Rise of Fascism in Europe

Fascism
- Origins
  - Grew out of World War I
    - Dissatisfied
  - Wanted to undo Treaty of Versailles
- Ideology
  - Reflected the values of the middle class
  - No single ideology
  - Middle class turning to the right
    - Conservative
  - No parliamentary rule
    - Dictatorships
  - Strong state
    - Charismatic leader
      - Cult of personality
  - Big business
    - Private property protected
    - Capitalistic
  - Individual served the state
  - Highly nationalistic
    - State more important than social/economic problems
  - Expanding borders
  - Use of violence
- Comparisons to communism
  - Similarities
    - Use of propaganda
    - Blame outsiders
    - One party
    - Police State
      - Censorship
      - Control of Education
      - Against religion
      - Secret police
    - Youth movements
  - Differences
    - Allowed private property
    - Racism
    - Role of class
      - Communist pushing for classless society
      - Fascism pushing for powerful business

Totalitarianism
- Complete and total control of a country by one party
  - Germany - Nazis
  - Russia - Communists
  - Italy - Fascists
- Heavily Nationalistic
  - Used Propaganda to spread ideas
  - Unified under single, all powerful (normally very charismatic) leader
**Eugenics**
- Belief that selective breeding could improve the general characteristics of a nation
  - Popular in the US and Europe in 1920s and 1930s
  - Tried using science to prove racial superiority
  - Used as measure of social planning and nationalism
  - Breed out “impurities”

**Italian Fascism**
- Italy’s problems had been intensified by World War I
  - High cost of the war
    - 148 billion lire
    - Twice the government expenditures from before the war
      - 1861-1913
  - Cost 700,000 lives
- Felt cheated by the Allies
  - Did not get all the land they were promised by the Treaty of London
    - Got the South Tyrol and Trieste
    - Were refused Fiume and Dalmatia
      - Territories not Italian enough
- Inflation hurt the middle class
- Demobilized soldiers were unemployed
- Politicians only cared about staying in power

**Benito Mussolini**
- Originally was a socialist
  - Editor of the socialist paper *Avanti*
  - Gradually became an interventionist and wanted to participate in World War I
    - Expelled from the party
- Started his own political group *Fascio di Combattimento*
  - Failed to win any seats in the parliament
    - Parliament split between the socialists (largest party), liberals, and popolari (Christian Democrats)
      - Other parties were so split that the government was not effective
    - Socialists called for “revolution” and strikes in both industry and agriculture
      - Scared the middle and upper classes
        - “Red Scare”
        - Class warfare
  - Mussolini became a “rightist”
    - Anti-communist, anti-strike, nationalistic, willing to use physical force
      - *Squadristi* - Mussolini’s gang that went around and attacked socialist offices and newspapers, and strikers
- Temporarily allied with the liberal Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti
  - Giolitti naively expected to “use” Mussolini to overpower the socialists
  - Alliance gave Mussolini “respectability” and a tolerance of the squadristi
- Use of force
  - 1921 Mussolini had 200,000 squadristi (veterans and “students”) who he dressed in black shirts.
    - They deliberately created disorder to create a fear of “disorder”
    - Squadristi were seen as “bringers of order” by panic stricken middle/upper classes
- October of 1922 Mussolini demanded control of the
government
  - Or he would march on Rome
  - Victor Emmanuel III made Mussolini Prime Minister
    - Next day: black shirts marched into Rome
      - Created a myth that the Fascists took power by armed insurrection after a civil war
      - In reality Mussolini just having a victory parade in Rome
  - Mussolini gains Power
    - At first Fascists had only a few seats in parliament
      - Moved slowly to consolidate power
    - Split in Fascists supporters
      - Rural fascists wanted to seize complete power
      - Industrial, church, and landowning fascists followed Mussolini because they wanted order
    - New elections
      - 1923 Acerbo Law- any party that got 25% of the votes got 2/3 seats in Parliament
        - De-facto rule of the country
        - April 1924 Fascists won 65% of the vote
          - Lots of fraud and force and intimidation

Consolidated power
  - Mussolini wanted to intimidate the opposition
    - Giacomo Matteotti (socialist)
      - Assassinated
      - People figured Mussolini was behind the assassination
        - Would therefore have to quit
      - Mussolini took responsibility for the violence of the Fascists
        - Said he would make Italy peaceful, “by force if necessary”
    - 1926 New laws that made Italy a Fascists dictatorship
      - Controlled on the press
        - Suspended publications that did not respect the Church, the king, and the state
      - Prime Minister was officially defined as the head of state
        - Replaced the king
        - Could rule by decree
          - No need for parliament
      - Police can arrest and imprison anyone for political or non-political crimes
        - No due process
      - Government had to ability to dissolve any political or cultural group it did not like
        - All anti-Fascist political parties were outlawed
        - Authorized secret police
  - Limits of Fascist power
    - Education was still not entirely under state control
      - There were youth organizations
        - Were not so appealing
    - Attempt to make everyone go to public schools
      - The upper and middle classes still sent their children to private schools
    - Military and monarchy not under Fascist control
    - Industrialists and large landowners stayed in control
  - Lateran Accords of 1929
    - For the Church
    - Sovereign control of Vatican City
    - A lot of money
Catholicism is the “sole religion of the state”
- For Mussolini/state
- Papal recognition of the Italian state
- Church will encourage support for the fascists

Social policy - traditional
- Women were bound to the home
  - Discouraged employment of women outside of the home
    - It formed habits contrary to child bearing
    - Bonuses for large families

Attitudes
- Pro-war
- Life is duty, struggle, and conquest
- Proud that Fascism is the opposite of socialism
  - Opposed democracy and equality
- State is absolute
  - People exist to serve the state
- Imperialism is a sign of strength

The corporate state
- Workers and employers are forced to work together under the direction of the state
- Private ownership controlled for the interest/benefit of the state
- Syndicates
  - Nationwide organizations
  - One for each industry and includes workers and professionals
  - Decided how much and where the products went
- “Corporations”
  - Administrative agencies that united and controlled workers and employers
  - They basically did whatever Mussolini said
- No strikes or lockouts

Spain
- 1923 General Miguel Primo de Rivera coup
  - A royally approved dictatorship
- 1931 depression and fall of the dictatorship
  - King Flees
  - Creation of a Republic
- Republic unstable (left/right)
- 1936 Popular Front included democrats, socialists, and communists
  - Rejection by army
- 1936-1939 Spanish Civil War
  - Popular Front
    - Got help from the Soviet Union
  - Fascists led by General Francisco Franco
    - Got help from Italy and Germany
  - Franco won and was dictator until he died in 1975
    - Not a “Fascist” government
      - Falange official fascist party and did not play a big part

Portugal
- 1910 monarchy was overthrown
  - Established a republic
- Inflation after World War I
  - Instability
- 1926 army took over
- 1930-1970 Antonio Salazar
Germany
- Problems of Weimar Republic
  o Uprisings and attacks from the left (socialists and communists) and the right (Nazi followers)
  o Leadership - there wasn’t any real leadership
- Von Hindenburg was elected President
  o Monarchist
  o Did not support democracy
- Army was not under government control
- Anti-democratic people had influence
  o Teachers were still monarchists
    ▪ Taught how bad democracy was
  o Judges and bureaucrats also undermined the democracy
  o Aristocrats and heads of businesses did not want to give up power
- Inflation hurt many people
  o Middle class pushed towards the right
- Social discontent and growth of extremist parties

Adolf Hitler
- Early failure
  o Not a spectacular background
    ▪ Austrian
    ▪ Wanted to be a painter, but he was rejected from school
    ▪ Served in World War I
      • Part of German Army
      • Only got as high as a corporal
- Claimed that his experiences in Vienna made him an anti-Semite
  o Extreme nationalist - wanted to unite all Germans
    ▪ Hitler met Georg von Schonerer led the Pan-German movement
      • Extreme nationalist
      • Wanted to unite all the Germans in one state
        • including Austrians
    ▪ Karl Luger was the anti-Semitic mayor of Vienna
    ▪ Adolf Lanz monk who preached superiority of Aryans
      • Inferior races should be eliminated
    ▪ Saw more religious Jews that looked different
      • Thought they were polluting cultural life
- Munich
  o Joined German Worker’s Party
    ▪ Took it over and renamed it the National Socialist German Workers’ Party
      • “Nazi” for short
    ▪ Made it a mass movement
      • Oratory, flags, badges, uniforms, newspapers
      • Storm Troops - like the squadristi, but in brown shirts
  o 1923 - Beer Hall Putsch
    ▪ Failed attempt at taking over the government
    ▪ Hitler was tried for treason, convicted and sentenced for 5 years
      • Judge supported rightists
In prison writes *Mein Kampf*
- Lebensraum - room to live
  - Superior individuals have the right to expand
- Regional organization
- Extreme nationalism, anti-communism, anti-Semitism, social Darwinism

Reorganization of the party
- Fuhrerprinzip

- 1930 elections Nazis got 18%
  - Chancellor Bruning could not get a working majority in Parliament
    - Too many parties
    - President von Hindenburg ruled “by decree”
      - Had the power to issue laws as if they were passed by Parliament
  - 1931: unemployment = 4.35 million
    - 1932 = 6 million

Rapid growth of Nazi party
- Sept 1930- 289,000 Nazis
- 1932- 800,000 Nazis and SA had 500,000 thugs
- Modern election techniques + lies 230 seats in July 1932 (largest party)
  - “Hitler over Germany”- slogan in 1932
  - Hitler flew and spoke in 50 cities in 15 days
  - Von Hindenburg still won president

Right wing upper class hoped to use Nazi mass support to create a right wing authoritarian government
- Wanted to “use” Hitler, just like the Italians did with Mussolini
- Von Hindenburg was pressured to make Hitler Chancellor
  - January 30th, 1933

- Nazis take control
  - Hermann Goring- Minister of the Interior
    - Control of police
      - Got non Nazis out of the police
      - Established auxiliary police SA
      - Storm Troopers, like the black shirts of Italy
  - Fire in the Reichstag February 27th
    - Still unknown who did it
    - Von Hindenburg gave the government “emergency” powers
      - Hitler blamed the communists
      - To Hitler, communists are Jews
      - Suspended all basic rights of citizens
      - Nazis can arrest and imprison anyone for no reason
      - March 5th election- Nazis used the emergency decree to limit the opponents from campaigning
      - Thugs got 288 seats
        - Still not a majority
  - Enabling Act
    - Changed the constitution
    - Hitler made a deal with the Catholic Center Party for them to vote for the act
    - Made Hitler a dictator
      - Abolished the Reichstag and von Hindenburg
      - Hitler had the ability to rule by decree
      - Reich cabinet can do anything it wants
      - Cabinet did anything Hitler said
- Gleichschaltung
  
  • Coordination of all institutions under the Nazis
  • Trade unions were replaced by a Nazi controlled national labor front

Ruling the Nazi State

- Mass participation
  
  • Wanted to get everyone involved in the state to dominate Europe or even the world for 1,000 years
  
  • Spectacle
    
    ▪ Parades, mass speeches, and music all to arouse passion among the citizens
    
    ▪ Tried to promote unity by combining aspects of a religious ceremony and amusement

- Authoritarian anarchy
  
  • Parallel government and party bureaucracies compete for influence over foreign policy, education, and the economy
    
    ▪ Created fighting between government and party
      
      • Hitler swooped in and ended chaos

- Economic control
  
  • Business was in private hands but government controlled it
  
  • Goal: end unemployment
    
    ▪ Private construction could get government grants
  
  • Public works
  
  • Rearmament
  
  • Unemployment dropped
    
    ▪ Public acceptance
  
  • German Labor Front
    
    ▪ A national union controlled by the government
  
  • Entertainment for workers
    
    ▪ Trips, sports, etc...

- Force and Terror
  
  • Until ’34, mostly SA was involved in the use of force
    
    ▪ June- purge
      
      • Ernst Rohm executed
      
      ▪ Leader had wanted SA to serve as Army
    
  
  • SS- originally Hitler’s bodyguards
    
    ▪ Indoctrinated in racism
    
    ▪ Became the new SA
    
    ▪ Terror
      
      • Concentration camps, death camps, death squads

- Perversion of “normal” groups
  
  • Catholic and Protestant Churches
  
  • Schools and Universities
  
  • Doctors, women, lawyer, etc...
    
    ▪ All these groups were turned to be pro-Nazi
  
  • Youth
    
    ▪ Hitler Youth and Girls Groups were taught to give all their energy to the state

- Anti-Semitism
  
  • Joseph Goebbels
    
    ▪ Propaganda director
- Gradual growth of anti-Semitic policies
  - April 1st, 1933 boycott
  - Exclusion of Jews from influential positions
  - 1935 Nuremberg Laws
    - Jews lost citizenship
    - Defines “Jews” racially
- Hassle
- Kristallnacht
  - turned to violence
- Women
  - Women should be wives and mothers
  - Could work in heavy industry
    - “Could harm them producing strong children”
  - Women could be social workers or nurses
    - Men had the big prominent jobs
    - Women had limited job opportunities
- Nazi Eugenics
  - Needed to “purify” Germany
  - Idea of Aryan super race
    - Scientists dispatched around world searching for Aryan culture
  - Segregate and eliminate
    - Groups Targeted
      - Gypsies
      - Jews
      - Homosexuals
      - Mentally and Physically Disabled