

Index

- Abel, Theodore, 144
 Action Française, 86
 agrarian landlords, 52; role in fascist Italy, 125; role in Weimar Germany, 52
 Alfonso XIII (King of Spain), 302
 American Legion, 70
 anarcho-syndicalism, 35, 310; effectiveness of, 314; membership numbers for, 310–311; in Spain, 310, 314
 Andorfer, Herbert, 223
Anschluss (union with Germany), 207, 208, 211, 219, 220, 244; capitalism and, 229; effect on Austro-fascism, 214, 222, 362; effect on unemployment levels, 222; Gestapo and, 219; unemployment and, 221; Vienna civil service, 220
 anti-Semitism: in Austria, 84, 224–228; in Germany, 184; historical background for, 228; Hitler and, 247; in Hungary, 238, 250, 253, 254; materialist explanations of, 228; in *Mein Kampf*, 184–185; in Nazi Party campaigns, 180, 183, 185; political, 224; role in class conflict, 228; in Romania, 238; stereotypes and, 226–227; *völkisch* nationalism and, 84
 Antonescu, Marshal, 293
 Arditi del Popolo, 103
 Argentina, 24; authoritarian movements in, 24
 Arkan's Tigers, viii
 Army of Africa, 337, 340; *Africanistas* in, 337
 Arrow Cross movement (Hungary), 237, 239, 248, 249, 255, 256, 269, 292; Communist Party support for, 255; decline of, 244; economic demographic of, 248, 249; electoral demographics of, 255; ethnic lineage within, 250; fascism and, 386; ideology of, 245–247; paramilitarism as part of, 247; population of, 237; voter's support for, 256, 258; voting demographics for, 238
 art forms. *See* propaganda
 Austria, 1, 25, 30, 34, 36, 207; anti-Semitism in, 207, 219, 224, 225; Austro-Hungarian monarchy and, 208; authoritarianism in, 41, 220; Christian Social Party in, 45, 208, 215, 217, 362; economic status of, interwar, 221–222; effect of Great Depression on, 221, 230; effect of socialism in, 219; fascism in, 87, 208, 235, 362; Fatherland Front Party in, 209; German Nationalist Party in, 224; *Heimwehr* paramilitary, 208, 213; Hitler and, 207, 235, 362; Judeo-Bolshevism in, 228; Korneuburg Oath and, 210; Linz Program in, 34; militarism in, 36, 213; nationalism movements in, 36, 83, 211; organic authoritarianism in, 213; population demographics for, 208; Protestants in, 216; religious history in, 215; role of church in, 362; Social Christian Party in, 224; Social Darwinism in, 82; Socialist Party of, 212, 223, 224, 229, 231;

- Austria (*cont.*)
unemployment levels in, 222. *See also*
Vienna
- Austrian Legion, 28
- Austrian Nazi Party, 211; *Anschluss* and, 212; effect of class conflict on, 221; effect of Hitler on, 212; effect on unemployment, 219; elite support of, 229–230; foundations of, 211, 222; role of paramilitarism in, 236
- authoritarianism: in Austria, 10; conservatives and, 43; corporatist, 46–47; current versions of, 370; vs. (democratic) educational enrollment, 88; vs. democratic nation demographic, 50; economic theory and, 56; effect of class conflict on, 58; as effect of political crises, 77, 353; effect on interwar Europe, 54, 66; effect on nation–statism, 56; eras of, 57; European political demography and, 41–42; fascists and, 43, 47–48; Franco and, 44; in Hungary, 10; late development theory and, 49, 51, 55; modern versions of, 44, 353; in Romania, 10; semi-reactionary, 45–46; social development under, 54; Soviet Union and, 43
- Azana, Matthew, 350
- Bauer, Otto, 17, 232; on fascism, 17; on Italian fascism, 125
- Bildung* (cultured education), 166
- “Black Reichswehr” conspiracy, 198
- Blair, Tony, 14
- Blanco, Carrero, 344
- Bolshevik Revolution, 59, 63, 76, 130, 356; property rights during, 63
- Bolshevism, 23, 117, 125, 132, 204; in Germany, 61; Nazi Party and, 174, 187; in Weimar Republic, 144
- Bourbon monarchy, 301–302, 347
- “bourgeois nations,” 6, 192; effect on Nazi Party on, 192; electoral losses by, 193; materialism within, 7
- Brazil, 24; authoritarian movements in, 24
- Brunner, Alois, 215
- Bucharest Legionary Worker’s Corp, 281
- Caballerist Party, 321
- caciques* (leaders), 71, 297, 304; electoral reform opposition by, 304; role in European political systems, 356
- Cambodian Angka, viii
- capitalism: “Bonapartist autonomy” and, 20; capital/labor conflict as part of, 59; class conflict as result of, 7; effect of authoritarianism on, 77; fascism and, 15, 119; Franco and, 346; imperialist, 20; industrial, 35; interwar support for, 53; labor rights and, 125–126; Marx on, 62; monopolist, 20; nationalism and, 4; “organized,” 54; property rights under, 62; role in Weimar Republic, 201; unionization and, 63
- Carlos, Juan (King of Spain), 347
- Carol (King of Romania), 57, 264, 275, 281, 288, 289, 291, 293; Hitler and, 289
- Casa del Pueblo Party, 328
- Casa Social Católica Party, 328
- Casa Viejas, 316
- Catholic Centre Party, 160, 164, 186, 187, 200
- Catholic Opus Dei, 346
- Catholicism, 42, 85, 126, 129;
Austro–fascism and, 209, 215;
authoritarianism and, 232; fascism and, 126, 127, 136; in Germany, 187–188; labor unions and, 86; Nazism and, 148, 187; social, 86, 126, 209, 301, 341; in Spain, 301, 329, 345, 349; transnationalism and, 187
- CEDA (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightists): demographics of, 329, 335–340, 341; dissolution of, 309, 333, 335; Falange Party and, 335; fascism and, 332, 333; Gil Robles and, 330–331, 338; political ideology of, 330, 331; role of Catholic Church in, 329, 331; semi-authoritarian leanings of, 332; Socialist Party vs., 331
- Century of Corporatism, The* (Manoilescu), 277
- Chiang Kai-Shek, 46

- China, 39; authoritarianism in, 39
- Christian Social Party: in Austria, 45, 208, 223; authoritarianism in, 232; effect on Great Depression on, 233; *Heimwehr* paramilitary and, 210
- Christus Rex Party, 41, 269
- church systems, 85; Catholicism, 85–86; Eastern Orthodoxy, 85; fascism and, 86–87; Protestantism, 85
- citizenship: political, 37; social, 37
- “civil society,” 7, 33, 51; ethnic/political cleansing within, 171; Italy and, 106; social marginality within, 170
- class theory: bourgeois, 189; capitalism as part of, 20, 21, 55, 59; conflict as part of, 13, 58, 59–60, 63–64; fascism and, 5, 15, 53, 96, 124; “mass society,” 170; middle-, 17, 19–20, 21, 58; Nazism and, 20; political parties and, 53; radicalism as part of, 20; role of unions in, 53; role of World War I in, 96–97; social bases and, 21
- Codreanu, Corneliu, 265, 268, 271, 272, 275, 276; anti-Semitism of, 266, 271; biographical background of, 265; “Creed of National Christian Socialism” and, 266; democratic theory of, 267; organic nationalism and, 267; Programme of the Legion and, 267; religious ideology of, 267; statism and, 267
- collectivism, 11
- Colombia, democracy in, 39
- communication networks: effect on fascism of, 130; macro-regional, 78; nation-states, 78; role of churches in, 85; transnational, 78, 81
- Communist Party: in Austria, 230; Legion of the Archangel Saint Michael and, 277; Maximalist Party and, 124; Nazism and, 187
- corporatist authoritarianism, 46, 277; hierarchy under, 46; parliamentary rules under, 46–47; role of armed forces under, 46
- Cortina, Suarez, 335
- Costa Rica, democracy in, 39
- “Creed of National Christian Socialism,” support for Eastern Orthodox Church, 266
- Czechoslovakia, 41, 244; ethnical divisions within, 41; German Sudeten Party in, 41
- Dark Side of Democracy, The: Explaining Ethnic Cleansing* (Mann), viii, 4, 171
- democracy, 51, 53; effect of capitalist industrialization on, 52; effect of economic development on, 51–52; effect of per capita income on, 54; role in Weimar Germany, 205
- democratic “contestation,” 71; competitive party systems as part of, 71; effect of political party domination in, 75
- democratic “participation,” 71; suffrage movements as part of, 71
- dual states, 73, 74; fascism and, 77; semi-authoritarianism and, 73
- Eastern Orthodoxy, 85, 276; nationalism and, 86, 276; nation-statism and, 85
- Eatwell, Roger, 11; on fascism, 11; “third way” and, 14
- Eberl, Irmfried, 223
- economic development, 48–49; effect on authoritarianism, 56; effect on democratization, 51–52; factors for, 49, 137; industrial capitalism and, 49; during interwar period (Europe), 58
- Eichmann, Adolf, 141, 223
- Eliade, Mircea, 278, 279; “Romanianism” and, 278
- Enlightenment era, 80, 81
- Esquerra Party, 307, 308, 319
- ethnic blindness, 74
- ethnic/political cleansing, vii, 4, 16, 122, 370; conservatism as part of, 370; “enemies” and, 16; Nazi Party and, 179; Nazism and, 16; organic nationalism and, 16; in Spain, 344
- EU (European Union), 371; requirements for democracy of, 371
- eugenics, 82
- Europe: domination by fascism, 31; effect of authoritarianism in, 54, 357; effect of Bolshevism in, 357; effect of

Europe (*cont.*)

conservatism in, 354, 355; Great Depression in, 23; interwar crises in, 23–24; interwar map of, 38; land reform in, 356; liberal democracy in, 31, 37, 38; macro-regional cultures in, 43; militarism in, 356; multiparty democracy in, 38; political geography of, 39; political modernism in, 355; political role of church in, 356–357, 361; populist nationalism in, 355; social democracy in, 37; unionization in, 60–61; voting demography of, 37, 42

Evangelical Church of Germany, 188; Nazi Party and, 188

Falange Party: CEDA and, 335; Franco and, 345, 346; role of religion within, 336; in Spain, 313, 334, 335–338

fasci di combattimento, 95

fascism: activism as part of, 28, 141; agrarian policies under, 115; in Austria, 47; authoritarianism and, 47; barbarianism and, 8; Bauer, Otto, on, 125–126; capitalism and, 15; Catholic Church and, 126, 127, 361; causes of, in Germany, 152; citizen armies as part of, 2; class conflict and, 111, 120; class theories on, 5, 15, 17, 19, 53, 100; Constitutionalist Party as part of, 119; core constituencies for, 3, 15, 19, 23, 79, 89, 107, 113, 119; definition of, 5, 13, 63–64, 365; development ideology as part of, 130; economic demographics for, 107, 113; effect of class conflict on, 58; effect of corporatism on, 306; as effect of modernism, 1, 13, 80; effect of overeducation on, 112; electoralism under, 47, 358; etymology of, 9, 93; in Europe, 31, 358; female demographic, 108; foundations of, 99, 358; hierarchy within, 29; ideology, 2, 3, 4; internationalism vs., 132; Islamic, 373; Italian government reaction to, 124, 125; Italy and, 47, 105 (*see also* Italian fascism); late development theory and, 56; liberal democracy and, 8, 77, 136; macro-regional communication

networks within, 78; “minimum” for, 10; “moral murder” as part of, 8; nation–state communication networks within, 78; nation–statism and, 4, 137, 358; Nazism vs., 104; “new man” as part of, 12; organizational structure of, 358; paramilitarism and, 47, 102, 121, 123, 127, 275, 359; prewar theory, 68; radicalism as part of, 15; “rational economic actor” model of, 158; “revolutionary” theory for, 124; role of intellectuals within, 7; role of peasant leagues in, 116; role of students in, 108, 359; role of violence in, 3, 114, 116, 121, 122; role of working class in, 110; rural involvement in, 113, 116, 117, 118; scholarly definitions of, viii; “social cages” within, 3; socialism and, 108, 111, 130; sociology of, 3–4, 21; “transcendence” and, 16; transnational communication networks within, 78; unions as part of, 117; urban involvement in, 110, 113; vs. dictatorships, 16–17

Fatherland Front Party, 210; *Heimwehr* paramilitary, 210

“The Final Solution,” 62, 207, 212; role of Austria in, 225; role of Hungary in, 244; in Romania, 292

Fini, Gianfranco, 367

Finnish Lapua Movement, 41

Fitzhugh, Josef, 226

Fortuyn, Pim, 367

France, 40, 59; authoritarianism in, 40; Communist Party in, 59; conservatism in, 83; early paramilitarism in, 70; nation–statism in, 84; organic nationalism in, 83; Republican Radicals Party in, 35

Franco, Francisco, 44, 62, 345, 363; capitalism and, 346; Carlist Party and, 345; corporatist authoritarianism and, 346; ethnic/political cleansing by, 344; importance of army for, 345; importance of Catholic Church to, 345; importance of Falange Party for, 345, 346, 350; “Law of Responsibilities” and, 343; Nationalist forces of, 345; political opportunism of, 339, 351; semi-reactionary politics of, 346; titles of, 345

- Frankfurt School, 19
- Freedom Party of Haider (Austria), 367, 368, 369
- Freikorps* paramilitary, 153
- French Revolution, 32, 54; industrial capitalism during, 32, 54; Jacobinism, 32
- Freud, Sigmund, 227
- “front” generation, 149, 213; Austrian fascism and, 213; in Hungary, 247; in Romania, 272
- Front National Party, 367
- Gauleiter* (regional leaders), 151, 160, 163; social mobility within, 168
- “Generation of 1914,” 149, 283; “front” generation as part of, 149; “home” generation as part of, 149; role of Führer for, 149
- George, Lloyd, 36
- German Christian Social Party, 34
- German Nazi Party: academic professionals as part of, 165, 166; age demographics for, 148–149, 150, 155; agrarian support for, 190; agricultural policies of, 180; anti-Semitism campaigns of, 180, 184; “authority principle” in, 197; blue-collar supporters of, 156–157, 172; Catholics in, 186, 187; civil servants in, 163, 191; class voting demographics within, 189–190; constitution of, 155; core constituencies for, 147, 203; early rise of, 361–362; economic policies of, 181, 191, 197; effect of Great Depression on, 185, 361; electoral strategy of, 177–179, 184–185, 186; Emergency Powers Provisions and, 185; ethnic/political cleansing and, 179; Evangelical German Church and, 188, 203; German expansion and, 178; German foreign policy and, 178; importance of rituals to, 173; military demographics for, 151; mobilization cells within, 173; nation-statism and, 155; organic nationalism within, 178, 180, 362; Party Constitution of 155, 285; patriarchy as part of, 148; productivist socialism within, 182; Protestants in, 186–187, 203; public works programs of, 181; religious demographics within, 155; role of armed forces in, 199; role of paramilitaries in, 167–168, 361, 362; role of propaganda in, 178; role of women in, 147–148; SA Army as part of, 167; social activism within, 170; social marginality within, 168, 170, 172; social mobility within, 168; “Socialism of the Deed,” 181; SS Army as part of, 167; *Stahlhelm* paramilitary and, 150; *Völkspartei* and, 172; voting demographics, 186; white-collar supporters of, 161. *See also* Nazism
- German People’s Party, 34; nationalism as part of, 34
- German Protestantism, Nazism and, 26
- German Social Democrat Party, 34
- German Socialist Party, 160
- German Sudeten Party, 41
- Germany, 1, 15, 22, 25, 30, 40, 55, 56, 59, 363; authoritarianism in, 41; Bolshevism in, 61, 356; bourgeois liberalism in, 59; Catholicism in, 139, 155; Christian Social Party in, 34; conservatism in, 36; effect of class conflict in, 204, 361; effect of educational system in, 84; effect of Great Depression on, 139, 204; effect of paramilitarism on, 152, 153–154, 364; effect of World War I on, 139, 361, 364; *Freikorps* paramilitary in, 152; genocide, effect on, 22; industrial capitalism in, 32, 195; Jews in (demographics), 141; labor movements in, 363; military organization in, 154–155; nation-statism in, 188; organic nationalism in, 83; Pan-German Party in, 34; parliamentarism in, 205; People’s Party in, 34; protectionist models in, 55; Protestantism in, 139, 155; racial theory within, 184; role of agrarian landlords in, 52; role of Evangelical Church in, 139, 188; role of religion in, 27; role of veteran’s organizations in, 152; Romania and, 264; Romanticism in, 365; Social Darwinism in, 82; Social Democrat Party in, 34; socialism in, 182; *Sonderweg* in, 42; unemployment in, 152; *völkisch* nationalism in, 84, 141

- Gil Robles, José Maria, 306, 321, 338;
CEDA and, 330, 332
- Giscard d'Estaing, Valerie, 347
- GNP: effect of per capita measurements on,
49; late development theory and, 49;
nation-statism effect on, 32
- Goebbels, Paul Josef, 151, 182, 199
- Goldman, Lucien, 80
- Göring, Hermann, 21, 152, 182; Hitler
and, 243
- Great Britain: General Strike of 1926 in,
60; Labour Party in, 72; New Liberal
Party in, 35, 72; Union of Fascists in,
70
- The Great Depression, 20, 23, 24, 57, 90,
135, 353; authoritarianism during, 57;
effect on Austria, 233; effect on German
nationalism, 233; effect on Hungary,
254; effect on NPP, 264; effect on
Romania, 264, 293; effect on SA Army
(Nazi Party), 167; Nazism and, 182
- Greece, 45; Metaxas coup in, 45, 61
- Griffin, Roger, 11, 12; on fascism, 12; on
"national rebirth," 13
- gross national product. *See* GNP
- Habsburg Dynasty, 33, 225; Hungary and,
241, 249, 250
- Heimwehr* paramilitary, 208, 209, 210, 211,
216, 217, 220, 232; armed forces
representation in, 217; "Association of
Front Fighters" and, 213; Christian
Social Party and, 210, 233; core
constituency of, 213; demonstrations by,
231; elite support for, 229; Fatherland
Front and, 210; formation of, 209–210;
gender demographics for, 212–213;
Marxism and, 209; mean age within,
212; Nazi infiltration into, 233; *New York
Times* and, 216–217; political aggression
of, 232; population demographics, 210;
populism of, 222; radicalism of, 209; role
of women in, 213–214; urban
representation within, 217; violence and,
218; white-collar representation in, 223
- Himmler, Heinrich, 344
- hindu rastra* (Hindu nation), 372
- Hitler, Adolf, 9, 15, 21, 24, 41, 61, 66, 90,
142, 143, 204; Austria and, 207, 224;
Bolshevism and, 61; capitalism and, 183;
early anti-Semitism of, 184, 206; early
days of, 233, 234; economic policies of,
180; electoral strategy of, 185, 199–200;
fascism and, 48; Führer principle and,
143, 267; Göring and, 182, 243;
Hungary and, 250, 257; King Carol and,
289; military history of, 152; Mussolini
and, 134; Nazi socialism and, 143, 183;
Nuremberg racial laws and, 229;
religious background of, 155; role of
"enemies" to, 142; social marginality of,
170; social opportunism of, 146; Strasser
and, 183; use of propaganda by, 79
- Hitler Youth, 149, 174
- Holocaust, 6, 9; role of Hungary in, 253
- "home" generation, 149, 153, 213;
Austrian fascism and, 213; in Hungary,
247; in Romania, 272
- "humanistic bourgeoisie," 79, 112, 131,
132; nation-statist values and, 112
- Hungary, 1, 25, 30, 59; anti-Semitism in,
245, 251, 252–253, 258; causes for
economic disruption in, 242, 259; civil
war in, 241, 245, 257, 362;
communist-socialist government in, 240;
dual market system in, 251; early Nazism
in, 243; early racial tolerance in, 238,
250; effect of Great Depression on, 242,
245, 252; effect of national socialism in,
246; effect of World War I on, 238;
ethnic origins in, 249–250; "Heroes
Association" in, 240; Jewish population
in, 251–252; late development
economic policy and, 55;
"Lumpenguardists" in, 253; Maygar
Creed in, 242; militarism in, 36; military
support in, 246; National Radical Party
in, 249; organic nationalism in, 245, 257;
protofascist movements in, 240, 255,
257, 362–363; Red Army in, 245; role in
Holocaust, 244, 253; role of geopolitics
in, 245; spiritual principle of, 246; statist
ideals of development in, 245; "Szeged
Idea" in, 240; "white terror" in, 59, 243

- Hussein, Saddam, 373
Hutu Interahamwe, viii
- ideological power, 78–87, 137;
conservatism and, 79; institutionalized, 78; liberalism and, 79; meaning systems as part of, 78; role of churches in, 85, 126–127; socialism and, 79
- India, 24; fascism in, 373; Gowalkar in, 372; Hindu nationalism in, 372–373; Hindu Nationalist BJP Party in, 373; *hindu rastra* in, 372; *Hindutva* as part of, 372; Hitler and, 24; Indian Legion in, 372; nation-statism in, 373
- integral nationalism. *See* organic nationalism
- Integralismo Lusitano*, 86
- Interest Alliance Party, 191, 192; Nazi Party effect on, 191
- Ionesco, Eugen, 279
- Ireland, 42; role of Catholicism in, 42
- Iron Guard, 265, 275, 371; LANC and, 265. *See also* Legion of the Archangel Saint Michael
- “Iron Law of Oligarchy,” 160
- Islamic fascism, 373, 374; Al Qaeda as part of, 374; *jihadis* as part of, 373; nationalism and, 373; Sudanese, 374
- Italian Confederacy of Industry, 120
- Italian fascism, 7, 21, 66, 96, 100, 130, 133, 358; early rise of, 360–361; effect of capitalist crises on, 95; factions within, 133; Fascist Grand Council and, 134; focus of nationalism in, 130, 131; Marxism and, 360; Ministry of Corporations and, 134; radicals within, 134; regional demographics, 105–107; role of Catholic Church in, 94, 115; role of liberal parliamentarism in, 93, 95; role of proletariat in, 94; role of unions within, 134; Socialist Party in, 93; syndicalists in, 94, 98; Syndicates and, 134
- Italy, 1, 25, 30, 54, 60, 87, 93; economic recession in, 57; effect of citizen warfare on, 95; effect of World War I on, 139; infant mortality rates in, 384; labor strikes in, 60, 123; labor movements in, 94; leftist insurgence in, 121; male suffrage in, 93; militarism in, 36; municipal socialism in, 124; nationalism in, 115; per capita income (interwar), 54
- Jacobinism, 32, 35; French Revolution and, 32
- Japan, 24; authoritarianism in, 39; corporatism in, 46; nation-statism in, 24
- Jurados Mixtos*, 318, 326, 347
- Kaiserreich*, 150, 187, 188, 192, 200, 204; semi-authoritarianism and, 205
- Kaltenbrunner, Ernst, 226
- Kautsky, Karl, 225, 227
- Keyser, John, 239, 253
- Kreisleiter* (subregional leaders), 163
- Kun, Bela, 59, 254, 256; defeat of, 240; in Hungary, 59, 240, 251
- LANC (League of National Christian Defense), 265, 283; anti-Semitism of, 287; Iron Guard and, 265
- late development theory: authoritarianism and, 49, 51, 55; class conflict as result of, 64; fascism and, 56; liberal democracy and, 54–55; literacy rates and, 51; modernism and, 51; nation-statism as part of, 49; role of GNP in, 49; role of infant mortality in, 51; semi-authoritarianism and, 64
- League of National Christian Defense. *See* LANC (League of National Christian Defense)
- Ledesma Ramos, Ramiro, 11
- Legion of the Archangel Saint Michael, 8, 237, 265, 269, 272, 275, 280, 288, 290, 292, 295; anti-Semitism within, 269, 277; average age in, 272; “citadels” as part of, 272; Communist Party and, 290; electoral strength of, 268; formation of, 273; iconography and, 282; nation-statism and, 273; nests and, 267, 280, 284; population of, 237; proletarian nationalism and, 288, 291; religious ideology of, 268, 280; role of propaganda for, 268; role of women in, 272–273;

- Legion of the Archangel (*cont.*)
 Szekler support for, 286; “The Final Solution” and, 292; violence and, 268; voter support for, 282; white-collar support for, 276, 280, 281
- liberal democracy: British miners and, 72; contestation as part of, 71; effect of monarchy on, 73; effect on Europe, 24, 37, 82, 90, 354; fascism and, 8, 119, 128, 136; (Italian) government support for, 129, 360; nation-statism and, 35; Nazism and, 73, 173; participation as part of, 71
- liberalism. *See* liberal democracy
- “Lib-Labs,” 72
- Linz, Austria, 233; Hitler in, 233–234; role of Catholic Church in, 234; Upper Austrian Christian Social Party, 234
- Linz, Juan, 11; on fascism, 11
- Linz Program, 34, 230, 232
- List, Friedrich, 32, 180
- Lliga Party, 307
- Luxembourg, Rosa, 82
- Man, Henri de, 7
- Manoilescu, Mihai, 277; background of, 277; political theories of, 277
- March on Rome, 48, 106, 120, 127, 130, 133
- Marx, Karl, 62
- Marxism, 17, 34, 117; socialism and, 34
- Maximalist Party, 121, 122, 124, 128; Communist Party and, 124
- Mein Kampf* (Hitler), 141, 177; anti-Semitism in, 184–185, 206
- Merkel, Peter, 144
- Meyszner, August, 216
- military power, 64–70, 137; effect of authoritarianism on, 77; fascism and, 66–67; “Judeo-Bolsheviks” and, 66; “mass armies” as part of, 75, 76; social power as result of, 64, 356; troop mobilization and, 65; World War I and, 65
- mittelstand* (middle estate), 18, 161, 162, 163; economic demographics of, 161; white-collar workers and, 163
- modernism: fascism and, 1, 13, 80; late development theory and, 51
- Moore, Barrington, 51, 52, 65
- Mosley, Oswald, 7; on socialism vs. nationalism, 7
- Mosse, George, 2; on fascism vs. Nazism, 9
- Mubarak, Hosnei, 373
- Mussolini, Benito: African aggression by, 134–135; on Bolshevism, 125, 132; Catholic Church and, 126; on democracy, 97; development of totalitarian state by, 98, 102; effect on Italian class conflict, 120; ethnic/political cleansing by, 344; *fasci di combattimento* and, 95; *Heimwehr* paramilitary and, 229; Hitler and, 134; Italian fascism and, 7, 9, 14, 15, 21, 61, 93, 95, 97, 133, 243; March on Rome by, 48, 129; organic nationalism and, 130, 131; paramilitarism and, 97, 99, 105; parliamentarism and, 98, 128; political opportunism of, 100, 111, 137; on rural fascism, 118; secret police and, 135; Social Catholicism and, 126; on socialism, 117; special courts and, 135; use of populist ideology by, 131; use of propaganda by, 79; warmongering by, 99
- National Christian Party, 288
- National Corporatist League, 277
- National Peasant Party. *See* NPP (National Peasant Party)
- National Socialism, 6, 246; in Hungary, 258; labor unions within, 6; syndicalism and, 6
- nationalism, 2, 13–14, 34, 90; capitalism and, 4; civic, 34; cultural diversity and, 13; Eastern Orthodoxy and, 86; economic, 58; effect of authoritarianism on, 56; ethnic, 34; growth of, European, 33; imperialism effect on, 33; in Italy, 115; Nazi Party and, 202; organic, i, vii, 13; “rebirth” as part of, 13; role of “enemies” in, 13; school for, 4; in Spain, 302–303
- nation-statism, i, 2, 3, 4, 27–28, 36, 58, 64, 90, 91, 203; Austro-fascism and, 234;

- authoritarian, 31; core fascist constituencies as part of, 3; despotic strength of, 31; extreme, 128; fascism and, 4, 113, 118; in Germany, 6; GNP averages as effect of, 32; importance of youth in, 87–88; infrastructural strength of, 31; during interwar period, 54; Japan and, 24; Judeo-Bolshevism and, 235; late development theory and, 49; liberalism as part of, 35; minorities and, 34; modern versions of, 37; Nazism and, 155; role of citizenship in, 32; role of property in, 35; role of religion in, 27; in Romania, 292–293; semi-authoritarianism and, 44; “sovereign,” 31; support demographics for, 27; vs. transnationalism, 187
- Navarro, Arias, 344
- Nazi Party Constitution of 1920, positive Christianity as part of, 155
- Nazione*, 128
- Nazism, viii, 9, 14, 22, 40, 139; *Anschluss* and, 218; anti-Semitism and, 142, 183; capitalism and, 183; class theory and, 171, 201; corporate state and, 143; development of, 84, 201; economic policies under, 158; effect on liberal democracy, 73; fascism and, 47, 218; female labor force during, 147; Führer principle as part of, 143; German Protestantism and, 26; ideological focus of, 202, 227; importance of propaganda in, 165–166; importance of rituals in, 173; internationalism and, 142; land reform as part of, 142; liberal democracy and, 173; members, social profiles of, 22, 156–160; nationalism within, 178; nation-statism and, 171; paramilitarism and, 28; party program of 141, 285; polycracy within, 14; Protestantism and, 165; role of middle class in, 161–167; role of religion in, 187; role of violence within, 142, 174, 175, 198; role of *völkisch* in, 9; rural involvement in, 171; social activism as part of, 170; social attraction to, 146; social marginality and, 170; socialism as part of, 142, 143, 146, 149; socialization within, 170–171; unemployment and, 159, 181–182; universities and, 150; vs. Marxism, 140, 142; *Wandervogel* movement, 150. *See also* German Nazi Party
- The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Members and Leaders, 1919–1945* (Kater), 156
- neo-fascism, 136, 365, 366, 374–375; European Union and, 371; immigration and, 370; interculturalism in, 368; military imperialism and, 375; NATO and, 371; skinheads and, 368; in Western Europe, 366
- nest leaders, of Legion of Archangel Saint Michael (Romania), 267
- New York Times*, 216; *Heimwehr* demographics in, 216
- New Zealand, 38
- Nohel, Vinzenz, 223
- Northern League Party, 369
- Norway, 73
- NPP (National Peasant Party), 263, 272, 280, 288; effect of Great Depression on, 264; in Romania, 241, 263
- numerus clausus* (Jewish quotas): in Hungary, 241, 254; in Viennese universities, 226
- Nuremberg racial laws, Hitler and, 229
- Official Statement on Farmers and Agriculture*, 180
- organic nationalism, i, vii, 2, 4, 6, 34, 43; authoritarianism and, 43; characteristics of, 34; democracy as part of, 2, 34; in Hungary, 245; liberal vs., 34; role of religion in, 27; violence as part of, i
- Ottoman Dynasty, 33
- Pan-German Party, 34
- paramilitarism: activism as part of, 28; age-based demographics for, 26; “bottom-up,” 47, 359; early development of, 69; effect of educational levels on, 26; as effect of World War I, 68; effect on Austro-fascism, 208; electoral democracy and, 16–17; fascism and, 16, 29, 104, 119, 136; in Germany, 153;

- paramilitarism (*cont.*)
 militarism vs., 26; vs. military power, 17;
 Mussolini, Benito, and, 97, 98–99;
 Nazism and, 28, 206; role of citizenry in,
 68; role of comradeship in, 69, 104;
 social identity as part of, 104; SS Army
 (Nazi Party) and, 175; statism as part of,
 359; “top–down,” 47; veteran leagues as
 result of, 68; violence as part of, 16, 198;
 World War I and, 36
- Paris Commune of 319
- Partito Nazionale Fascista. *See* PNF (Partito
 Nazionale Fascista)
- Payne, Stanley, 10; on fascism foundations,
 10–11
- peasant leagues: Catholic Church and, 116;
 growth of, 116; labor exchanges of, 116;
 Nazi Party effect on, 191; role in fascism,
 116
- “petty bourgeoisie,” 18, 22; fascism and,
 18, 108; role in Nazism of, 161
- Pius XI, Pope, 126
- PNF (Partito Nazionale Fascista), 95, 101,
 111, 113, 119; age demographics of, 102;
 financing of, 119–120; Reggio Emilio
 group in, 102; role of Social Catholicism
 in, 101; role of violence for, 114; role of
 women in, 101–102; social
 demographics of, 101; students’ role
 in, 108; voting demographics and,
 115
- political development theory, 73, 137;
 authoritarianism and, 77; Axis states and,
 74
- political geography (Europe), 39;
 Anglo-Saxon, 39; language as part of, 39;
 Low Country zone, 39; Nordic zone, 39;
 organic authoritarianism and, 40;
 religion as part of, 39; socio-cultural
 zones as part of, 40
- political power, 70–78; authoritarianism,
 70; effect of interwar period on, 70;
 effect on economic crises, 70; “elite
 theories” of, 70; institutional statist
 theory and, 70
- Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism*, *The*
 (Mussolini), 97
- “Popular Front” Party: electoral victories
 of, 299, 328, 332, 335, 338; insurgent
 acts by, 319; role in Spanish government,
 308, 311, 314, 319, 321, 325, 347,
 349
- Portugal, militarism in, 36
- Primo de Rivera, José, 7, 57, 298, 302,
 303, 305, 334; biographical background
 of, 303; effect of Bolshevik Triennium
 on, 303; in Spain, 57, 363; support
 demographics for, 341
- “proletarian nations,” 6, 55; fascism and,
 116; resistance within, 6
- propaganda, 5, 79
- property rights: under authoritarianism, 63;
 under capitalism, 62, 355; under fascism,
 120–121
- Protestantism, 85; in Germany, 188;
 Nazism and, 148, 165, 187, 189
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, 78
- Radek, Karl, 18; on fascism, 18–19
- radical statism, vii
- Red Guards, viii
- redshirts, 104
- Reggio Emilio, 109; PNF and, 102; role of
 workers in, 109
- Reichsleiter* (national leaders), 151, 160
- Renovación Española Party: Sotelo, Calvo,
 and, 339; in Spain, 326, 333
- Republican Assault Guard, 337, 339;
 center-left parties and, 337
- Republican Centre Party, 321–325; Acción
 Republicana faction within, 322;
 “bourgeois” centrists within, 322;
 “Bourgeois Republic” as part of, 322;
 Left Republicans within, 322; main
 factions within, 322; political
 compromises of, 321; Radical Party
 within, 324, 325, 327; role of church in,
 323, 349; “Republic of the Intellectuals”
 as part of, 322; voting demographics of,
 322; white-collar support for, 326
- Republikaner Party, 367, 368
- Rerum Novarum*, 86, 126
- Rheinisch-Westfälische Zeitung*, 197
- Rhinoceros* (Ionesco), 279

- Rhodesia, 38; CEDA and, 330, 332
- Romania, 1, 25, 30, 45, 56; anti-Semitism in, 238, 270, 277, 285, 286, 294; Austro-Germans in, 285; authoritarianism in, 57; capital ownership demographics in, Communist Party in, 270; effect of peace treaties on, 261; fascism in, 87, 271–272, 276, 283, 288, 362–363, 370; fascist counties in, 283; foreign policies of, 271; formation of, 261; “Generation of 1922,” 279, 286; Germany and, 264; GNP per capita in, 263; “government by rotation” in, 263; Greater Romanian Party in, 370; Hitler and, 265; industrial development in, 263; interwar regimes in, 45; Jews in, 269–270; Judeo-Bolshevism in, 270; King Carol in, 57; (*see also* Carol (King of Romania)); land reform in, 262; late development economic policy and, 55; Legionary Worker Corps in, 290; literacy rates increases in, 265; map of, 262; Maygars in, 286; nation-statism in, 292; NPP in, 241, 263; organic nationalism in, 262, 272, 286; pogroms in, 270, 285; role of agrarian landlords in, 52; role of Eastern Orthodox Church in, 262, 271; role of education in, 265; role of military in, 275; socialism in, 294; suffrage movements in, 263; Szeklers in, 286
- Romanov Dynasty, 33
- Rosenberg, Alfred, 278
- Russia: Bolshevism in, 37; civil war in, 37, 59; militarism in, 36; Zemstvo intelligentsia in, 35
- SA Army (Nazi Party), 167; economic demographics for, 167; effect of Great Depression on, 167–168
- Schmitt, Carl, 201, 278; on fall of Weimar Republic, 200; religious background of, 76–77; role in Weimar Republic, 200; on welfare benefits, 76
- Schutzbund* paramilitary, 219, 231, 232; formation of, 229; population of, 231
- Schwammberger, Josef, 223
- Segura, Cardinal, 323
- semi-authoritarianism, 44–45, 77, 193; CEDA and, 332; development of Nazism and, 76; “dual states” and, 44; electoral process under, 44; fiscal/social policies under, 45; Jewish pogroms and, 44; late economic development and, 64; nation-statism and, 44; role of monarchies in, 44
- semi-reactionary authoritarianism; fascist ideology under, 45; paramilitarism and, 45; role of minorities within, 45
- Sima, Horia, 280, 281, 290, 291
- Sindicatos Libres* (free unions), 303, 304, 306; fascism and, 303–304
- Single Party, The* (Manoilescu), 278
- Social Darwinism, 6, 82; in Germany, 83
- social power: control within, 5; sources of, 5, 137
- social welfare, 76
- socialism: fascist violence and, 114–115; in Germany, 182; ideology of, 35; labor strikes and, 116; Maximalist party and, 117; membership increases for, 124; military organization within, 122; nineteenth-century development of, 81; organized leagues within, 117; proletariat as part of, 119; role of paramilitarism in, 121; role of revolution for, 121; in Spain, 315; tenets of, 230; transnationalism and, 81; voting demographics and, 115, 124; vs. fascism, 117
- Socialist Nationalism, 6
- “Socialists of the Professor’s Chair,” 35
- Sonderweg*, 42, 139
- Sotelo, Calvo, 305, 316
- Sources of Social Power, The* (Mann), vii, 48, 78
- South Africa, 38
- Soviet Union. *See* Russia
- Spain, 1, 37, 41, 42, 54, 297; Acción Española Party in, 326; Acción Popular Party in, 329; anarcho-syndicalism in, 300, 314–315, 327, 348; Army of Africa and, 337; authoritarianism in, 41, 57, 306, 324; capitalism in, 62, 325; CEDA in, 329, 348; center-left party in, 315, 317, 322, 323, 324, 327, 348;

Spain (*cont.*)

center-right party in, 318, 322, 323, 324–325, 326, 337, 339, 349; Civil Guards in, 347; civil war in, 297, 334, 348; corporatism in, 306; economic history of, 298; effect of Catalan independence on, 319; effect of Great Depression on, 298; effect of late economic development on, 305; effect of revolution ideology in, 320; effects of political violence in, 313, 320, 335, 349; electoral demography of, 309, 335; electoral processes of, 309; ethnic/political cleansing in, 342; Falange Party in, 313, 334, 335–336, 338; Franco, Francisco, in, 339; growth of fascism in, 303, 317, 334, 350–351, 363; *Guardia Civil* in, 326; importance of *Hispanidad* to, 302; industrial growth in, 300; interwar regimes in, 45; Jesuits in, 323; *Jurados Mixtos* in, 316, 326; labor unions in, 311–312; land reform in, 327, 328; Marxism in, 315, 320, 348; militarism in, 36, 337, 342; and Morocco, 337; Nationalist Party in, 342; parliamentary structure of, 301; per capita income (interwar), 54; political conservatism in, 325, 329; regional economic geography of, 299–300; regionalism in, 300, 302; regions/provinces of, 299, 335; Renovación Española Party in, 326, 333, 339; republic regimes in, 298; Republican Center Party in, 321–322; rise of organic nationalism within, 16, 302, 303, 332, 333, 339, 387; role of Agrarian Party in, 327, 333; role of armed forces in, 301; role of Bourbon monarchy in, 301, 302; role of Catholic Church in, 299, 301, 324, 328–329, 332, 346; role of democratic process in, 325; role of *integralismo* in, 307, 308, 318; role of *latifundistas* in, 326, 327; semi-authoritarianism in, 297; socialism in, 315, 317, 320–321; Socialist Party in, 328; voting demographics in, 308–309; during World War I, 302, 345

Spanish Army, 301; military statism and, 301
 Spanish Civil War: political reprisals during, 343–344; total killed during, 342–343
 Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightists. *See* CEDA (Spanish Confederation of Autonomous Rightists)
 Spann, Othmar, 220
squadristi, 102, 103, 104, 112, 115, 117, 120, 122; government support for, 115; idealism of, 112; leadership of, 111; social demographics of, 103
 SS Army (Nazi Party), 167; economic demographics of, 167; paramilitary discipline of, 175; social mobility within, 169; use of violence by, 175
Stahlhelm paramilitary, 151, 155, 198; organization within, 151; social activism within, 171
 Stalin, Leo, 61
 Stangl, Franz, 220
 statism, 14; authoritarianism as part of, 14; leadership principle within, 14; totalitarianism vs., 14
 Sternhell, Zeev, 2
 Strasser, Gregor, 21, 181, 183, 196
 Strasser, Otto, 183
 Sturdza, Michael (Prince of Romania), 280
 Sturzo, Dom, 126
 “successor states,” 67
 suffrage movements: democratic “participation” and, 71; development of, 72; in Italy, 95; in Romania, 263; Schmitt, Carl, on, 75
 Szálasi, Ferenc, 244, 245, 246; ideology of, 247; racial theories of, 246–247
 “Szeged Idea,” 240, 241
 Taliban, 374
 Tenant’s Party, Nazi Party effect on, 191
 “The Final Solution,” vii
 theo-democracy, 372
Theory of Protection and International Trade, *The* (Manoilescu), 277
 “total” war, 68
 totalitarianism, statism vs., 11–14

- transcendence, 14–15, 16, 34; economic demographics and, 26–27
- transnational power relations, 35
- Transylvania, fascism in, 286
- “trench power,” 102
- Trianon, Treaty of (1920), 74, 240
- Turkish Special Forces of viii, 283
- turno pacífico* (peaceful change), 297, 324
- Unamuno, Cortes, 323
- Unión Patriótica*, 305
- unions, 60; internal commissions and, 123; regional demographics, 117; role in Italy, 94; “scabs” and, 116, 117
- Versailles, Treaty of, 74
- Vienna, Austria, 215, 219, 225; Jewish population in, 225; Nazi youth in, 226; *numerus clausus* in, 226
- Vlkaams Blok Party, 367
- Volk*, 6, 9; “Generation of 1914” and, 149, 150, 283
- völkisch* nationalism, 150, 164; agrarian representation within, 180; anti-Semitism and, 84
- Volksgemeinschaft* (organic community), 143, 181; in Hungary, 247; ideology of, 190, 202
- Volksunie Party, 367
- Waldheim, Kurt, 207
- Wandervogel* movement, Nazism and, 150
- Weber, Eugene, 77, 239
- Weber, Max, 8, 69, 201, 357
- Weimar Republic, 40, 75, 139; anti-Semitism and, 144; authoritarianism and, 194; Bolshevism and, 144; capitalism during, 194; capitalists as part of, 201; Constitution of, 183; downfall of, 200, 201; effect of Great Depression on, 194, 195–196; elite classes in, 194; labor laws during, 195; Nazi Party during, 199; population of, 140; role of news organizations in, 197; taxation during, 195. *See also* Germany
- Weltanschauung* (view of the world), 10, 11–14, 79, 140, 144, 181, 370
- Why I Believe in the Victory of the Legionary Movement* (Eliade), 278
- Wilson, Woodrow, 37
- women: Nazi ideology and, 147; role in Legion of the Archangel Saint Michael, 272; role in Nazism, 147–148; role in PNF, 101–102
- World War I: Austro-fascism and, 208; class theory and, 97; effect on citizen warfare, 65; effect on Germany, 139; effect on Hungary, 238; effect on youth culture, 149; fascism as result of, 360; militarism as effect of, 36, 89; sovereign parliamentary development after, 72, 73; “successor states” and, 67
- World War II, vii, 135; effect on Italy, 136; fascism during, vii
- Yugoslavia, 38
- Zog (King of Albania), 45