

The Extreme Right Before 1980

The Extreme Right in Western Europe

Introduction
The Interwar Extreme Right
The Extreme Right after the War
Conclusion

Introduction

Review/Preview

The Interwar Extreme Right

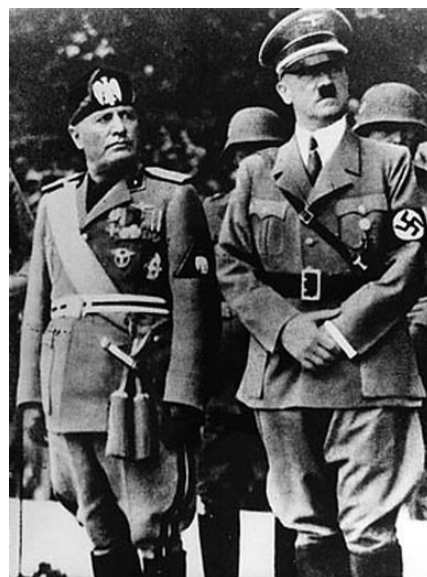
Pre-1914

Right-Wing Movements in
Interwar Europe

Right-Wing Regimes

The Extreme Right after the War

Conclusion



Last week:

- ▶ Attempts to define and label the Extreme Right Party Family
- ▶ Extreme Right after 1980 operates in different environment, so different from Interwar Extreme Right
- ▶ What was die Interwar Extreme Right?

The long, liberal 19th century

- ▶ Dominant conflict between Liberal and Conservative parties
- ▶ Liberals
 - ▶ Protect property, freed trade, (new) upper and middle classes
 - ▶ Often suspicious of democracy, working classes, mass suffrage
 - ▶ End of the century: liberal parliaments in place in many states
 - ▶ Distrust of mass politics
- ▶ Conservatives
 - ▶ Against liberal (and further reforms)
 - ▶ Restauration of old regimes
 - ▶ Sometimes pretty authoritarian
 - ▶ Not very nationalistic, political ambitions of mostly moderate scale
 - ▶ Distrust of mass politics
- ▶ An age of rationality and positivism

Backlash against rationality

- ▶ A small, heterogeneous intellectual movement against rationality
- ▶ In favour of emotions, heroism, mysticism, paganism, violence, action, nationalism
- ▶ + Social Darwinism
- ▶ + New Anti-Semitism
- ▶ A revolutionary, new right that wants to restore an imagined, glorified past, not the old system
- ▶ Very much a minority culture; the seeds of future Fascism
- ▶ In some countries (e. g. France), harbingers of future mass movements

Democracy in Interwar Europe

- ▶ First World War ends “Long 19th Century”
- ▶ Peace settlement of 1919 establishes Democratic Nation State as model in Europe (14 points)
 - ▶ Many new States
 - ▶ Many newly Democratic States
 - ▶ Advent of mass politics
- ▶ Opposition from old elites and large segments of society
- ▶ Russian revolution → threat of working class radicalisation
- ▶ “Democracy without democrats”
- ▶ Ethnic tensions in many states + discontent (peace settlement)
- ▶ Massive economic crises

The Interwar Right

- ▶ Hardened Conservatives and Monarchists, Catholic Fundamentalists (authoritarian corporatism), The Military
- ▶ Plus a “new”, radical, potentially violent right and revolutionary right
 - ▶ Largely driven by veterans and war supporters
 - ▶ Traumatized/formed by war experience
 - ▶ Extreme levels of pointless violence, nationalism
 - ▶ A shared experience of struggle + male bonding, contempt for politics as usual
 - ▶ **Unlike most of the old right: a mass movement**
- ▶ Summary: the right
 - ▶ At best ambivalent, usually hostile towards democracy
 - ▶ Mad about the threat of a Communist/socialist revolution
 - ▶ Hate for Liberalism, Social Democracy, Communism

Democracy → Authoritarian Rule

- ▶ Portugal
- ▶ Spain
- ▶ Austria
- ▶ ...
- ▶ Usually, democracy abolished by “old”, authoritarian right
- ▶ Sometimes suppressed the new right (to bold, bad for business, to proletarian etc.) – Portugal
- ▶ Sometimes incorporated the new right – Spain
- ▶ Sometimes tried to use the new right – never a good idea → Italy, Germany

The master case: Italian Fascism I

- ▶ Italy before the war: a “liberal” (elite-dominated) constitutional monarchy
- ▶ After the war:
 - ▶ Italy (the right) not satisfied with territorial gains
 - ▶ Intense social, economic, political conflict
 - ▶ A lust for rebellion, heroism, a “breaking of the mould” amongst the returning war-generation
- ▶ Former Socialist journalist Mussolini creates Fascist movement in 1919
- ▶ *Not* a very elaborated/homogeneous ideology, rather a rebellion against “weak”, “foreign”, rational systems (Marxism, Liberalism etc.)

Italian Fascism II

- ▶ Radical change/reform including land reform, nationalisation etc.
- ▶ Improve situation of workers/peasants
- ▶ “Direct Action”
- ▶ Anti-socialist/communist; a national socialism
- ▶ Glorification of Italian/roman past and future
- ▶ Morally conservative
- ▶ Different streams, Mussolini extremely flexible
- ▶ Not interested in biological racism, anti-semitism
- ▶ Disproportionately high number of Jewish members and sponsors

Fascism III

- ▶ Fascism struggled in 1919; sponsored by Northern businessmen
- ▶ 1920/21 Fascism becomes even more anti-socialist, less revolutionary
- ▶ Tens, then hundreds of thousands of members
- ▶ Leaders willing to compromise with established elites; Fascist party in 1921
- ▶ 1922: Mussolini PM, more or less at the invitation of established right
- ▶ Rise by no means inevitable, long period of consolidation (1922-25)
- ▶ In many ways, a model for other European countries

“National Socialism”

- ▶ Similar but different
- ▶ Partly influenced by Mussolini’s style, methods, ideas
- ▶ + Violent anti-semitism
- ▶ + Biological racism
- ▶ + even more radical social Darwinism
- ▶ + Pan-Germanism

Fascism in Italy

- ▶ Mussolini declared a dictatorship in 1925
- ▶ Embraced the label “totalitarian” and “corporative”
- ▶ Cult of the leader (duce)
- ▶ Strong state, relatively weak party
- ▶ Church, crown and army co-operated but remained intact
- ▶ Totalitarian rule limited in practice
- ▶ Imperial war in Ethiopia, involvement in Spanish Civil War (1936), Balkans (from 1940) → Radicalisation and international backlash
- ▶ Relatively modest levels of political violence
- ▶ No radical transformation of society/economy; no total war

- ▶ Racial legislation and persecution of Jews only introduced

The “Third Reich”

- ▶ Decisive move against relics of old right, Hitler’s supremacy constitutionalised
- ▶ Institutions of state and society soon under complete party control
- ▶ Highly aggressive foreign and racial policies
- ▶ Ultimately, the far-reaching “nazification” of German society
- ▶ The largely successful creation of an Empire based on race
- ▶ Total war and the Holocaust
- ▶ Much more ambitious than Italian Fascism, much more successful
- ▶ Atrocities at home + subordination of so many countries → Extreme Right politically infeasible for decades to come

Extreme Right parties in post-war Western Europe

- ▶ Germany:
 - ▶ Host of successor parties; most successful banned in 1952
 - ▶ Revival 1964-69 (NPD)
 - ▶ Never got rid of Nazi image, no new ideas, few new members
- ▶ Italy:
 - ▶ “Italian Social Movement” founded in 1946 by Ex-Fascists
 - ▶ Co-operation with centre right until 1960 (Genoa congress) → MSI isolated for many years
 - ▶ Splinter groups, but party moderately successful
 - ▶ Towards “post-fascist” party from early 1990s (Fini)
- ▶ Austria
 - ▶ 1949: V/WdU (“Union of Independents”, German nationalists)
 - ▶ Supported by socialist party for strategic reasons
 - ▶ More moderate/liberal since mid-1960s
 - ▶ Until 1986

The Extreme Right, old and new

- ▶ Many 3rd-wave parties connected to 2nd (post-war) and 1st (inter-war) right
 - ▶ Germany: many old NSDAP members, concerns about German “honor”, territorial losses, racial purity
 - ▶ Austria: German nationalists, neo-nazis etc.
 - ▶ Italy: literally, a neo-fascist party
 - ▶ France: Catholic fundamentalism, colonial war, Poujadist movement
 - ▶ UK (NF): Racism, “British Fascism”, “national socialism”
 - ▶ Spain: Falange parties
 - ▶ Flanders: Racism, Flemish corporatism
- ▶ But many of the new/most successful: not
 - ▶ Freedom parties in Denmark and Norway, Netherlands
 - ▶ LPF in Netherlands
 - ▶ Lega Nord

Conclusion

- ▶ 1920s/30s: Democracy in a hostile environment
- ▶ The Interwar right
 - ▶ Conservative/authoritarian
 - ▶ “Revolutionary”
 - ▶ Co-operation against democracy
- ▶ Today:
 - ▶ Democracy “the only game in town” for most people in Western Europe
 - ▶ Crude racism unacceptable for most people
 - ▶ No revolutionary left
 - ▶ Right mostly pacified
- ▶ Not a return of the Fuhrers, Duces, Caudillos . . .
- ▶ Something more subtle

Class questions

- ▶ How are the two manifestos different from what you might have expected?
- ▶ Where are the key differences between the manifestos?
- ▶ Where are the key differences between these two texts from 1919/20 and the political realities of Fascism/National Socialism?
- ▶ Are there any parallels between these documents on the one hand and the ideology of the modern Extreme Right on the other?