Contents

11100	Strations	1X
Tab	les	хi
Pref	face	xiii
Intr	oduction. Fascism: A Working Definition	3
PAF	RT I: HISTORY	
1.	The Cultural Transformation of the Fin de siècle	23
2.	Radical and Authoritarian Nationalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe	35
3.	The Impact of World War I	71
4.	The Rise of Italian Fascism, 1919-1929	80
5.	The Growth of Nonfascist Authoritarianism in Southern and Eastern Europe, 1919–1929	129
6.	German National Socialism	147
7.	The Transformation of Italian Fascism, 1929-1939	212
8.	Four Major Variants of Fascism	245
9.	The Minor Movements	290
10.	Fascism Outside Europe?	328
11.	World War II: Climax and Destruction of Fascism	355

PART II: INTERPRETATION

12.	Interpretations of Fascism	441
13.	Generic Fascism?	462
14.	Fascism and Modernization	471
15.	Elements of a Retrodictive Theory of Fascism	487
Epilogue. Neofascism: A Fascism in Our Future?		496
Bibliography		523
Inde	x	570

Illustrations

Italo Balbo leads a punitive expedition in Farma	97
Bianchi, De Bono, De Vecchi, Mussolini, and Balbo,	
October 1922	109
Corneliu Zelea Codreanu	137
Josef Goebbels addressing a street rally in Berlin, 1926	159
Poster depiction of Adolf Hitler	166
An SA parade in Munich	169
Hitler reviewing an SA parade in Munich	171
Hitler at a Nazi rally	175
Hitler greets Hindenburg, March 21, 1933	177
Rudolf Hess and Heinrich Himmler	183
Hitler Youth Poster	193
Nazi party rally in Nuremberg, 1934	199
Mussolini depicted as idealized worker among the	
Italian people, 1934	219
Fascist gerarchi demonstrate their vigor	236
Hitler greeted by Mussolini on his arrival in Italy,	
May 5, 1938	241
Ramiro Ledesma Ramos	257
José Antonio Primo de Rivera	259
Funeral of a slain Falangist law student in Madrid, February 1934	260
Falangists leading a demonstration in the center of Madrid	262
Franco addressing a large political audience in Madrid soon after	
the Civil War	265
Iron Guard militiaman exhibiting the swastika armband	283
Codreanu in peasant costume, surrounded by followers	285
Rexist poster publicizing Léon Degrelle	301
Sir Oswald Mosley at a rally in London's Hyde Park,	
September 9, 1935	303

Illustrations

X

"Violently expelling the Jewish-Bolsheviks" (London,	
October 5, 1936)	304
Vidkun Quisling	304
Nazi propaganda poster for the plebiscite on the annexation of	307
Austria, April 19, 1938	250
Signing of the Tripartite Pact in Berlin, September 1940	359
Recruitment poster for the Waffen SS "Wallonie" Brigade in	366
Belgium, 1942	274
Horia Sima with Marshal Ion Antonescu in Bucharest,	374
September 1940	202
Ante Pavelić meets Italian foreign minister Ciano in Venice,	393
December 15, 1941	400
Ferenc Szalasi in Budapest, October 16, 1944	408
Serrano Súñer, Franco and Mussolini at Bordighera,	418
February 12, 1941	
Falangists lead a mass anti-Soviet demonstration in Madrid,	432
June 24, 1941	
	433
Ramón Serrano Súñer while Spanish Minister of the Interior, 1940	434

Tables

1.1	Typological Description of Pascism	,
1.2	Three Faces of Authoritarian Nationalism	15
4.1	Social or Professional Background of PNF Members,	
	November 1921	103
6.1	Unemployment, 1931–1936	179
11.1	The Nazi New Order	376
14.1	Western European Economic Growth, 1922-1938	477
14.2	Economic Production in Real Terms Per Capita in 1933	477
14.3	Index of Net Production in Real Terms Per Capita in 1933	477
15.1	Elements of a Retrodictive Theory of Fascism	489
E.1	MSI's Percentage of the Vote in National Elections, 1948–1989	505