, Hitler abandoned his plan to amalgamate all the Protestant churches, but the oppression of the Confessing Church continued.^[269]

Most Catholic Germans had voted for the Centre Party, which was dissolved in 1933 under the terms of the *Reichskonkordat* (the Concordat), a treaty between the German state and the Holy See that called for the regime to protect the independence of Catholic lay organisations in return for a promise that the church would not get involved in politics. But within a month, the political police were already forbidding the activities of Catholic lay organisations and banning Catholic periodicals.^[270] While Protestant youth organisations had been disbanded and their members enrolled in the Hitler Youth, most Catholic youth groups refused to dissolve themselves. Hitler Youth leader Baldur von Schirach encouraged its members to attack Catholic boys in the streets.^[271] Participation in the girls' wing—the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (League of German Girls)—was low among Catholics, in part because priests in some areas refused to grant absolution to girls who joined.^[272] From 25 March 1939, membership in the Hitler Youth became compulsory for all children over the age of ten.^[273]

By 1935 oppressive measures against Catholics included a propaganda campaign claiming the church was corrupt, restrictions on public meetings, and censorship of Catholic publications. Catholic schools were required to reduce the amount of religious instruction and crucifixes were removed from all state buildings.^[274] Cardinal Pacelli, later Pope Pius XII, repeatedly protested these violations of the Concordat, but to no avail. On 21 March 1937, Pacelli's "*Mit brennender Sorge*" ("With Burning Concern"), a statement of protest against the oppression, was read aloud in every church in Germany.^[275] In response, propaganda minister Goebbels launched a media campaign denouncing alleged homosexual activity within the church and announced further crackdowns. The campaign resulted in a sharp drop in enrolment in denominational schools, and by 1939 all such schools were disbanded or converted to public facilities.^[276] About 30 per cent of Catholic priests were disciplined at the hands of the police during the Nazi era; many were jailed.^[277]

Education

Antisemitic legislation passed in 1933 led to the removal all of Jewish teachers, professors, and officials from the education system. Politically undesirable teachers such as socialists also lost their jobs. Most teachers were required to belong to the *Nationalsozialistischer Lehrerbund* (National Socialist Teachers League; NSLB), and university professors were required to join the National Socialist Association of University Lecturers.^{[278][279]} Teachers had to take an oath of loyalty and obedience to Hitler, and those who failed to show sufficient conformity to party ideals were often reported by students or fellow teachers and dismissed.^{[280][281]} Lack of funding for teacher salaries led to many leaving the profession. The average class size increased from 37 in 1927 to 43 in 1938 due to the resulting teacher shortage.^[282]



The Nazi salute in school (1934). Children were indoctrinated at an early age.

Frequent and often contradictory directives were issued by Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick, Bernhard Rust of the *Reichserziehungsministerium* (Ministry of Education), and various other agencies regarding content of lessons and acceptable textbooks for use in primary and secondary schools.^[283] Books deemed unacceptable to the regime were removed from school libraries.^[284] Indoctrination in National Socialist thought was made compulsory in January 1934.^[284] Students selected as future members of the party elite were indoctrinated from the age of 12, first at Adolf Hitler Schools for primary education, then at National Political Institutes of Education for secondary education. Detailed National Socialist indoctrination of future holders elite military rank was undertaken at Order Castles.^[285]

Education in primary and secondary schools under the Nazi regime focused on racial biology, population policy, culture, geography, and especially physical fitness.^[286] The curriculum in most subjects, including biology, geography, and even arithmetic, was altered to change the focus to race.^[287] Military education became the central component of physical education, and education in physics became oriented toward subjects with military applications, such as ballistics and aerodynamics.^{[288][289]} Students were required to watch all films prepared by the school division of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.^[284]

At universities, appointments to top posts were the subject of power struggles between the education ministry, the university boards, and the National Socialist German Students' League.^[290] In spite of pressure from the League and various government ministries, most university professors did not make changes to their lectures or syllabus during the Nazi period.^[291] This was especially true of universities located in predominately Catholic regions.^[292] Enrolment at German universities declined from 104,000 students in 1931 to 41,000 in 1939. But enrolment in medical schools rose sharply; Jewish doctors had been forced to leave the profession, so medical graduates had good job prospects.^[293] From 1934, university students were required to attend frequent and time-consuming military training sessions run by the SA.^[294] First-year students also had to serve six months in a labour camp for the *Reichsarbeitsdienst* (National Labour Service); an additional ten weeks service were required of second-year students.^[295]

Health

Nazi Germany had a strong anti-tobacco movement. Pioneering research by Franz H. Müller in 1939 demonstrated a causal link between tobacco smoking and lung cancer.^[296] These findings were largely forgotten after the war, but interest resumed in the 1950s, when American and British researchers began re-examining the question.^[297] The Reich Health Office took measures to try to limit smoking, including producing lectures and pamphlets.^[298] Smoking was banned in many workplaces, on trains, and among on-duty members of the military.^[299]

Government agencies also worked to control other carcinogenic substances such as asbestos and pesticides.^[300] As part of the general public health campaign in Nazi Germany, water supplies were cleaned up, lead and mercury were removed from consumer products, and women were urged to undergo regular screenings for breast cancer.^{[301][302]}



Statues representing the ideal body were erected in the streets of Berlin for the 1936 Summer Olympics.

Government-run health care insurance plans were available, but Jews were denied coverage starting in 1933. That same year, Jewish doctors were forbidden to treat government-insured patients. In 1937 Jewish doctors were forbidden to treat non-Jewish patients, and in 1938 their right to practice medicine was removed entirely.^[303]

Medical experiments, many of them unscientific, were performed on concentration camp inmates beginning in 1941.^[304] In summer 1942, Himmler created the Institute for Applied Research in Defence Science to conduct experiments such as testing how long people could survive in ice-cold water, determining the effects of extreme decompression, and other experiments thought to have military applications. Many of the victims died.^[305] The most notorious doctor to perform medical experiments was SS-*Hauptsturmführer* Dr Josef Mengele, camp doctor at Auschwitz.^[306] He took a special interest in twins, as he hoped his research would one day allow the master race to be mass-produced.^[307] Many of his victims died or were intentionally killed.^[308] Concentration camp inmates were made available for purchase by pharmaceutical companies for drug testing and other experiments.^[309]

Role of women and family

Women were a cornerstone of Nazi social policy. The Nazis opposed the feminist movement, claiming that it was the creation of Jewish intellectuals, and instead advocated a patriarchal society in which the German woman would recognise that her "world is her husband, her family, her children, and her home."^[216] Soon after the seizure of power, feminist groups were shut down or incorporated into the National Socialist Women's League. This organisation coordinated groups throughout the country to promote motherhood and household activities. Courses were taught on childrearing, sewing, and cooking.^[310] The League put out the *NS-Frauen-Warte*, the only NSDAP-approved women's magazine in Nazi Germany.^[311] Despite some propaganda aspects, it was predominantly an ordinary woman's magazine.^[312]

Women were encouraged to leave the workforce, and the creation of large families by racially suitable women was promoted through a propaganda campaign. Women received a bronze award—known as the *Ehrenkreuz der Deutschen Mutter* (Cross of Honour of the German Mother)—for giving birth to four children, silver for six, and gold for eight or more.^[310] Large families received subsidies to help with their utilities, school fees, and household expenses. Though the measures did lead to increases in the birth rate, the number of families having four or more children declined by five per cent between 1935 and 1940.^[313] Removing women from the workforce did not have the intended effect of freeing up jobs for men. Women were for the most part employed as domestic servants, weavers, or in the food and drink industries—jobs that were not of interest to men.^[314] Nazi philosophy prevented large numbers of women from being hired to work in munitions factories in the build-up to World War II, so foreign labourers were brought in. After the war started, slave labourers were extensively used.^[315] In January 1943 Hitler signed a decree requiring all women under the age of fifty to report for work assignments to help the war effort.^[316] Thereafter, women were funnelled into agricultural and industrial jobs. By September 1944, 14.9 million women were working in munitions production.^[317]



Young women of the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (League of German Girls) practising gymnastics in 1941

The Nazi regime discouraged women from seeking higher education. The number of women allowed to enrol in universities dropped drastically under the Nazi regime, as a law passed in April 1933 limited the number of females admitted to university to ten per cent of the number of male attendees.^[318] Female enrolment in secondary schools dropped from 437,000 in 1926 to 205,000 in 1937. The number of women enrolled in post-secondary schools dropped from 128,000 in 1933 to 51,000 in 1938. However, with the requirement that men be enlisted into the armed forces during the war, women comprised half of the enrolment in the post-secondary system by 1944.^[319]

Women were expected to be strong, healthy, and vital.^[320] The sturdy peasant woman who worked the land and bore strong children was considered ideal, and athletic women were praised for being tanned from working outdoors.^[321] Organisations were created for the indoctrination of Nazi values. The *Jungmädelbund* (Young Girls League) section of the Hitler Youth was for girls age 10 to 14, and the *Bund Deutscher Mädel* (BDM; League of German Girls) was for young women age 14 to 18. The BDM's activities focused on physical education, with activities such as running, long jumping, somersaulting, tightrope walking, marching, and swimming.^[322]

The Nazi regime promoted a liberal code of conduct regarding sexual matters, and was sympathetic to women who bore children out of wedlock.^[323] Promiscuity increased as the war progressed, with unmarried soldiers often intimately involved with several women simultaneously. The same was the case for married women, who liaised with soldiers, civilians, or slave labourers. Sex was sometimes used as a commodity to obtain, for example, better work from a foreign labourer.^[323] Pamphlets enjoined German women to avoid sexual intercourse with foreign workers as a danger to their blood.^[324]

With Hitler's approval, Himmler intended that the new society of the Nazi regime should destigmatise illegitimate births, particularly children fathered by members of the SS, who had already been vetted for racial purity.^[325] His hope was that each SS family would have between four and six children.^[325] The *Lebensborn* (Fountain of Life) association, founded by Himmler in 1935, created a series of maternity homes where single mothers could be accommodated during their pregnancies.^[326] Both parents were examined for racial suitability before acceptance.^[326] The resulting children were often adopted into SS families.^[326] The homes were also made available to the wives of members of the SS and the NSDAP, who quickly filled over half the available spots.^[327]

Existing laws banning abortion except for medical reasons were strictly enforced by the Nazi regime. The number of abortions declined from 35,000 per year at the start of the 1930s to fewer than 2,000 per year at the end of the decade. In 1935 a law was passed allowing abortions for eugenics reasons.^[328]

Environmentalism

Nazi society had elements supportive of animal rights, and many people were fond of zoos and wildlife.^[329] Several Nazis were environmentalists.^[330] Himmler made efforts to ban the hunting of animals, and Göring was an animal lover and conservationist.^{[331][332]} The government took several measures to ensure the protection of animals and the environment. In 1933 the Nazis enacted a stringent animal-protection law that had an impact on what was allowed for medical research.^[333] But the law only loosely enforced. In spite of a ban on vivisection, the Ministry of the Interior readily handed out permits for experiments on animals.^[334]



Hermann Göring was an animal lover and conservationist.

The current animal welfare laws in Germany are adapted from laws introduced by the National Socialist regime.^[335] The Reich Forestry Office, under Göring, enforced regulations that required foresters to plant a wide variety of trees to ensure suitable habitat for wildlife. A new Reich Hunting Law made licensing and quota regulations uniform throughout the country, and the Reich Animal Protection Act became law in 1933.^[336] Drawing in part on existing ideas and legislation, the regime enacted the Reich Nature Protection Act in 1935 to protect the natural landscape from excessive economic development. The legislation provided the framework for long-range planning regarding the use of natural areas and allowed for the expropriation of privately owned land to create nature preserves.^[337] Perfunctory efforts were made to curb air pollution, but little enforcement of existing legislation was undertaken once the war began.^[338]

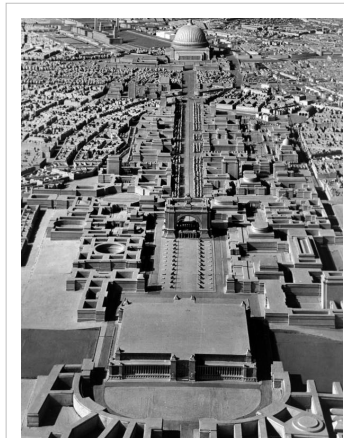
Culture

The regime promoted the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft*, a national German ethnic community. The goal was to build a classless society based on racial purity and the perceived need to prepare for warfare, conquest, and a struggle against Marxism.^{[339][340]} The German Labour Front founded the *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF; Strength Through Joy) organisation in 1933. In addition to taking control of tens of thousands of previously privately run recreational clubs, it offered highly regimented holidays and entertainment experiences such as cruises, vacation destinations, and concerts.^{[341][342]}

The *Reichskulturkammer* (Reich Chamber of Culture) was organised under the control of the Propaganda Ministry in September 1933. Sub-chambers were set up to control various aspects of cultural life, such as films, radio, newspapers, fine arts, music, live theatre, and literature. All members of these professions were required to join their respective organisation. Jews and people considered politically unreliable were prevented from working in the arts, and many emigrated. Books and scripts had to be approved by the Propaganda Ministry prior to publication. Standards deteriorated as the regime sought to use cultural outlets exclusively as propaganda media.^[343]

Radio became very popular in Germany during the 1930s, with over 70 per cent of households owning a receiver by 1939, more than any other country. Radio station staffs were purged of leftists and others deemed undesirable by the summer of 1933.^[344] Propaganda and speeches were typical radio fare immediately after the seizure of power, but as time went on Goebbels insisted that more music be played so that people would not turn to foreign broadcasters for entertainment.^[345]

As with other media, newspapers were controlled by the state, with the Reich Press Chamber shutting down or buying newspapers and publishing houses. By 1939 over two-thirds of the newspapers and magazines were directly owned by the Propaganda Ministry.^[346] The NSDAP daily newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter* (Ethnic Observer), was edited by Alfred Rosenberg, author of *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, a book of racial theories espousing Nordic superiority.^[347] Although Goebbels tried to insist that all newspapers in Germany should publish content uniformly favourable to the regime, publishers still managed to include veiled criticism, for example by editorialising about dictatorships in ancient Rome or Greece. Newspaper readership plummeted, partly because of the decreased quality of the content, and partly because of the surge in popularity of radio.^[348] Authors of books left the country in droves, and some wrote material highly critical of the regime while in exile.^[349] Goebbels recommended that the remaining authors should concentrate on books themed on Germanic myths and the concept of blood and soil.^[350] By the end of 1933 over a thousand books, most of them by Jewish authors or featuring Jewish characters, had been banned by the Nazi regime.^[351]



Plans for Berlin called for the Volkshalle (People's Hall) and a triumphal arch to be built at either end of a wide boulevard.

Hitler took a personal interest in architecture, and worked closely with state architects Paul Troost and Albert Speer to create public buildings in a neoclassical style based on Roman architecture.^{[352][353]} Speer constructed huge and imposing structures such as the Nazi party rally grounds in Nuremberg and the new Reich Chancellery building in Berlin.^[354] Hitler's plans for rebuilding Berlin included a gigantic dome based on the Pantheon in Rome and a triumphal arch more than double the height of the Arc de Triomphe in Paris. Neither of these structures were ever built.^[355]

Hitler's opinion was that abstract, Dadaist, expressionist, and modern art were decadent, an opinion that became the basis for policy.^[356] Many art museum directors lost their posts in 1933 and were replaced by party members.^[357] Some 6,500 modern works of art were removed from museums and replaced with specially selected works chosen by a Nazi jury.^[358] Exhibitions of the rejected pieces, under titles such as "Decadence in Art", were launched in sixteen

different cities by 1935. The Degenerate Art Exhibition, organised by Goebbels, ran in Munich from July to November 1937. The exhibition proved wildly popular, attracting over two million visitors.^[359]

Composer Richard Strauss was appointed president of the *Reichsmusikkammer* (Reich Music Chamber) on its founding in November 1933.^[360] As was the case with other art forms, the Nazis ostracised musicians who were not deemed racially acceptable, and for the most part did not approve of music that was too modern or atonal.^[361] Jazz music was singled out as being especially inappropriate, and foreign musicians of this genre left the country or were expelled.^[362] Hitler favoured the music of Richard Wagner, especially pieces based on Germanic myths and heroic stories, and attended the Bayreuth Festival each year from 1933.^[361]

Movies were popular in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, with admissions of over a billion people in 1942, 1943, and 1944.^{[363][364]} By 1934 German regulations restricting currency exports made it impossible for American film makers to take their profits back to America, so the major film studios closed their German branches. Exports of German films plummeted, as their heavily antisemitic content made them impossible to show in other countries. The two largest film companies, Universum Film AG and Tobis, were purchased by the Propaganda Ministry, which by 1939 was producing most German films. The productions were not always overtly propagandistic, but generally had a political subtext and followed party lines regarding themes and content. Scripts were pre-censored.^[365]



Leni Riefenstahl (behind cameraman) at the 1936 Summer Olympics

Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will* (1935), documenting the 1934 Nuremberg Rally, and *Olympia* (1938), covering the 1936 Summer Olympics, pioneered techniques of camera movement and editing that influenced later films. New techniques such as telephoto lenses and cameras mounted on tracks were employed. Both films remain controversial, as their aesthetic merit is inseparable from their propagandising of national socialist ideals.^{[366][367]}

Legacy

The Allied powers organised war crimes trials, beginning with a trial held from November 1945 to October 1946 of 23 top Nazi officials. They were charged with four counts—conspiracy to commit crimes, crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity—in violation of international laws governing warfare.^[368] All but three of the defendants were found guilty; twelve were sentenced to death.^[369] The victorious Allies outlawed the NSDAP and its subsidiary organisations. The display or use of Nazi symbolism such as flags, swastikas, or greetings, is illegal in Germany and Austria.^{[370][371]}

Nazi ideology and the actions taken by the regime are almost universally regarded as gravely immoral.^[372] Hitler, Nazism, and the Holocaust have become symbols of evil in the modern world.^[373] A high level of historical interest continues in the popular media and the academic world. Historian Sir Richard J. Evans remarks that the era "exerts an almost universal appeal because its murderous racism stands as a warning to the whole of humanity."^[374]

The Nazi era continues to inform how Germans view themselves and their country. Virtually every family suffered losses during the war or has a story to tell. For many years Germans kept quiet about their experiences and felt a sense of communal guilt, even if they were not directly involved in war crimes. As study of Nazi Germany became part of the school curriculum starting in the 1970s, people began looking for more information about the experiences of their family members. Study of the era and a willingness to critically examine the mistakes made has led to the



Defendants in the dock at the Nuremberg Trials

development of a strong democracy in today's Germany, but with lingering undercurrents of antisemitism and neo-Nazi thought.^[375]

Notes

- [1] Including de facto annexed/incorporated territories.
- [2] The office formally became vacant on Hitler's death. His titles were Führer und Reichskanzler from August 1934. See Gesetz über das Staatsoberhaupt 1934.
- [3] In 1939, before Germany acquired control of the last two regions which had been in its control before the Versailles Treaty—Alsace-Lorraine, Danzig, and the Polish Corridor—its area was 633,786 square kilometres (244,706 sq mi). See Statistisches Jahrbuch 2006.
- [4] Statistisches Jahrbuch 2006, p. 34.
- [5] van Wie 1999, p. 37.
- [6] Lauryssens 1999, p. 102.
- [7] Schmitz-Berning 2007, pp. 597–598.
- [8] Evans 2003, p. 103.
- [9] Evans 2003, pp. 186–187.
- [10] Evans 2003, pp. 170–171.
- [11] Goldhagen 1996, p. 85.
- [12] Evans 2003, pp. 179–180.
- [13] Kershaw 2008, p. 81.
- [14] Shirer 1960, pp. 136–137.
- [15] Goldhagen 1996, p. 87.
- [16] Shirer 1960, pp. 183–184.
- [17] Evans 2003, pp. 293, 302.
- [18] McNab 2009, p. 14.
- [19] Evans 2005, p. 14.
- [20] Evans 2003, pp. 329–334.
- [21] Evans 2003, p. 354.
- [22] Evans 2003, p. 351.
- [23] Shirer 1960, p. 196.
- [24] Evans 2003, pp. 358–359.
- [25] Shirer 1960, p. 201.
- [26] Evans 2005, pp. 109, 637.
- [27] Evans 2005, p. 109.
- [28] Cuomo 1995, p. 231.
- [29] McNab 2009, p. 54.
- [30] McNab 2009, p. 56.
- [31] Overy 2005, p. 63.
- [32] Shirer 1960, pp. 226–227.
- [33] Kershaw 2008, p. 317.
- [34] Shirer 1960, p. 230.
- [35] Kershaw 2001, pp. 50–59.
- [36] Evans 2003, p. 344.
- [37] Evans 2008, map, p. 366.
- [38] Evans 2005, pp. 338–339.
- [39] Evans 2005, p. 618.
- [40] Evans 2005, p. 623.
- [41] Kitchen 2006, p. 271.
- [42] Evans 2005, p. 629.
- [43] Evans 2005, pp. 632–637.
- [44] Evans 2005, p. 641.
- [45] Evans 2005, pp. 646–652.
- [46] Evans 2005, p. 667.
- [47] Kershaw 2008, p. 417.
- [48] Kershaw 2008, p. 419.
- [49] Evans 2005, pp. 668–669.
- [50] Evans 2005, pp. 671–674.
- [51] Evans 2005, p. 683.

- [52] Mazower 2008, pp. 264–265.
 - [53] Evans 2005, pp. 689–690.
 - [54] Kershaw 2008, p. 486.
 - [55] Evans 2005, p. 691.
 - [56] Kershaw 2008, p. 496.
 - [57] Snyder 2010, p. 116.
 - [58] Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, 1939.
 - [59] Beevor 2012, pp. 22, 27–28.
 - [60] Beevor 2012, p. 32.
 - [61] Longerich 2010, pp. 148–149.
 - [62] Longerich 2010, p. 144.
 - [63] Evans 2008, p. 15.
 - [64] Beevor 2012, p. 40.
 - [65] Mazower 2008, p. 260.
 - [66] Beevor 2012, pp. 73–76.
 - [67] Evans 2005, p. 120.
 - [68] Beevor 2012, pp. 70–71, 79.
 - [69] Shirer 1960, pp. 696–730.
 - [70] Mazower 2008, p. 265.
 - [71] Evans 2008, pp. 333–334.
 - [72] Mazower 2008, p. 271.
 - [73] Mazower 2008, pp. 272, 279.
 - [74] Mazower 2008, p. 262.
 - [75] Shirer 1960, pp. 774–782.
 - [76] Kershaw 2008, pp. 563, 569, 570.
 - [77] Evans 2008, p. 149.
 - [78] Evans 2008, p. 153.
 - [79] Evans 2008, p. 151.
 - [80] Kershaw 2008, p. 584.
 - [81] Evans 2008, pp. 160–161.
 - [82] Evans 2008, pp. 189–190.
 - [83] Stolfi 1982.
 - [84] Shirer 1960, pp. 900–901.
 - [85] Evans 2008, p. 43.
 - [86] Mazower 2008, pp. 284–287.
 - [87] Manvell 2011, pp. 283–285.
 - [88] Evans 2008, p. 334.
 - [89] Mazower 2008, p. 290.
 - [90] Glantz 1995, pp. 108–110.
 - [91] Melvin 2010, pp. 282, 285.
 - [92] Evans 2008, pp. 413, 416–417.
 - [93] Evans 2008, pp. 419–420.
 - [94] Shirer 1960, p. 1007.
 - [95] Evans 2008, p. 467.
 - [96] Evans 2008, p. 471.
 - [97] Evans 2008, pp. 438–441.
 - [98] Evans 2008, p. 461.
 - [99] Beevor 2012, pp. 576–578.
 - [100] Beevor 2012, pp. 604–605.
 - [101] Shirer 1960, p. 1072.
 - [102] Shirer 1960, pp. 1090–1097.
 - [103] Kershaw 2008, pp. 910–912.
 - [104] Kershaw 2012, pp. 224–225.
 - [105] Evans 2008, pp. 685–686.
 - [106] Shirer 1960, p. 1108.
 - [107] Beevor 2002, p. 275.
 - [108] Kershaw 2008, pp. 932–933.
 - [109] Kershaw 2008, pp. 943–946.
 - [110] Kershaw 2008, pp. 954–955.
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- [111] Beevor 2002, p. 386.
 - [112] Shirer 1960, p. 1126.
 - [113] Beevor 2002, p. 381.
 - [114] Beevor 2002, pp. 400–402.
 - [115] Evans 2008, pp. 732–734.
 - [116] Kershaw 2012, pp. 348–350.
 - [117] Snyder 2010, p. 416.
 - [118] Rummel 1994, table, p. 112 (<http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/NAZIS.TAB1.1.GIF>).
 - [119] Rummel 1994, p. 112.
 - [120] Evans 2008, p. 318.
 - [121] Holocaust Memorial Museum.
 - [122] Hancock 2004, pp. 383–396.
 - [123] Snyder 2010, p. 406.
 - [124] Hosking 2006, p. 242.
 - [125] Smith 1994, p. 204.
 - [126] *Time*, 9 July 1979.
 - [127] Pilisuk & Rountree 2008, p. 136.
 - [128] Evans 2008, pp. 711–713.
 - [129] Almond 1946.
 - [130] Hoffmann 1996, p. xiii.
 - [131] Evans 2003, p. 62.
 - [132] Evans 2005, pp. 623, 646–652.
 - [133] Shirer 1960, pp. 461–462.
 - [134] Shirer 1960, p. 1005.
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External links

-  Wikimedia Atlas of Germany
- Germany (<http://www.dmoz.org/Regional/Europe/Germany/>) at the Open Directory Project
- The Third Reich (<http://www.axishistory.com/index.php?id=31>)
- Third Reich in Ruins (<http://www.thirdreichruins.com/index.htm>) (Photos)
- Lebendiges Museum Online (<http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/nazi/index.html>) (**German**)

Coordinates: 52°31′N 13°24′E﻿ / ﻿

Black populism

African American topics	
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Following the collapse of Reconstruction, African Americans created a broad-based independent political movement in the South: **Black Populism**.^[1]

Beginnings

Between 1886 and 1898 Black farmers, sharecroppers, and agrarian laborers organized their communities to combat the rising tide of Jim Crow laws. As Black Populism asserted itself and grew into a regional force, it met fierce resistance from the white planter and business elite that, through the Democratic Party and its affiliated network of courts, militias, sheriffs, and newspapers, maintained tight control of the region. Violence against Black Populism was organized through the Ku Klux Klan, among other white terrorist organizations designed to halt or reverse the advance of black civil and political rights.

Goals

Despite opposition, Black Populists carried out a wide range of activities:

- Establishing farming exchanges
- Raising money for schools
- Publishing newspapers
- Lobbying for better legislation
- Mounting boycotts against agricultural trusts
- Carrying out strikes for better wages
- Protesting the convict-lease system and lynching
- Demanding Black jurors in cases involving black defendants
- Promoting local political reforms and federal supervision of elections
- Running independent and fusion campaigns.

Black Populism found early expression in various agrarian organizations, including the Colored Agricultural Wheels, the southern Knights of Labor, the Cooperative Workers of America, and the Colored Farmers' Alliance. However, facing the limitations in attempting to implement their reforms absent of engaging the electoral process, Black Populists helped to launch the People's Party and used the then left-of-centre Republican Party in fusion campaigns. (Today though, after the Republican Party moved to the right, and the Democratic Party in the South was abandoned by the White Populist Dixiecrats who had opposed integration in the 1960s, most African Americans who vote cast ballots for Democratic Party candidates).

Resistance and failure

By the late 1890s, under relentless attack – propaganda campaigns warning of a “second Reconstruction” and “Negro rule,” physical intimidation, violence, and assassinations of leaders and foot soldiers – the movement was crushed. A key figure in the attack on Black Populism was Ben Tillman, the leader of South Carolina's white farmers' movement. As realistic politicians, the Southern Populist knew that they had only two possible alternatives in the fight against the ruling Bourbon Democrats. They must choose between trying to win the Negro votes or working to eliminate it entirely. The Tillman group in South Carolina sought the latter method. They were completely reactionary on the Negro question and stood with the Bourbons in disregarding the principles of the Fifteenth Amendment. Elsewhere the populists sought to win Negro votes, either through fusion with the Republican minority or through the raising of issues with a broad appeal to the Negro farmers. It was no accident that in the South the third-party movement was strongest in those states where it sought not only Negro votes but active Negro support.^[2]

The notion that the black man had somehow betrayed Populism would constantly haunt the Georgia People's Party from the very beginning. Populists had realized the political importance of blacks. Of the state's forty thousand Republican voters, a considerable majority were former bondsmen. If the white votes were to split, they might decide the outcome of any state election. But therein lay a predicament. How were Populists to court the black votes without losing the whites? How were they to keep whites from thinking of them the “nigger party,” the party willing to truckle to the former slaves? Clearly, however, an attempt had to be made to win over blacks. It was dangerous scheme, but it contained a degree of precedent in state politics. In the 1870s and 1880s, democrats and independents had sometimes used the same device when the white votes split. In those days many whites were willing to allow the black man the ballot, specially when it could be sometimes bought for as little as a dime or a mouthful of whiskey.^[3]

Black Populism was destroyed, marking the end of organized political resistance to the return of White supremacy in the South in the late 19th century. Nevertheless, Black Populism stands as the largest independent political uprising in the South until the modern Civil Rights movement.

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External links

- Black Populism in the New South (http://pages.towson.edu/oali/black_populism_in_the_new_south.htm)

Neo-populism

Neo-populism or **Neopopulism**, also known as **media populism** or **new populism**, is a cultural and political movement emergent in the early 21st century, especially in Latin American countries. Neo-populism is an economic and social system based on worker initiative and democratic ideals. It is distinct from 20th century populism, a political philosophy supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against the privileged elite, in that it radically combines, or perhaps redefines, classically opposed left-right political attitudes and incorporates various new electronic media as a means of popular dissemination. In Latin America, this shift has been evidenced by various cross-pollinations of authoritarian or centralized government, populist rhetorical strategies and free market economics.

Neo-populism versus classical Populism

A fledgling realm of political thought, Neo-populism distinguishes itself from classical Populism in shifting focus from community rights to those of the individual. With a likewise contrasting emphasis on efficient non-bureaucratic government, differing opinions within the paradigm argue the appropriate scales of state responsibility in terms of public goods, of which, government transparency is largely assumed.

External links

- "Populism and neo-populism in Latin America" by Victor Armony, Université du Québec à Montréal ^[1]
 - The Midwest Populist Party ^[2]
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[1] <http://209.85.165.104/search?q=cache:9qZk-uv5EK4J:www.cccg.umontreal.ca/pdf/armony%2520udm%25202005.pdf+neo+populism&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&gl=us>

[2] <http://www.midwest-populistamerica.com/articles/a-new-kind-of-populist/>

Anti-intellectualism



Intellectual and anti-intellectual: Political cartoonist Thomas Nast contrasts the reedy scholar with the bovine boxer, epitomizing the populist view of reading and study as antithetical to sport and athleticism. Note the disproportionate heads/bodies, with the size of the head representing "mental" ability and intelligence, and the size of the body representing kinesthetic talent and "physical" ability.

Part of a series on
Discrimination
Specific forms
<div> <i>Discrimination portal</i></div>

Anti-intellectualism is hostility towards and mistrust of intellect, intellectuals, and intellectual pursuits, usually expressed as the derision of education, philosophy, literature, art, and science, as impractical and contemptible. Alternatively, self-described intellectuals who are alleged to fail to adhere to rigorous standards of scholarship may be described as anti-intellectuals although pseudo-intellectualism is a more commonly, and perhaps more accurately, used description for this phenomenon.

In public discourse, anti-intellectuals usually perceive and publicly present themselves as champions of the common folk — populists against political elitism and academic elitism — proposing that the educated are a social class detached from the everyday concerns of the majority, and that they dominate political discourse and higher education.

Because "anti-intellectual" can be pejorative, defining specific cases of anti-intellectualism can be troublesome; one can object to specific facets of intellectualism or the application thereof without being dismissive of intellectual pursuits in general. Moreover, allegations of anti-intellectualism can constitute an appeal to authority or an appeal to ridicule that attempts to discredit an opponent rather than specifically addressing his or her arguments.^[1]

Anti-intellectualism is a common facet of totalitarian dictatorships to oppress political dissent. The Nazi party's populist rhetoric featured anti-intellectualism as a common motif, including Adolf Hitler's political polemic, *Mein Kampf*. Perhaps its most extreme political form was during the 1970s in Cambodia under the rule of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, when people were killed for being academics or even for merely wearing eyeglasses (as it suggested literacy) in the Killing Fields.^[2]

Anti-intellectualism expressed

Anti-intellectualism usually is expressed through declarations of otherness — the intellectual is "not one of *us*" and may be dangerous, due to having little empathy for the common folk.^[3] Historically, this resulted in portrayals of intellectuals as an arrogant class, whom rural communities viewed as "city slickers" indifferent to country ways; such communities tended to stereotype intellectuals as foreigners or as racial and ethnic minorities who "think differently" than the natives. Religious critics describe intellectuals as prone to mental instability, proposing an organic, causal connection between genius and madness; they are unlike regular people because of their assumed atheism, and are indecent given their sexual mores, homosexuality, sexual promiscuity, or celibacy.

Economist Thomas Sowell argues for distinctions between unreasonable and reasonable wariness of intellectuals. Defining intellectuals as "people whose occupations deal primarily with ideas" as distinct from those who apply ideas practically, Sowell argues that there can be good cause for distrust of intellectuals. When working in their fields of expertise, intellectuals have increased knowledge. However, when compared to other careers, Sowell suggests intellectuals have few disincentives for speaking outside their expertise, and are less likely to face the consequences of their errors. For example, a physician is judged by effective treatment, yet might face malpractice lawsuits if he harms a patient. In contrast, a university professor with tenure is less likely to be judged by the effectiveness of his ideas and less likely to face repercussions for his errors:

By encouraging, or even requiring, students to take stands where they have neither the knowledge nor the intellectual training to seriously examine complex issues, teachers promote the expression of unsubstantiated opinions, the venting of uninformed emotions, and the habit of acting on those opinions and emotions, while ignoring or dismissing opposing views, without having either the intellectual equipment or the personal experience to weigh one view against another in any serious way.^[4]

Similar arguments have been made by others. Historian Paul Johnson^[5] argued that a close examination of 20th-century history reveals that intellectuals have championed innumerable disastrous public policies, writing, "beware intellectuals. Not merely should they be kept well away from the levers of power, they should also be objects of suspicion when they seek to offer collective advice." Journalist Tom Wolfe^[6] described an intellectual as "a person knowledgeable in one field who speaks out only in others."

Sources

Authoritarianism

Dictators, and their dictatorship supporters, use anti-intellectualism to gain popular support, by accusing intellectuals of being a socially detached, politically dangerous class who question the extant social norms, who dissent from established opinion, and who reject nationalism, hence they are unpatriotic, and thus subversive of the nation. Violent anti-intellectualism is common to the rise and rule of authoritarian political movements, such as Italian Fascism, Stalinism in Russia, Nazism in Germany, the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, and Iranian theocracy.^[citation needed]

In the 20th century, intellectuals were systematically demoted or expelled from the power structures, and, occasionally, assassinated. In Argentina in 1966, the military dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía intervened and dislodged many faculties, leading to a massive brain drain in an event which was called The Night of the Long Police Batons.^{[7][8]} The biochemist César Milstein reports that when the military usurped Argentine government, they declared: “our country would be put in order, as soon as all the intellectuals who were meddling in the region were expelled”. In Brazil, the educator Paulo Freire was banished for being ignorant, according to the organizers of the *coup d'État* of the moment.^[9]



Benito Mussolini: *Il Duce* of Fascist Italy, a police state.



Flag of Democratic Kampuchea.

Extreme ideological dictatorships, such as the Khmer Rouge regime in Kampuchea (1975–79), killed potential opponents with more than elementary education. In achieving their Year Zero social engineering of Cambodia, they assassinated anyone suspected of “involvement in free-market activities”. The suspected Cambodian populace included professionals and almost every educated man and woman, city-dwellers, and people with connections to foreign governments. Doctrinally, the Maoist Khmer Rouge designated the farmers as the true proletariat, as the true representatives of the working class, hence the anti-intellectual purge (cf. Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 1966–76).

Governmental anti-intellectualism ranges from closing public libraries and public schools, to segregating intellectuals in an Ivory Tower ghetto, to official declarations that intellectuals tend to mental illness, thus facilitating psychiatric imprisonment, then scapegoating to divert popular discontent from the dictatorship (*vide* the USSR and Fascist Italy, cf. Antonio Gramsci).

Moreover, anti-intellectualism is neither always violent, nor oppressive, because most any social group can exercise contempt for intellect, intellectualism, and education. To wit, the Uruguayan writer Jorge Majfud said that “this contempt, that arises from a power installed in the social institutions and from the inferiority complex of its actors, is not a property of ‘underdeveloped’ countries. In fact, it is always the critical intellectuals, writers, or artists who head the top-ten lists of ‘The Most Stupid of the Stupid’ in the country.”^[9]

Populism

Some forms of populism portray intellectuals as elitists possessed of rhetorical skills with which they deceive the common folk.^{[10][citation needed]}



Trofim Lysenko

Education — Populism also asserts that academic knowledge must be controlled, by “the people”, because educators must work within the politics of the interested parties, such as the government, nationally, and with parents’ groups, regionally, in establishing the content of the school curriculum.^[citation needed] In the US, the common populist action is religiously supported education politics to introduce evangelical Protestant Christian religious interpretations of national history and natural science to school curricula — especially creationism, or variant pseudosciences, such as Scientific Creationism and Intelligent Design, as factually equal counters to evolution.^[11] (see: Discovery Institute)

Government Policy - In the USSR, in 1948, the Stalinist Central Committee officially imposed the Soviet (national) science of Lysenkoism upon agriculture. A concept developed by Agronomist Trofim Lysenko, Lysenkoism was promoted as the realization of Communist ideology: raised by farming parents and with limited formal education, he was lionized as the creator of innovative crop-growing methods based on the outdated concept of Lamarckian inheritance. Soviet government suppressed non-Lysenkoist biology, including the dismissal and assassination of scientists such as Nikolai Vavilov. Ultimately, Lysenkoism yielded poor agricultural results for the USSR. Moreover, because Lysenkoism was more political than scientific, its fortunes waxed and waned amid Russian Communist Party politics, ending as an officially discredited pseudoscience upon the fall of Nikita Khrushchev, in 1964.^[12]

Educational anti-intellectualism

Education is often associated with charges of anti-intellectualism from a variety of critics who disagree over the meaning, goals and curricula of public education. Historically, such intellectual disagreements have manifested as *Kulturkampf* in Bismarck’s Germany and Culture Wars in the contemporary US.

Grammar school

In the 2004 *New York Times* newspaper article “When Every Child is Good Enough”, John Tierney reported that conservative parents believe that US primary and secondary schools over-emphasize equality of outcome^[13] to the detriment of their children’s individual (unequal) achievements. A literary example of that contention is the science fiction short story ‘Harrison Bergeron’ (1961), by Kurt Vonnegut, wherein the government’s Handicapper General imposes equality upon the eponymous hero, lest his existence — as the smartest, handsomest, most athletic boy in the world — hurt the feelings of the mediocre popular majority, (*viz.* the over-simplification, the dumbing down, of curricula).

University

In the English-speaking world, especially in the US, critics like David Horowitz (*viz.* the David Horowitz Freedom Center), William Bennett, an ex-US secretary of education, and paleoconservative activist Patrick Buchanan, criticize schools and universities as 'intellectualist'^[citation needed]

In his book *The Campus Wars*^[14] about the widespread student protests of the late 1960s, philosopher John Searle wrote:

the two most salient traits of the radical movement are its anti-intellectualism and its hostility to the university as an institution. [...] Intellectuals by definition are people who take ideas seriously for their own sake. Whether or not a theory is true or false is important to them independently of any practical applications it may have. [Intellectuals] have, as Richard Hofstadter has pointed out, an attitude to ideas that is at once playful and pious. But in the radical movement, the intellectual ideal of knowledge for its own sake is rejected. Knowledge is seen as valuable only as a basis for action, and it is not even very valuable there. Far more important than what one knows is how one feels.

In 1972, sociologist Stanislaw Andreski^[15] warned readers of academic works to be wary of appeals to authority when academics make questionable claims, writing, "do not be impressed by the imprint of a famous publishing house or the volume of an author's publications. [...] Remember that the publishers want to keep the printing presses busy and do not object to nonsense if it can be sold."

Critics have alleged that much of the prevailing philosophy in American academia (i.e., postmodernism, poststructuralism, relativism) are anti-intellectual: "The displacement of the idea that facts and evidence matter by the idea that everything boils down to subjective interests and perspectives is -- second only to American political campaigns -- the most prominent and pernicious manifestation of anti-intellectualism in our time."^[16]

In the notorious Sokal Hoax of the 1990s, physicist Alan Sokal submitted a deliberately preposterous paper to Duke University's *Social Texts* journal to test if, as he later wrote, a leading "culture studies" periodical would "publish an article liberally salted with nonsense if (a) it sounded good and (b) it flattered the editors' ideological preconceptions."^[17] *Social Texts* published the paper, seemingly without noting any of the paper's abundant mathematical and scientific errors, leading Sokal to declare that "my little experiment demonstrate[s], at the very least, that some fashionable sectors of the American academic Left have been getting intellectually lazy."

In a 1995 interview, social critic Camille Paglia^[18] described academics (including herself) as "a parasitic class," arguing that during widespread social disruption "the only thing holding this culture together will be masculine men of the working class. The cultural elite--women and men--will be pleading for the plumbers and the construction workers."

Youth culture

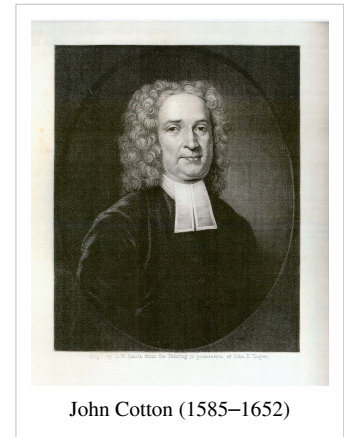
Critics have suggested that contemporary youth culture is a commercial form of anti-intellectualism orienting adherents to consumerism. The *Frontline* public affairs television series documentary *The Merchants of Cool*^[19] (2001) describes how the advertising business transformed adolescents' language, thought, and action (cliques, fashion, fads) into commodities, and thus engendered a generation of intellectually disengaged Americans uninterested in progressing to adulthood.

The US youth subculture originated from the post-World War II economic prosperity allowing adolescents to work and have a discretionary income — whilst still dependent upon parents. In turn, scholars^[citation needed] argue that the newfound economic power of adolescents allowed business to sell them popularity — an identity as a *young* person — something that once was not for sale, but self-created; to wit, the computer programmer and blog writer Paul Graham likened youth culture to an occupation permitting little time for education and intellectual interests.^[20]

American anti-intellectualism

17th century

In *The Pwring Out of the Seven Vials* (1642), the Puritan John Cotton wrote that ‘the more learned and witty you bee, the more fit to act for Satan will you bee. . . . Take off the fond doting . . . upon the learning of the Jesuites, and the glorie of the Episcopacy, and the brave estates of the Prelates. I say bee not deceived by these pompes, empty shewes, and faire representations of goodly condition before the eyes of flesh and blood, bee not taken with the applause of these persons.’^[21] Not every Puritan concurred with Cotton's contempt for secular education; some founded universities such as Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth.



Economist Thomas Sowell^[22] argues that American anti-intellectualism can be traced to the early Colonial era, and that wariness of the educated upper-classes is understandable given that America was built, in large part, by people fleeing persecution and brutality at the hands of the educated upper classes. Additionally, rather few intellectuals possessed the practical hands-on skills required to survive in the New World, leading to a deeply rooted suspicion of those who may appear to specialize in "verbal virtuosity" rather than tangible, measurable products or services:

From its colonial beginnings, American society was a “decapitated” society—largely lacking the topmost social layers of European society. The highest elites and the titled aristocracies had little reason to risk their lives crossing the Atlantic and then face the perils of pioneering. Most of the white population of colonial America arrived as indentured servants and the black population as slaves. Later waves of immigrants were disproportionately peasants and proletarians, even when they came from Western Europe [...] The rise of American society to pre-eminence as an economic, political and military power was thus the triumph of the common man and a slap across the face to the presumptions of the arrogant, whether an elite of blood or books.

19th century

In the history of American anti-intellectualism, modern scholars^[citation needed] suggest that 19th-century popular culture is important, because, when most of the populace lived a rural life of manual labour and agricultural work, a ‘bookish’ education, concerned with the Græco-Roman classics, was perceived as of impractical value, ergo unprofitable — yet Americans, generally, were literate and read Shakespeare for pleasure — thus, the ideal “American” man was technically skilled and successful in his trade, ergo a productive member of society.^[citation needed] Culturally, the ideal American was a self-made man whose knowledge derived from life-experience, not an intellectual man, whose knowledge derived from books, formal education, and academic study; thus, in *The New Purchase, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West* (1843), the Reverend Bayard R. Hall, A.M., said about frontier Indiana:

“We always preferred an ignorant bad man to a talented one, and, hence, attempts were usually made to ruin the moral character of a smart candidate; since, unhappily, smartness and wickedness were supposed to be generally coupled, and [like-wise] incompetence and goodness.”^[21]

Yet, the egghead's worldly redemption was possible if he embraced mainstream mores; thus, in the fiction of O. Henry, a character noted that once an East Coast university graduate ‘gets over’ his intellectual vanity — no longer thinks himself better than others — he makes just as good a cowboy as any other young man, despite his counterpart being the slow-witted naïf of good heart, a pop culture stereotype from stage shows.

20th and 21st centuries

Charges of anti-intellectualism have been made against a variety of movements and schools of thought:

- **Latter-Day Saints (Mormons)** — At many of the General Conferences of the The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, speakers have rejected the idea that one can think intellectually about a religious matter since religion is of the heart and not the mind, and that one can't explain dealings of the heart.^{[23][24][25][26][27][28][29][30][31][32][33][34][35][36][37][38][39][40][41]} The September Six is one example of LDS Anti-Intellectualism.^{[42][43][44]}

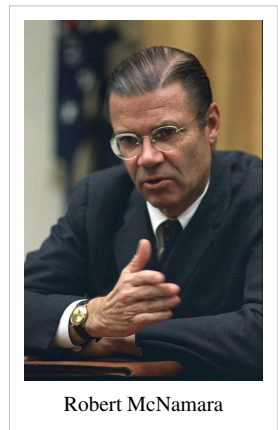
The Book of Mormon makes numerous arguments against intellectualism if your intellect makes you "puffed up in pride" and makes you think you're better than others, like in 2nd Nephi:

- "O the wise, and the learned, and the rich, that are puffed up in the pride of their hearts, and all those who preach false doctrines, and all those who commit whoredoms, and pervert the right way of the Lord, wo, wo, wo be unto them, saith the Lord God Almighty, for they shall be thrust down to hell!" 2 Nephi 28:15^[45]

However, the Book of Mormon also puts conditions on its criticism of Intellectual Pursuits:

- "But to be learned is good if they hearken unto the counsels of God." 2 Nephi 9:29^[46]

- **Anti-war protests** — The 1960s–70s anti-war movement protesting the ten-year US–Vietnam War (1963–1973), demonstrated its anti-intellectual leanings against US defence secretary Robert McNamara. They rallied against the war's increasing casualties, and the intellectual justification for the war, which was becoming seemingly impossible to win. McNamara's appearance as an intellectual, justifying warfare with an apparent disregard for the lives of American soldiers had become very unpopular. The anti-intellectualism in this movement may have been a counter to the perceived 'intellectual' rationalisation of the war by McNamara and others.



Robert McNamara

Marxist intellectual Theodor Adorno criticised such left-wing anti-intellectualism as "actionism," a kind of ineffective "pseudo-activity" which serves to deflect attention from the difficulty of genuinely changing the world, a difficulty which critical thought would make clear.^[47]

However, publications such as *The Pentagon Papers* (1971) had made the war very unpopular with intellectuals and anti-intellectuals alike, and the movement gained much popular support, culminating in the Case Church Amendment and the eventual exit of American troops from the war in 1973.

- **Political** — The writer Robert Warshow proposed that the Communist Party of the USA was central to United States intellectual life during the 1930s:

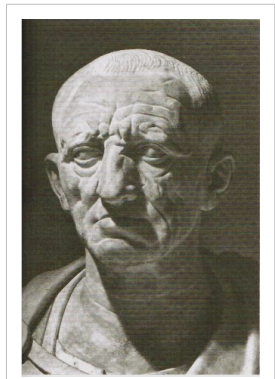
"For most American intellectuals, the Communist movement of the 1930s was a crucial experience. In Europe, where the [Communist] movement was at once more serious and more popular, it was still only one current in intellectual life; the Communists could never completely set the tone of thinking. . . . But in this country there was a time when virtually all intellectual vitality was derived, in one way or another, from the Communist party. If you were not somewhere within the party's wide orbit, then you were likely to be in the opposition, which meant that much of your thought and energy had to be devoted to maintaining yourself in opposition."^[48]

- **Populist** - While campaigning prior to United States presidential election of 2012, GOP candidate Rick Santorum was accused of populist anti-intellectualism by some critics after describing President Obama as a "snob" for wanting all Americans to pursue higher education, and suggesting that institutions of higher learning were centers of liberal indoctrination.^[49]

European anti-intellectualism

Greco–Roman world

In the Roman Republic (509–27 BC), the public career of the statesman Cato the Elder displayed traits that some modern observers argue^[citation needed] would be considered anti-intellectual in the contemporary world. He vehemently opposed the introduction of Greek culture to the Roman republic, believing them subversive of traditional Roman military values and plain-spokenness. In 186 BC, he convinced the Senate to decree against the Bacchanalia, then a recently imported mystery religion, they agreed with him via the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus*. He urged the deportation of three Athenian philosophers, Carneades, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus, in Rome as Athenian ambassadors, because he believed their opinions dangerous to the Republic.



Cato the Elder

Soviet Union

In the first decade after the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Bolsheviks suspected the Tsarist intelligentsia as potentially traitorous of the proletariat, thus, the initial Soviet government comprised men and women without much formal education. Lenin derided the old intelligentsia with the expression (roughly translated): 'We ain't completed no academies' (мы академиев не кончали).^[50] Moreover, the deposed propertied classes were termed *Lishentsy* ('the disenfranchised'), whose children were excluded from education; eventually, some 200 Tsarist intellectuals were deported to Germany on Philosophers' ships in 1922; others were deported to Latvia and to Turkey in 1923.

During the revolutionary period, the pragmatic Bolsheviks employed 'bourgeois experts' to manage the economy, industry, and agriculture, and so learn from them. After the Russian Civil War (1917–23), to achieve socialism, the USSR (1922–91) emphasised literacy and education in service to modernising the country via an educated working class intelligentsia, rather than an Ivory Tower intelligentsia. During the 1930s and the 1950s, Joseph Stalin replaced Lenin's intelligentsia with a "communist" intelligentsia, loyal to him and with a specifically Soviet world view, thereby producing the most egregious examples of Soviet anti-intellectualism — the pseudoscientific theories of Lysenkoism and Japhetic theory, most damaging to biology and linguistics in that country, by subordinating science to a dogmatic interpretation of Marxism.

Fascism



Active philosopher: Giovanni Gentile, intellectual father of Italian Fascism.

The idealist philosopher Giovanni Gentile established the intellectual basis of Fascist ideology with the *autocritica* (self-realisation) via concrete thinking that distinguished between the good (active) intellectual and the bad (passive) intellectual:

“Fascism combats ... not intelligence, but intellectualism... which is... a sickness of the intellect... not a consequence of its abuse, because the intellect cannot be used too much... it derives from the false belief that one can segregate oneself from life....”

— Giovanni Gentile, addressing a Congress of Fascist Culture, Bologna, 30 March 1925

To counter the ‘passive intellectual’ who used his or her intellect abstractly, and therefore was ‘decadent’, he proposed the ‘concrete thinking’ of the active intellectual who applied intellect as praxis — a ‘Man of Action’, like Fascist Benito Mussolini, versus the decadent Communist intellectual Antonio Gramsci. The passive intellectual stagnates intellect by objectifying ideas, thus establishing them as objects. Hence the Fascist rejection of materialist logic, because it relies upon *a priori* principles improperly counter-changed with *a posteriori* ones that are irrelevant to the matter-in-hand in deciding whether or not to act.

In the praxis of Gentile's concrete thinking criteria, such consideration of the *a priori* toward the properly *a posteriori* constitutes *impractical*, decadent intellectualism. Moreover, this fascist philosophy occurred parallel to Actual Idealism, his philosophic system; he opposed intellectualism for its being disconnected from the active intelligence that gets things done, i.e. thought is killed when its constituent parts are labelled, and thus rendered as discrete entities.^{[51][52]}

Related to this, is the confrontation between the Spanish franquist General, Millán Astray, and the writer Miguel de Unamuno during the *Día de la Raza* celebration at the University of Salamanca, in 1936, during the Spanish Civil War. The General exclaimed: *¡Muera la inteligencia! ¡Viva la Muerte!* ("Death to intelligence! Long live death!"); the Falangists applauded. Sensing personal danger, the franquist writer José María Pemán, modified the anti-intellectual proclamation with: *¡No! ¡Viva la inteligencia! ¡Mueran los malos intelectuales!* ("No! Long live intelligence! Death to the bad intellectuals!").

Asian anti-intellectualism

China

Imperial China — Qin Shi Huang (246–21 BC), the first Emperor of unified China, consolidated political thought, and power, by suppressing freedom of speech at the suggestion of Chancellor Li Si, who justified such anti-intellectualism by accusing the intelligentsia of falsely praising the emperor, and of dissenting through libel. From 213 to 206 BC, the works of the Hundred Schools of Thought were incinerated, especially the *Shi Jing* (Classic of Poetry, c. 1000 BC) and the *Shujing* (Classic of History, c. 6th century BC). The exceptions were books by Qin historians, and books of Legalism, an early type of totalitarianism — and the Chancellor's philosophic school, (see the Burning of books and burying of scholars).



Chairman Mao Zedong

People's Republic of China — The Cultural Revolution was a politically violent decade (1966–76) of wide-ranging social engineering of the People's Republic of China by its leader Chairman Mao. After several national policy failures, Mao, to regain public prestige and control of the Communist Party of China (CCP), on 16 May, announced that the Party and Chinese society were permeated with liberal bourgeois elements who meant to restore capitalism to China, and that said people could only be removed with post-Revolutionary class struggle. To that effect, China's youth nationally organised into Red Guards, paramilitaries hunting the liberal bourgeois elements subverting the CCP and Chinese society. The Red Guards acted nationally, purging the country, the military, urban workers, and the leaders of the CCP, until there remained no one politically dangerous to Mao. Three years later, in 1969, Mao declared the Cultural Revolution ended; yet the political intrigues continued until 1976, concluding with the arrest of the Gang of Four, the *de facto* end of the Cultural Revolution.

Democratic Kampuchea

When the Communist Party of Cambodia, the Khmer Rouge (1951–81), established their regime as Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979) in Cambodia, their anti-intellectualism idealised the country and demonised the cities to establish agrarian socialism, thus, they emptied cities to purge the Khmer nation of every traitor, enemy of the state, and intellectual, often symbolised by eyeglasses (see the Killing Fields).

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Poporanism

The word “**poporanism**” is derived from “popor”, meaning “people” in the Romanian language. Founded by Constantin Stere in the early 1890s, poporanism is distinguished by its opposition to socialism, promotion of voting rights for all, and intent to reform the parliament and farming system. Regarding Romania’s agrarian situation, poporanists wished to form cooperative farms for the peasants, intending to remove them from aristocratic control. Unlike Junimism, another popular political philosophy, poporanism focused mainly on expanding the power of the peasants. In a very nationalist manner, Poporanism was also a champion of the Romanian language and maintaining the Romanian spirit.

Narodism and Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea

Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea, a Romanian political activist, first introduced the Russian ideas of Narodism to Romania and supported the ideas of Poporanism. The fundamental philosophy of Narodism had a lasting impact on Poporanism, spurring its rejection of capitalism and of Marxist ideas. However, unlike Narodists, Stere did not believe that a revolution was necessary in Romania. Later, Dobrogeanu-Gherea and Stere had a split of political philosophy in regards to anti-Semitism and liberalism, and Dobrogeanu-Gherea formed the Social-Democratic Worker’s Party, and Poporanists joined the National Liberal Party.

Source

<http://www.unibuc.ro/eBooks/Sociologie/henri/11.htm>

Right-wing populism

Right-wing populism is a political ideology that rejects existing political consensus and usually combines *laissez-faire* liberalism and anti-elitism. It is considered populism because of its appeal to the “common man” as opposed to the elites.^[1]

From the 1990s right-wing populist parties became established in the legislatures of various democracies including Canada, Norway, France, Israel, Russia, Romania and Chile, and entered coalition governments in Switzerland, Austria, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Italy.^[2] Although right-wing movements in the U.S. have been studied separately, where they are normally called “radical right”, some writers consider them to be the same phenomenon.^[3] Right-wing populism is distinct from the historic Right, which had been concerned with preserving the “status quo”, and mostly do not have roots in their political parties.^[4]

Definition

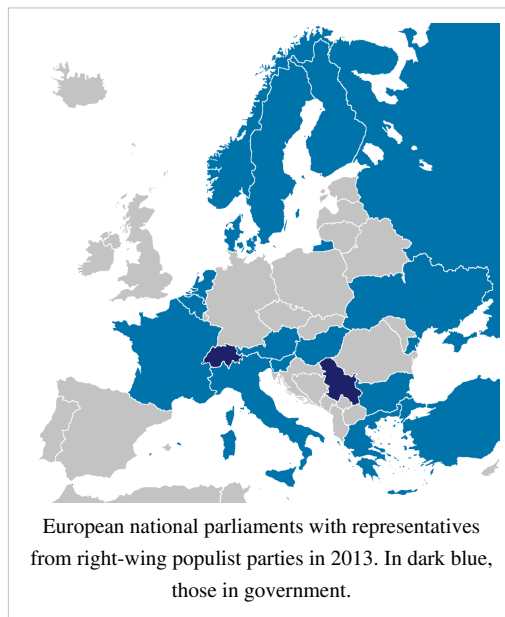
Classification of right-wing populism into a single political family has proved difficult, and it is not certain whether a meaningful category exists, or merely a cluster of categories, since the parties differ in ideology, organization, and leadership rhetoric. Also, unlike traditional parties, they do not belong to international organizations of like-minded parties, and they do not use similar terms to describe themselves.^[5] One commonality though is that they are more right-wing than other political parties on the left-right axis.^[6]

Scholars use terminology inconsistently, sometimes referring to right-wing populism as “radical right” or other terms.^[7] Pippa Norris noted that “standard reference works use alternate typologies and diverse labels categorising parties as ‘far’ or ‘extreme’ right, ‘new right’, ‘anti-immigrant’, ‘neo-Nazi’ or ‘neofascist’, ‘antiestablishment’, ‘national populist’, ‘protest’, ‘ethnic’, ‘authoritarian’, ‘antigovernment’, ‘antiparty’, ‘ultranationalist’, or ‘neoliberal’, ‘libertarian’ and so on”.^[8]

In different countries

Piero Ignazi divided right-wing populist parties, which he called extreme right parties, into two categories: traditional right-wing parties that had developed out of the historic right and post-industrial parties that had developed independently. He placed the former Italian Social Movement, the Italian Tricolour Flame and Lega Nord the National Democratic Party of Germany, the German People's Union, the former Dutch Centre Party, the British National Party, and the Belgian Vlaams Blok in the first category. He placed the French National Front, the German Republicans, the Dutch Centre Democrats, the Belgian Front national, the Freedom Party of Austria, the Danish Progress Party, the Norwegian Progress Party, and the Swedish New Democracy in the second category.^[9]

Right-wing populist parties in the English-speaking world include the UK Independence Party,^[10] the former Reform Party of Canada,^[11] Australia's One Nation,^[12] and New Zealand First.^[13]



Austria

The Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) established in 1955 traditionally represents the "Third Camp" (*Drittes Lager*), beside the Socialist Party and the social Catholic Austrian People's Party. It succeeded the Federation of Independents founded after World War II, adopting the pre-war heritage of German nationalism. Though it did not gain much popularity for decades, it exercised considerable balance of power by supporting several federal governments, be it right-wing or left-wing, e.g. the Socialist Kreisky cabinet of 1970 (see Kreisky–Peter–Wiesenthal affair).

From 1980, the Freedom Party adopted a more liberal stance. Upon the 1983 federal election it entered a coalition government with the Socialist Party, whereby party chairman Norbert Steger served as Vice-Chancellor. The liberal interlude however ended, when Jörg Haider was elected chairman in 1986. By his down-to-earth manners and patriotic attitude, Haider re-integrated the party's nationalist base voters. Nevertheless, he was also able to obtain votes from large sections of population disenchanted with politics by publicly denouncing corruption and nepotism of the Austrian *Proporz* system. The electoral success was boosted by Austria's accession to the EU in 1995.



Haider in September 2008

Upon the 1999 federal election the Freedom Party with 26.9% of the votes cast became the second strongest party in the National Council parliament. Having entered a coalition government with the People's Party, Haider had to face the disability of several FPÖ ministers, but also the impossibility to agitate against the own cabinet. In 2005 he finally countered the Freedom Party's loss of reputation by the Alliance for the Future of Austria (BZÖ) relaunch in order to carry on the government. The remaining FPÖ members elected Heinz-Christian Strache chairman; since the 2006 federal election both right-wing parties have run separately. After Haider was killed in a car accident in 2008, the BZÖ has lost a measurable amount of support.

Cyprus

The ELAM (National People's Front) (Εθνικό Λαϊκό Μέτωπο) was formed in 2008 on the platform of maintaining Cypriot identity, opposition to further European integration, immigration, and the status quo that remains due to Turkey's invasion of a third of the island (and the international community's lack of intention to solve the issue).

Denmark

In the early 1970s, the home of the strongest right wing-populist party in Europe was in Denmark, the Progress Party.^[14] In the 1973 election it received almost 16% of the vote.[□] In the years following its support dwindled away, but was replaced by the Danish People's Party in the 1990s, which has gone on to be an important support party for the governing Liberal-Conservative coalition in the 2000s (decade).^[15]

Germany

The German Republicans had seats in the European parliament in 1983. In the 2000s (decade), the Republicans' support eroded in favour of the far right National Democratic Party of Germany, which in 2005 held 1.6% of the popular vote (regionally winning up to 9%).

In 2005, the Pro Germany Citizens' Movement (Pro-NRW) was founded in Cologne. The party is right-wing populist, and campaigns against Islamic extremism.^[16]

Italy

In Italy, right-wing populism is represented mainly by the Lega Nord,^[17] a federalist and regionalist political party in Italy founded in 1991 as a federation of several regional parties of Northern and Central Italy, most of which had arisen and expanded their share of the electorate over the 1980s.

The party came to power in alliance with Silvio Berlusconi in 1994. This time the Lega Nord gained the 8.4% of votes. In 2000 the party re-joined forces with Berlusconi's coalition, previous disagreements notwithstanding. In 2001–2006 the Lega Nord, although being severely reduced in its parliamentary representation, controlled three key ministries: Justice, Labour & Social Affairs, and Institutional Reforms and Devolution. In 2008 the Lega Nord ran in the elections in coalition with the The People of Freedom (Berlusconi's party) and the Movement for Autonomy, gaining 8.3% of the vote and obtaining 60 deputies and 26 senators. In 2013 general election, the Lega Nord gained 4.1% of votes, supporting the Centre-right Coalition led by Berlusconi, and it obtained 18 deputies and 18 senators.

The Lega Nord's political program advocates the transformation of Italy into a federal state, fiscal federalism and greater regional autonomy, especially for the Northern regions. At times it has advocated the secession of the North, which it calls Padania. The Lega Nord also fights for the implementation of stricter rules and laws in order to contrast the expansion of Islam into Europe. It is opposed to Turkish membership of the European Union and is considered one of the eurosceptic movements. It also emphasizes the fight against illegal immigration.

Following the 2009 European election the Lega Nord joined the newly-formed Europe of Freedom and Democracy (EFD) group, with other European Right-wing political parties.



Roberto Maroni leader of the Lega Nord since 2012.

Another Italian right-wing populist party is the neo-fascist The Right (*La Destra*), led by Francesco Storace. It was founded in 2007 and in the general election on the following year The Right gained 2.4% of votes but it did not succeed in taking some seats in the Parliament. In the 2013 general election, The Right had been an ally of Berlusconi's Centre-right Coalition, gaining 0.7% of votes and no seats.

Netherlands

In the Netherlands, right-wing populism won a minor representation in the 150-seat House of Representatives in 1982, when the Centre Party won a single seat. During the 1990s, a splinter party, the Centre Democrats, was slightly more successful, although its significance was still marginal. Not before 2002 did a party considered right-wing populist break through in the Netherlands, when the Pim Fortuyn List won 26 seats and subsequently formed a coalition with the VVD and CDA. Its success was however short-lived, and the coalition broke up already in 2003, and the party went into steep decline until it was dissolved.

Since 2006, the Party for Freedom (PVV) has been represented in the House of Representatives. Following the 2010 general election, it has been in a pact with the right-wing minority government of VVD and CDA after it won 24 seats in the House of Representatives. The party is Eurosceptic and plays a leading role in the changing stance of the Dutch government towards European integration, as they came second in the 2009 European Parliament election, winning 4 out of 25 seats. The party's main programme revolves around strong criticism of Islam, but broadened to all other fields as the party grew to its semi-governmental state. The PVV withdrew its support for the Rutte Cabinet in 2012 after refusing to support austerity measures. This triggered the 2012 general election in which the PVV was reduced to 15 seats and excluded from the new government.

Norway

The Norwegian Progress Party (FrP) is commonly considered a right-wing populist party.^{[18][19]} From 2001 to 2005, the party tolerated Kjell Magne Bondevik's centre-right minority government. In the 1997, 2005, and 2009 parliamentary elections, the FrP was the second-largest Norwegian party by votes.

Switzerland

In Switzerland the right-wing populist Swiss People's Party reached an all-time high in the 2007 elections. The party has variously been identified as "extreme right"^[20] and "radical right-wing populist",^[21] reflecting a spectrum of ideologies present among its members. In its far right wing, it includes extremist members such as Ulrich Schläuer, Pascal Junod, who heads a 'New Right' study group and has been linked to Holocaust denial and neo-Nazism.^{[22][23]} In Switzerland, radical right populist parties held close to 10% of the popular vote in 1971, were reduced to below 2% by 1979, and again grew to more than 10% in 1991. Since 1991, these parties (the Swiss Democrats and the Swiss Freedom Party) have been absorbed by the Swiss People's Party, whose aggressively right-wing, populist campaign catapulted it to 29% of the popular vote in 2007, the highest vote ever recorded for a single party throughout Swiss parliamentary history.

Poland

Janusz Korwin-Mikke party Congress of New Right is biggest right-wing populist party in Poland.

United States

Moore (1996) argues that "populist opposition to the growing power of political, economic, and cultural elites" helped shape "conservative and right-wing movements" since the 1920s.^[24] The Tea Party movement of 2009–present had been characterized as "a right-wing anti-systemic populist movement" by Rasmussen and Schoen (2010). They add, "Today our country is in the midst of a...new populist revolt that has emerged overwhelmingly from the right -- manifesting itself as the Tea Party movement."^[25] The *New York Times* reports, "The Tea Party

movement has become a platform for conservative populist discontent".^[26]

Notes

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